

Understanding the policy-planning-implementation disjuncture: A case study of the Amathole District Municipality, Eastern Cape Province

A full thesis in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

of

RHODES UNIVERSITY

by

Name of the candidate: Andile Mhlahlo

Student number: G10M7403

Supervisor: Professor Chris de Wet

Date of submission: July 2016

DECLARATION

I, Andile Mhlahlo, do hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own original investigation and research, and that it has not been submitted in part or full for any degree to Rhodes University or to any other University.



Mhlahlo A.P.

Date 20/07/2016

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the support of the following people and offices for their contribution in making this study successful:

- The postgraduate funding office at Rhodes University, for their support with the scholarship in order to conduct my study.
- The Information Technology office at Rhodes University, for assisting me with the laptop that has voice recognition software: For many years, my body has always been experiencing a chronic and mysterious pain in the arms and legs. Up to today, the medical practitioners' investigations have been unable to identify the cause of the pain. This situation makes it strenuous for me to engage in various activities, e.g. making use of my hand-writing, typing in a computer (hence I rely on the voice recognition software to do my typing), driving a car, carrying heavy items, and so on.
- My supervisor, Professor Chris de Wet: for his patience in supervising me, for challenging me to develop my critical thinking while developing academic writing skills, for organizing funding so that I could be able to conduct my fieldwork, and for his support in organizing the laptop with the voice recognition software.
- The officers in Amathole District Municipality, for their willingness to participate in this study.
- The project members for Siyagaya Makhosikazi Cooperative project (Siyagaya Coop) in Alice, for their willingness to participate in this study.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to investigate why well planned policies are not getting implemented as intended. The study was conducted in the offices of Amathole District Municipality (ADM) in the Eastern Cape Province, including the cooperative project in Alice as one of the projects that was coordinated by the ADM.

Concerning the research design and methodology, a qualitative research design was used. The data collection process involved conducting unstructured interviews with the officers from the Amathole District Municipality office (the ADM officers / the municipality officers) and the members of cooperative projects (cooperatives/projects). Mainly, an ethnographic approach was used; it involved embracing participant observation in the ADM offices for approximately 6 months. As the researcher, I participated as one of the ADM's officers in different activities, namely: attending meetings and one workshop, and accompanying the development officer while conducting an observation of various projects in Butterworth.

The findings in the study disclose that the disjuncture between policy planning and implementation may be attributed to 4 factors, which are associated with the ADM office as the development agency for the Amathole region. These are: the incapability to respond to policy implementation complexities, failure to exploit policy implementation complexities as learning opportunities, the insufficient understanding of 'process monitoring' as a tool that could be integrated in projects management, as well as the execution of policy implementation in the absence of policy documents as a guide in implementation processes. Moreover, these factors are examined as being related to each other, and they will be discussed in detail in the course of the thesis.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Political sphere.....	53
Figure 2: Administrative sphere.....	54
Figure 3: Profile of participants.....	36

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	2
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	3
ABSTRACT	4
LIST OF FIGURES.....	5
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	6
CHAPTER 1: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION.....	9
1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	9
1.2 RATIONALE FOR PROBLEMS TO BE INVESTIGATED.....	9
1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM, QUESTIONS, AND OBJECTIVES	13
1.4 THE THREE WEEK PILOT FIELDWORK.....	15
1.5 AN OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS FOR THE DISSERTATION.....	16
1.6 CONCLUSION.....	17
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE AND THEORY.....	18
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	18
2.2 DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND PRACTICE.....	18
2.3 PUBLIC POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT.....	21
2.4 DISCOURSE AND DEVELOPMENT	27
2.5 DE-POLITICIZATION	30
2.6 INTERVENTIONS ARE SPHERES OF CONFLICT AMONG VARIOUS ACTORS.....	32
2.7 CONCLUSION.....	33
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	34
3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	34
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN.....	34
3.3 STUDY POPULATION AND SAMPLING.....	35
3.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS	37
3.5 DATA ANALYSIS.....	39
3.6 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	39
3.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	39
3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	40
3.9 CONCLUSION.....	42

CHAPTER 4: ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE	43
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	43
4.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND ON ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE	43
4.3 THE ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN THE ADM.....	49
.....	53
4.4 CHALLENGES OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE IN THE ADM.....	55
4.5 CONCLUSION.....	66
CHAPTER 5: CHALLENGES IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION.....	67
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	67
5.2 NON-NEUTRAL NATURE OF THE POLICY WORLD: UNCLEAR POLICY GOALS...	67
5.3 COORDINATING COOPERATIVES IN AMATHOLE DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY	72
5.4 ANALYZING ISSUES OF PROJECT COORDINATION.....	79
5.5 CONCLUSION.....	86
CHAPTER 6: POLICY IMPLEMENTATION THROUGH THE PROJECT IN ALICE.....	90
6.1 INTRODUCTION.....	90
6.2 BACKGROUND TO SIYAGAYA COOP	90
6.3 THE INITIATIVES OF THE ADM TO SUPPORT COOPERATIVES	93
6.4 CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED IN RUNNING THE PROJECT	96
6.5 DISCUSSION.....	98
6.6 CONCLUSION.....	102
CHAPTER 7: ‘MONITORING AND EVALUATION’ MISCONCEPTIONS.....	104
7.1 INTRODUCTION.....	104
7.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: ‘MONITORING AND EVALUATION’	104
7.3 THE PRESENTATION OF RESULTS	115
7.4 THE DISCUSSION OF RESULTS	129
7.5 CONCLUSION.....	136
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	138
8.1 INTRODUCTION.....	138
8.2 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND ITS COMPLEXITIES.....	138
8.3 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION COMPLEXITIES AS LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES ...	142
8.4 INSUFFICIENT UNDERSTANDING OF ‘PROCESS MONITORING’	143
8.5 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN THE ABSENCE OF POLICY DOCUMENTS.....	144

8.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	145
REFERENCES	147
ATTACHMENTS.....	155
Attachment 1 A sample of terms of reference	155
Attachment 2: Extract from performance framework in the ADM 2014 Version 8	155
Attachment 3: Research questions to Siyagaya Makhosikazi Cooperative project.....	155

CHAPTER 1: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the disconnection that tends to surface between policy planning (theory) and implementation; hence the research topic is concerned with the policy-planning-implementation disjuncture. The focus of this chapter is on providing an introductory background with regards to the study. The topics that are presented are organized as follows: rationale for problems to be investigated; research problem, questions, and objectives; the three week pilot fieldwork; and an outline of chapters for the dissertation.

1.2 RATIONALE FOR PROBLEMS TO BE INVESTIGATED

The concept 'policy' refers to a guide for planning, or the overall process of defining objectives that underline planning (Cernea 1993: 16). The aim of engaging policy is to bring transformation in a current state of affairs, for instance, in the political climate, in economics, social aspects of life, and so on (van Baalen and de Coning 2012: 170). Hence there are policies for (for instance) job creation, poverty alleviation, housing, and so on.

Policies play a role in promoting development (Cernea 1993: 20) that is why they are embraced by development agencies like World Bank, USAID, and so on. Policies are utilized as a part of a collective endeavor in fighting poverty, raising people's living standards, and in promoting progress in the society (Ferguson 1990: 9). Therefore, in this study the concept of development policies will be used when referring to policies that are aimed at promoting development. In other words, policies are the means of planning development interventions.

Development interventions are executed when there is a belief or reasons to believe that a normal course of events has gone wrong. For example, in cases where there are

social services that are less than acceptable, or if they are in the state of decline. These may include poor services on healthcare, housing, schools, etc. (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 342). Consequently, through policies, the aim is to relieve people from particular challenges that seem to dominate their lives, or to make improvements in the living conditions of people.

However, development interventions are not always executed in order to pursue the interests of underprivileged people. According to Ferguson (1990) development planners and development agencies sometimes do not engage themselves in collaborative endeavours as a means of fighting poverty and to uplift the living standards of underprivileged people. Instead, they tend to exploit the development industry in order to promote the interests of capitalist undertakings. In most cases, development institutions have the tendency of being capitalist based in nature, i.e. institutions like the World Bank, USAID, International Monetary Fund, and so on. Consequently such institutions are more likely to promote capitalists' interests. They (the development institutions) are not utilized, for instance, with the aim of making radical changes in political and economic structures as a means of empowering poor people. Historically, they have played a huge role in promoting initiatives which are not in the interest of poor people, like taking ownership of particular areas in a given country, i.e. areas that are endowed with natural resources like oil, gold, and so on (Ferguson 1990: 9-11, Long 2001: 10, 34-35). Therefore, development institutions sometimes inhibit the same development they are supposed to be promoting in underprivileged areas.

Furthermore, because of the importance of the role of policies, significant resources (e.g. financial) are allocated in developing policy documents (e.g. integrated development plans, strategic plans, etc.), which are used as guides during implementation. This involves (according to Cloete and de Coning 2012) translating policies into development objectives in order to assist at the stage of implementation, i.e. the specification of a broad course of action, and the key activities that ought to be undertaken by the central role players. The process of translating policies into

objectives also involves developing business plans, which are relevant to different entities, e.g. government, municipalities, NGOs and other organizations (Cloete and de Coning 2012: 172). There are many financial needs during the process of developing these policy documents. For instance, for employing the necessary human resources (e.g. experts for developing policy documents, administrators, etc.), to utilize them on operational expenses like coordinating policy-related committees, consultations with stakeholders, and so on. Ultimately, after policy documents have been developed, some programs or projects (the detailed discussion relating to programs or projects is presented in the course of the thesis) are initiated as a means of coordinating implementation.

However, despite the existence of policies, it is a common phenomenon to discover that, when policy implementation takes place, policies look rather different from what was intended. That is, the same challenges that were meant to be solved by the policies are still dominating people's lives. Such a situation is attributed to the fact that implementation does not necessarily follow as planned. In other words, the services that were supposed to be delivered to the intended beneficiaries do not go to them in terms of the expected quantity or quality. Ayee (1994: 1) supports this view by pointing out that policies that manage to get implemented often look very different from the original intentions of framers. Thus, this is the key question that will be considered in this thesis, i.e. why do policies that managed to get implemented often look very different from the original intentions of framers?

This experience is also common within the South African context. There are many policies that have been developed by the South African government, but their implementation produces mediocre results. Despite the existence of policies, people at the local level carry on experiencing problems that were supposed to be solved by such policies. Cloete and de Coning enhance this point. They say that policy implementation failures have manifested in all spheres of government in South Africa during the past decade. The signs of these failures include the phenomenon of misappropriation or non-spending of the approved capital budgets, unsatisfactory service delivery, and

incidences of dissatisfied citizens' groups in communities (Cloete and de Coning 2012: 178). Vernekoehl (2009) concurs and talks about protests that are accompanied by violence, which are derived from poor public service delivery by local government. These protests thus are symptoms of failure to conduct adequate policy implementation.

Several examples, within the South African context, may be noted in relation to this matter: Policies for school nutrition programs (of the Department of Education), food security programs (Department of Social Development), job creation (Department of Trade and Industry). However despite the existence of policies, community problems go on dominating in so many underprivileged communities. This situation is attributed to the fact that programs that go with these policies are not being implemented properly.

Another example is the challenge of death and hospitalization of initiates because of botched circumcision in initiation schools. Government started some policies and legislation as a means of regulating the practice of initiation rituals; for instance, the Application of Health Standards in Traditional Circumcision Act 6 of 2001. However, initiates' death and hospitalization are still persistent today during every circumcision season, especially in the Eastern Cape Province. For example, Feni in the Daily Dispatch (July 10, 2015) reported that, within a period of 2 weeks after the 2015 winter initiation season had started, 21 initiates had passed away in the Eastern Cape Province. This report also expressed concern that the number of initiates who die in the initiation(s) schools was more likely to go up, as the initiation season was still in progress. Thus this situation suggests that these continuing deaths of initiates may be attributed to the fact that the Circumcision Act is not being implemented adequately.

Therefore these are a few examples of policies that had good intentions of bringing solutions to problems that are experienced by people at the local level. Sadly, policies sometimes are not executed effectively. In the meantime, the challenges that were meant to be solved by policies continue being perpetuated. Therefore, the goal of this study is to understand why policies, with good intentions, are not getting implemented as intended, i.e. in terms of set standards and timeframes. This research goal is

pursued by conducting the study in Amathole District Municipality, in relation to investigating the way the office of cooperatives (the SMMEs and Cooperatives office) functions.

Moreover, there are some factors that may be pointed out, which have contributed to eliciting my interest in conducting the study. I have working experience as a consultant on community projects, mostly on a part-time basis, in the Western Cape and in the Eastern Cape Province. I have also conducted a mini research project for Stellenbosch University in 2008, as a part of my Post-graduate Diploma in 'monitoring and evaluation' (M and E). The focus of that study was on a community project in Willowvale, as a case study of food security projects in the Eastern Cape Province. Thus, working on these projects, has become my motivation to find out more about community projects and policy-making processes.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM, QUESTIONS, AND OBJECTIVES

1.3.1 Research problem

The endorsement of development policies is one of the means of enabling solutions to challenges that are experienced by underprivileged people. However, despite the existence of policies, the problems that were intended to be solved by such policies continue being perpetuated due to policy implementation failure. Therefore, this situation raises a question: "What is it that inhibits policies with good intentions, from being implemented as planned"? This question leads to the sub-questions and objectives that are based within the context of Amathole District Municipality, as indicated in the following sections.

1.3.2 Research questions

- a) What are the factors that inhibit policy implementation with regards to organizational social structure? The factors that are investigated in this study include human resources, rules and procedures, and power struggles.
- b) What are the challenges that are experienced by the LED office in Amathole District Municipality (the office), in dealing with policy implementation regarding cooperative projects? In other words, the office that coordinates the implementation of policies for cooperative projects, and then oversees projects as a part of coordinating policy implementation.
- c) What are the challenges that are experienced by the office with regards to 'process monitoring'? That is, how does the deficiency of human resources affect program implementation? And how does the Amathole District Municipality conceptualize 'monitoring and evaluation'?

1.3.3 Research objectives

Policy implementation sometimes becomes characterised by failure to operate as intended (Shore and Wright 1997: 3; Mosse 2004: 640) because the services or outputs that were supposed to be received by the intended beneficiaries end up as defective, whether in terms of quantity or quality. Ayee (1994: 1) states that policies that manage to get implemented often end up looking very different from the original intentions of framers. This is because Rew et al. (2006: 46) argue that the implementing officers tend to make fundamental transformations to such a policy as they try to deal with policy implementation. Hence the assumption in this study is about the significant disconnect between initial intention and outcome involved in policy implementation. This assumption goes with the following objectives:

- a) To investigate factors that hinder policies from being implemented as intended in relation to the concept of organizational social structure.

- b) To find out about the challenges experienced by the LED officers in Amathole District Municipality, while coordinating the implementation of policies for cooperative projects.
- c) To investigate challenges that are experienced by the LED officers with regards to 'process monitoring'.

1.4 THE THREE WEEK PILOT FIELDWORK

This thesis study was preceded by a three week fieldwork exercise that was conducted in the office of the Amathole District Municipality, in July 2010. The plan was to use the fieldwork experience to formulate the research proposal, through identifying issues that emerged about policy processes in the field regarding cooperative projects. Afterwards, these issues were refined, in combination with Anthropological literature on policy matters. Ultimately, the research proposal was used as the guide in doing the fieldwork. Some of the points that surfaced from the pilot fieldwork are as follows (these points are discussed in greater detail from Chapters 3 to 5):

1.4.1 Background of the Amathole District Municipality

The Amathole District Municipality is one of the district municipalities in the Eastern Cape Province, with its offices based in East London. At the time of conducting this study this municipality consisted of 8 local municipalities. This number (of municipalities) was later decreased into 7, after the municipal elections of May 2011. The plan was that the Buffalo City Local Municipality would be changed into a metro municipality.

1.4.2 The two spheres of governance in the municipality

Municipal governance consists of two spheres, i.e. the political and the administrative spheres. The two spheres represent the organizational structure (see the discussion of

organizational social structure in Chapter 4) of a municipality as an organization. As much as the two spheres exist in parallel, they work collaboratively with one another in order to achieve the collective goals of the municipality. In the administrative sphere, the position holder at the highest level of the reporting line is the Municipality Manager. This is followed by Directors, and they are followed by administrative officers. In the political sphere, the most senior official is the Mayor. Below the Mayor there are Councilors, who also play the role of being Portfolio Heads, i.e. the HODs (Heads of Departments), and they are followed by part-time Councilors.

1.4.3 Challenges facing cooperative projects in Amathole District Municipality

During the three week fieldwork exercise there were challenges that were identified regarding cooperative projects (they are presented in detail in Chapters 4 to 6): project members leave the projects after some time working on them to pursue job opportunities that arise elsewhere; projects tend to remain underdeveloped despite the fact that they keep on receiving diverse forms of support from the government (ADM); and upon observing the interactions between the development practitioner (development officer) and project members, it became clear that project members tend to hide certain information (about their projects) from the development practitioner.

1.5 AN OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS FOR THE DISSERTATION

Chapter 2: Literature and Theory. This chapter is concerned with providing the theoretical framework for the study regarding issues of development planning and/or practice.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Methodology. In this chapter the focus is on the strategies that were used in order to achieve research goals and objectives, that is, the research methodology issues.

Chapter 4: Organizational Social Structure. The chapter focuses on the discussion of organizational social structure. This takes place in conjunction with the ethnography of Amathole District Municipality.

Chapter 5: Challenges in Policy Implementation. This chapter presents some aspects of challenges that are associated with policy implementation. These challenges are explored by looking at the LED office in Amathole District Municipality, as it is the office that is responsible for policy implementation.

Chapter 6: Policy Implementation through the Project in Alice. This chapter presents the research findings and the discussion of findings, by focusing on the case study of the cooperative project in Alice.

Chapter 7: 'Monitoring and Evaluation' Misperceptions. The chapter presents aspects of the challenges that are associated with policy implementation. The concept 'monitoring and evaluation' is integrated into the analysis. The difference between this chapter and the previous chapter is that the policy implementation challenges are examined through the eyes of the theoretical framework of 'monitoring and evaluation' studies.

Chapter 8: Conclusion. Concluding remarks and recommendations are presented in this chapter, in terms of the central problem of the thesis as to why well planned policies are not getting implemented as intended, and how to improve the situation.

1.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on providing an introductory background regarding the study. That is, about the disconnection that tends to surface between policy / planning and implementation. The topics that were presented were: the rationale for problems to be investigated; the research problem, questions, and objectives; the three week pilot fieldwork; and an outline of chapters for the thesis.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE AND THEORY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the study on matters that relate to development planning and/or practice. The points that are discussed in the chapter are presented as follows: development planning and practice, public policy and development, discourse and development, de-politicization, development interventions as spheres of conflict among various actors, and the conclusion

2.2 DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND PRACTICE

The development industry is sometimes characterized by the dominating mismatch between planned development and the practice of development. The goals that are outlined in the planning process do not always materialize once programmes get started. Consequently, the intended beneficiaries end up not receiving the benefit of development programmes. Olivier de Sardan (2005) argues that there is a wide gap between development discourse and practice. He says that in the planning phase developers raise several issues that seem to be interesting and adding value to particular programmes. However, these issues often do not surface in reality, when the programmes reach the targeted people (Olivier de Sardan 2005: 4). In other words, programmes' activities do not take place as intended. This is attributed to challenges that arise during the implementation process. Therefore, development planning does not necessarily lead to satisfactory development practice. The detailed discussion of these challenges is presented in Chapter 5.

The disjuncture between the planned development and the practice of development is also revealed in the argument by Hobart (1993). He points out that sometimes there is only a limited link between the theory of rational planned development and the implementation of development policies. Developers often have professed goals, but

their development projects have the tendency of failing. This point is clarified through using an example of the project of building six dams in an area called Timor in Indonesia. The aim of the project was to assist the local people with the challenge of experiencing water shortage in the community. The problem was that rainfall had the tendency of occurring only in three months throughout the year. The dams therefore were built by developers in order to supply water to the people. The idea was in principle sound, and it appeared to be helpful to the people. However, the challenge with the project was that the dams happened to be built in the hills, an area that was remote from the people, although the area was the best for building dams. Consequently, water supply was still not reaching the people as the dams were located far away from the people (Hobart 1993: 3). However, this example does not provide detail about efforts to link the dams built in the hills, with people in the community, e.g. through a canal or piping system. This is one case in many development initiatives that fail(s) to materialize as planned.

Ferguson supports this view in expressing his lament about the failure of development projects in Lesotho. He says that observers of Lesotho agree that the country has a history of development projects, which are characterized by failure to achieve their objectives. This history is taking place all over the world and is not exclusive to Lesotho. When one takes a closer look at these projects, one realizes that they have been planned, implemented and justified in a very similar manner, plus they seem to be failing in a similar pattern across the globe. The similarities in the ways in which these projects are being carried out and failing is that they are characterized by common: development institutions, discourse, problem definition, and pool of experts. These failures have carried on for quite some time to the extent that even projects that are successful have become an exception, rather than the rule. These similarities (in the ways in which these projects are planned, implemented and justified, but still fail) are attributed to the fact that the development industry is a global phenomenon. Thus the development practice that took place in Lesotho was basically not different from that which occurs elsewhere in the world. Instead, Lesotho is a specific example of a “more general model” of development interventions (Ferguson 1990: 8-9). Therefore, the

manifestation of a mismatch between development planning and practice occurs in different parts of the world. It is not an isolated case that surfaces only in a specific country or area.

Botes and Van Rensburg (2000) talk about how information about unsuccessful projects is hidden (though not deliberately hidden), while information concerning successful projects is revealed. They point out that successful development initiatives are quantified, documented and communicated to a greater extent, as compared to the ones that have failed. They say this is a concern because, when development practitioners present their own projects, they are only interested in presenting a picture of success. This happens while incidents of failures would have been more informative in terms of guiding the improvement of development projects in future. Therefore they advocate for the need for more studies that investigate what went wrong in development initiatives, examine reasons for what went wrong, and perhaps put forward some suggestions related to experienced mistakes, in order to avoid them.

Another factor that contributes to a mismatch between development planning and practice is that development is not always practiced in the interest of underprivileged people in poor countries. Development sometimes (that is executed by capitalist institutions) becomes the means (in the eyes of Mosse) of satisfying political needs of Western development agencies (e.g. the USAID) instead of the intended beneficiaries (Mosse 2005: 4, 22). The investments that are initiated by the development agencies are valuable as they provide assistance (e.g. economic growth) to the underprivileged people in poor countries. However, sometimes they tend to focus more on the enrichment of the investing countries, while poor countries deteriorate into becoming poorer (Brand et al. 2013: 275). That is why Ferguson points out that capitalism is not always aimed at eliciting development because it becomes the means of sometimes inhibiting such development. The development projects (of development agencies) that are executed in poor countries may be intended at providing positive change (e.g. the improved health-care systems, efficient food production, etc.) to the underprivileged people, but they are also the means of expanding capitalist exploitation in such

countries (1990: 11). Therefore, capitalist development agencies have a great contribution to make in underdeveloped countries (for instance, by eliciting economic growth), although in certain instances they are also the ones that are blamed for exploiting poor countries. Those instances of exploitation of poor countries contribute to inhibiting development from being practiced as intended.

In conclusion, the link between development planning and practice is not linear. This situation is attributed to different causes, which include program implementation challenges that come up in the process. Sometimes this failure is associated with marginalization by the Western countries.

2.3 PUBLIC POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT

2.3.1 Defining public policy in relation to development interventions

Public policy may be defined as a relatively detailed statement of objectives in a particular sector. A sector may be a government department, an NGO, financial institution, and so on. Public policy also refers to generic statements regarding methods that would be utilized in achieving set objectives (Cloete and de Coning 2012: 171, Cernea 1994: 189). Cernea concurs by saying a policy provides guidelines for allocating resources for development purposes and to structure individual projects (Cernea 1994: 189). In the eyes of Cloete and de Coning (2012), a policy refers to formal and stated decisions of governing bodies, whose intentions are (as argued before) to bring about a positive change in a current state of affairs. The change could be in a manner that is economic, political, social, etc. (Cloete and de Coning 2012: 170). However, it is disappointing to find out that development initiatives often do not take place, despite the existence of policies. This is because policies sometimes are not transformed into action plans. They are not executed adequately, sometimes not executed at all. It is also a common phenomenon, to find out that they are not used as guides in allocating resources as a means of achieving the goals and objectives of interventions. As a

result, resources are spent on activities that do not necessarily assist in achieving set goals and objectives.

2.3.2 Policy implementation

Policy implementation is executed through programmes and/or projects. The discussion on policy implementation is presented in detail in Chapter 5 (Challenges in Policy Implementation). Shore and Wright argue that policies have a legitimizing function. They outline a course of action that must be taken, while they also serve to locate that course within the framework of a wider and universal set of principles and goals (Shore and Wright 1997: 11). This implies that, once policy formulation has taken place, policies become generally accepted as guides on various forms of practices. They also become the means (guide) of providing solutions to challenges that come up as implementation takes place through programs or projects.

Simultaneously, the effectiveness of policies depends on how they are enforced by authorities in organizations. Sometimes, there are instances whereby subordinates do not adhere to policies, yet they are not subjected to disciplinary measures by their superiors. In such situations policies hold only limited power, in terms of influencing action in order to achieve policy goals and objectives. Therefore this makes policies lose the capacity of a legitimizing function and the ability to fix the course of action. Hence, Rew (1996) argues that subordinates may fundamentally modify the ways in which a policy is implemented once implementation begins.

In order for implementation to take place, the appropriate activities must be executed. These activities need to happen in a particular order. That is why it is necessary (according to Cernea 1994) for organizations to formulate institutional procedures. This implies designing a sequence of practical steps that would be utilized at each stage of the project cycle (since implementation takes place in the form of projects). The stages of a project cycle are: project identification, preparation, appraisal, and supervision (Cernea 1994: 203, Cernea 1993: 30-31). Procedures are significant because, without

them (Cernea 1993: 30), policies would remain as simple statements of principles; it is therefore necessary that there must be integration between policies and procedures in order to enable policy implementation. Chambers contributes by saying procedures are valuable because they are the levers of change in organizations, and their effect can either be positive or negative (Chambers 2005: 66). Cloete and de Coning (2012: 8) point out that policy implementation may be constituted by a combination of certain inputs as a means of producing certain outputs. Thus the implication here is that procedures are the guide on how activities ought to be executed, and the manner in which they are used influences the achievement of project goals. For instance, if they are applied consistently, fairly, and firmly to all staff members in organizations, they are more likely to gain employees' respect. Therefore employees would behave in a manner that assists in fulfilling projects' goals. If the opposite occurs, the achievement of organizations' outcomes is inhibited.

As is indicated, policy implementation manifests through engaging in projects. This process has its own challenges. Therefore it is (in the eyes of Cernea 1994), a misunderstanding to think that project interventions follow a sequence that is linear, well-reasoned, time bound, and involves pre-programmed activities which are characterized by pre-defined outcomes. The reality is that projects do not unfold in a linear manner and exactly as intended. Instead, implementation constitutes changes, some struggles that show up between the interested parties, as well as the re-interpretation of policies (Cernea 1994: 6, 20). Wedel et al. (2005) point out that policy implementation is not a neat, logically ordered flow, as a rational set of procedures, which move rationally and systematically from formulation to implementation of programmes. At each stage of policy implementation, there is an interaction between actors in the development process, e.g. the beneficiaries of the programme, the practitioners, etc. All of them contribute in the transformation of policy as it gets implemented (Wedel et al. 2005: 29).

In contrast, as much as policy implementation is not linear, it may also be considered as a learning opportunity. Ayee (1994) says implementation failure should be interpreted

as a journey towards realizing the success of implementation. That is, by taking advantage of implementation as a learning process that is concerned with exploring and hypothesis testing (Ayee 1994: 2- 3). According to Stewart (1996), policy is adopted and transformed throughout the experience of implementation (Stewart 1996: 35).

Otherwise, policy is more likely to experience continuous challenges if it is not adapted to the reality of situations as they emerge. As a result, the ups and downs of implementation should be used as building blocks for developing turnaround strategies. Lessons learned must not be perceived negatively; they are opportunities to conduct planning that is informed by the previous experiences of failure.

Therefore, these situations reflect that, even in cases where there have been adequately planned interventions, some predicaments still come up during implementation and inhibit chances of fulfilling the intended outcomes. This indicates that project managers and policy practitioners need to anticipate these kinds of predicaments and plan around them accordingly. So it is necessary to prepare some measures to counter-act them as a part of implementation.

2.3.3 Policy implementation challenges

a) Problems in the interaction between the technical factors and the social factors

Before the era of the late 1980s, it was a common phenomenon that development practitioners would design strategies around technical factors, rather than social factors. That is, the designing of development policies had the tendency of being biased towards engaging people who have technical skills, while under-emphasizing the people (social actors), i.e. the people who are affected by interventions. This approach demonstrates a control orientated procedure, which is a top down-orientated method. However, it might be a useful exercise to think about how to integrate a method that engages people with technical skills, while involving consultations with the people. The opposite of a top down-orientated approach is a people- empowering procedure. Its

aim is to empower people who are peripheral and subordinate (Chambers 2005: 66, Tosun 1999: 622).

However, the challenge for the developers is to know which situations require the use of a particular approach, as it may become contradictory to utilize both of them simultaneously (see the advantage(s) and disadvantages of each of these approaches, below). Bryld (2000: 701) comments that it is important to know where to put emphasis, whether on the political sphere (social actors) i.e. embracing principles like participation and accountability; or on the technical sphere, i.e. encouraging the use of effectiveness and efficiency in development practice.

Advantages and disadvantages of control-orientated procedures: With regards to control-orientated procedures, as much as this approach sounds unpleasant, its advantage is that it creates more chances of speeding up implementation. This is because it involves less people that need to be consulted. The weakness of a consultative approach is that it delays business processes as it involves some administrative procedures in order to bring people together as a means of working on projects.

However, the disadvantage of this approach is that the affected ordinary people might decide to resist participating in it, because they consider it to be non-consultative. In situations whereby the ordinary people are the key stakeholders, interventions are at the risk of standing still, as they cannot go on without people's participation.

Advantages and disadvantages of the people-empowering procedures: The people-empowering procedure sounds like a fair approach to adopt, but it has its own advantages and disadvantages. This approach may be viewed as being morally correct, as it follows the necessary steps of conducting consultations with the people along every step on the way. One of the advantages of this approach is that it encourages the principles of good governance by the developers (Bryld 2000: 701). The concept of good governance characterizes development practices that are transparent,

participatory, and accountable. Leviste (2004: 37) concurs by pointing out that “people-initiated programs and policies” play an important role because they assist in addressing social issues in a manner that is effective.

In addition, the concept of people-empowering procedures is determined by people’s participation in development interventions that affect them. Embracing participation by the people is what actually makes governance to become (in the eyes of Leviste 2004: 38) “a shared undertaking” between different stakeholders. Namely: government officers at the national and local level, civic society organizations, private organizations, and community members.

However, people’s participation in practice has its own disadvantages and challenges. To mention a few: firstly, the engagement of community participation in practice is an expensive exercise. This is because the process of mobilizing people requires resources like money, time, and the capacity human resources (e.g. with knowledge, skills, etc.), as it is necessary to have people as resources for organizing and sustaining participation (Tosun 1999: 624). Secondly, sometimes there is also the challenge of a negative attitude of professionals (technocrats), against the concept of people’s participation. In certain areas of expertise, like development planning, professionals promote the idea that political issues should not be involved in an area of expertise. In other words such an area of expertise should remain a “politically neutral exercise” in nature. Therefore their argument is that engaging people's participation will politicize the process, and the outcome would be a deviation from the “professional base” of an area of expertise (Tosun 1999: 622). Therefore, people's participation is a valuable idea but it has its own weaknesses when it comes to putting it into practice.

b) Poor performance by the implementing officer

One of the challenges that further contribute to derailing policy implementation is poor performance by the implementing officers. This situation is often characterized by the non-execution or inadequate execution of the activities of interventions, and it is

common in public institutions. This is promoted by the fact that, in most cases, civil servants are rarely summoned by their superiors to account for poor performance (Rew et al. 2006: 45). A reflection of this situation is the continuing rise of social unrest in communities, due to poor service delivery by government departments and local municipalities. In most cases, the business processes of government institutions are unlike those of NGOs or the private sector. In government, there is a high level of toleration of poor performing staff members. There are even instances whereby poor performing employees are simply transferred to go and work in other government departments or units, instead of being released from their duties. This act is contrary to the norm in NGOs and the private sector, whereby a mediocre performance of employees is regarded as unacceptable, and hence poor performing employees are released from their duties. This is because, in order to survive financially, these institutions depend on their clients (the private sector) and donor funds (in the case of NGOs). That is why excellent performance is significant for them to survive in business.

Public policies play an important role when it comes to executing development interventions. They are the means of providing guidance on implementation. Their effectiveness depends on them being transformed into action plans. With regard to the case study of the Amathole District Municipality, the focus is on policies of cooperative projects. Some activities need to take place in order for these policies to be transformed into implementation. However, even in the presence of action plans, some unforeseen challenges develop as implementation is taking place. That is why it is necessary for policy practitioners and project managers to anticipate these predicaments, and therefore adopt proactive measures to deal with them.

2.4 DISCOURSE AND DEVELOPMENT

The concept of discourse refers to ways of speaking and thinking, which include written language (though there are many discourses within written languages) and other communicative media, and it marginalizes other possible ways of thinking. Various discourses are linked with specific fields e.g. the discourse of development, policy,

physical science, donors, etc. The discourse of development has been studied and analyzed by anthropologists. They have done so particularly in relation to how the discourse of development is utilized or presented between the developers and developpees. The general argument about discourse is that it originates from the Western countries and that Western ways of thinking and viewing the world are seen as superior. It is imposed on third world countries as they are the recipients of development (Rapport and Overing 2000: 117, Sutton 1999: 6).

Friedman argues that development is imposed on the third world by the powerful western institutions, e.g. the World Bank. She says because of their powerful positions these institutions have the ability to shape perceptions of third world people, and limit their ways of thinking about the world, and imagining things. As a result, discourse sometimes leads into the perpetuation and expansion of global inequalities and disqualification of non-western knowledge systems (Friedman 2006: 24,599). Generally the discourse of development is characterized by the absence of views and ideas of the target people. Hobart (1993) says the knowledge of the people that are being developed is basically getting ignored, hidden and treated as obstacles to rational progress towards development. These people must first be presented as underdeveloped and ignorant. On the other hand the wealthy would be presented as being developed and possessing the knowledge that is required to develop them (Hobart 1993: 2).

Ferguson (1990) adds (regarding Lesotho's Thaba-Tseka development project), that the World Bank report/policy discourse represented the country of Lesotho as a traditional subsistence society that had been untouched by the modern economic development, therefore agricultural development projects and infrastructure should be introduced. Interestingly, the report chose to be silent about Lesotho's politics, i.e. the fact that the ruling government was unpopular and unelected. The silence went together with presenting the proposed development initiative as being relevant to Lesotho's problems and free from politics, i.e. de-politicizing the situation (see further elaboration below). This approach (according to Ferguson) is typical of development discourse, because Lesotho was presented (by the planners of the Thaba-Tseka project) as a peasant

society, while the significance of this agricultural project was exaggerated. Lesotho was defined as an isolated country, i.e. Lesotho (it) had no significant contact with the money economy and the “modern world of the market”, it had difficult transportation systems, and it experienced economic isolation. However, political tensions have their ways of keeping on coming up, as the Thaba-Tseka project was clouded by people’s dissatisfaction about this development project (Ferguson 1990: 34, 68, 82, 84). In short, discourse could be used as a tool for persuading the affected parties to uphold the idea of the proposed development initiative, while de-politicizing issues about politics around Aid projects.

Thus, Ferguson’s analysis uncovers the fact that the representation of problems, by developers, that ought to be solved by interventions, could sometimes be exaggerated. The result is that interventions end up not necessarily providing solutions to problems that are experienced by the intended beneficiaries. Instead solutions address problems that are imagined by developers. Hence problems escalate and policy implementation becomes inhibited.

Further, the external development agencies pursue their interests by ensuring that policy discourse works for them. In order for policy to function, it must embrace all the affected actors of different categories. To entice their participation, policy discourse must generate mobilizing metaphors, i.e. to use appealing/uniting terms like participation, social capital, community, etc. (Apthorpe 1997: 53; Mosse 2004: 663; Mosse 2005: 5; Shore and Wright 1997: 8). Embracing this approach consequently, results in participation by the desired stakeholders. Eventually, the moral image of public participation is fulfilled, if that is the intended goal of developers. Thus, the idea of participation becomes beneficial mostly to the external development agencies (as it is intended at prioritizing the agencies’ interests) and less to those in underdeveloped countries.

In addition, the underdeveloped countries are not always the victims of discourse. There are instances whereby they also take advantage of the discourse in order to take care

of their interests. For example (according to Avegerous 2003), the discourse of technology, particularly ICT, as the cause of human development. The argument here is that technological innovation results in improvement of human capabilities. If citizens of a particular underdeveloped country engage themselves in activities that are associated with the discourse (technological innovation in this instance), the outcomes become a positive improvement in their lives. Assuming that they would participate in the discourse they believe that it would bring about the desired outcomes to them. The desired outcome, for instance, could be more knowledge and/or creativity, higher chances of participating in a community's economic, political, social life, etc.(Avegerous 2003: 4,5).

This section has provided a presentation of the concept of discourse. It appears that this concept has been utilized, by the Western countries, as a means of exploiting the underdeveloped countries, by imposing development initiatives upon them. The consequence of this situation has been the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries in the disguise of developing them. On the other hand, the discourse that goes with development interventions has also been valuable to underdeveloped countries. That is, in instances whereby countries' citizens exploit opportunities that go together with interventions, in order to make positive changes in their lives.

2.5 DE-POLITICIZATION

The concept de-politicization may be seen to form part of development practice and policy discourse. Development agencies (according to Wilson) have the tendency of presenting their interventions as being free from politics. They adopt this approach by presenting their interventions as being based on neutral expertise; in doing so, they are claiming that development is happening as a de-politicization process (Wilson 2006: 503-504).

By contrast, various scholars agree that development interventions are political acts in nature, because they involve making decisions "on how to allocate resources, where

there are winners and losers". Choices have to be made, exclusions of others must take place, and world views are imposed (Escobar 1992: 140, Cernea 1994: 6, Mosse 2002:16).

Some development agencies may not necessarily be ignorant of the fact that development is a political phenomenon. In other words, they have awareness that development is also a politicized sphere. Hence some development agencies make preparatory measures for dealing with potential political challenges that could arise during the process of engaging in development activities.

Dill (2009) supports this view and discusses the issue of a community participatory approach. He says the idea of a participatory approach is attractive, but it has its own critiques. The community participatory approach seems to be romanticizing the concept of community participation. That is, rural communities are presented as being internally cohesive, harmonious and free from conflict. Therefore the perspective of Dill raises the idea that community participation as a concept may sometimes be depoliticized. This is because the romanticization of this concept takes place (for example) while the motivation for residents to join a particular project could be driven by their individualistic interests. It is these interests that create conflicts among them as they participate on project activities (Dill 2009: 719). Thus the presentation of communities as harmonious is not always true.

Therefore, despite the presentation of a positive account about development interventions, some political conflicts do come up during implementation. Perhaps it does not help to run away from the fact that development is a political phenomenon by its nature. This fact is relevant to project implementation failure.

2.6 INTERVENTIONS ARE SPHERES OF CONFLICT AMONG VARIOUS ACTORS

Development interventions are arenas where battles are fought out (Long 2001: 32) amongst different actors who participate in development activities. These actors could be donors, the intended beneficiaries, government and citizens, government officers and their constituencies, staff members of development projects, and so on (Ayee 1994: 2). The eruption of such battles may be attributed to a conflict of perceptions amongst the actors, over a diversity of issues. Examples of such issues may be concerned with organizational goals, resource allocation, administrative competencies, etc. (Long 2001: 32).

Sometimes this conflict of perceptions could be elicited by individualistic interests. For example (according to different scholars like De Wuit and Berner 2009: 937, Dill 2009: 719, Olivier de Sardan 2005:185) the involvement of individual actors in interventions could be the means of gaining access to projects' funds; one may be interested in increasing a network of social contacts, etc. According to Ayee, development interventions make up a space whereby individuals and groups get an opportunity to pursue their conflicting interests, while they compete with and for scarce resources of organizations. Consequently, there are many possibilities for disagreements and delays during the execution of activities relating to interventions (Ayee 1994: 2-3, 206).

De Wuit and Berner (2009) have an input on this matter. They discuss a development project that took place in the South Indian metropolis of Bangalore. It took place between 1993 and 1999. It was called the Bangalore Urban Poverty Alleviation Programme (BUPP). The goal of BUPP was to address causes of urban poverty while empowering people to tackle the problem (of urban poverty) themselves. The initiative of BUPP was successful because it was able to achieve its goals and objectives. However, its weakness was that there were conflicts between actors in the project, which were related to the fact that individuals were driven by self-interest. For example, some actors were using the project as a means of gaining access to the project's office

funds, while others were interested in gaining access to government's services through securing land, and other resources. Therefore all these tensions among participants in the project inhibited the achieving of its objectives (De Wuit and Berner 2009: 937).

This is another analysis that helps us to understand why things go wrong in development projects. It shows cases of how conflict can help us understand factors that inhibit policy from being implemented as planned.

2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided the presentation of the theoretical framework as the foundation for the rest of this study. The points that were analyzed include development planning and practice, public policy and development, discourse and development, de-politicization and development, and development interventions as a point of conflict among actors. This analysis helps to understand why well documented policies do not translate into successful projects on the ground.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is on the strategies that were embraced as a means of achieving the research goals and objectives. In other words, the discussion is concerned with the research methodology aspects of the study. The structure of the chapter is presented as follows: research design, study population and sampling, data collection methods, data analysis, the significance of the study, limitations of the study, ethical considerations, and the conclusion.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

A qualitative research approach was used in this study. Qualitative research is an approach that has the intention of assisting researchers to understand people, their social and cultural contexts within the sphere where they live. It also allows researchers to describe participants in great detail, while its data collection process takes place in participants' setting. A qualitative research approach is characterized by the fact that it provides data about the human side of issues. That is, individuals' often contradictory behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships, etc. (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 271). This research approach was preferred in this study because it enabled the researcher to provide a detailed description of research participants in Amathole District Municipality and the environment where they operate. It also enabled the conducting of participant observation in the municipality, and it was an effective method for getting responses on research goals (see the section on data collection methods).

3.3 STUDY POPULATION AND SAMPLING

3.3.1 Study population

The term 'population' refers to a group, usually of people, about whom researchers need to draw conclusions, for example, a population of voters (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 100). In this study the population of interest was the municipality offices, cooperative projects, municipality officers, and members of cooperative projects.

3.3.2 Sampling method

The type of sampling that was used was purposive sampling. A purposive sample engages the selecting of respondents for specific reasons, e.g. on the basis of age, working experience, culture, etc. This sample is selected based on the researcher's knowledge of the study population, its elements, and the nature of the research aims (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 166). Purposive sampling was preferred in this study because it allowed the selection of a sample based on my specific reasons for conducting the study. Out to the population of municipalities, Amathole District Municipality was selected as the sample municipality. The ADM was appropriate because I was looking for an institution that coordinates cooperative projects. Subsequently there were 8 ADM officers who participated in the study through being interviewed. The details about these participants are indicated in Figure 3 below.

In terms of the geographical location (at the time of conducting the fieldwork) this municipality was located in East London, in Amathole region, in the Eastern Cape Province. However, at the time of writing this research report the, ADM was/were relocated into other premises in Chiselhurst (still in East London). Permission for conducting research in the ADM offices was granted by the municipality manager. And then, a three week pilot fieldwork was done in order to test the research concept.

With regard to the population of cooperative projects in Amathole region, there was a selection of the project that was based in Alice. It was one of the projects that were supported by the ADM. It was identified from the list of projects that were documented in the booklet about cooperative projects that were receiving support from the ADM. The name of this project was Siyagaya Makhosikazi Cooperative. It was located in Alice at Nkonkobe Local Municipality (one of the local municipalities of Amathole District Municipality). One of the members of the project was approached as a means of requesting permission for conducting the study. Subsequently 3 project members participated in the study. The sample was constituted by 1 project manager and 2 ordinary members of the project. The details about these participants are indicated in Figure 3 below.

Moreover, a part of the selected sample was also constituted by the 5 cooperative projects that were observed in Butterworth. The observation of the projects took place within the one-day visit with the development officer of the ADM. The timeframe that was spent on each project was approximately 45 minutes to one hour. The sample of projects in Butterworth was selected based on the fact that the development officer was visiting them at that time. Therefore I took advantage of that opportunity.

Figure 3: Profile of the participants

Job positions	Gender	Organization	Total
Councillor / HOD	Male	ADM office	1
Senior manager	Male	ADM office	1
Sector managers	Females	ADM office	2
Sector manager	Males	ADM office	2
Development officer	Female	ADM office	1
Administrative officer	Female	ADM office	1
Project manager	Female	Siyagaya Makhosikazi Cooperative	1
Ordinary members	Females	Siyagaya Makhosikazi Cooperative	2
Total			11

3.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

3.4.1 Ethnographic research

Ethnographic research refers to the direct observation of the behavior of a particular society. It is aimed at gaining an understanding of another way of life from the insiders' point of view. This helps the researcher in adopting the perspectives of the people in the situation being studied. Its data is/are gathered in a natural context of occurrences among actors who participate naturally in the interaction (Babbie and Mouton: 2001: 279; Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1996: 282; Denzin and Lincoln 1998: 81, 101; Fetterman 1998). An ethnographic research project is characterized by participant observation(s) and unstructured interviews. Thus participant observations and unstructured interviews were conducted in the ADM office as a part of the ethnographic research. Ethnographic research was preferred in this study because it allowed the observation of participants over a lengthy period of time (i.e. for approximately six months) and it was an effective method for collecting data, as indicated through the next sections on participant observation(s) and unstructured interviews.

3.4.2 Participant observation

With regard(s) to participant observation, the researcher has to gain some form of membership to a particular group she/he plans to study as a means of being able to collect data. In other words, during the beginning phase the researcher has the responsibility of requesting permission from respondents before he/she proceeds with the study (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1996: 282).

In the context of the ADM, participant observation was conducted over a period of approximately 6 months, from the beginning of August 2010 until the end of February 2011. It involved my ongoing participation in meetings and the workshop of the municipality. It also involved accompanying the development officer when she

conducted site visits to cooperative projects in Butterworth. The interviews were conducted inside the car, while visiting projects in Butterworth.

3.4.3 Face-to-face and unstructured interviews

The study involved using interviews as a data collection tool. An interview is a method of collecting data, which involves an interviewer asking questions to the respondent/s. It may be carried out either face-to-face or by telephone (Whiting 2008). For the aims of this study, face-to-face interviews were used. I had to set up appointments as the means of visiting the respondents in their offices in the ADM and in their projects.

An unstructured interview is a type of interview that works similarly to a casual conversation but it is not as random as a casual conversation, since it is much more directed. The conversation is guided by the researcher in order to achieve the purpose of research questions. The unstructured interviews in the study involved having conversations with the officers of the ADM in their offices, while attending the LED meetings and the workshop, and during the periods of accompanying the development officer as she would be visiting the cooperative projects. Subsequently, field-notes would be written as soon as possible, based on ideas that developed from the interviews.

3.4.4 A case study

A case study is an intensive investigation of a single social unit. It may involve studying an individual person, a family, a community, a project etc. (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 281). This research used a case study of Amathole District Municipality in East London, and a case study of the cooperative project in Alice. As indicated, this municipality was preferred because it was responsible for policy implementation on cooperative projects in the Amathole region.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

The term data analysis refers to the process of breaking up data into manageable themes, constructs, relationships, trends, and patterns. It also implies bringing order to the data that has been collected, by organizing scattered pieces of data into categories and basic descriptive units. It involves providing detailed characteristics of the context, stakeholders, organizations, programme events or interventions that were conducted by the organization (Mouton 2006: 108).

The study made use of coding as a tool for analyzing data. The concept of coding refers to the process of taking segments of a text and labels them according to meaningful categories (codes) (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 499). For the purpose of this study, field-notes were produced and then themes were developed; for example taking ideas that are similar in nature and categorize them into a particular theme.

3.6 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is aimed at making a contribution to knowledge creation on the topic of understanding the policy-planning-implementation disjuncture. The theoretical perspectives that have been employed in the study have helped in understanding why well documented policies do not always translate into successful projects on the ground.

3.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The data collection did not take place sufficiently as anticipated. The closing of the office for cooperative projects and small enterprise development (to be discussed in details in Chapter 5 - Challenges in Policy Implementation) was a significant predicament in this study. It resulted in moments of having no key research participant, since the officer who was working in this office resigned and there was no substitute appointed for her position. Therefore the study experienced moments of waiting for the

substitute, without conducting data collection from the key respondent. Eventually, alternative respondents were identified and engaged later on in the study.

In addition, it was not easy to find the officers (research participants) to participate in the study. This was due to the fact that they were working in the busy environment of the municipality offices. Therefore as the researcher, I had to exercise patience and persistence as a means of requesting the officers to participate in the interview sessions. This approach was useful in terms of getting sufficient data for the research project.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As much as pursuing research objectives is significant, the wellbeing of research participants also needs to be prioritized. That is why it is necessary for researchers to ensure that they adhere to the necessary ethical procedures of research. For instance, maintaining confidentiality of participants' information, to obtain informed consent from participants before participating in the study, and so on (Whiting 2008:39).

A variety of ethical issues were considered in this study, so that some appropriate ways of responding and coping were used as circumstances surfaced. These include: concern with invading the space of the ADM officials, the fear of being caught in the middle of tensions between cooperatives' members and the municipality.

3.8.1 Concern with invading the space of the ADM officials

This involved making appointments with the officers before I came to them. During the day of the interview sessions, I would report at the reception, advising the receptionists that I have an appointment with a particular officer. The receptionists would inform the officer that he/she has a visitor waiting at the reception area. And then when the officer was ready, he/she would call me so that the interview could take place inside her/his office.

In addition, I had to follow the normal course of events in the municipality. This involved accompanying a particular officer when he/she went to a particular event that seemed to be appropriate and valuable in the study: namely, joining the development officer when she was visiting the cooperative projects in Butterworth; joining the LED research officer when he went to the municipality workshop in East London. Lastly, on a continuous basis, I became a part of the group of officers who were attending the LED cluster meetings in the municipality.

3.8.2 Fear of being caught in the middle of tensions

Fortunately, there were no cases of tensions that actually erupted between the cooperatives' members and the municipality officers. Despite that, some members of cooperative projects expressed dissatisfaction about the way the municipality officers were operating, i.e. some of the projects' members were expressing concern that the municipality's officers were not providing sufficient support to them, in terms of developing their projects (see the details in Chapters 5 to 7).

Moreover, some ethical considerations that were adopted in this study are indicated as follows: the purpose of the study was explained to the ADM's officials and projects' members. An informed consent (verbal consent) was ensured before respondents participated in the study. The principle of confidentiality was maintained on the information that was provided by the participants. And then there was no disruption of the daily duties of participants. In terms of maintaining the confidentiality of information that was provided by participants: the names of the participants are not disclosed in the research report. It is only their ideas that are discussed. Consequently, it would not be easy to associate an idea with a particular research participant.

3.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter was concerned with providing the research methodology aspect of the study. The study made use of the qualitative research design, while the unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation were used as a means of data collection. The sample consisted of 11 respondents, which was categorized into 8 ADM officers and 3 project members.

CHAPTER 4: ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the discussion on organizational social structure (organizational structure). The discussion takes place in conjunction with the ethnography of the Amathole District Municipality. The chapter is organized into 3 main sections, namely: i) theoretical background on organizational social structure, ii) the organizational social structure in ADM, and iii) challenges of the organizational structure in the ADM.

4.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND ON ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Before we define organizational social structure, it is necessary to start by defining social structure. Hays (1994) defines social structures as constraints or limits that govern human beings, while they also enable them. One example of a social structure is gender stratification, i.e. men and women find themselves being constrained or limited, in terms of how they should act, as they ought to act in certain ways. Gender roles are examples to mention, e.g. in households. Men are expected to do certain categories of duties, which are different from the ones of women, e.g. women must do domestic tasks, like cooking, nurturing children, etc. In contrast, men (for example) are expected to be breadwinners, heads of households, etc. Therefore, these gender stratifications tend to be constraints or limitations to human freedom. On the other hand, social structures give human beings a sense of identity and a secure position in life, like defining men as husbands, fathers, etc., while women would be defined as wives, mothers, etc. (1994: 61). Another example of a social structure could be a family, as it may be defined in terms of a system of relationships that links individuals according to social positions, e.g. a husband, a wife, children, etc. (Porpora 1989).

An organizational social structure, on the other hand, refers to relationships among social elements in an organization, and relationships between relationships. These

include people, positions, and the organizational units they belong to, e.g. departments, divisions, units, and so on (Hatch 1997: 161, Singh 1980). The use of an organizational structure is aimed at finding the best and the most practical method of achieving the goals of the organization. That is, by arranging people, positions, work units, etc. in order to create an organizational structure that is suitable for a particular organization. The main features of an organizational structure include a hierarchy of authority, the division of labour, and the formal rules and procedures (Hatch 2006: 102). These features (according to Singh 1980) may change as time goes on, but the change depends on whether the activities of an organization are increasing or decreasing. For instance, a certain organization might develop more features as its activities are increasing. In most cases this change is more likely to be executed by the diversity of individuals in an organization, that is, the representatives of different interest groups. It also depends on the size of an organization if it requires diverse representatives, for instance, a large organization has greater chances of including more representatives in comparison to a smaller one. The discussion now carries on to the main features of an organizational structure.

4.2.1 The hierarchy of authority

Hatch defines the hierarchy of authority as the distribution of authority among certain positions in an organization. By having authority, a position holder is granted certain rights, e.g. if one is a manager she/he has the right to delegate duties to other employees, to punish or reward subordinates, and so on. These rights are called positional powers since they belong to the position, and not to the holder, of the position (1997: 164). These positional powers usually exist in consensus with centralized authority. That is, a system whereby a few men or women have privileged access to power, prestige, and wealth within an organization. As a result, such people are in control of strategic resources such as land, water, as well as other means of production (Lewellen 1983: 28). Therefore, a centralized authority has a potentially positive role to play in the organization. It promotes a sense of accountability regarding the daily operations of the organization and the management of its resources. However, its

disadvantage is that it might be interpreted as the opening of a gap for the perpetuation of inequality among members of the same organization. The existence of centralized authority could sometimes create the impression that position holders who have authority are more important than those who do not have it; although authority does not necessarily imply inequality.

The hierarchy of authority is in contrast with the un-centralized system of governance. The example of the un-centralized system is that of tribes and bands. The tribes and bands recognized the prestige of individual members of the community for their special qualities and abilities, e.g. being a good hunter, a skilled dancer, and so on. But those individuals would only get the respect of their fellows on condition that they were generous, i.e. they must have the willingness to share what they have with the other people around them. This principle was applicable even to the leaders who had accumulated more resources (e.g. food, property, and so on); they had the responsibility of sharing what they had with other members of the village. Consequently this system resulted in an absence of social classes which are based on unequal possession of resources (Lewellen 1983: 22). Therefore the un-centralized system has positive aspects that could be utilized by organizations of contemporary society; it promotes the idea of fairness of access to the resources of organizations.

4.2.2 The division of labour

The term division of labour refers to the manner in which work activities get divided and then assigned to different members of the organization (members). It is also about the way in which jobs are grouped together into organized units, such as departments (e.g. marketing department, production, etc.), and divisions (consumer products, international sales, etc.). Each of the members of an organization has an exclusive domain of activities. For instance, one may become a hunter, a fisherman, a shepherd, and so on (Hatch 1997: 165, Hatch 2006: 103, Parker et al. 2003: 144, Gibbs 2003: 106). Thus this system (the division of labour) is a valuable way of working in the modern-day complex organizations because it enables the organization's departments/divisions to

complement each other in their production processes. It also results in the creation of specialized skills among individual employees. In this way, employees develop in terms of expertise, while the organization gets a superior quality of services and products.

Moreover, the division of labour is unlike the traditional systems of production in small societies. For instance the bands were small groups of about 25 to 150 individuals. These people were grouped according to nuclear families. They had their form of a division of labour, which was organized in terms of age and sex. But it was not involving any specialized skills, so their unity was enhanced by customs, traditions, and common values and symbols (Lewellen 1983: 18, Gibbs 2003: 108). However, the division of labour of the bands does not seem to be adequate to organize the complexities of contemporary organizations, as the former is depended on age and sex. The appropriate qualities in this contemporary era go beyond age and sex. Perhaps a diversity of qualities relating to division of labour should be embraced in order to contribute effectively into achieving organizations' goals and objectives. For instance, one's work experience, skills, knowledge, the ability to adapt to a particular organizational culture, and so on.

4.2.3 Rules and procedures

Rules and procedures are the means of coordinating organizations' employees, various departments or divisions, and different levels of authority, in order to achieve the goals of organizations. The role of rules and procedures (according to Hatch) is to assist such coordination by specifying how decisions should be made and how work processes should be conducted (Hatch 1997: 166; Dawson 1996: 112). The rules and procedures are generally written down in organizations' policy documents, e.g. in job descriptions, operation manuals, management systems, standard operating procedures, etc. (Hatch 2006: 104). The fact that they are written down results in organizations being organized according to formalized systems of rules and procedures. The advantage of a formalized method of working is that it increases the management's sense of control over its employees (Hatch 2006: 105) and employees' sense of their rights.

Therefore, the written down rules and procedures have a significant role to play in organizations, especially in complex ones. They do not only increase the management's control over employees, they also exist in order to protect the interests of both parties. For instance, in times of conflict between a manager and an employee, policy documents could be used as a means of providing guidance in solving the conflict.

Having rules and procedures might sometimes be inadequate as a tool for problem solving in contemporary complex organizations. During recent decades, organizations find themselves operating in environments that are more and more complex. For instance, the environments of private companies tend to be characterised by diverse forces, namely, consumers or buyers, competitors, supply companies, government as an imposer of rules on private companies, employees' interest groups, etc. These diverse forces impose their demands on products and production methods of organizations (the private companies) (Koppenjan and Klinjin 2004: 3-4). That is why organizations have to find some means of fulfilling these demands if they want to survive.

Moreover, there are numerous challenges that are experienced by organizations. Koppenjan and Klinjin elaborate by saying that the business sector, government, and civil society are faced with controversies about complex societal problems, e.g. problems may arise due to issues like restructuring public sector services (e.g. health care), the location of airports, etc. (2004: 3-4). Hence it becomes vital to engage other approaches in order to maximise chances of problem solving by organizations.

Amongst the approaches to embrace in problem-solving is the use of organizational networks. The notion of organizational networks implies the collaborative work by organizations in order to provide solutions to particular problems, mainly in instances whereby organizations would not be able to solve the problems on their own (Koppenjan and Klinjin 2004: 3-4). In addressing problem-solving, Hargadon and Bechky talk about collective creativity. They argue that the problems of contemporary

society exist in rapidly changing environments; hence problems need solutions that are a combination of various elements, e.g. integrating different organizations with staff members who have the necessary knowledge, abilities, diverse viewpoints, and making efforts to achieve organizations' goals (Hargadon and Bechky 2006: 484). The utilization of organizational networks increases the opportunities of obtaining these diverse elements, as their formation is derived from different organizations. Thus, using organizational networks is a valuable method of maximising problem-solving regarding complex societal problems.

4.2.4 Conclusion

The approach (organizing employees, departments or divisions into organizational structures, etc.) that has been discussed above is generally used worldwide by many organizations. It is a helpful way of thinking about the manner organizations operate, because we see it every day in organizations that we come across. At the same time one should note that there is no one way of creating an organizational structure. Instead, particular organizations have the challenge of being creative in finding the best approach for them.

Concerning the hierarchy of authority, the position holders that are appointed at the higher levels need to be talented in leadership and in possession of a wide range of managerial skills and work experience. They need to have the capacity to coordinate the complex elements of an organization, an interest in fulfilling clients' needs in order to be able to achieve an organization's goals. Because they are the ones who have access to the strategic resources of an organization, their leadership abilities determine an organization's success or failure. Let us now take a look at the organizational structure of the Amathole District Municipality.

4.3 THE ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN THE ADM

Just like other complex organizations, the ADM has its own organizational structure. Firstly, its hierarchy of authority consists of two spheres; namely, the political and administrative spheres (see the definition of these spheres in section 2.3.1 below). In terms of the hierarchy of authority, the political sphere operates at a higher level than the administrative sphere. This is because the Council as the supreme body in a municipality is made up of members from the political sphere, i.e. the Councillors. Simultaneously, the head of a municipality comes from the political sphere, that is, the Mayor. And then the Heads of Department(s) are also the affiliates of the political sphere, that is, the Councillors.

Secondly, the arrangement of the division of labour is made up of the Council, departments, sectors, and subsectors. In other words, this division of labour comprises of both the political and administrative hierarchy. Thirdly, the ADM has rules and procedures that surface in the form of policy documents, which are used as a guide in coordinating various activities.

4.3.1 Hierarchy of authority: political and administrative spheres

The political sphere: The political sphere is a structure that consists of politicians, which includes the Mayor and Councilors. As politicians, they occupy their positions as representatives of their political parties. In other words, both these position holders are elected members who ought to carry out their duties, not just for the interests of their political parties, but mainly for the public interest. Both the Mayor and Councilors are elected and deployed by their political parties in their positions for a period of five years. The political officers execute mainly the strategic duties of a municipality, like approving policies and by-laws, which are appropriate in their area. They also have the duty to come up with a budget for their municipality on an annual basis, and to make decisions on development plans and services.

(<http://www.etu.org.za/toolbox/docs/localgov/webundrstdlocgov.html>).

Further, the Mayor and Councilors carry out their duties while they are the affiliates of the Municipal Council (the Council). The Council is a committee that exercises the executive and legislative authority of a municipality; it is the ultimate decision maker in a municipality (SALGA 2011: 5). As argued before, among the key duties of the Council is to approve policies and by-laws for its area of operation, through the Mayor and Councilors (<http://www.etu.org.za/toolbox/docs/localgov/webundrstdlocgov.html>).

The most senior official in the municipality is the Mayor, that is, the municipality's political head (SALGA 2011: 38). Below him/her, there are Councillors. The Councillors constitute the Mayoral Committee, i.e. the committee that provides an advisory role to the Mayor. As senior officers in the municipality, Councillors also play the role of being Portfolio Heads / HODs (Heads of Departments), e.g. the Portfolio Heads of Local Economic Development. A Portfolio Head has the duty to oversee all the activities that are taking place in his/her department. At the lower-level of the reporting line, there are Councillors that work on a part-time basis. They are the only Councillors that do not have offices in the ADM. They work in their communities and then come to report to the senior Councillors (Portfolio Heads).

The administrative sphere: This sphere is characterized by officers who conduct the duties of a municipality, i.e. administrative duties, engineering, etc. (<http://www.paralegaladvice.org.za/docs/chap04/05.html>). The position holder who is at the highest level in the reporting line is the Municipal Manager. The Municipal Manager has the responsibility to employ staff members and coordinate them, as the means of implementing programmes that have been approved by the Council. (<http://www.etu.org.za/toolbox/docs/localgov/webundrstdlocgov.html>). The next level down consists of Directors, e.g. the Director for: Local Economic Development, Engineering, etc. After that there are Senior Managers, e.g. the Senior Manager for: Engineering, Local Economic Development, etc. They also play the role of being Deputy Directors, especially when the Directors are away from work. The next level is made up of Sector Managers; these are the officers that manage various divisions that fall under

a specific department (see the division of labour below). On the next level there are Administrative Officers. They do diverse duties in the municipality, i.e. secretarial duties, acting as assistants to Sector Managers, and so on (see also the two diagrams below, i.e. Figure 1: Political sphere; and Figure 2: Administrative sphere).

4.3.2 Division of labour: the Council, departments, sectors, and subsectors

The Council: The Council is the supreme body that governs the municipality. This body is appointed through elections for a period of five years. The members of a Council get elected by the people into the Council, while they (mostly) are representatives of political parties. The Councillors carry on in their duties for the time-frame of five years. They may go on, as Council members to the next term of service if they have been re-elected (<http://www.paralegaladvice.org.za/docs/chap04/05.html>). When the new Council takes over its five-year-term, it must come up with its IDP (the Integrated Development Plan). This is the strategic plan of the municipality; and it is based on a period of five years. In order to implement the strategic plan, it becomes vital to transform the IDP into action plans, i.e. the objectives or targets that need to be set by Portfolio Heads, and the Directors, together with the relevant officers (e.g. Sector Managers).

The objectives/targets need to be prepared for a specific period of time, i.e. usually for four months. In this manner, the IDP is broken down into small manageable tasks and time frames, while these small tasks and time frames must coherently lead into each other. The document that is used in developing this four-month plan is called the Service Delivery Budget and Implementation Plan (SDBIP) (see the sample of SDBIP in Attachment 3, in the last section (Attachments) of this thesis).

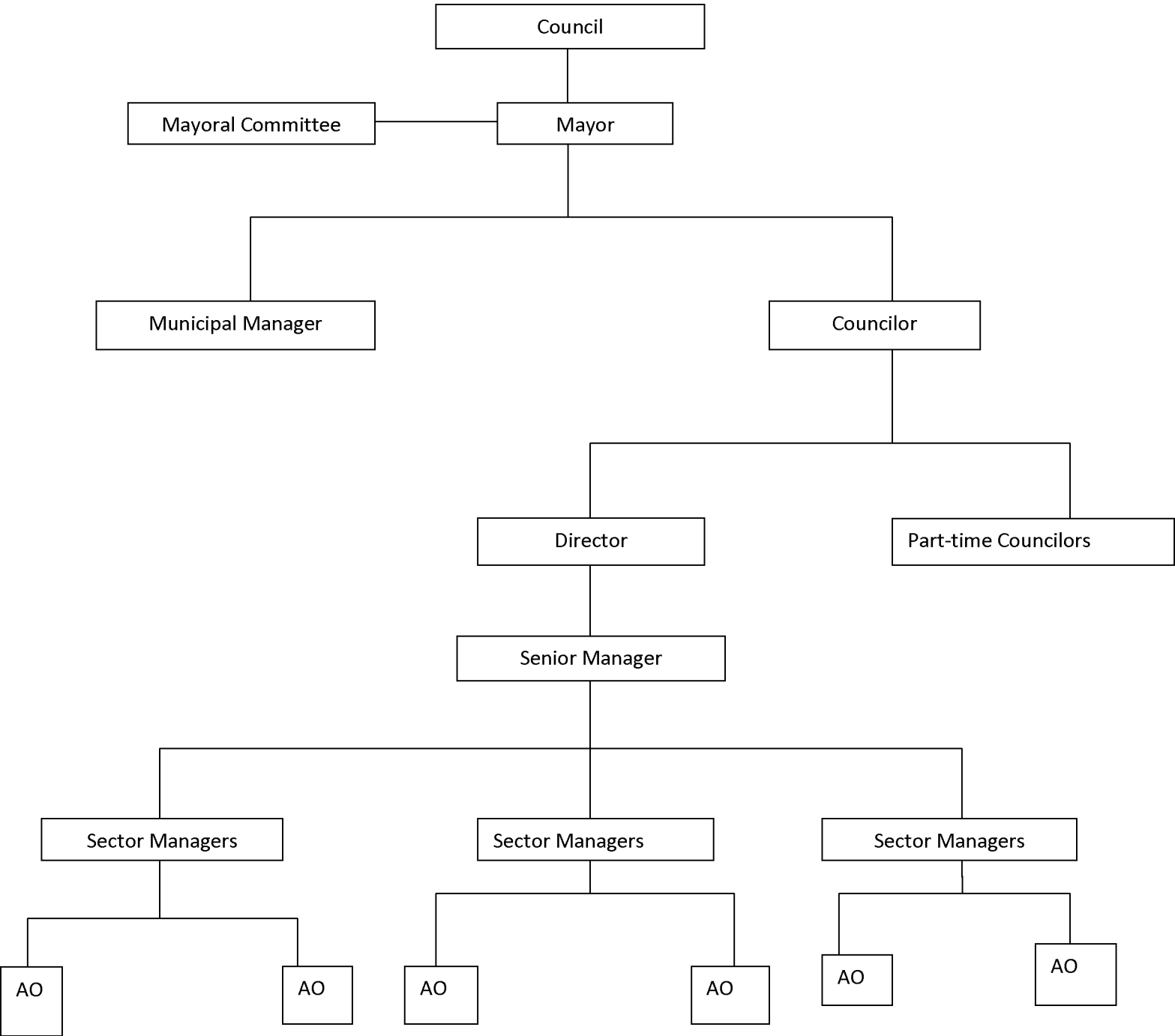
The departments in ADM: The offices of ADM were located in a big building that consists of 14 floors. Each of the floors made up the departments of ADM, e.g. the Municipality Manager's Department; Engineering; Land Human Settlement and Economic Development (LHSED); Administration; and so on. Each of these

departments is divided into portfolios (sub-departments). For instance the LHSED is made up of two portfolios, namely: the Land and Housing portfolio, and then the LED. Each portfolio is divided into sectors. The LED (for example) has its own sectors, i.e. Agriculture, Tourism, SMMEs (small medium and micro enterprises) and Cooperatives, Environment, Heritage, and Economic Research. Each of these sectors has its own manager (a Sector Manager) and it may also have other officers.

Sectors and subsectors: Depending on the size of each sector, some are further divided into subsectors. The SMMEs and Cooperatives sector (for example) has two subsectors, as its name points that out. Namely: the subsectors for small business development and for cooperative projects. At the time of conducting the research (fieldwork), there was a proposal to change the name of the sector SMMEs and Cooperatives to become the Business Enterprise unit. Therefore, these two names are used interchangeably in this study.

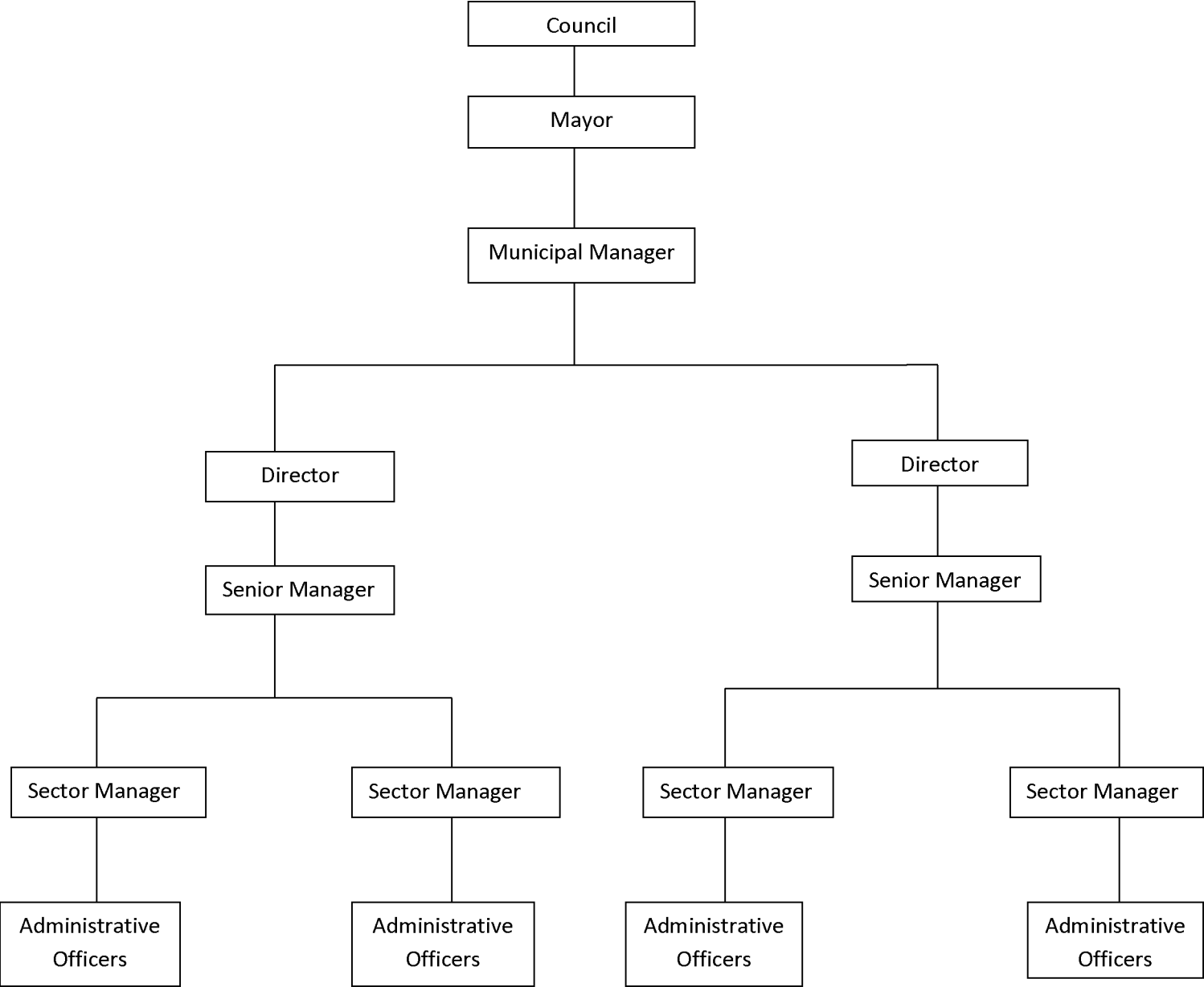
In conclusion: The ADM is a typical example of a complex organization, as it is divided into several departments, sectors, and subsectors. It is also interesting to see that ADM's hierarchy of authority is made up of two spheres. i.e.: the political and the administrative spheres.

Figure 1: Political Sphere



AO: Administrative officers

Figure 2: Administrative Sphere



4.4 CHALLENGES OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE IN THE ADM

4.4.1 The lack/absence of personnel influences the efficient functioning of the organizational structure

The inadequacy or the absence of human resources has a negative impact on the normal functioning of the organizational structure. The way the organizational structure functions is based on the fact that there must be sufficient human resources deployed in different units/departments and in positions that are in different levels of authority (management staff). These human resources are (according to Dawson 1996: 112) allocated tasks they must carry out within their organization. If there is a shortage of human resources in an organization, the services or products that are produced are more likely to become less than the expected quantity and standard. This is because there is a mismatch between inadequate human resources versus the large amount of tasks allocated to them (the point about human resources is also discussed under section 5.4.1. b, coordinating cooperative projects). Now let us take a look at how these issues relate to the case study of ADM.

The ongoing job vacancy: At the end of September 2010 the only officer who was managing the Business Enterprise sector resigned from the municipality. Her resignation occurred while the other officer had resigned in June 2010 (there had been two officers previously - see the next paragraph). After she left the municipality, the unit was closed, for a period of more than six months. Interestingly, the municipality did not employ another person to replace her afterwards. The post remained vacant throughout all this time. Subsequently, the tasks of the Business Enterprise sector were distributed among other officers in other sectors of LED.

As stated before, this problem was made worse by the fact that this office was surviving with only one employee instead of two. Originally, there were two officers that were working in this sector. One was occupying the role of a manager, while the other was the administrative officer. The administrative officer resigned three months before the

next officer (the manager) resigned in September 2010. The closure of the Business Enterprise sector implied that there was no one to do the tasks of the sector. Therefore it became temporarily non-operational. Even before the office became non-operational, its operations were not taking place effectively, since the office was dependent on one person instead of two. The officer who resigned later (in September 2010) used to express the feeling of being overworked by the municipality. For instance, one of her comments was as follows:

“I find this job strenuous because I am doing the jobs of two people at the same time”

The reality of doing the jobs of more than one person at the same time appeared to be spreading to the other offices in the department. As a result, some LED employees expressed the feeling of being overworked. Unfortunately, there was no opportunity to investigate this matter further, since the officers in LED did not have time to participate in my interviews due to working under pressure (as a result of the shortage of staff in the department).

The manifestation of instances of personnel inadequacy and overworked employees:

Firstly, the closure of the Business Enterprise sector resulted in its duties being forwarded to an interim officer. The officer was also the Sector Manager, on a full-time basis, in one of the sectors of LED. Inevitably, she also ended up being overworked by doing two jobs simultaneously. In my conversation with her, I asked about the viability of doing two jobs at the same time. She commented as follows:

“It is not easy to do so; I just have to balance the two jobs”.

Secondly, the absence of a particular senior officer (e.g. the Director, the Deputy Director, and so on), implied that the second (or the third) officer in command has the duty to take over from the officer who is away from the office. The process of taking over would leave the officer in charge with the challenge of having to balance two (or more) jobs at the same time, until the officer who is away comes back. In one instance I

had an opportunity to have a conversation with another senior officer regarding this matter; she expressed her concern as follows:

“I am just not comfortable with signing some document, although it is a means of making the duties of the department to go on, in the absence of the officer who is away! My fear is that once things go wrong, they (officials who are away from work) are the ones who will blame me for taking incorrect steps. At the same time, if I do not sign the documents, the work of the municipality will become delayed! What irritates me more is the fact that doing someone else's job takes away the time that I should have spent on my own work!”

These two cases indicate instances of human resources insufficiency. The functioning of an organization depends on the availability of adequate human resources. In the absence of human resources, or if there are insufficient people to do the duties that are associated with particular roles, the departments/divisions will not be able to function properly. Their (i.e. the departments/divisions) services or products are more likely to decline (in terms of quantity or standard) relative to the demands of clients. This problem defies the goal of efficiently dividing labour, combining work tasks, in order to produce the desired outputs or outcomes (Hatch 2006: 103). According to Singh (1980: 243), in order for an organization to execute its activities, it has to pay attention to its processes of delegating authority, coordinating and controlling its subordinates. However, the insufficiency of human resources results in the minimization of opportunities for an organization to carry out its activities, and consequently to achieve its goals.

4.4.2 The influence of rules and procedures on work performance

One of the characteristics of an organizational structure is the rules and procedures in an organization. The rules and procedures form part of the efforts to coordinate work activities in order to achieve the goals of organizations. For example, most employment contracts have statements that state explicitly that if employees do not perform in terms

of the organization's expected standards, an organization has the right to release them from their duties. Singh (1980: 243) supports this view by suggesting that it is also necessary for organizations to have a system of rewards and punishments as a part of rules and procedures. In the ADM, the exercise of rules and procedures was revealed through the suspension of four Directors because of underperforming in their duties.

The Daily Dispatch newspaper (18 August 2011) disclosed that four managers (Directors) in ADM were suspended, due to underperformance that took place under their leadership in their units. It was pointed out that the Municipal Manager confirmed these suspensions. The Director of the portfolio for LED was one of them. A disciplinary committee meeting was due to take place in the following week, in order to address the grievances that were forwarded to him (the disciplinary committee would set different dates for conducting the hearing of the other three managers).

The suspension of the four managers coincided with the media reports (i.e. Daily Dispatch, 18 August 2011), about the signing of service delivery agreements with 45 mayors by the Eastern Cape MEC of Local Government. The signing of the agreements amounted to the declaration of commitment by the MEC to the national president's (President Jacob Zuma) campaign to improve service delivery at local government level. This campaign was aimed at fighting underperformance in municipalities. It was being embraced in the light of the fact that the Eastern Cape Province has been perceived as being one of the most underperforming and poor provinces in the country (Daily Dispatch, 18 August 2011). The suspension of the four managers could be interpreted as a means of adhering to the campaign of the president. Doing so could be the municipality's means of gaining points from the public that ADM is adhering to the president's campaign.

Furthermore, the suspension of the four managers could be viewed as an approach that makes the problem worse. That is, increasing the staff shortage problem; instead of solving it, as this approach was involving the decrease of human resources.

Therefore, the suspension of four managers in the ADM shows that rules and procedures are tools of exercising the power of some to neutralize the power of others in interdependent relationships (Janoski 2005) (see the next paragraph about the difficult trade-offs between power and efficiency in organisations that have political aspects). The implication here is that, as much as the Directors are occupying high positions in the levels of authority in the ADM, there are also other authorities who have power over them. Such authorities have the right to take away the power (or some of the power) of the Directors if their performance is not up to the expected standards. This is a good practice because many problems could be solved if this approach could be applied consistently to all underperforming individuals in organizations, especially the public sector (as it is dominated by many instances of underperformance). It could send a message that says “you must do your job well or you will be fired!”

In addition to the issue of power, rules and procedures are also the means of working towards achieving efficiency in the performance of organizations. For instance, when it comes to hiring human resources in an organization, the expectation is that there should be some sort of rules and procedures that need to be followed regarding the criteria for appointing a candidate who is suitable to hold a particular position (in the organizational structure).

Simultaneously, rules and procedures are also utilized as a guide when it comes to understanding which types of resources ought to be attached to a particular job position. For instance, police officers need to have firearms, and then there are rules and procedures they need to adhere to while using the firearms. Concerning the development officers who deal with community projects, there is a need for them to have motor vehicles to use while visiting projects. And then they also have to follow some rules and procedures with regard(s) to the use of motor vehicles for the organization.

However, the decisions that are taken by the higher authorities against the underperforming managers sometimes take place while the damage has already been

done (to the beneficiaries of the interventions or to the organizations themselves). In fact they (the decisions) often take too long to be made, to the extent that one may even doubt if the higher authorities exist in organizations! Sadly, with regard to the case of the ADM, it was unclear why particular decisions were taking so long to be implemented. In the ADM, the local people were denied services because the office of the Business Enterprises sector was closed for so long (for more than six months). When the officer in charge resigned, no one was employed afterwards. The higher authorities were aware of the situation, but nothing was done to remedy it. This occurred while the municipality had all the necessary rules and procedures to assist them in the process of appointing new employees for the vacancies. Therefore, this means that utilizing rules and procedures is influenced by the commitment of the higher authorities in organizations. If there is lack of commitment (Ayee 1994: 206, Baun and Tolbert 1985: 366) from them, those rules and procedures will not be applied (even though their application would benefit the interests of many clients).

In conclusion, with regard to ADM's organizational structure, the administrative and the political sphere complement each other in executing the duties of the municipality. The political sphere focuses more on strategic issues (like the integrated development plan) and on overseeing the overall functioning of the municipality. The administrative sphere on the other hand plays the role of doing the municipality's daily duties.

However, one of the challenges that are inherent within a complex organizational structure (like the ADM) is that sometimes it takes a long time to execute the activities of the organization. This is because several senior officers need to be consulted to enable a particular project to get started. The example of delays in getting documents signed is an illustration of this instance, with regards to the organizational structure that is characterized by many levels of authority.

In addition, the manifestation of conflict among participants is inherent in an organizational structure. This point of view is confirmed by several scholars (e.g. Olivier de Sardan 2005), when they argue that development is often characterized by instances

of conflict among role players. Therefore the conflict that manifests within the ADM is an example of this perspective.

4.4.3 Pursuing sectional interests and the exercise of power

One of the characteristics of an organizational structure is the delegation of authority into specialized groups of office-bearers as affiliates of an organization's various sections, units, departments, etc. (Dawson 1996:120). The existence of these specialized groups is part and parcel of dividing work activities according to groups and subgroups (Singh 1980: 243). The formation of divisions takes place based on products, divisions, functions, customers, and so on. Adopting this strategy is aimed at maximizing chances of achieving the goals of an organization. Subsequently, authority is delegated to these specialized groups as subordinate to management in an organization. This approach is embraced as the means of achieving effectiveness in controlling and coordinating subordinates.

However, the approach of forming specialized groups (of officers) has its own disadvantages. Sometimes it results in the pursuit of sectional interests by these specialized groups, and neglects the interests of other people in organizations (Dawson 1996: 120). The ADM has its own experience of such incidences of pursuing sectional interest in the form of political conflicts.

In my conversation with one officer in the ADM, I became aware that initiating development projects in local communities is not always free from political conflicts. He provided an example of this issue via the following story:

A project (a food security project) was initiated in one of the local municipalities of the Amathole region. The project was characterized by the eruption of conflicts among the beneficiaries, instead of them being happy and appreciative of the project. The responsible Sector Manager was unhappy and disappointed by the situation, since time was going on, while the project was not making progress. The conflict resulted in project

implementation being delayed for a period of more than a month. The Sector Manager reported the matter to the Councillor (the Portfolio Head), in order to assist in resolving the problem.

The process of solving this challenge included hosting several meetings with the community members and the affected stakeholders, i.e. the officers from the local municipality, the local Ward Councillor (local Councillor), the local chief, and some educated people from the area. The Councillor from the ADM became the chairperson of these meetings. The meetings indicated two sources of conflicts, which were accompanied by the attempted solutions.

Source of conflict (A): As the meetings were taking place, it appeared that the local Ward Councillor was perpetuating conflicts among community members with regard to the implementation of the project. He was a member of the opposition party. So it seemed as if he was using the project as a means of sabotaging development projects that came through the ruling party. This concern was expressed several times by the majority of participants in the meetings.

Solution: The local Ward Councillor was blamed for instilling conflict among members of the project and the community. Thus he was required to apologize to community members and the ADM officers; he did so as required. He also promised to work together with the local people, the local chief, and the ADM officers in order to maximize the success of project implementation. The conflict was resolved, since there was an agreement that the implementation of the project was to carry on; although there was no assurance that the conflict would not continue later on during the course of implementation.

Source of conflict (B): The ADM Councillor and the development officers did not consult with the relevant people before the initiation of the project in the village. The local Ward Councillor was one of those that were not consulted. Procedurally, at least the local

Councillor and the local chief must be informed before a project is initiated. It is not clear why the necessary consultations did not take place with the appropriate stakeholders.

Solution: The community members requested that the ADM officers (including the Councillor) should apologize to the local Councillor and community stakeholders for failing to do the necessary consultations with them; which they did. Consequently, the problem was resolved.

In these examples, we see the manifestation of the organizational structure of the ADM. Firstly; the officers of the ADM are occupying the higher level of authority. This is because the roles they hold control the necessary resources (e.g. access to funding for projects) that determine the success or failure of many projects at the local level. These officers are the ones who delegate tasks to subordinates at the community level (for example to local Councillors), and sometimes to the officers in the local municipalities. The role of the ADM officers is to supervise the implementation of local projects, while working in conjunction with local municipalities and community leaders.

Secondly, local Councillors are located at the lower level in the hierarchy of authority in the organizational structure of the ADM. They are employed by local municipalities in order to provide their services in designated sections (the wards) of the communities; hence they are known as Ward Councillors (*ooceba*). The idea about *ooceba* is that they would be able to pay attention to the detailed needs of the people in various sections of communities. Once they identify these needs, they must report them to the local municipalities, and also to the district office where there is a need to do so.

The local Councillor is exposed to the challenges that are experienced by community members in his/her ward (as s/he is supposed to be staying in the same area with the people). Because s/he understands people's concerns, therefore s/he is the best representative of people's needs to local government. But unfortunately this idea does not always materialize. This is because local Councillors sometimes tend to focus more on providing services to members of their political parties, friends, etc., and ignore the

needs of community members. In other words, they take care of sectional interests in the community and then turn a blind eye to other people. The outcome of this situation is that (according to Babbie and Mouton 2001: 346 -347) the development intervention does not reach all the intended target population. Instead, certain subgroups within the target population seem to receive the benefits of the intervention more than others; the implication is that there is inequality with regards to receiving the intervention by the beneficiaries. It is thus not fulfilling its goals as intended.

The interaction that has been presented between the district office and the Ward Councillor is a demonstration of the exercise of power. Power (according to Janoski 2005: 35) is the ability of a person to make other people do what s/he wants them to do; it takes place in the context of human relationships. The Ward Councillor is here exercising his power to resist the rules and procedures of the ADM. The breaking of rules is a reflection of efforts to exercise power. The rules and procedures in this context entail the ADM's officers that provide development interventions at the local level, by following certain steps, e.g. making consultations with stakeholders in the local community before interventions get started. The power of the local Councillor is exposed when he hinders the development project (i.e. the food security project), although this may happen in relation to conflicts that take place among community members about the project starting.

On the other hand, the initiation of the food security project by the ADM officers, without consulting with the affected stakeholders, raises certain issues. Part of the ADM's rules and procedures is that consultations must take place before development projects get started. In the case of the project, it is not clear whether this lack of consultation was intentional or not. Because one may argue that bypassing the local Councillor was intentional since he was not a member of the ruling party, therefore the intention would be to undermine him and his political party. Or maybe this situation was a genuine mistake of forgetting to do the necessary consultation. Therefore, if the bypassing of the local Councillor was intentional, it could mean that this was a strategy to sabotage the member of the opposition party, i.e. by denying him information about the work that

related to him. A local Councillor that does not know what is going on in his/her area will definitely look incompetent; members of the community would lose confidence in him (her). In other words, the bypassing of the local Councillor with information is an exercise of power by the ADM officers. It amounts to the control of access to information, i.e. determining who should get it and who should not get it.

To wrap up, this discussion indicates that the organizational structure of the ADM is not free from power struggles amongst the role players. These role players exercise their power as a means of fulfilling the interests of their sectional groups, while ignoring other people in the organization. Ultimately, most of the clients that were intended to receive the organization's services end up not doing so.

4.4.4 Delays in approving projects' activities

One of the weaknesses of the organizational structure in ADM is that sometimes it took a long time to get approval to do certain work activities. For example, one officer had some documents that needed to be signed in order to confirm the approval of funding for a particular project. These documents were meant to be signed by three people, which included the Senior Manager, the Director, and the Finance Manager (the finance department was located on a different floor in the building). So the officer had the challenge of hunting down different authorities in order to get the documents signed. Usually these authorities would not be available because of several commitments they have, e.g. meetings, workshops, being away from office, and so on. Consequently, the signing of documents would be delayed. One officer made the following comment on this matter:

"I am so tired of hunting these people just for their signatures! It is so difficult to get them! They are delaying the starting of this project in the community!"

This is an example of the weaknesses of an organizational structure that is based on formalized rules and procedures. Sometimes the progress of work activities becomes

too dependent on a few authorities. Authorities' signatures that are pending on certain documents could result in the delay in project implementation.

4.5 CONCLUSION

Human resources are among the significant elements in organizational structure, as it is these people who get allocated duties in order to achieve the goals of organizations. In the absence or deficiency of human resources in organizations, work activities that affiliate to particular divisions or departments end up not getting executed. For instance, the closure of the Business Enterprise unit in the ADM left the office with nobody to run it. However, it is unclear why there were staff shortages on an ongoing basis in the ADM. This is another issue that might need further investigation. This challenge of staff shortages results in an organizational structure that becomes unable to function properly; hence the achievement of development initiatives becomes inhibited.

This study has uncovered that sometimes organizations do not implement their rules and procedures properly, in dealing with their office holders at higher levels in the hierarchy of authority. Their failure to act immediately on underperforming managers is an indication of this problem. For instance, the closure of the office for Business Enterprises in the ADM was a sign of underperformance from the management staff. The incident of closing the office occurred in September 2010, and then the suspension of the four Directors took place in August 2011. This means that several signs of underperformance were showing up, but the authorities took about 12 months to act on them. Perhaps there is a need to conduct further investigation on why rules and procedures are not properly followed and implemented in the ADM.

CHAPTER 5: CHALLENGES IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on challenges that are associated with policy implementation. These challenges are explored by looking at the office (the LED office in Amathole District Municipality, East London) that coordinates policy implementation and the project (Siyagaya Coop in Chapter 5) the office oversees as a part of coordinating policy implementation. The argument in this chapter is that most of these challenges are the result of poor coordination capability within the office. To mention a few: inadequate site visits of projects by the implementing officers, poor communication between the office and the beneficiaries of the intervention, the ongoing job vacancies at the office, and so on. The structure of this chapter is organized as follows: the non-neutral nature of the policy world and unclear policy goals, coordinating cooperatives in Amathole district municipality, analyzing issues of project coordination, and the conclusion.

5.2 NON-NEUTRAL NATURE OF THE POLICY WORLD: UNCLEAR POLICY GOALS

5.2.1 The effect of previous policies on current policies

The policy world is not neutral, inasmuch as it has been pre-informed by possibilities and constraints that are associated with previous policies and practices. The constraints of the previous policies may include, for instance, a lack of clarity on policy goals (Ayee 1994: 199), inadequate management systems, insufficiently “thought-through implementation systems” (Rew et al. 2006: 47), and so on. As a result, the intended beneficiaries of policies or the affected (local) stakeholders remain with an unpleasant experience concerning issues that relate to policy issues. Such an experience, for instance, could include confusion about policy’s intentions, being dissatisfied with service delivery that is attributed to policy implementation, etc. It is this experience that makes the intended beneficiaries or the affected stakeholders develop a negative attitude towards government.

I have observed that there are many community members who mistrust or do not have confidence in government's initiatives that are brought to them as a means of alleviating poverty. This perception is attributed to their experiences of having often been previously disappointed by government. Consequently, the cooperation of such people, with regard to new policies or interventions, is more likely to be inhibited by the mistrust or lack of confidence that exists within them, which is based on their disappointments from the past. These kinds of experiences create negative perceptions among beneficiaries or stakeholders, which makes it difficult for new policies or interventions to be accepted. Brynard concurs by pointing out that policy implementation ought to go together with encouraging improvements in service delivery. However, the existence of public service delivery protests reflects the symptoms that indicate the failure of the public sector to provide an acceptable quality of service delivery (Brynard 2009: 7, Vernekohl 2009: 176). Improved service delivery should accompany the implementation of a particular policy, and its absence increases chances for the ordinary members of the public to have a decreased sense of confidence in the public sector's capacity to deliver services to them. Consequently, members of the public end up being demotivated when it comes to participating in the activities of future policy implementation.

These disappointments are expressed in various ways, for instance: a lesser number of community members who participate in development projects (in relation to targets that were stated in policy documents for certain target areas), members who get discouraged and give up easily when things are not going well on projects, an inadequate sense of taking initiative about participating in appropriate activities of development interventions in order to benefit from them, and so on.

The insufficiency of faith in development policies, by the intended beneficiaries and stakeholders, has a negative effect on the success of policy implementation. This is because one of the benchmarks of success of development interventions may be the number of targeted people who participate in the interventions. That is (for example) if the set target is to achieve a stated number of beneficiaries who participate in the

intervention, e.g. achieving 80% of clients who undergo HIV counseling and testing out of the target population. Thus, if the number of participants in the intervention is (in the view of Babbie and Mouton) in consensus with what has been specified in program design, then the intervention is reaching its set targets (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 346).

It is valuable to note that set targets may be simply hypothetical numbers, as in the above instance, though the ultimate developmental goal is to make a positive change on the intended beneficiaries. For example: to decrease risky sexual behaviours among teenagers (by making use of the tool of counseling as it goes with HIV testing), to provide knowledge of teaching mathematics to school teachers, and so on.

This discussion now goes back to the issue of having an increased number of beneficiaries as the intended targets. In situations where the target population does not trust that development agents would deliver the services as promised, they are more likely to participate less in such interventions. So the intervention would not be able to reach the intended target population to its maximum capacity. And then the development policies would not be able to achieve maximum results, since the positive benefit that is brought by the intervention does not reach the full quantity of the target population. Rossi et al. support this review as they talk about implementation evaluation, i.e. evaluating if an intervention is reaching the intended target population. In other words, to evaluate the extent to which participation by the target population is in harmony with the levels as specified in program design (2004: 183, 185). Therefore, if participation by the intended target population is less than intended, the implication is that the intervention is producing mediocre outcomes.

5.2.2 Unclear policy goals

The aim of policies that support development is to improve the conditions of the people. Hence policy formulation has to relate to the needs that are reflected by them as the intended beneficiaries or stakeholders. This implies that policy goals must be

conceptualized and designed in such a way that they address the needs of the intended beneficiaries or/and stakeholders (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 344).

The nature of policies is that their proper functioning depends on collaboration and consultation with different stakeholders. These stakeholders must get together to discuss matters regarding policy goals, objectives, and implementation. The mobilization of stakeholders into teams is often not a straightforward process to follow. This is because stakeholders are generally busy with their own commitments, or they have their own reasons for their unwillingness to participate in the work of policy. Hence policies themselves are also used as a means of mobilizing and maintaining political support. The attracting of participation by the affected stakeholders maximizes chances of a policy's success, since the affected stakeholders would be represented in policy work.

The mobilizing and maintaining of political support requires the use of policy discourse that embraces mobilizing metaphors (as noted in Chapter 1), i.e. the use of appealing and uniting terms like participation, social capital, community, etc. However, these terms have the tendency of being characterized by vagueness, while they also conceal ideological differences (Mosse 2004: 663). This results in the political agendas of policies to often being disguised by a unifying language (Shore and Wright 1997: 8). Therefore, this collaborative, consultative approach and the use of unifying idioms contribute to eliminating differences of perceptions among participants in the policy exercise. It does so by placing participants' differences aside, while encouraging the spirit of working together towards achieving common goals.

However, the use of a mobilizing language in policy work goes with some challenges. One of them is that it results in inadequate identification of clear outcomes, which could be used as a foundation for program implementation and accountability (Jennings 2008: 328, Ayee 1994: 204). This situation means that there is a risk that projects may come to an end without having provided solutions to the predicaments that were supposed to be solved by the intervention. This is because the available resources are used on

inappropriate activities for achieving the intended outcomes. Therefore, implicit policy goals could result in the execution of activities that do not provide solutions to challenges that are experienced by the intended beneficiaries. Hence there are many projects that come to an end, but without making a positive impact on the intended beneficiaries.

This situation relates to inadequate accountability. Sometimes there are project activities that take place but without or with insufficient officers, or procedures, especially if the activities are not taking place as intended. These officers also do not undergo disciplinary measures in cases where they conduct their duties in a manner that is not acceptable. Cernea defines such a situation as a policy vacuum. A policy vacuum refers to situations whereby policies and legal frameworks allow detrimental practices to take place, but without penalties or follow up procedures on officers who need to be held accountable (Cernea 1993: 17). As a result, interventions end up not performing efficiently as they are supposed to. Jennings (2008: 327) supports this view; she says sometimes there is lack of clarity in the manner in which policy is used, both as a concept and in practice. For instance, there are cases where a policy is not adequately grounded within a specific context. As a result, such situations cause a lack of clarity about the intended outcomes, which opens a gap for the surfacing of unintended consequences.

5.2.3 Conclusion

This section has provided a background on the theoretical framework on policy implementation. The theoretical framework has focused on the effect of previous policies on current policies, and issues pertaining to unclear policy goals. The argument here is that (firstly) the policy world has been pre-structured by constraints of the previously established policies. For instance, community members' disappointments due to their negative experiences of previous policies, result in them having mistrust of, or not having confidence in, government's initiatives to bring poverty alleviating efforts to them (Ayee 1994: 199, Rew et al. 2006: 47).

Secondly, policies sometimes are used as tools for mobilizing and maintaining political support (Mosse 2004: 648), with the aim of attracting the participation of key stakeholders. Hence mobilizing metaphors are used in the process. As a result, policies end up concealing ideological differences while they become characterized by vagueness (Mosse 2004: 663) (see section 2.4. in Chapter 2, on Discourse and Development). This situation results in policies having unclear goals.

5.3 COORDINATING COOPERATIVES IN AMATHOLE DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

Through the eyes of the LED officers in ADM, the aim of using cooperatives was to contribute to regional local economic development. Hence they fall under the portfolio for LED in the municipality. Through LED, the purpose is to teach people to graduate from being poor and dependent on government grants and job opportunities. Instead, the aim is to create job opportunities outside government by:

Firstly, by attracting private companies to invest in the district in order to create more job opportunities. This is an alternative to having everyone trying to be employed by government departments and municipalities.

Secondly, to encourage more community members to create their own small businesses. The belief is that once there are more people who are self-employed, job opportunities would arise. Therefore, the campaign for embracing cooperative projects would contribute to regional local economic development, by taking people away from being poor into self-employment (interview with the LED manager, September 2010).

The office of cooperatives at the ADM assists both new and existing cooperatives. The new ones are mainly assisted with funding in order to buy equipment, e.g. fencing material, machinery for working in the gardens, etc. The funding is offered by the municipality in the form of grants. The existing ones are usually provided with opportunities for marketing their products, e.g. sending them to market places where

they can sell their products. For instance the Cooperative *Indaba* that was hosted by the ADM in December 2010, was an opportunity for cooperatives (and small businesses) to do marketing.

This approach seems to be similar to the nationwide initiative of the Department of Trade and Industry, which is aimed at developing cooperative projects at the local level. It is called the Cooperative Incentive Scheme (CIS). CIS was started in 01 September 2012 and it carries on up to 31 March 2022. CIS is a “90:10 cost-sharing grant for registered primary cooperatives (a primary cooperative consists of five or more members). The objective of the CIS is to improve the viability and competitiveness of cooperative enterprises by lowering their cost of doing business through an incentive that supports Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment” (<http://www.thedti.gov.za/offerings/offering.asp?offeringid=922>).

In addition, the ADM office receives a lot of funding applications from cooperative projects. As usual, funding is limited, while there are large numbers of applicants who need funding. Most of the funds come from the ADM, while DEDEA (Department of Economic Development and Environmental Affairs) also provides assistance. For projects to receive assistance/funding from the ADM, they must follow certain procedures. They must submit business plans, have registered organizations, submit the necessary quotations, and ensure that their businesses are viable.

With regards to services that require expertise (e.g. writing business plans, feasibility studies, etc.), projects are referred to other development agencies. These are: SEDA (Small Enterprise Development Agency) offices in Amathole region, ECDC (Eastern Cape Development Corporation) - the services of this agency are available to all SMMEs and cooperative projects in the entire Eastern Cape Province, and other consultants who operate in the Amathole region. On the other hand, projects' members are responsible for tasks that do not necessarily require the expertise of development agencies and consultants, like organizing quotations for the equipment they want to buy.

However, the initiative of coordinating cooperative projects (in order to contribute to the local economic development in the region) had its own disadvantages. These disadvantages were expressed by the ADM officers and members of cooperative projects as follows:

5.3.1 Using projects as 'waiting rooms'

The ADM officers expressed the view that projects' members had the tendency of using projects as 'waiting rooms' while they are looking for employment elsewhere. They would start to disappear as soon they get employment.

5.3.2 Projects were 'emerging forever'

The ADM officers lamented that most of these projects seemed to be 'emerging forever'. They remain at the same level of development for years ever since they had started. This problem would go on regardless of how much funding they receive from government. In addition to receiving funding, they remained underdeveloped, even though the projects' members were often provided with the necessary training. Even in cases where they received funds from the municipality in a particular year, they would go somewhere else the following year (including government departments). But they just do not reach the stage of being able to sustain themselves with their own profit.

Perhaps the lack of support or of some kind of mentorship programs is the cause of this concern. I have observed that in most cases, in the Eastern Cape Province, there are no experts who provide support to projects' members, for example, within the first six months after they have received funding, to ensure that they are coping well. These experts / mentors could be allocated to a particular group of projects in certain areas. Such an approach would be valuable because it would give projects individual attention from the experts - to develop their knowledge and skills, e.g. in project management, business management, and to assist in diagnosing challenges whenever they arise, etc.

Furthermore, the Democratic Alliance (DA) news had revealed case examples of negligence by the Eastern Cape government, regarding state-funded agricultural projects. The projects in question are: the Magwa and Majola tea plantations, Ncora irrigation scheme, and the Fort Cox agricultural college. The problem here was that these projects were not making progress, despite that millions of Rands were transferred to them. In the eyes of the DA, these projects were not making progress for a timeframe of 3 years since January 2012, i.e. between January 2012 and February 2015 (DA news, February 2015). Therefore, these case examples are a reflection of projects that remain in the status of emerging forever, despite that they have received the necessary funding from government.

5.3.3 The hiding of information by project members

The development officer (the manager/officer for Business Enterprise) expressed concern that projects' members sometimes hide information that is important about their projects. Such information was not uncovered in any of her (the officer for Business Enterprise) conversations with them, as she would normally consult with project members (e.g. via the phone) before conducting site visits. A case example of this concern was uncovered when I accompanied her while visiting the cooperative projects in Butterworth, in August 2010. The project in question was called Bee-Dew, and it was based in Butterworth. It focuses on nurturing bees and then produces honey from them. It is among the first group of 20 cooperative projects that had been earmarked by the ADM, in order to be provided with various forms of support to develop them.

While we were on site visiting the Bee-Dew project, a conversation took place between the development officer, the project members and myself. The members were talking about something else, but important information came out. They were complaining about how they were treated unpleasantly by the local Department of Social Development. They were pointing out that the Department's officers were not treating them in a respectful manner. For example, the officers would shout at them

unnecessarily, instead of having genuine conversations with them. They were also complaining that the very same department seldom visited their project, and it required them to do the unnecessary task of recording all the people who visit their project and to indicate the reason for the visits; recording people's visits appears to be a reasonable task to perform, so it is not clear why they were complaining about it. I became curious about how Social Development was appropriate to their project. As a result I asked the question,

"What role does Social Development play in your project?"

The response from one project member was:

"They funded us with an amount of R500 000.00"

After this response, the development officer appeared to be surprised by the news regarding this funding. Later on we (myself and the development officer) had our own conversation as we were going back to the office. She expressed the view that she did not know anything about the funding, and she felt that such information was too important for her not to know about, as she plays a prominent role in processing their funding applications. It was significant enough to be recorded as a part of verifying the progress of the project. This situation suggests that there was a relationship of mistrust between the two parties (the development officer and the Bee-Dew project's members).

Unfortunately I was not able to do a follow-up on this issue of potential mistrust between the two parties. The development officer had resigned from the municipality before I even got an opportunity to conduct a follow-up on this matter. With regards to project members, it was also not easy to get hold of them. The challenge I experienced concerning them, was that the key members would simply not be available when I visit them, despite that I would have made appointments to see them. I visited them several times (3 times) and I was told that they had gone elsewhere.

5.3.4 Insufficient site visits on projects

Insufficiency of site visits by the ADM officers: projects' members expressed the feeling of being deserted by the officers of ADM (as well as by other government departments). They complained that they hardly get site visits or communications (e.g. by phone calls) from the ADM officers. This situation continued to the extent that some projects' members (such as the clothing manufacturing project in Alice) felt a sense of giving up with regards to seeking assistance from diverse government offices, including the ADM.

The insufficient site visit (of projects) by ADM officers was also confirmed by the fact that these officers did not have much detailed information about these projects. For example, the officers did not even have a database that indicates the quantity of cooperative projects in the Amathole region. The only available source of information was the research report that uncovered a sample of 20 cooperative projects (COPAC 2010). Therefore, the absence of detailed information about these projects confirms that the ADM officers were not in touch with what was going-on on the ground about the cooperative projects.

5.3.5 Continuing job vacancies

The ongoing job vacancies in the office of Business Enterprises: in general, the office/sector for SMMEs and Cooperatives had always been operating with two officers (in approximately October/November 2010, the name SMMEs and Cooperatives was changed into Business Enterprise). Among these officers, one of them was designated for SMMEs, while the other one was for cooperative projects. The officer for SMMEs was a female and occupying the position of being the manager, while the officer for cooperatives was a male and the administrative officer.

Changes started to take place in this office at the end of June 2010, when the administrative officer resigned in order to go and work for another government agency elsewhere. No substitute was employed in his position. For this reason the remaining

officer (the manager) had to take care of both portfolios for SMMEs and cooperatives. That is why she was the key person for this part of the study. Upon interacting with her on a continuous basis, she used to express the feeling of being overworked. Her situation was understandable because she was doing the duties of two people simultaneously. The study went on, but surprisingly, at the beginning of September 2010, the remaining officer announced that she was resigning, i.e. leaving the office by the end of September, as she had accepted a job offer elsewhere.

The office was left with nobody to run it for quite some time. This situation continued for almost 6 months, with no clear idea of what was going on. Nobody seemed to know whenever I inquired about it. The office was closed up until February 2011. The implication was that the duties of the Business Enterprise office were allocated to an interim officer. Interestingly, this officer was also the manager of another sector. Therefore she had the responsibility of administering two offices at the same time. At the time of concluding the field research (in February 2011), there were no new human resources appointed for the office of Business Enterprises.

5.3.6 No system for recording cooperative projects

At the time of conducting fieldwork for the study, there was no system in place for recording details about cooperative projects. Consequently, the ADM officers were not sure about the number of cooperative projects. There were those that were operating, as well as those that only got registered (as businesses) but were not operational. The problem that was expressed as a concern by the ADM officers was that, mostly, the information they had about these projects was not up to date. This was because the ADM officers were not having/did not have much time to visit projects in order to collect data on them, and therefore to be able to quantify them.

5.3.7 Non-availability and the outsourcing of strategic plans

A strategic plan refers to a policy document that provides details about the long term plans of a particular sector within the municipality. For instance the LED had strategic plans for these sectors: Agriculture, Tourism, SMMEs, Heritage, etc. A strategic plan is in contrast to a short term plan which is done on a quarterly basis (for 4 months). The short term plan in the ADM was presented through the SDBIP. The strategic plans or policy documents in the ADM were not done by the officers of the municipality. They were outsourced to service providers (private companies / consultants). The general argument from the municipal officers was that the municipality did not have the capacity to write policy documents, i.e. it had no employees who have the necessary expertise to do so. Once a strategic plan is drawn up, the municipality utilizes it as a guiding document in implementing projects of a particular sector (e.g. Agriculture). At the time of conducting this study (fieldwork) the strategic plan for cooperative projects did not exist. I was informed that it had been drafted by a private company but it was not of satisfactory quality; therefore it was not helpful as a guide in coordinating cooperative projects. Hence there was a need to rewrite it.

5.4 ANALYZING ISSUES OF PROJECT COORDINATION

5.4.1 The culture of individualism

The loss of project members who move away in search of job opportunities elsewhere indicates that projects are sometimes used by their members for short term benefits. They choose to leave because in most cases projects are not offering them incentives to make them remain for a longer period of time. This situation confirms the argument of Colson, that people collaborate at the beginning stages of projects but that project team spirit changes as time goes on. This is because their cooperation was motivated by the individualistic interest they had concerning the immediate gains from the projects. Hence their focus on the long-term fortunes of projects disappears as time goes by (Colson 1982: 12).

Deeks (2004: 7) defines this situation as the culture of individualism. An individualistic culture is characterized by the fact that an individual embraces the value of his/her individual successes and of looking after his/her individual interests versus those of the group. This approach is in contrast to the collectivist culture, which is defined in terms of the fact that an individual attaches value to group loyalty and to prioritizing serving the interests of the group. Therefore, when an individual project member leaves a project in order to pursue his/her individual interests elsewhere, he/she is adopting the culture of individualism.

Sadly, projects end up losing people who are assets in the sense that they are people who are mentally and physically healthy, have the necessary education and capacities. Instead, projects are left with people that are more elderly and less able to work on the projects. Therefore, in the absence of people who are assets, the achievement of projects' goals is more likely to be inhibited.

5.4.2 Non-investigation of the causes of problems

Among the concerns that have been raised about these projects is that they are not coming to fruition. They are not developing, even if they obtain funding, or if projects' members undergo some workshops or training sessions. The assumption that comes up from the ADM officers is that putting money into workshops, training sessions, etc., is the panacea to problems. This situation indicates, however, that the municipality is not investigating the causes of the problems. That is, it is not making efforts to find out more about why these projects are, in ADM's idiom, "emerging forever". In the absence of investigations about such concerns, the same problems are more likely to constitute a vicious cycle. As a result, policy implementation becomes inhibited.

5.4.3 Development as a space of interaction and conflict between diverse actors

The non-disclosure of information about funding that has been received by project's members could create a wrong impression to potential funders. It could send a message that says project's members do not have a sense of honesty. That could make funders become uncomfortable about providing funding to such a project. This is because there could be some doubts whether funds that are allocated to the project would be utilized appropriately among the project's members. So the project is more likely to be denied the opportunity for funding. Without funding, it becomes difficult for a project to execute its operations.

On the other hand, instances of distrust sometimes manifest between project members. This attitude tends to come up in cases where project members compete around a project's resources, e.g. funding, equipment (like computers), cars, and so on. Sometimes this competition is encouraged by the fact that some project's members have the intention of misusing a project's resources to pursue individual interests, while compromising the interests of the project. Consequently, the divisions among members within the same project develop since there would be those who are in favour of certain individual/s or group/s. The divisions that come up among (the) project's members discourage the spirit of collaborative work. Consequently, chances of achieving a project's goals are hindered.

Further, a relationship of mistrust (among members within the same project, and between project members and development practitioners) is entangled with the fact that development practice is political in nature. For Cernea (1994: 6) and Mosse (2002: 16), it is about making decisions on how resources must be allocated, the identification of winners and losers, and the exclusion of others. In the context of the relationship of mistrust between project's members and the development practitioner/s, funders are less likely to provide funding to projects they feel that they do not trust. Funders are also less likely to trust projects within which they feel that participants/stakeholders do not trust each other.

This kind of situation also reveals that development is a space in which individuals and groups pursue conflicting interests while they compete with scarce resources (Ayee 1994: 206). Two parties may be going through the same journey and pursuing similar goals, but the journey is characterized by the lack of trust between each other when it comes to gaining access to resources. The existing mistrust goes together with a sense of conflict and competition against each other. The competition/conflict takes place because none of them want to lose the (financial) resources. To each of them these resources are significant as they constitute the means of achieving certain goals and objectives. Therefore losing the resources is undesirable. To the development agency, it would mean losing power to control the project, e.g. asking project members to sign some documents (e.g. attendance registers). It is these kinds of control measures that are used by development agencies as evidence, to demonstrate that they are doing something in terms of improving the performance of projects on the ground. Even if there is no progress in the development of projects, such evidence assists in portraying a good image about development agencies that they are doing a good job in improving project members' livelihoods at the grassroots level.

Olivier de Sardan (2005) adds a perspective on the matter of the potential relationship of mistrust between project's members and the development practitioner. He describes this situation by saying development practice is a space whereby diverse actors of different categories come into a direct or indirect relationship with one another. These actors may include the intended beneficiaries, the development field agents, representatives of local administrations, NGOs' members, visiting experts, etc. Their relationship tends to be characterized by the fact that each of them sees the development space as a system of opportunities and resources that are there to be exploited by them (Olivier de Sardan 2005:185). Within the moment of exploiting opportunities and resources, competition and conflict comes up between actors. In the presence of conflict and competition, the actors in the development sphere are less likely to support each other towards achieving each others' goals. Thus, the absence of support from one another inhibits chances of achieving the overall goals of

development, i.e. in cases where there is a common goal that has to be achieved as a collective, rather than by the individual actors.

Moreover, I assume that the concealing of information indicates a sense of insecurity on the side of project members. This situation uncovers the feeling of fear, that if they disclose the funds they have received, the ADM might end up not supporting them, assuming that all their problems have been sorted out; therefore it is not necessary to support them anymore. This situation indicates a lack of communication by ADM with regards to its expectations from project's members. Communication in this context would involve ADM providing guidelines on how each party must relate to each other on diverse matters, including on the developer-beneficiary relationship. The issue of disclosure would form part of the guidelines, rather than blaming project members for not disclosing, while they were not informed about the procedures. Therefore the lack of communication opens up the possibility of misperceptions, which raises the possibilities of tension between the two parties. This makes it difficult to work toward getting the project/s up and running.

In addition, the miscommunication challenge may be attributed to the problem of staff shortage in the office of SMMEs and cooperative projects. As indicated earlier on, the office was operating with only one officer instead of two. The reality is that it is an excessive work load for one officer to deal with all the cooperative projects, as they operate in different local municipalities, i.e. seven municipalities. Under such circumstances, it is more likely that the officer would not be able to communicate sufficiently with all the projects. Hence this miscommunication was happening.

5.4.4 The need for decentralization of some coordinating duties

Fourthly, with regards to the issue of insufficient site visits by the ADM officers. This uncovers a system that is struggling when it comes to coordinating projects by the LED unit of the municipality. I assume this problem is attributed to the utilization of a centralized system of coordinating projects. The Amathole is a district municipality with

seven local municipalities that subscribe to it. The ADM does the coordination of all the cooperative projects on its own, without delegating some of its duties to the local municipalities. This method of working was disadvantageous because the ADM did not have enough human resources to conduct the duties of coordinating the projects. The office (Business Enterprise) that was coordinating cooperative projects was allocated only two employees, in relation to the number of cooperative projects that were estimated to be more than 500, plus another undisclosed quantity of SMMEs that also needed to be taken care of by the same office. This situation makes it clear that the volume of work was far too much for one (or two) person/s to deal with. The situation got worse when the office was closed because there was no one to run it.

This calls for the need to decentralize some coordinating duties into the local municipalities. Or else to increase the number of staff members who would be allocated in the office. The intention would be to ensure a balance between the number of staff members and the volume of tasks that need to be done. Otherwise, signs of poor coordination are more likely to continue. The outcomes would result in policy implementation failure.

5.4.5 The insufficient willingness to employ personnel

The ongoing job vacancies in the LED unit in ADM indicate a lack of commitment from the municipality's management, in employing appropriate staff members. This is because the office had the necessary funds for the continuation of the vacant posts, but employing staff members was not taking place. If the challenge was about funding, such an issue would have been mentioned in one of the cluster meetings.

However, it is not clear why the municipality's management had a lack of commitment to employing sufficient staff members. In the context of the job vacancy for the Business Enterprise unit, there were rumours that there was a debate going on within the management staff about the position. This debate was divided into two sides. The first side was advocating for making some attempts to persuade the officer who had

resigned to come back to her job, by enticing her with a bigger salary raise. The second side was opposing this point of view, asking why it was desirable to persuade one individual who decided to resign to return, while there were plenty of candidates who qualified for the job. This situation went on until the interim substitute was appointed. The substitute was appointed on an interim basis, pending the stage at which the permanent officer would be appointed.

In addition, LED had all the necessary leaders to authorize the appointing of new staff members. The leaders included the Director (the administration leader) and the Portfolio Head of LED (the political leader). Sadly, the appointment of staff members did not take place, despite the presence of this leadership. Unfortunately, the reasons for the delays in appointing the necessary human resources remained unknown. This is because it was difficult to get hold of the Director or the Portfolio Head, in order for them to comment on this matter. They were always very busy. Even if I made appointments with them, they would get canceled since they had other priority commitments. Therefore, the absence of staff members to coordinate projects at the local level inhibits policy implementation.

5.4.6 The disadvantages for not having strategic plans

The absence of strategic plans has disadvantages concerning the implementation of cooperative projects. The implication is that these projects were executed without any clearly defined intended outcomes (Ayee 1994: 204). Such a situation makes it difficult to assess or to measure whether the intervention is successful or not, with regard to achieving its objectives. Without clarity on how the objectives of the intervention would be achieved, a space is created for the occurrence of activities that do not address the needs of the intended beneficiaries. In doing so, the intervention is moving away from working towards achieving the intended outcomes. Simultaneously, the project's resources could get spent on unintended outcomes, and the results become policy failure.

Thus, the focus of this section was on strategic plans and cooperative projects. Strategic plans have been discussed as one of the tools that provide guidance in project implementation. However, the absence of strategic plans creates a space for project implementation failure, since implementation would be taking place without guidance and clearly defined goals and objectives.

5.4.7 The disadvantages of outsourcing strategic plans

The procedure that involves outsourcing strategic plans is accompanied by more disadvantages than advantages. Mainly, outsourcing is a waste of financial resources as it involves the unnecessary expenditures of paying consultants. I have observed that at the time of conducting the study in ADM, it was costing the municipality an amount of more than R500, 000 for the duration of about 3 months to develop just one strategic plan. The information about outsourcing strategic plans to private consultants was presented on the tender document called “terms of reference”. This amount is sufficient to employ a person with expertise on an annual basis in order to develop more strategic plans. Such a person would be responsible for developing strategic plans within the department. In doing so the ADM would solve the challenge of having no time to develop strategic plans and people with expertise to do so. Unfortunately I never got an opportunity to engage with ADM officers on this alternative perspective. In most cases, there were time constraints when it comes to talking to these officers, as they did not even have much time to participate in my interview sessions. Thus outsourcing strategic plans is a waste of municipalities’ financial resources.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has uncovered valuable points that could assist in identifying factors that make policy implementation become a complex process. Namely: the pre-informed nature of the policy world and the unclear policy goals.

The pre-informed nature of the policy world: One of the challenges of the policy world is that beneficiaries or stakeholders have the tendency of not trusting policy work. Their lack of trust may be attributed to the disappointments they have experienced in the past. Consequently, they (the beneficiaries or stakeholders) end up not participating fully in interventions that go together with policy implementation. Hence, for instance, project members (as beneficiaries or stakeholders of interventions) resort in exploiting projects sometimes as 'waiting rooms' while they are searching for job opportunities elsewhere. Once they get such jobs, they leave projects to work elsewhere. Consequently, their departure results in a deficiency of human resources that could have added value in a projects' development. Thus, the absence of people with skills and knowledge of administering projects is a recipe for projects failure. Colson says that people cooperate at the beginning of projects and that they then change as time goes on. Their initial cooperation is motivated by the interests they have in the immediate gains from projects, while their focus get lost when it comes to the long-term dimensions of projects (Colson 1982: 12). Therefore, the disappointments that have been experienced previously, by beneficiaries or stakeholders regarding past policy implementation discourages them from participating fully in the activities of future policy implementation. Their participation becomes a temporary measure while they are searching for alternative opportunities elsewhere. Subsequently, the departure of human resources with the necessary knowledge, skills, and work experience on projects inhibits the achievement of policy goals.

Unclear policy goals: The lack of clear policy goals results in misperceptions between participants in development interventions. These misperceptions may be derived from the absence of space for communication between participants, i.e. between the development officers and the intended beneficiaries in the context of the ADM. This deficiency of communication among participants has its own disadvantages, including the fact that expectations from the two parties are not getting a chance to be mutually discussed. This opens a gap for the development of misperceptions and tensions in-between the two parties, since matters of how to relate to each other professionally have not been discussed. An example of this scenario has been mentioned earlier on,

about project's members who received funding elsewhere, but did not disclose this to the development officer of the ADM. Therefore, unclear policy goals bring several disadvantages that may manifest during the stage of policy implementation. Subsequently, such disadvantages prohibit policy implementation from taking place as intended.

Furthermore, Ayee adds his view on the idea of misperceptions regarding policy implementation. He suggests that during implementation there are numerous actors who are involved, with individuals and groups pursuing their conflicting interests, while they compete with, and for, scarce resources of organizations. The fact that there are numerous actors makes for the possibility of disagreements and delays during implementation. As a result, chances for successful implementation are reduced because conflicts deny projects the opportunity of getting coordinated adequately (Ayee 1994: 2-3, 206).

The centralization of coordinating responsibilities: The coordination of projects plays a key role in policy implementation. If coordination is not taking place effectively and efficiently, the chances of achieving policy goals become minimized. One of the causes of this challenge is the centralization of coordinating responsibilities. As indicated previously, the case of the ADM is a good example of this matter. That is, one office - the district office (which also has a shortage of human resources) is responsible for coordinating hundreds of cooperative projects in Amathole region. This situation is taking place, despite the fact that there are many local municipalities in the Amathole region, that could have been delegated the coordinating responsibilities with regards to the/some cooperative projects. Thus, this allocation of coordinating duties only to the main office has its own disadvantages. Coordinating many projects in diverse locations becomes a challenge for the main office, because it costs more time and financial resources to visit them. Some of the cooperative projects may be located far away from the office and could be geographically spread far away from each other. Therefore, the centralization of coordinating responsibilities in such cases inhibits the achievement of projects' goals and objectives since projects' activities would not be taking place

sufficiently as intended. Hence, the alternative approach suggested here is the decentralization of project coordinating responsibilities.

CHAPTER 6: POLICY IMPLEMENTATION THROUGH THE PROJECT IN ALICE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the presentation of the research findings and the discussion of findings, by focusing on the cooperative project (further details about the project will follow below) that is based in Nkonkobe Local Municipality. The points that are presented include: the background to Siyagaya Coop; the initiatives of the ADM to support cooperative projects in the ADM; challenges that are experienced in running the project; the discussion of findings; and the conclusion (see also Attachment 1: research questions and associated challenges: Siyagaya Coop, i.e. in the last section (Attachments) of this thesis).

6.2 BACKGROUND TO SIYAGAYA COOP

Siyagaya Coop is located in Alice, at Nkonkobe Local Municipality (one of the local municipalities of Amathole District Municipality). It operates within the premises of the University of Fort Hare. It is a clothing manufacturing project, which produces tracksuits for school children (mainly at the beginning of the year) for two schools in the local community, and it produces garments (for instance dresses, skirts, trousers, etc.) and offers tailoring services to clients, i.e. to students and staff members of the university.

The project is able to sustain/finance itself because it operates in the form of a business. It relies heavily on the tailoring and dressmaking services it provides to its clients. Among the factors that enable the project to survive financially, is that it saves on the expenses that are concerned with business premises. The project operates without having to pay the rent and electricity. Instead, the University of Fort Hare pays rent and electricity for the project, together with the other project they share the premises with. This enables the project/s to minimize operating costs.

The project is currently made up of 5 members, whereas it previously consisted of 12 members. Its membership has decreased over time, since it was initiated in 1989. The reasons for the decrease in membership are attributed to the fact that some of the members gave up on the project (since it was/is not doing well), while others passed away in the process. Among the existing members, one of them joined the project in 1998; two of them became members in 2002, one in 2004, and the other one in 2005.

The membership of the project is made up of women only, as it is a women's project. The majority of the members are (almost) senior citizens. Their age group is close to 60 years and a bit above, except for one member who is under the age of 40 years. Most of them are able to read and write, but none of them have passed the level of Grade 12. The member who is under the age of 40 years is the only one in the group who is pursuing university education, i.e. she is registered for a degree at the University of Fort Hare.

Most of these members have no history of formal employment. Their lives have been characterized by getting married and then their husbands would be working on behalf of their households. In certain cases, these members have occupied various forms of temporary employment, e.g. domestic work, working for a supermarket, etc.

Concerning the leadership of the project, two members have the responsibility of being leaders of the group. The two leaders are the ones who normally represent the project with regards to accepting invitations to meetings, training sessions, etc., with government officers. The group members pay their transport and accommodation costs to these gatherings.

The activities of the project take place in one of the halls of the University. This hall is divided into two areas, in order to be shared with another project that is also a clothing manufacturing business. The University donated the space to these two projects, so that they could operate without worrying about having to pay for the premises. In fact, these two projects have received considerable support from the University, i.e. they

have been supplied with industrial sewing machines, and some business deals with the University. The University had a contract with them, i.e. to manufacture coats using the material of blankets. The project was supplied with blankets (by the University) in order to utilize them in manufacturing coats. Ultimately, the University bought the coats and then used them for its purposes (supplying the University's staff members).

Unfortunately the University staff member who was coordinating these projects was often unavailable for making comments about the project/s. This was due to diverse university commitments and sometimes because of being away from town. Concerning these two projects, project members appear to have a relationship of supporting each other. For instance, I observed that sometimes they give each other advice about certain issues that concern business.

In relation to recording their finances, these members do not have a system in place in order to keep records of their financial sales and expenditures. Although they say they deposit the sales' money at the bank, I observed that they do not even use a receipt book to record cash that comes in from their clients. When a client is coming to collect his/her outfit/s, for instance, a project member would give him/her the outfit/s, and then collect the money, and then place it in a particular container. But it is not recorded anywhere. These members expressed that their ways of operating are simply based on trusting each other. For instance, keeping one another informed about the client/s that has/have come to pay some money while collecting a particular outfit/s.

In addition, the project members were not willing to provide details about their recording system for finances. My guess is that their unwillingness may be attributed to the fact that they had no system in place for keeping records of their finances. Even if they tried to hunt bits and pieces of documents, such an exercise was more likely to result in inconsistent and insufficient information since they were not embracing the habit of documenting details about their clients e.g. by making use of receipt books, sales and expenditure journals, etc. My concern as a researcher was that I did not want to distract the project's members from their daily duties, by asking them to be digging for

information that relates to their financial recording systems - as I could see that they were very busy trying to catch up with targets of their clients.

6.3 THE INITIATIVES OF THE ADM TO SUPPORT COOPERATIVES

The project's members expressed a sense of optimism about the development of cooperative projects by the ADM, between the years 2010 and 2011. This was derived from the fact that the ADM was at that time more pro-active on issues of developing these projects. During this period, the ADM had a plan for categorizing these projects into groups. And then it would provide services that were aimed at developing them. These included training sessions, workshops, funding, and so on. This project was among the first group of 20 cooperative projects that were earmarked by the ADM.

In order to receive these services, project members had to visit the ADM offices in East London, i.e. the office that deals with cooperative projects and SMMEs. The visits involved project members getting engaged in consultation sessions with the relevant officers in the ADM / SMMEs office, e.g. for a timeframe of not more than an hour per consultation session. Throughout these visits project's members were responsible for paying their own travel and food costs. And then they would be able to go back to their homes/projects within the same day.

Visiting this office helped the members to develop a business relationship with the manager of this unit. She (the manager) was popularly known by her clan name "mamBhele". One project member made a comment which was accompanied by a smile,

"When we visited these offices we used to be assisted by mamBhele. She was giving us a sense of feeling welcomed in her office".

Some examples that may be highlighted concerning the initiatives of the ADM, through officers like mamBhele, in developing cooperative projects include: i) engaging project

members on a one-week training course on how to make bead (*iintsimbi*) products, e.g. key holders, dolls, etc., and ii) attending the exhibition in East London.

6.3.1 The one-week training course on how to make bead products

The project's members were phoned by their local municipality, inviting them to the training session in East London, in mid-2011. They were contacted by virtue of being in the database of the local municipality. There were two representatives that attended this training from the project. They were chosen as representatives because they had more interest in making bead products, and they were perceived (by the group) as having the potential to acquire more knowledge from the training. Ultimately, sending them there would benefit the interests of the whole group.

These members stayed in a 'bed and breakfast' accommodation, with expenses paid by the ADM. The participation in the training was scheduled for a period of five days. However, they had the responsibility of paying transport costs to and from East London. The training schedule was between 08h00 and 15h00.

About the need for the training: the members of the project pointed out that the training session was valuable to them, because it was a solution to the challenge of lacking skills for manufacturing *iintsimbi* (bead) products. There was a demand for these products in the market. Initially (before this training) the project used to make *iintsimbi* products. However, the manufacturing of *iintsimbi* was discontinued because the members who used to have the necessary skills to do so had left the project, to pursue better (job) opportunities elsewhere.

The members stated that they were satisfied with the training that was provided to their representatives since it resulted in them developing skills in manufacturing *iintsimbi* products. And the two members who were trained provided the training on manufacturing *iintsimbi* products to other members in the project. At the time of conducting the fieldwork, the project was left with one member who had attended the

training. The project was/is therefore able to make *iintsimbi* products whenever an opportunity to do so arises. In other words, there was the revival of manufacturing *iintsimbi*.

6.3.2 The exhibition

The project's members were contacted by their local municipality about attending the two-day exhibition. It was hosted by the ADM in East London, in December 2010. The members expressed their appreciation of the comfort of sleeping in the hotel during the exhibition. Expenses for the hotel accommodation were paid by the ADM, while project's members had to pay their own transport costs to and from East London.

The key activities in the exhibition involved various projects displaying their products in the stalls. This was an opportunity for them to sell their products to clients. In fact, members of this project noted that they sold a few products during the exhibition, although they do not remember the amount of money they made. One member commented,

“Whenever we arrived in the exhibition there would be your project's name displayed in the stall that was allocated to you”.

The exhibition also involved diverse representatives making presentations about their organizations. These organizations were the ones that play a role in providing development initiatives for cooperative projects. For example, the Small Enterprise Development Agency, government departments (like the Department of Trade and Industry), and so on. These presentations would highlight the role of these organizations (as development agencies) in developing cooperative projects. It was also an opportunity for project's members to ask questions from these representatives. A part of this process also involved the representatives providing their contact details, in order for project members to be able to contact them in future if they needed to do so. However, the members of Siyagaya Coop complained about the disappointments that

resulted when they did follow-ups with these representatives. Some examples of these disappointments are presented through their comments as follows:

“Everything just disappeared after the exhibition, some of them promised to visit us afterwards but they never came”.

“As time went by we became discouraged to do follow-ups! This is because they would not care about us when we phoned doing follow-ups on them; they were not helpful at all”.

Besides the disappointments, there were also instances of positive experiences. The exhibition gave them a marketing opportunity afterwards, through a business relationship with the Department of Arts and Culture in the province. As a result of the exhibition, one officer from this department used to sell their *iintsimbi* products in Gauteng province, and then bring back money from sales to the project’s members. Therefore, they say this method was helpful, since it was providing income to the project.

As indicated, the project does not have financial recording systems in place, i.e. to allow an instant view of their finances. Therefore they do not remember the amount of money they made from these sales. The income was deposited at the bank, and later on divided equally among all the members of the group. No further details were indicated concerning how the members were dividing the income.

6.4 CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED IN RUNNING THE PROJECT

The absence of funding opportunities in order to buy stock for the business: One of the major weaknesses of the project was the lack of finance in order to buy stock, i.e. fabrics for manufacturing tracksuits. The members believed that the two schools in the vicinity make up a reasonable market for sustaining their business. They also mentioned that other schools had approached them, requesting the service of

tracksuits. Their problem was that the schools wanted to see the produced tracksuits first, before they pay money to the project's members. Sadly, they had to turn them away since they did not have sufficient stock. As a result, project's members had approached various institutions as a means of appealing for financial support.

Among the institutions they have approached include the local municipality, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Social Development, the office that deals with small businesses in Alice, the University of Fort Hare, and so on. They also pointed out that they had no luck, even in cases where they approached government offices, in order to request funding or other forms of support. Let us now examine two cases of disappointments on project's members, i.e. by the local municipality, and the Department of Agriculture.

6.4.1 The local municipality

The members heard rumours that there was funding available from the municipality. Hence they visited the office (at the beginning of 2011), with the hope of getting a favorable response. Their hope was elicited by the fact that they were already in the database of the municipality. Their aim was to request funding or any other form of assistance that was available and relevant to their project. One project member made a comment,

"We went there to ask for financial assistance or whatever they can help us with. We told them about what we were looking for, that is, funds to buy fabrics for manufacturing tracksuits".

However, the members were disappointed by the response of the municipality's officers. They were advised that it was not necessary for them to come to the office, since they were already in the municipality's database. Therefore, through this database, the municipality would have access to their contact details and contact them when there is a need to do so. The response was disappointing to the members of the project. In fact, it

was one among many disappointments they kept on receiving. As a result, after this disappointment, they experienced a temporary moment of feeling de-motivated with regards to searching for funding opportunities. Hence they did not have the energy to carry on going back to the municipality.

6.4.2 The Department of Agriculture

The project also became a part of the potential beneficiary list in the local Department of Agriculture. According to project's members, all the potential beneficiaries had to make a contribution of R50.00 per project, in order to be included in the list of those that would obtain financial assistance. However, after some time they were informed that the clothing manufacturing was not compatible with the beneficiaries' profile of the Department of Agriculture. They were not even given the refund of the R50.00 contribution they had paid. And they did not even bother with trying to get the refund of their money. As in previous cases, the members were discouraged by the situation.

6.5 DISCUSSION

The process of bringing service delivery to the intended beneficiaries (the people), by the development agencies, is not always linear. It is often characterized by predicaments that come up as a part and parcel of the process. On the other hand the existence of predicaments does not necessarily imply that the development agencies are doing nothing about bringing service delivery to the people.

I have observed that one of the common phenomena that go with the bringing of service delivery to the people is that people tend to pay more attention to challenges and negative experiences about service delivery. They choose to ignore the positive change/s they have received as a result of the service delivery (see the next paragraph as a case example of this scenario). This is what happened in the project in Alice. Most of the time the project's members were complaining about the lack of support from the ADM and other development agencies of government. They simply ignored the

initiatives that were undertaken by ADM for them, like inviting them to some gatherings in East London.

For instance, project's members had concerns about government officers after the exhibition in East London. Their complaints were that the exhibition was an example of the unfulfilled promises by diverse government officers. In the context of the exhibition, the project's members said some of the government's officers promised to visit their project after the exhibition, but they never came. The project's members also got discouraged as time went by after the exhibition was over. This feeling was attributed to the view that they did follow-ups with government officers. However the government's officers apparently did not care about them when they phoned. Hence project's members felt that they (government officers) were not helpful at all.

It seems that it was much easier for project members to talk about complaints, instead of positive contributions of the ADM or other government agencies. For example, it took more time and probing to get information about the initiatives undertaken by the ADM to provide support on the project as a part of cooperative projects in the Amathole region. As noted above, these initiatives include the 2-day exhibition and the one-week training on how to make bead products.

It appears that many people have developed the habit of complaining, without acknowledging the valuable experiences and possessions they have with them. Hartwell-Walker (2015) explains this situation as the psychology of pessimism or the negativity bias. She says for several reasons people have the tendency of holding on to horrible news while they minimize the pleasant news. This kind of behaviour seems to go together with putting more attention, value and weight on negative comments and experiences, while ignoring the positive aspects of situations. Consequently, the habit of pessimism or negativity bias among people discourages them from taking action towards making improvements in their lives. It also takes away their sense of creativity, while their chances of becoming depressed increases. Therefore, the tendency of paying more attention to negative aspects of life, instead of celebrating the good and

positive aspects, becomes a stumbling block for people to develop (for instance, in businesses, careers, relationships, etc.) up to the best of their potential. This point of view is also relevant within the context of cooperative projects. If project's members allow negative experiences (like rejections, discouragement, and so on) to overpower them, without acknowledging the positive aspects (of their efforts), they are more likely to develop a sense of pessimism or a negative bias about their projects. As a result, project's members would not see the reasons to keep on trying as a means of making efforts towards the success of their projects.

In the light of these points, it is incorrect to say that the project's members were not receiving support at all from the ADM. The situation is that it is usually easy for an intervention's beneficiaries to talk about their experiences of negative aspects and ignore the signs of positive outcomes of the intervention, and opportunities that are presented in front of them due to the existence of the intervention.

About evaluating the input of ADM on the project: it is good to know that ADM had taken some initiatives to develop the project, i.e. the one-week training course on how to make *iintsimbi* products (e.g. key holders, dolls, etc.), and to invite project's members to the exhibition in East London. However, these initiatives of ADM were not addressing the priority needs of the project. That is, ADM had not assisted the project financially, i.e. ADM did not assist them to get funding in order to be able to buy stock, working equipment, etc. In other words, funding would become the means for the project to exploit marketing opportunities around it, e.g. for producing school uniforms.

Further, the policy world is pre-structured by the constraints of the previously established policies. The beneficiaries' disappointments from the past, as a result of government's development initiatives, have a negative effect on policy implementation. Complaints about poor service delivery from government are becoming a common trend in the South African context. The development initiatives of government are also perceived by community members as not being free from such criticisms. Among the complaints there are perceptions that point out that government's initiatives are too

slow, they end up nowhere, they have the tendency of favouring certain individuals, and so on. Consequently, the majority of the ordinary community members end up losing faith in government's promises to deliver services or development-related initiatives. The experiences of cooperative projects in Amathole are examples of such disappointments. In Butterworth, the cooperative projects' members experienced the feeling of having being deserted by their district municipality for a very long time. Consequently they had to find alternative means of survival for their projects, for instance, looking for funding elsewhere. The clothing manufacturing project in Alice had gone through a similar experience. At the time of conducting the study, the project's members were still struggling with getting funding for buying stock. They approached the ADM at the beginning of 2010 in order to appeal for support with funding. However, by the end of the year 2013 project's members were still lamenting about the absence of funds for their project.

On the other hand, the ADM had the means to mobilize funds for its cooperative projects, but that was not happening in most cases. The municipality had systems in place and some funds available, which could have helped several projects. However, the challenge of the municipality was that it was battling when it came to coordinating its own administrative activities. This was made clear by instances like: i) the regular cancellation of cluster meetings that were supposed to be monitoring how sector managers were coordinating projects on the ground, ii) the existence of job vacancies for a long time (approximately six months) after the consecutive resignation of the 2 officers for Business Enterprises, and so on. The implication here is that if the office was battling with sorting out its own administrative activities, it was more likely to struggle when it comes to providing development related services (e.g. funding for projects) at the grassroots level.

ADM is one among many government institutions that have elements of ineffectiveness when it comes to bringing services to the people. Consequently the beneficiaries of such services end up being de-motivated. Unfortunately, the feeling of being de-motivated has a negative effect on project's members. It makes them undertake lesser

efforts towards developing their own projects. It also develops a sense of mistrust regarding future initiatives that could be brought by government. In other words, the people end up having no faith that any government intervention that is aimed at developing them could really be a success. Instead, the perception that develops within them is the one that informs them that any new intervention is going to follow the same trend of empty promises. Hence several scholars (e.g. Rew et al. 2006:47, Ayee 1994: 199) argue that the policy world has already been significantly pre-structured by constraints of previously established policies. In other words, the disappointments that have been created by the previous policies have an influence on how future policies are perceived by the intended beneficiaries. If they were perceived negatively, then such a perception is more likely to be imposed on future policies. Thus, the manner in which the previous policies have been implemented and thus failed derails current attempts to improve the intended beneficiaries' lives.

6.6 CONCLUSION

One of the points to learn from this chapter is that the psychology of pessimism (as argued by Hartwell-Walker (2015)), on the part of project members, contributes in preventing policy from being implemented as planned. In most cases, the beneficiaries of interventions have the tendency of complaining about the lack of support from the development agencies. Sometimes they complain even if development agencies are making efforts to provide the appropriate support to them (e.g. with marketing opportunities, training programs, etc.). This was the case on members of the project in Alice. The implication here is that sometimes the beneficiaries of interventions do not take advantage of opportunities (sufficiently) that are presented to them, e.g. by development agencies, or by any other institutions or situations. Instead they keep on complaining about the lack of opportunities or support from government. This attitude makes beneficiaries to put less effort toward fighting for the survival and/or the development of their projects. This is an unfortunate situation, because development agencies cannot provide solutions to community problems on their own without

including community members. This situation results in the deterioration of opportunities for the development of projects as a means of solving society problems.

Moreover, the discussion in this chapter uncovers that the previous negative experience/s of community members, from public institutions as development agencies, has a negative effect in policy implementation. The frequency of cases of failure of projects that are coordinated by public institutions, results in poor participation by the intended beneficiaries in policy implementation. That is, poor participation is pre-structured by the constraints of the previously established policies due to disappointments from the past (Rew et al. 2006:47, Ayee 1994: 199). The outcome of this situation becomes the lack of confidence on public institutions (by the intended beneficiaries) as development agencies. Therefore, the absence of people's who participate on projects of public institutions minimizes chances for successful policy implementation.

CHAPTER 7: 'MONITORING AND EVALUATION' MISCONCEPTIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the presentation of some of the results of the study. The concept of 'monitoring and evaluation' is integrated as a theoretical framework. The argument here is that i) the shortage of human resources as one of the components of programs/projects, results in multifaceted negative effects on program implementation. For instance this includes poor administrative or management systems, the decrease in the execution of program activities, and so on. ii) when it comes to conceptualizing and practicing M and E, most organizations tend to prefer impact assessment, while ignoring 'process monitoring'. Consequently, project implementation takes place while 'process monitoring' is not integrated into the process. The result becomes the surfacing of problems that could have been identified and dealt with, if 'process monitoring' had been used. In short, these two factors are among the challenges that have a negative effect in the implementation of policies. Such an effect inhibits the achievement of the intended outcomes. The discussion in this chapter is organized as follows: the theoretical framework, the presentation of results, the discussion of results, and the conclusion.

7.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: 'MONITORING AND EVALUATION'

The discussion in this section forms part of the theoretical framework that was earlier on presented earlier on in this thesis, i.e. to examine factors that are concerned with understanding why policy does not often get implemented as intended. Through this theoretical framework, the aim is to contribute to trying to understand the same factors concerning why policy implementation often does not take place as planned. The concept 'monitoring and evaluation' is utilized as a means of trying to understand these factors. The ideas that are discussed in this section are as follows: program evaluation, the relationship between program monitoring and evaluation, program 'process monitoring', complexities in policy practice, and the conclusion follows.

7.2.1 Program evaluation

A program refers to a set of activities that take place in order to fulfill some recognized social needs (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 335). Some examples of programs could include those for healthcare services, school programs, housing projects, policies on cooperative projects, etc. The concept program evaluation refers to information gathering and interpretation, in order to respond to questions about a program's performance and issues about its effectiveness (Rossi et al. 2004: 52). Program evaluation also implies the utilization of scientific methods as a means of measuring the implementation and outcomes of programs in order to assist decision-making processes (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 335). The aim of measuring the implementation and outcomes of programs is to make a distinction between worthwhile social programs and ones that are not effective. Afterwards, it becomes possible to decide whether to launch new programs or to make improvements on the existing ones, as the means of working towards achieving the desired outcomes (Rossi et al. 2004: 3).

Program evaluation usually becomes necessary because the affected stakeholders have questions about a particular program. Some examples of stakeholders may be policymakers, funding organizations, program managers, taxpayers, etc. (Rossi et al. 2004: 3). They could be asking questions like: is the program effective when it comes to obtaining the desired goals? Is the program getting implemented well? Is the program reaching its target population?

There are different types of evaluation studies, depending on the interpretation of a particular scholar. In this chapter, the focus will be on 4 types of evaluation studies, i.e.: i) the evaluation of needs, ii) the evaluation of conceptualization and design, iii) the evaluation of process, and iv) the evaluation of outcomes (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 339-341).

Firstly, the evaluation of needs is concerned with assessing if a program is conceptualized and designed in such a way that it would be able to address the unmet needs of the intended beneficiaries (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 340-341). This type of evaluation is aimed at assessing if the program would add value to the intended beneficiaries, by verifying if the proposed intervention would be addressing challenges that are experienced by beneficiaries. The evaluation of needs is (in the eyes of Rossi et al. 2004: 54) one of the initial steps in planning a new program or in restructuring the existing one. It provides information about the nature of services that are needed by the intended beneficiaries, and the best approach to use in delivering such services.

Secondly, there is also the need to consider the evaluation of program conceptualization and design. According to Rossi et al. (2004: 54-55) a social program is based on some kind of a plan about the manner in which that program is supposed to function. However, this plan is often not written down on paper explicitly, while it exists as a shared conceptualization among the main stakeholders of a program. The plan consists of shared assumptions and expectations about how that program should be conducting its business processes, in order to achieve the intended outcomes. If the plan is erroneous in any way, the implementation of the program is more likely to be inhibited (Rossi et al. 2004: 55). Hence it is important to execute the assessment of program conceptualization and design thoroughly.

Thirdly, the evaluation of process, which occurs after the completion of program conceptualization and design. The evaluation of process is aimed at understanding various aspects about the progress of a program. For instance, to assess if it is getting implemented as designed; if it reaches the intended beneficiaries; if the appropriate program management, administration and infrastructure are in place to support implementation (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 341). Rossi et al. (2004: 171) support this view by pointing out that the evaluation of process is about verifying if a program is getting delivered as planned to the intended beneficiaries.

Fourthly, the evaluation of outcomes (outcome evaluation or impact assessment) is about assessing if the intervention has managed to produce the desired outcomes, and whether the changes that were brought by the intervention include some unintended consequences (Rossi et al. 2004: 58). These desired outcomes might include changes on the intended beneficiaries, e.g. changes in attitudes, service delivery, etc. Some examples of attitude change might constitute an increased positive attitude towards other races, people from foreign countries, and so on. Some instances of improvements in service delivery may be improved community clinics, and so on (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 341).

7.2.2 Relationship between the concepts (program) monitoring and evaluation

The concept of (program) monitoring refers to a systematic documentation of aspects about the performance of a program. These aspects become indicators of whether a program is functioning as intended and in terms of specified appropriate standards. Monitoring as an activity is about the performance of a program, whether it is a program process, or program outcomes, or both (Rossi et al. 2004: 431-432). The concept monitoring may also be defined as the tracking of a program's performance, by collecting and analyzing data, on a continuous basis, in relation to what has been planned before (using the established indicators). It is also concerned with keeping information and reporting about it regularly. Hence it enables the identification of changes in the conditions of the intended beneficiaries, and the observation of program processes (UNICEF 2004: 3).

In contrast, evaluation is concerned with in-depth analysis of the performance of a program on a periodic basis. In order for the evaluation exercise to take place, it depends on the data that has / have been collected through the activities of monitoring. That is why the two concepts of monitoring and evaluation are related to each other (UNICEF 2004: 2). These concepts are commonly used (e.g. by officers of government, NGOs, etc.) together, but not interchangeably (as in 'monitoring and evaluation'). This is

because (UNICEF 2004: 2) the concept 'evaluation' does not necessarily substitute for 'monitoring'. Nor, vice-versa. .

7.2.3 'Program process monitoring'

The term 'program process monitoring' ('process monitoring') refers to a systematic and continuous documentation of the key aspects about the performance of projects, with the aim of assessing whether projects are operating as intended, and in relation to some specified appropriate standards (Rossi et al. 2004: 171). The concept 'program process monitoring' is used interchangeably with other concepts like implementation evaluation, program process evaluation (process evaluation), and process documentation (Rossi et al. 2004: 56, 170; Babbie and Mouton 2001: 341; Mosse 1999: 3). In the context of this chapter, the terms 'program process monitoring' or 'process monitoring' are used interchangeably.

A 'process monitoring' approach is significant because it forms part of the means to properly manage and administer programs, by ensuring that program managers execute the day-to-day activities of programs as efficiently and effectively as possible (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 340). The strength of 'process monitoring' lies in the fact that it is about gathering data about programs on a continuous basis, while there is a process that is followed in gathering the data. As a result, project managers or stakeholders remain informed about what is happening at the activities level of the project/program. This makes it easier for project's managers to assess (the evaluation of process) if a program is performing or not performing according to plans and the expected standards. If it is not performing satisfactorily, it becomes an opportunity for the management team and stakeholders to develop some methods of improving program performance at the early stages of unsatisfactory performance.

Therefore, the integration of 'process monitoring' as a part of project management tools, increases chances of improving a program's performance. Simultaneously, some

elements of deviation from a program's activities aimed at achieving set goals are more likely to be detected at the early stages. Embracing this type of evaluation ('process monitoring') is unlike conducting evaluation at the end of the program (impact assessment), as by that time erroneous activities may already have taken place. The impact assessment approach is commonly used by organizations, while they tend to ignore 'process monitoring'. The disadvantage of using impact assessment is that it is usually used at a later stage, when the opportunity to fix a program's erroneous activities has already passed by.

7.2.4 Complexities in policy practice

Policies constitute a part of social interventions which have the aim of bringing about transformation in the social world, in order for the world to become a better place for people to live in (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 342). Policies are the means to provide rational solutions to the challenges of the world (Mosse 1999: 641). Therefore, policies are utilized by development agencies in order to provide development opportunities to underprivileged people. Among the means of providing these development opportunities is through policy implementation. However, as argued earlier on, policy implementation has its own complexities. This is due to the fact that (in the eyes of Rew et al.) perfect implementation is not possible, because in most cases there is no direct connection between the concepts that are outlined in the plans, and the manner in which implementation manifests on the ground (Rew et al. 2006: 46). In other words, policy implementation does not always surface precisely as planned. Some unintended consequences surface due to several reasons that are attributed to complexities in policy implementation, e.g. communication breakdown among participants in policy implementation, conflicts and competition among projects' staff members - which distracts them from working towards achieving policy goals, etc.

Moreover, policies have a direct, but limited, influence in shaping the manner in which development is practiced (Mosse 1999: 641). There are different documents that relate to policies, that should be used (e.g. by development agencies) as a guide during the

implementation of development initiatives. Some examples of policy documents may be business plans, mission statements, etc. (also mentioned below). One manifestation of policies' direct influence in development practice is through the use of standardized procedures with regard to interventions that occur in different sites. These standardized procedures, for instance, may be revealed through the execution of development interventions in diverse local municipalities within a particular province. As much as those development interventions operate in different sites or local municipalities, the expectation is that the activities for each of the interventions should be guided by policies, for instance, provincial policies within a particular department, e.g. policies for the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Social Development, and so on.

In order for policies to provide solutions to the world's challenges and to shape development practice, they need to be implemented first. The implementation of policies is manifested in the form of projects or programs that occur at the grass-roots level. According to van Baalen and de Coning (2012: 170), projects or programs are the mechanisms for executing policy implementation at the practical level. However, the implementation of policies has its own complexities. The complexities regarding policy implementation have been discussed earlier on. For instance, one of the factors that result in these complexities is that the policy world is pre-informed by previously established policies (see section 5.2.1 for details). To mention a few of these complexities:

Firstly, the insufficiency of coordination, where there are many interdependent units or organizations working with the same policy or policies. One of the symptoms of poor coordination is the eruption of conflicts among interdependent units, about what role must be played by which unit. In other words, the un-clarified definition of roles that ought to be played by each unit may lead into cases of conflict among the participating units (Rew et al. 2006: 48). The consequence of such situations could be the duplication of responsibilities by the participating units, while other responsibilities end up being neglected. Consequently, chances of achieving policy goals are decreased. On the other hand, conflict contributes towards de-motivating people from working towards

achieving a common goal. The disadvantage of conflict is that it takes away the spirit of working collaboratively among members in an organization, because people tend to compete with one another, instead of working as a team.

Secondly, the objectives of programs are sometimes not clearly conceptualized or formulated (Rew et al. 2006: 47). Such objectives are more likely to be misunderstood by the implementing development practitioners. The results become the execution of activities which are not necessarily in harmony with resolving problems that are supposed to be alleviated by the intervention. Accordingly, the resources that are allocated to the intervention end up being wasted, while the situation of the underprivileged people, which was supposed to be alleviated by the intervention does not necessarily change.

Thirdly, one of the factors that create complexity in policy practice is the manifestation of changes in a program's objectives as implementation proceeds. Sometimes, even if objectives are explicitly expressed, and "widely agreed at the beginning" among implementing officers, objectives become characterized by instances of "multiplication and replacements as implementation proceeds" (Rew et al. 2006: 47). Changes in objectives open up gaps for negative effects on programs: i) sadly, the multiplication of objectives may occur even if there are no additional resources (e.g. human resources, equipment, time, etc.) that are included on programs. In such situations, the result could be the decrease in quality of service delivery by programs. This is because a lesser amount of resources (which were intended for a lesser quantity of objectives) has to be spent on a greater amount of activities that are elicited by the multiplication of objectives. ii) On the other hand, the replacement of objectives by other objectives has its own negative effects. It could result in the original objectives being neglected, while more time and energy is spent on the new objectives. Consequently, the problems that were supposed to be solved through engaging the original objectives continue to exist.

Fourthly, another factor that contributes to the complexities of policy practice is that development agencies seem to prioritize perfecting policy making, while paying less

attention to policy implementation. Sometimes development agencies tend to devote too much energy to generating correct policy models, while they do not pay sufficient attention to the relationship between these models, and the anticipated practices those models should be generating (Mosse 1999: 639 - 640). In other words, there is not sufficient effort put into observing policy implementation processes. Consequently, there is insufficient understanding of the effects of goals and objectives that were outlined in policy documents.

The term 'policy model' refers to possible approaches (policy options) that may be adopted in order to provide solutions on stated problems. Policy design implies the most effective approach that may be used in implementing a policy. For example, choosing a delivery organizational mix, like a governmental or non-governmental organization, to provide services/products, as outlined in the policy (Young and Quinn 2002:13 -14).

In addition, some examples of activities that characterize policy making may include:

- i) the production of policy documents like white papers, mission statements,
- ii) conducting consultations through civic society organizations, policy forums, etc.

On the other hand, the prioritization of policy making ("getting policy right"), over policy practice, is based on the view that "getting theory right is the key" when it comes to addressing disappointments and shortcomings in development (Mosse 1999: 639 - 640). This approach perhaps is attributed to the belief that proper planning leads to better chances of success in implementation. Hence, there is emphasis on the theoretical aspect of policy in comparison to practice.

However, excessive emphasis on policy theory is inadequate for initiating policy implementation. In the absence of adequate policy implementation, policies would be incapable of providing solutions to the challenges facing the world. This is because without policy implementation, there would be no program activities that actually occur, or the services that are actually getting delivered on a routine basis to the underprivileged people (Rossi et al. 2004: 170). Therefore, it is important that there should be a balance between policy theory and policy implementation.

Furthermore, as much as policy making is important as a guide for development practice, it is also necessary for development practitioners to look at how projects are performing at the present moment, how they have been performing previously (the existing projects) and why they have been performing the way they have. Baum and Tolbert (1985: 26) argue that one of the significant elements of development practice is to know not only where a project is going, but also where it has been and where it is/how it is doing currently. In doing so, 'process monitoring' of projects is taking place.

Mosse concurs when he talks about process documentation as a part of development practice. He argues for the importance of documenting what is going on concerning projects. Hence this approach is called 'process documentation'. This involves describing actions and events that arise from planned inputs and the means of producing the outputs. It is more concerned with the dynamics of the development process, and is oriented towards present circumstances. In other words, the focus is much more on what is happening currently (Mosse 1999: 4, 10). Thus, the absence of process documentation contributes significantly to the failure of policies to achieve their goals. This is because the underlying causes of problems that arise in relation to projects remain unknown. As a result, it becomes difficult to provide solutions to programs' problems in terms of causes that remain implicit. Such situations are a fertile ground for undermining policy goals of providing development to the intended beneficiaries.

'Process monitoring' is in contrast to the assumption that project implementation is linear, and that it is characterized by a time-bound sequence of preprogrammed activities with predefined outcomes (Cernea 1994: 6, Mosse 1999: 5). This is an indication that development practice does not take place without unexpected problematic issues. That is why it is not wise to treat interventions as closed, controllable and unchanging systems. Further, it would be unwise to rely too heavily on logical frameworks in the context of planning interventions, where such frameworks

involve the act of deliberately isolating hypothesized causal links, as a means of determining predictable outcomes (Mosse 1999: 5).

Therefore, this is an indication that process documentation is a flexible approach that is aimed at ensuring that, while policy implementation takes place in line with set objectives, it nevertheless provides space for learning about the dynamics of implementation. And lessons learned become the means of providing solutions to challenges that come up.

In addition, the value of process documentation is that it provides data about a program's performance on a continuous basis. The idea is to investigate if there is progress taking place towards the achievement of the intended outcomes or outputs (UNICEF 2004). The data that is collected about the program's performance is used in providing feedbacks among program's staff members. Subsequently, staff members would be able to execute the modification on program's plans and implementation processes.

7.2.5 Conclusion

'Program process monitoring' is significant because it has a great contribution to make towards improving project implementation (Baum and Tolbert 1985: 363). Despite its significance there are still many projects and programs that take place today without embracing it. This results in them experiencing several problems (like performance inefficiencies, ineffectiveness, regular absence of staff members, and so on), the causes of which are not clearly understood. Baum and Tolbert point out that there are still many instances whereby 'process monitoring' is considered as just another data collection effort. And then the collected data is not processed, and, if collected, it is seldom used to influence management decisions (1985: 363). This is because in certain cases, data analysis is not understood as a significant activity that should be undertaken as a means of generating knowledge about the performance of programs. This is an unfortunate situation because the generated knowledge would have been

vital to program's decision-makers (e.g. stakeholders, management, etc.) with regards to making improvements on a program's performance, or in making major decisions that affect the future of programs, e.g. increasing or decreasing programs' funding.

Therefore, the habit of ignoring data collection and analysis by program(s)' staff is a regrettable situation. Because the knowledge that could have been generated out of such information, would have been used to assess the progress of programs in achieving their objectives. Sadly, in the absence of knowledge generation through data collection and analysis, programs are facing the risk of continuing without knowing if the services they deliver are in line with set objectives, and if beneficiaries are receiving their services as planned. Projects or/and programs are constituencies of policies; if they are not functioning properly, such a situation is a reflection of policy failure.

7.3 THE PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

7.3.1 The role of LED technical cluster meetings in projects monitoring

The LED technical cluster meetings were playing a significant role in the process of monitoring the progress of projects that take place within various sectors in the LED, e.g. projects of: Heritage, Tourism, Business Enterprises, etc. Each meeting was a platform where project managers had to explain how they were doing with regard to implementing their projects (particularly spending the budget). They had to indicate the challenges they were experiencing, stories of success were shared, and so on.

The first cluster meeting that was observed took place on 17 August 2010. It was made up of over 20 people, and the venue for hosting it was the boardroom. The meeting was constituted by diverse representatives of various units in the municipality. In terms of gender diversity, there were 60% females and 40% males. With regard(s) to seniority status, 60% of the people in the boardroom consisted of sector managers, and the remaining 40% were made up of: the Director and the HOD, and a combination of

administrative officers and managers from the LED and other departments in the municipality.

The aim of the gathering was to revive cluster meetings. Judging by listening to the content of the introductory speech, it sounded as if the cluster meetings had not been active for a while (a few months). This particular meeting was chaired by the Councilor, who was also the Portfolio Head of LED. The theme of the meeting was:

“Various sectors in the municipality must be coordinated in their operations. For future meetings, each sector must have a representative in order to report about the progress of their projects, and to indicate the challenges that are experienced. Other relevant sectors must show how much (by percentage) they would contribute in assisting a particular sector. Cluster meetings were a platform for getting advice from other sectors, on how to deal with challenges that were experienced by particular projects” (The chairperson/Councilor, 17 August 2010).

Further, the chairperson in the cluster meetings would play the role of interrogating sector managers on the progress of projects. The manner in which he would demand explanations was based on the documents that were tabled in front of him. Besides the agenda, the documents that were used regularly were the SDBIP and the ‘detailed project report’.

The procedure was that the chairperson would look at the list of projects in the documents, and then ask the relevant officer to report, e.g. the appropriate officer concerning the item (on the agenda) or project called “Cooperative Indaba” was the interim officer for Cooperatives and SMMEs: she reported that the project (Cooperative Indaba) was implemented successfully, i.e. the budget was spent as planned. So the chairperson was happy with the report, therefore he continued to inquire from another representative. The reporting process continued in this order. In fact this is the procedure that was followed in other meetings. Therefore, the importance of such meetings was that they were opportunities for sector managers to receive support, and

advice, while they also got interrogated on issues regarding the coordinating of projects on the ground.

The process of coordinating meetings appeared to require a leader who has the skills and expertise to do so. The coordinators were either the Councilor or the Director. For example, the Director (in the meeting of 01 March 2011) had to maintain a balance between being firm to officers and having a sense of humour at the same time. But in the end he would build up a team spirit. This kind of atmosphere would result in the boardroom being characterized by a mixture of laughter and seriousness simultaneously. The usefulness of this atmosphere was that it contributed to the effectiveness and efficiency of the meetings.

Coordinating meetings in this manner was a part of the organizational culture in the LED/ADM. Both the Councilor and the Director were using this similar style in chairing meetings. On the other hand, the officers / committee members would respond with respect and politeness to the chairperson, while the Councilor or the Director would even adopt a little bit of arrogance. An example of such arrogance was presented as a joke in one cluster meeting in September 2010. The Councilor, as the chairperson, made the following comment:

“When you applied for a job in the ADM, you were convincing the selection committee that you can perform your job as expected, and you are capable of working under pressure, so why is it a problem now for you to deliver as expected?”

The people in the room laughed nervously! On the other hand the chairperson was happy to know that he has made his point clear to everyone. This example was based on the chairperson’s concern regarding cases of officers whose work performance was unsatisfactory. The existence of this concern was attributed to the reports that were made by the officers during a particular meeting. Mostly, the officers were blaming excessive responsibilities that were delegated to them, as their reasons for the unsatisfactory performance. Therefore, the chairperson was sending a message that

said “by the virtue of occupying the position of being a senior officer (e.g. a sector manager) you are expected to have the necessary capacity to perform your duties effectively despite working under pressure”.

Some interesting examples of comments that were made by the chairperson are indicated below. The Director was speaking in his capacity as the chairperson for the cluster meeting of 01 March 2011. These are presented as cases number one, two, and three:

Case number one: The chairperson (he) kept on probing for more information from the sector manager (the officer) who was reporting. Despite keeping on digging for information from the officer, he became dissatisfied by what he was receiving from the officer. Hence he became upset and raised his voice and said,

“How come you don't know issues about your own sector, while you (and your colleagues) meet there every week? Here we meet only once per month!”

It appeared that the chairperson was challenging this officer to make it his mission to get to know what was going on in his own office. He should be ready to make a report to the cluster meeting when the time comes with all the necessary information that is required. Otherwise, if he does not know what is going on, who else is supposed to know?

The feeling of the chairperson is understandable. Any reasonably minded supervisor would be upset to realize that his/her subordinate does not have sufficient knowledge (information) about his/her work situation. Not knowing the details about your job is a sign of incompetence, which could result in poor implementation of projects on the ground. Therefore the interaction between the officer and the chairperson reveals that the work performance of this officer was not effective.

Case number two: The officer reported that they (the project manager and his colleagues) had spent all the funds that were allocated to their office on a particular project. Accordingly, their office was going to end up having a deficit balance in the end. Immediately the chairperson responded firmly,

“Nizakuyithatha phi ke enye imali” (“Where are you going to get another amount (of money) in order to top-up the deficit amount?”)

The people in the boardroom laughed! One may assume that they were laughing at the way the chairperson asked his question. He looked serious but joking at the same time. Smilingly and politely, the officer responded,

“We have approached the National Heritage Council for additional funding”.

The chairperson was satisfied with this response, and then went on requesting reports from the other officers.

Indeed, this was a typical example of demanding explanations about projects. As the Director of LED, he had the mandate to know the details of what was going on in the sector (i.e. Heritage in this context): Firstly, he asked for the description of the key activities of the project in the sector. And then he heard about a particular project that grabbed his attention in the sector. Secondly, he received some information that there was a challenge (especially the financial one) that needed to be dealt with on the project. Lastly, he needed to understand the proposed solution on the problem. And ultimately, he approved the manner in which the problem was solved, by saying “okay!” This meant that the solution sounded satisfactory.

This case example may be used to reflect some light upon the management style of the executive management team (the management team) in the ADM: The management team seemed to be encouraging the officers to be proactive in thinking about how to deal with problems they confront concerning the projects they coordinate. That is, they

ought to think about alternative solutions in advance. On the other hand, through this comment the management team was sending a message that says “officers need to be aware that they have to account on how they spend projects’ funds”, i.e. the projects they were coordinating.

Case number three: The interim officer for Business Enterprise was reporting. She noted that the sector on Business Enterprise had an amount of R176 000.00, plus a top-up fund of R800 000.00 that was allocated to the sector, and she was busy processing funding applications from the members of cooperative projects. She noted that she had requested cooperatives’ members to provide quotations for their applications. The chairperson asked, “*Are you doing site-visits on these cooperatives?*”

She responded, “*We have requested the local municipalities to help us in doing site-visits and in monitoring projects*”.

During that time, it was not viable for the interim officer to do site-visits in order to conduct observations of projects’ performance. She was doing the job on a temporary basis, while she had her own full-time job as a sector manager for the Tourism sector. She was the interim officer pending the appointment of the officer to be designated to the sector for Cooperatives and SMMEs.

This was another case that indicates that the chairperson was making efforts to understand what was going on concerning projects of a particular sector. He (the chairperson) had the duty to monitor the operations of the LED unit, even while he was not hands-on with regard to the daily activities of the sector. After all, he also had to account to the Council (the supreme governing structure of the municipality) for the performance of the LED. Hence the chairperson would try to be firm in demanding explanations from sector managers.

The three cases noted above, demonstrate something about the interaction between the sector managers and the chairperson/s in the boardroom. This relationship seemed

to be characterized by power inequality among members in the boardroom. The chairperson (he) was a superior figure while sector managers would obey him. He had the power to demand explanations about the performance of sector managers in their sectors. On the other hand they had the obligation to respond to his demands for explanations. Yet the chairperson also seemed concerned to encourage/affirm his sector managers, and to keep projects rolling.

I have observed the manner in which they addressed him and the way the Director would address them as they spoke to each other: he (the Director) could call a project manager by his/her surname or a first name interchangeably, while sector managers would address him as *mhlekazi* (sir!). In addressing the HOD, they would call him “Councillor!” As he (the Director) talked to them, he would change his tone depending on the circumstances (as noted in the examples of the three cases above). Sometimes he would use a soft voice, or a harsh voice, and so on. The officers on the other hand, would respond to him politely and softly. All these signs indicate that the chairperson had authoritative power over sector managers.

To wrap up, using cluster meetings was a valuable way of attempting to ensure that sector managers implement their projects as planned. This approach was useful in preventing serious problems from happening in the first place, e.g. detecting instances of mismanagement of municipality funds, preventing unnecessary delays in project implementation, and so on. Cluster meetings also seemed to be the best opportunity for the LED administrators to get together, in order to tell their stories and share ideas about projects. Thus, these were the intended goals through cluster meetings. However, some challenges started to manifest as time went by, and they had a contribution in prohibiting the achievement of these goals (see section 4.3.4 for details below). The next section focuses in the discussion of cross-pollination of ideas.

7.3.2 Cluster meetings and ‘cross-pollination of ideas’

The slogan 'cross-pollination of ideas' was associated with cluster meetings in the LED, in Amathole District Municipality. It was used by the officers in the LED unit when referring to the LED cluster meetings. It was derived from the fact that the cluster committee was made up of administrative officers from various offices in the municipality. It implied that ideas were shared by members of the same sector, officers from different sectors of LED, and officers from different departments (e.g. the Departments of Engineering, Human Resources, Strategic Management, etc.). The aim of this committee was to provide support to sector managers in the process of implementing projects within their sectors. By giving them advice in areas where they experienced problems, while their stories of success were celebrated.

The success of the concept 'cross-pollinating ideas' was dependent on sector managers themselves. They had to highlight their problematic areas, and indicate which departments they thought were relevant to help them. For example, the interim officer for Cooperatives/SMMEs was reporting in the cluster meeting of 01 March 2011. She noted that she had cooperatives (cooperatives' members) that were in need of skills development. Therefore she appealed to the officers of Human Resource Department to devise a plan on how to train them. After hearing this request, the chairperson made a comment immediately,

"Yes this is a very important point to note, do we have the human resource people in this meeting?"

Unfortunately, there were no human resource officers in the boardroom. But he continued with finishing his comment, referring to officers from other departments.

"If you come from another department (other than LED), please think about which project you can make your contribution on!"

The chairperson was basically advising the committee members from other departments to be proactive about helping each other. His point was that if you come

from another department, you must start thinking of how you can help another sector/department, through using the expertise of your department. By doing so, there would be a 'cross-pollination of ideas' and skills from one department to another, one sector to another, one officer to another.

In short, the concept of cross pollination was a constructive idea for transforming policies into practice. Its value was that ideas and contributions that come from an officer outside one's sector/department would help to eliminate problematic areas that could inhibit projects implementation. However, the concept of 'cross pollinating ideas' was more likely to remain theoretical if cluster meetings were not taking place consistently. The next section discusses the problem of irregularity in hosting these meetings.

7.3.3 Challenges experienced by cluster meetings

a) The cancellation of cluster meetings

The intention behind the cluster committee was that it should function through holding meetings (cluster meetings) at least once per month. Unfortunately, these meetings were not taking place as planned. They would get cancelled, sometimes for no apparent reason/s. Subsequently, the agenda would be forwarded to the next meeting. In one instance, I observed that the meetings did not take place for three consecutive months.

Unfortunately the ADM's officers refused to respond to the question about why the meetings were sometimes getting cancelled. There are diverse factors that might have contributed to the cancellation of the meetings. The predicament of staff shortages might have played its part in this regard, with insufficient human resources to conduct the duties of servicing committees (coordinating meetings), e.g. writing minutes and agendas, organizing people to attend meetings within specific dates, and so on.

The officers in the municipality were working under pressure due to excessive responsibilities they used to complain (t) about. Some of them used to attribute this pressure to the ongoing problem of staff shortages. Consequently, such conditions could result in some staff members excusing themselves from attending the meetings, as they had to catch up with other tasks.

The meeting of 01 March 2011 was the first meeting since the beginning of the year 2011. It was held after the meeting of 09 November 2010. Procedurally, the ADM's cluster meetings must be hosted once per month. The schedule of the meetings used to be placed in the calendars of the departments so that the affected officers could plan accordingly. Despite that, the meetings were still getting cancelled later on. For instance, there were meetings planned for 11 January and 01 February 2011, but they did not materialize. Towards the end the year 2010, two cluster meetings were also cancelled.

It was not clear whether other kinds of meetings, or only cluster meetings, were also getting cancelled frequently. In general, it was not easy to get research participants to respond to this issue, since they were mostly working under time constraints. Therefore when I managed to get hold of them I had to prioritize asking questions that relate more to cooperative projects and local economic development issues.

As has been pointed out before, cluster meetings had a positive contribution in overseeing the execution of sector projects. However, the inconsistency in hosting cluster meetings was undermining the aim of monitoring and encouraging projects implementation. The fact that more meetings were getting cancelled was a disadvantage to the municipality: i) the implication was that by the time a particular problem was discovered (from the process of project implementation) it would have grown larger, maybe even more difficult to deal with by the time the cluster meeting eventually takes place again. ii) In particular instances, the implementation of projects was not even getting started during the scheduled time, because of many challenges experienced by the responsible ADM officers, e.g. due to their feeling of being

overloaded by many work responsibilities, etc., therefore there would be no time for them to work on other projects. An example of a solution in such instances (from the cluster meetings) could be the receiving of advice from other department/s, e.g. on better methods of planning work.

At a cluster meeting that took place around the end of the year 2010, in September, one sector manager was reporting about her progress concerning implementing a particular project. After her report, the chairperson complained immediately to the officer who was speaking,

“I thought this project was finished long time ago! How come you only report now about a project that was supposed to be finished about six months ago?”

The response of the sector manager was to become silent, an indication of accepting failure on her side. One may assume that the officer took immediate steps afterwards to rectify the problem (regarding getting the project started) in order to avoid embarrassment next time (in reporting to the next cluster meeting and her superiors).

Therefore, cluster meetings were aimed at encouraging the sector managers and LED officers to stand up and perform their duties. They also had the intention of challenging and encouraging managers to act in a manner that is efficient and effective. However, the cancellation of such meetings meant that sector managers' jobs were not being monitored sufficiently.

b) Challenges concerning minutes and agendas

In addition to the cancellation of meetings, there were also other challenges that were related to the coordination of meetings. These included the late distribution of agendas, and the non-availability of minutes at the appropriate time.

Late distribution of agendas: The ADM was also experiencing challenges with the distribution of agendas at the appropriate time. One example is the meeting that I attended on 01 March 2011. A highlight of this meeting was the fact that the agenda was only distributed a few minutes after the meeting had begun, instead of having been distributed several days before the meeting. Interestingly, the officers in the meeting accepted the agenda and continued with business as usual. None of them expressed concern during the meeting or afterwards.

My reading of such situations was that receiving an agenda at the last-minute is an inconvenience to officers who take the committee's work seriously. It means they have the burden of reading the agenda while they must also pay attention to the committee's discussion at the same time. Simultaneously they are also not able to do the necessary preparations for a particular meeting. In the end, their focus might be distracted by this simultaneous reading and listening. Unfortunately, I was not able to get the views of these officers about how they felt regarding receiving their agenda at the last minute of the meeting. This is because after the meeting they rushed to somewhere else to other commitments.

My understanding is that the agenda should be distributed to committee members within a stipulated period of time (e.g. six days) before the meeting takes place. By doing so, the committee's members are given a space to think through the issues that have been put on the agenda, so that they can prepare themselves to raise questions and comments in the meeting. If this does not happen, the enthusiastic committee members might not be able to make their contribution sufficiently. So the committee ends up losing valuable input from them. On the other hand the chairperson is also less likely to be challenged by committee members if they are unable to do their preparations for the meeting.

The non-availability of minutes at the appropriate time: One of the ADM's challenges was the non-availability of minutes of meetings at the appropriate time. In one instance I did not attend one previous cluster meeting, so I made a request for the minutes of the

meeting. I was told that they were not yet available as they were in the process of being completed (the writing down of draft documents). And then they still had to be confirmed by the relevant authorities, i.e. the HOD or/and the Director as they were usually the chairpersons of the meetings. In fact it was not my first experience to come across this kind of response! To me this was an unusual process, as the next cluster meeting was going to be taking place within the following two to three days.

My understanding is that minutes of the last meeting should be attached to the agenda of the next meeting, in order to integrate them as a part of the agenda items. Attaching the minutes means creating a space for the committee's members to make amendments to the minutes before the next meeting takes place, which also assists the process of confirming their correctness in the meeting. Thus when the minutes are not attached to the agenda, the opportunity for them to be corrected by the committee's members is taken away. The implication here is that the committee will not get sufficient opportunity to review what has been planned against set objectives. This is because the agenda and minutes are also integral documents for planning and reviewing an organization's objectives.

Agenda and minutes have a contribution to make to the activities of monitoring and evaluating projects' performance. They are the tools for uncovering data that is/are gathered about projects' activities. Minutes, for example, provide a source where the description of projects' performance is presented. Simultaneously, this is also the space for uncovering the decisions and follow-up relating to projects, i.e. the assessment of projects' performance.

7.3.4 Some issues of concern about projects

a) Scarcity of site visits

The outcomes of conducting the study uncovered that there was a scarcity of site visits by the ADM's officers to the areas where projects were operating. Some points that relate to this matter are indicated as follows:

- Throughout the duration of conducting the study, within the period of approximately 6 months, site visits were conducted only once (even though the LED office did not have a benchmark about the quantity of site visits that must take place within a particular period of time). Consequently, I was able to observe only one visit in total to the sites. So there were no more site visits that have taken place that I was not able to attend any. The predicament of staff shortages and the closure of the office for SMMEs and cooperatives have resulted in less opportunity to conduct site visits.
- The interim officer for SMMEs admitted that site visits were not taking place to projects. Problems with the shortage of human resources were the main reason for this challenge.
- Lastly, the project's members in Alice also expressed concern that site visits were not taking place. These members were complaining about the lack of support from the ADM, together with other governmental agencies that were responsible for the development of small enterprises.

Thus, the lack of site visits implies that first-hand projects' information remained unknown by the officers of the ADM. Such a situation could result in decisions being made about projects based on insufficient and inaccurate information. As a result, the ADM could be exposed to the risk of providing irrelevant solutions to problems that are experienced by projects.

b) Projects that are 'emerging forever'

The ADM's officers expressed concern that, no matter how much funds these projects receive, they remain 'emerging forever'. They are just not developing, even some years after they started. This problem seemed to be persisting, even though the members

were receiving the necessary training. The projects' members had the tendency of asking funding from one municipality this year, and then they go and request it from somewhere else next year.

This concern indicates that the ADM's officers did not have sufficient information about the projects they were coordinating. The continuous collection of data about projects' activities ('process monitoring') is important as the information provides insights about issues of concern relating to projects. Such information would have enabled the ADM's officers to make the necessary decisions with regards to how to make improvements on the performance of projects. Thus, in the absence of such information, projects are more likely to have recurring problems, with the causes of such problems remaining unknown.

c) Lack of knowledge about the number of cooperative projects

The absence of records about the number of cooperative projects in Amathole region was an indication of the absence of 'process monitoring'. As a district municipality, ADM had 7 local municipalities that subscribe to it. The cooperative projects were located in the villages and townships of these municipalities. However, the numbers of cooperative projects in the municipalities remained unknown to the ADM's officers. It was also not clear which of the projects were registered as business entities, and which ones were not. Therefore, this situation is similar to the point that has been mentioned above. It is a demonstration of a lack of 'process monitoring' on projects. The implication here is that the ADM is one of the organizations that do not understand the value of 'process monitoring' as one of the necessary tools in project management.

7.4 THE DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

7.4.1 Human resource incapacity and weakness of administrative systems inhibit policy implementation

Before policies are adopted it is necessary to assess if they would be compatible with the demands they make on the administrative systems (Chambers 2005: 32) and human resources of their programs. This implies that the endorsement of policies should go together with verifying program(s)' quality and the availability of administrative systems and human resources. In order for programs to become operational, it is necessary for them to have people to work on their activities. At the same time, such people need support, like administrative systems, in order to execute programs' activities.

Babbie and Mouton (2001: 344) support this view and talk about administrative systems (management systems) and human resources as two of the features that are common to all programs. These features are helpful in getting the activities of programs up and running. Therefore the management systems or administrative systems, and human resources need to complement each other for programs to work towards achieving programs' goals. The expectation is that they would be capable to deal with the demands of programs' activities. In other words, there must be enough systems for record keeping, monitoring participants, etc., and staff members with the necessary knowledge and/or skills, etc. If that is the case, it implies that policies are compatible with the demands they make on programs' administrative systems and human resources.

In the context of the ADM, there was the challenge of incompatibility between the demands of policy implementation, and the capacity of the administrative systems and human resources. This challenge was taking place at the office level and spread to the ground level. The challenges of administrative systems were manifested by cases like the cancellation of cluster meetings for no apparent reason/s, and the non-availability of agendas and minutes for meetings at the correct time. The challenges of human resources were discussed in the previous chapter. They include cases like the existence of job vacancies for a long time, the shortage of human resources, and concerns that kept on coming up about overworked employees.

The deficiency of human resources is a constant perpetuator of such challenges. This is because the existence of administrative systems depends on being maintained by human resources. If there are limited human resources to maintain the administrative systems, it means the administrative systems of programs will be unstable. The existence of job vacancies for a long time results in extra loads of work on the remaining staff members. Chambers argues that such a situation leads into new demands on human resources, and it draws staff away from the activities they used to be busy with (Chambers 2005: 30). In other words, this is a disruption of focus by staff members from their performance targets. This explains why there were these administrative challenges in the ADM. The ultimate outcome becomes the interruption in service delivery. In the case of the ADM, these service delivery interruptions include the cancellation of cluster meetings and the non-availability of agendas and minutes within the appropriate time. The ultimate result of these interruptions included the neglecting of site visits.

Moreover, the disruption of service delivery (program activities) has wider negative effects on programs. Let us explore this matter by looking at the example of the cancellations of cluster meetings. The cancellation of meetings implies that there were no follow-ups taking place concerning the sector managers' performance in coordinating projects. As a result, there was no clear understanding of challenges that were experienced by projects and sector managers. This situation was minimizing chances for sector managers to account on their performance. In the absence of accountability, it implies that there is a perpetuation of mediocre results and monitoring about job performance. The various cases of cluster meetings discussed above have indicated how sector managers were made to account on their performance with regards to projects coordination. Therefore, the disruption of cluster meetings was taking away the opportunity to make sector managers account about their work performance.

On the other hand, sector managers were missing the opportunity of getting advice and support from the officers from different departments in the municipality. In other words, the concept of 'cross-pollination of ideas' was not getting applied properly. An example

of this scenario in the ADM was that of the interim officer for Business Enterprises. As noted, she identified that some projects' members were in need of receiving training sessions on matters of human resources, in order to be able to manage their projects better. Unfortunately such support was not forthcoming. Support in this instance could have come from another department in the ADM, i.e. the Human Resource Department. In that manner the concept of 'cross-pollination of ideas' could have been practiced. And ultimately she would be getting support, which would assist her in projects coordination.

In conclusion, the shortage of human resources contributes to the deterioration of administrative systems on programs. Without proper administrative systems, the chances of effective monitoring of programs become inhibited. This is because staff members are overworked, while administrative systems are not of sufficient quality to execute programs' activities adequately. Baum and Tolbert concur by pointing out that organizations have the tendency of paying less attention to "the problems of gathering basic data and of monitoring progress towards" achieving the desired objectives (1985: 26). The implication here is that there is insufficient monitoring of progress during implementation in order to provide solutions to specific problems that arise during the process (Mosse 2004: 3-4). The consequences of such a situation are that programs remain vulnerable to ongoing operational challenges.

7.4.2 Lack of 'process monitoring' contributes to policy implementation challenges

The importance of 'process monitoring' on projects or programs, has been discussed before. It is concerned with programs' / projects' progress, and it focuses on describing actions and events that come out of planned inputs and the means of producing outputs (Mosse 2004: 4). It is thus an approach for conducting observations on diverse aspects about projects. For instance, to ensure that the activities that take place assist projects in achieving the intended outcomes, to maximize the efficient use of resources, etc.

However, sometimes there are challenges that inhibit the conducting of 'process monitoring', namely:

a) Insufficient visits to beneficiaries' sites

Process documentation is orientated to the present, i.e. it is concerned with what is happening right now. It is also a continuous information-gathering process over the period of programs' work (Mosse 2004: 10). In order for this documentation to take place, site visits have to take place, notably in areas where the intended beneficiaries receive programs' services. This leads to the existence of first-hand information about beneficiaries' situations. Such information becomes valuable in making assessments whether programs are making progress or not, towards achieving the intended outcomes.

Unfortunately, sometimes there is insufficiency of conducting site visits as a part of project management. The lack of site visits by the ADM's officers is an example of this problem. It has been pointed out before that the human resource shortage has been a challenge in this municipality, as a result of ongoing job vacancies. Consequently, the remaining officers end up having little time for conducting site visits because of being overworked. This is an unfortunate situation, because the municipality was losing a great deal of information that could have been used in the decision-making processes of cluster meetings about the cooperative projects.

Concerning cooperative projects that are 'emerging forever', the question that arises here is "*what if the interventions that have been provided to these projects were not appropriate in solving their challenges?*" Babbie and Mouton speak about a possible wrong approach in their discussion of reasons that cause programs to fail in providing service delivery to the intended beneficiaries. They argue that, among the causes of

failure in service delivery is the system that has been used. For instance a sophisticated system of service delivery might be suitable for certain beneficiaries, but not for others (2001: 347). A similar principle could apply in the context of the ADM; that is, adopting an inappropriate approach in problem solving on programs. There could be many reasons for projects to be 'emerging forever'. It could be a solution that is not appropriate to beneficiaries' needs, a service delivery system that is not compatible with the beneficiaries, etc. This is an important reason for the need to use process documentation - because it would help in getting to understand issues that underlie challenges to programs. Maybe there is a need to embrace process documentation as a means to understand why projects keep on 'emerging forever'. Process documentation, therefore, would add value by uncovering why cooperative projects remain at the status of being 'emerging forever'. Perhaps the interventions that were provided to these projects were not necessarily relevant in addressing the problems they were experiencing.

An example of irrelevant interventions could be that of providing training sessions to projects' members about marketing products, while they do not even have products to sell, as they do not have start-up capital. Such interventions would be inappropriate (for example) to projects that have a deficiency of funding, because at that stage the mindset of projects' members would be more concerned with getting funding in order to get started with the activities of their businesses. Therefore, adopting 'process monitoring' would assist with picking up the main challenges of projects.

One of the reasons for the existence of site visits is the fact that they form part of the core activities of projects coordination by the ADM's officers. If site visits do not get conducted, it implies that projects coordination would not be taking place sufficiently. The outcome of insufficient coordination is that projects operate without having the necessary support from the agency that coordinates development. Without support, projects become vulnerable to many kinds of problems, and eventually there is an increase in chances for projects to fail to deliver services as specified (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 374).

Therefore, the inadequate execution of site visits has an implication that has an even more negative effect on programs. It implies that there is a non-executing of programs' activities as the means of achieving the intended outcomes. It also means that there has been a lost opportunity to conduct process documentation about programs. A lack of carrying out programs' activities and process documentation, create more chances for programs to fail in achieving the intended goals.

b) Misconceptions about 'monitoring and evaluation'

It has been noted elsewhere that the integration of 'process monitoring' into project management, contributes to improved project implementation. This suggestion is in conflict with the tendency of engaging program evaluation at the later stages of a project cycle. This latter practice has been characterized by data collection that takes place sometime after a project implementation has been completed. The data would then be used to account for the outcome of the project (Baum and Tolbert 1985: 362).

This way of thinking equates evaluation only with the type of evaluation that is called outcome evaluation (impact assessment). This takes place once programs have been implemented according to plan. It focuses on assessing the intended outcomes of programs, and it comes up with some reliable and valid measures of outcomes. Examples include indicators like the number of more knowledgeable students, the percentage of skillful trainers, and so on (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 341). Therefore, it is necessary to adopt a 'process monitoring' approach throughout the entire project cycle, and thus project sustainability is increased.

ADM had its own challenges concerning the issue of 'monitoring and evaluation'. It is one of those organizations which were not integrating 'monitoring and evaluation' in its operations. 'Monitoring and evaluation' was understood as a once-off project that must take place once in a while. This was demonstrated by the fact that the M and E function would be outsourced to private consultants, in order to do it as a form of impact

assessment. The concept of 'process monitoring' was definitely not the preferred type of evaluation in this municipality. The fact that the number of cooperative projects was not known is also a demonstration of this factor.

This is a demonstration of the organizational culture that exists in many organizations, and ADM is amongst them. That is, the culture of initiating projects and then leaving them halfway done, or even further advanced, without conducting follow-ups on them. The projects would end up nowhere, without having achieved the positive contribution on the target people. Therefore, this situation also indicates the deficiency of understanding the usefulness of 'process monitoring' as a tool that should be used together with project management.

7.5 CONCLUSION

There are some lessons that may be drawn out of this chapter. Firstly, the shortage of staff members as one of the key resources in policy practice, contributes to inhibiting project implementation processes. The consequence becomes the experience of the existing staff members being overworked. That kind of atmosphere also creates a multifaceted negative effect on diverse aspects of projects or programs. Some examples of such negative effect include: programs' activities that do not take place adequately, unsatisfactory administrative systems on programs, absence of process documentation - which takes away the opportunity to learn about challenges that are experienced by programs in order to improve, and so on. Therefore, a lack of human resources in policy practice results in many challenges, which end up inhibiting the achievement of programs' goals and objectives. The deterioration of programs or projects also feed into wider policy failure.

Secondly, the insufficiency of 'process monitoring' contributes to program failure. A part of 'process monitoring' constitutes visiting projects as a means of observing their progress towards achieving the intended outcomes. According to Rossi et al. (2004: 170) 'process monitoring' is about assessing if the activities of the program have

actually taken place, and to verify if services were actually delivered "in routine program operation". Site visits, therefore are the necessary activities for executing the objective of 'process monitoring'. However, if site visits are insufficient, then 'process monitoring' would be reduced. The consequence becomes a lost opportunity to learn about challenges that are experienced by projects.

On the other hand, 'process monitoring' forms part of discovering the unknown concerning some problems that seem to dominate projects. The analysis and interpreting of data from the field could lead to identifying some trends that may be linked to the causes of the projects' predicaments. For example, the cooperative projects in ADM that were viewed as 'emerging forever'. Thus, if there is scarcity of site visits, the opportunity to discover the unknown problems on projects is taken away. That is why today there are many programs and/or projects that undergo a vicious cycle of performing inefficiently, but without solutions, for quite some time. Some of them end up going nowhere, while funding is wasted on them. For instance, there were two projects in Butterworth, that were blamed for remaining in the status of being 'emerging forever,' despite which they kept on receiving funding from the ADM and other government departments.

Lastly, the (mis) conceptualization of M and E as something that happens at the end of a project, i.e. as impact assessment, inhibits the practice of 'process monitoring'. This leads to 'process monitoring' not being taken seriously as a function that should be integrated into projects implementation; instead of which, an impact assessment would be conducted at the end of the project cycle. The non-integration of 'process monitoring' therefore, results in overlooking a tool that could have been valuable in improving projects' performances.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is on presenting concluding remarks and recommendations on the subject of why well planned policies are not getting implemented as intended. The outcomes of the study are used as a means of pulling out key points that help in providing responses on the research question. The responses to this question are discussed in the form of the following points: policy implementation and its associated complexities, policy implementation complexities as learning opportunities, an insufficient understanding of 'process monitoring', and the conducting of policy implementation in the absence of policy documents.

8.2 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND ITS COMPLEXITIES

The outcomes of this study indicate that the manifestation of policy implementation occurs in the form of projects (cooperative projects) that surface at the local level. These projects are located within the seven local municipalities that are affiliated to the Amathole District Municipality. This point confirms the perspective of Cloete and de Coning (2012), as they argue that policy implementation is revealed in the form of projects or/and programs that are executed at the grass-roots level. The projects that were observed in the study were located in two local municipalities, namely: i) at Nkonkobe Local Municipality (in Alice), and ii) in the Mnquma Local Municipality (in Butterworth). The office of the ADM in East London had/has the responsibility for policy making and implementation with regard to these projects.

Similarly to the other implementation processes that take place in different parts of the world (as argued earlier on), the policy implementation by the ADM was also clouded by some complexities. To mention a few examples, the closure of the office that coordinates cooperative projects, the regular cancellation of the LED cluster meetings, etc. The findings of this study are in consensus with the perspectives of Wedel et al.,

when they argue that policy implementation does not always take place in a manner that is neat, flowing, logically and orderly, with rational sets of procedures, while moving logically and systematically from policy formulation into the implementation of programs. Instead, every stage of policy implementation is characterized by an interaction of different participants (development practitioners, stakeholders, funders, and so on) who contribute in transforming policy as it is getting implemented (Wedel et al. 2005: 29). Therefore, these views indicate that policy implementation is a complex phenomenon, which often does not go in a straight line. The effect of these complexities includes the distraction of participants from working towards achieving policy goals and objectives.

In addition, the ways in which participants (in development agencies, programs, and/or projects) respond to these complexities influences the success or failure of policy implementation. Some examples of such responses include: having human resources with the necessary expertise and/or work experience, efficient and effective administrative systems, being in possession of sufficient financial resources, and so on. Organizations that have insufficient response sets are more likely to have problems in dealing with implementation complexities. In the context of the ADM, some examples of insufficient response sets that may be pointed out are: the administrative and human resource incapacity, and the poor response in dealing with underperforming officers. These two points, on inadequate response sets, are presented in the next coming discussion.

8.2.1 Administrative and human resource incapacity

The results of conducting this study uncover that an administrative capacity of the office that coordinates policy implementation is important. As indicated before, an administrative capacity implies an integration of systems like human resources, record keeping, the maintenance of some committees (as decision-makers on certain issues), and so on. Therefore, it is this integration that builds up robust administrative systems, which enable the executing of projects' activities in terms of set objectives, despite

challenges that come up in the process. Chambers concurs by pointing out that administrative capacity is the ability of projects to get things done (2005: 31) even despite the arising of complexities on the way. Hence he says it is necessary to consider administrative capacity as a scarce resource in policy making and implementation.

In addition, the administrative capacity also forms part of the components/elements of programs. These components have been discussed before; they complement each other in order to work towards achieving policy goals. If one or some of the elements are not existing or functioning properly, the outcomes become improper execution of program's activities. Some signs of this kind of situation have been uncovered at the ADM, i.e. the absence or lack of human resources is an example of this matter. This situation had resulted in overworked employees, and the closing of the office for small enterprises. Eventually there was a negative impact on some activities of projects and at the office, namely, the improper conducting of site visits, and the cancellation of cluster meetings at the office. Therefore, the administrative capacity is the backbone of projects functioning. If there are non-functioning administrative systems, projects would fail to execute their activities. Consequently, policy implementation would be inhibited.

Therefore, the recommendations of this study include that authorities in policy work must respond quickly to challenges that relate to human resources. Or else, the insufficiency or absence of human resources would have a wider negative impact on different aspects of projects, particularly the deterioration of administrative capacity. Alternatively, the function of coordinating projects could be decentralized. That is, delegating some duties to the offices that operate at the grassroots level. In the context of the ADM, this would constitute delegating duties to the local municipalities.

8.2.2 Poor response in dealing with underperforming officers

The slow pace of response in dealing with underperforming senior officers (the management) leads to the deterioration of policy implementation. According to the hierarchy of authority in organizations, senior officers are responsible for the overall performance of projects or organizations. In other words, the success or failure of the organization is determined by them. Therefore, if their performance is not satisfactory some steps ought to be taken in order to rectify the situation.

Moreover, making senior officers account about their performance is not a straightforward issue, as they are the ultimate decision-makers of organizations or projects. According to the organizational structure, they are on the top level of the hierarchy of authority. In order to make them account, some units (as constituents of the division of labour) that have the necessary jurisdiction, ought to be used to maintain authority and make decisions. In the context of municipalities, the Council is the unit that is the highest decision-maker. Therefore, it has the jurisdiction to summon senior officers to account about their performance. This must be done through embracing the use of rules and procedures of organizations, for instance using a performance assessment policy applicable to senior management. The organizational structure in ADM confirms the view of Hatch, as he defines the hierarchy of authority as the distribution of authority among certain positions in an organization. The possession of authority by a position holder implies that he or she is provided certain rights, e.g. to delegate duties to other employees, to punish or reward subordinates, etc. (Hatch 1997: 164).

However, despite the possession of these positional powers, the responsible unit in the ADM was responding slowly. The consequence of this situation was the perpetuation of underperformance challenges, which ultimately add to the culture of poor service delivery by local government. Thus, this study has uncovered that the deficiency of action against the poor performance of senior officers contributes to the deterioration of policy implementation.

8.3 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION COMPLEXITIES AS LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES

Amongst the findings of this study is that the absence of 'process monitoring' as one of the tools that should be integrated in project management, opens an opportunity for the escalation of policy implementation complexities. Some case examples of policy implementation complexities that may be pointed out in the ADM include (mentioning a few): complaints from projects' members about the feeling of being neglected by the ADM as the office that coordinates cooperative projects, and the complaints from the ADM officers that some cooperative projects tend to remain in the status of being 'emerging forever'.

The continuation of such implementation complexities indicates the need for the adoption of 'process monitoring' by the ADM, as one of the tools of project management. The value of embracing 'process monitoring' is confirmed by several scholars (like Mosse 1999, Babbie and Mouton 2001). They say (as argued before) it is concerned with putting emphasis in documenting what is going on concerning projects. This is the reason why it is called 'process documentation', because it involves the description of actions and events that surface from planned inputs and the means of producing the outputs. 'Process documentation' is oriented towards the present circumstances while it is more concerned with the dynamics of the development process (Mosse 1999: 4, 10). The aim is to find out if there is progress taking place, in terms of achieving the intended outputs or outcomes. A part of this 'process documentation' also involves investigating if there are changes taking place concerning the conditions of the intended beneficiaries as a result of the activities of projects. Ultimately, the information that is generated from 'process documentation' enhances learning from the experience of participating in implementation processes. Thus, the value of 'process documentation' is that it results in the creation of knowledge about projects' performance (<http://www.etu.org.za/toolbox/docs/localgov/webundrstdlocgov.html>).

However, despite the presence of 'process monitoring' as a tool that could be integrated in projects management in order to improve performance, there are many development agencies that are not exploiting it. The ADM is one of those development agencies. The manifestation of this concern is the fact that the ADM's officers were often not conducting site visits in order to collect data about their cooperative projects. For instance, they did not have some kind of record keeping with regards to the quantity of their projects, i.e. they did not have the basic information like how many cooperative projects they have in total? How many projects that were registered as legal entities, and how many of those that were not? How many of them were there in terms of per local municipality, and so on?

Thus the absence of 'process monitoring' as a part of projects management, emphasizes some problems, as noted within the context of the ADM. In the light of these points, if development agents (and other participants in policy implementation) are not exploiting the opportunity to learn from policy implementation and its complexities (by embracing 'process documentation') they are contributing to prohibiting policy implementation from taking place as intended.

8.4 INSUFFICIENT UNDERSTANDING OF 'PROCESS MONITORING'

As argued elsewhere, the necessity of program evaluation usually arises because stakeholders (e.g. policymakers, funding organizations, program managers, taxpayers, etc.) have some questions about a particular program. Stakeholders may be asking certain questions like: is the program effective about obtaining the desired goals? Is the program getting implemented effectively? Is the program reaching its target population? And so on (Rossi et al. 2004: 3). In order to get answers on these kinds of questions, an evaluation study must be conducted.

The type of evaluation studies that can be embraced depends on reasons like, the stage of a project circle, the nature of questions that need to be answered with regards to that particular project, etc. As indicated elsewhere there are many types of

evaluation, but there are 4 types that are discussed in this study. Namely: the evaluation of needs, assessing program conceptualization and design, the evaluation of process, and the evaluation of outcomes (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 339-341).

However, despite the multiplicity of evaluation studies, the concept that is commonly used (e.g. by officers in NGOs, government departments, etc.) when referring to evaluation studies is 'monitoring and evaluation'. Interestingly, one of the noted learning areas in this study is that there is also a misunderstanding of the concept 'monitoring and evaluation'. There is the tendency to equate this concept with impact assessment, while 'process monitoring' is not clearly understood. As a result, 'process monitoring' end up being ignored, and then impact assessment is embraced and utilized at the end of projects' cycles. This becomes a lost opportunity to conduct improvements on projects at the time projects were in progress. That is, the identification of programs' strengths and weaknesses and then recommendations for improvements follow. Perhaps this is why some projects go on for several years being clouded by some challenges whose causes are not explicitly understood. Concern about projects that keep on 'emerging forever' is an example of this issue in the ADM.

Therefore, the insufficient understanding of 'process monitoring' leads into projects being denied the opportunity to undergo ongoing monitoring and improvements. Ultimately, chances of achieving projects' objectives become minimized, and that feeds into policy implementation that becomes inhibited.

8.5 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN THE ABSENCE OF POLICY DOCUMENTS

The findings of this study have uncovered that sometimes policy implementation can take place even in the absence of policy document/s that guide the implementation processes. The absence of a strategic plan for cooperative projects in the ADM is a reflection of this matter. This is in conflict with the views of many scholars (e.g. Olivier de Sardan 2005: 4, Hobart 1993: 3, Cernea 1994: 189) who tend to present policy making as the predecessor of policy implementation.

This situation reflects that the policy making-implementation interaction does not necessarily have to follow the conventional sequence of beginning with policy making, and then followed by implementation. The learning area that may be attributed to conducting this study is that, to a certain extent, a preliminary policy- implementation exercise can be utilized as a resource to inform policy making. For instance, executing an exploratory policy-implementation exercise first, for a period of about four months, and then the development of policy document/s to take place afterwards. Therefore, a policy document that is informed by the preliminary policy implementation exercise could be valuable as a guide, in dealing with policy implementation complexities (as discussed elsewhere). Consequently, chances of achieving policy goals and objectives become maximized.

In contrast, conducting policy implementation in the absence of policy documents is equivalent to the concept of unclear policy goals, as pointed out in section 3.2.2 in Chapter 3. Mosse concurs and says in such instances the policy is characterized by vagueness (2004: 663). The consequence of this approach is that policy implementation could take place with no clearly defined outcomes. The potential risk is the engagement in implementation activities that do not address the problems of the intended beneficiaries. Consequently, the achievement of policy goals and objectives would be prohibited.

8.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was aimed at investigating why there is a disjuncture between policy planning and implementation. A case study of the Amathole District Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province was used in this investigation. In the light of these points, it is necessary to put forward some recommendations:

Tackling policy implementation complexities: In terms of dealing with implementation complexities, it would be valuable (for development agencies, development

practitioners, and so on) to adopt a flexible approach. That is, to use the preliminary implementation exercise as one of the tools for dealing with implementation complexities. The advantage of this approach is that it could result in the creation of a policy document/s that is pre-informed by (the) experiential learning. Consequently, the developed policy documents would become guides that have been enriched by experience, instead of the hypothesis testing of policy making as a theory that have to be executed through policy implementation in practice - as a result, financial resources become wasted through the trial and error process of policy implementation being tested against policy making.

Insufficient or absent human resources: It has been pointed out before that the challenge of insufficient or absent human resources has a wider negative impact on different aspects of projects. Thus, it is recommended that authorities in policy work must respond quickly on human resource-related challenges.

Integrating 'process monitoring': It is also necessary to make use of policy implementation complexities as learning opportunities. Therefore one of the tools to exploit in this regard is the engagement of 'process monitoring' as a part of projects management, since it involves data collection and analysis on projects on a continuous basis.

REFERENCES

ADM suspends four managers. 2011. *Daily Dispatch*. 18 August.

Apthorpe, R. 1997. Writing development policy and policy analysis plain or clear. In Shore, C. and Wright, S. (eds.) *Anthropology of policy. Critical perspectives on governance and power*. London. Routledge.

Avgerous, C. 2003. *The link between ICT and economic growth in the discourse of development*. New York, USA. Springer.

Ayee, J. R. A. 1994. *An Anatomy of public policy implementation: The case of decentralization policies in Ghana*. USA. University of Glasgow.

Babbie, E. and Mouton, J. 2001. *The practice of social research*. Cape Town. Oxford University Press.

Baum, C. and Tolbert, S. M. 1985. *Investing in development. Lessons of World Bank experience*. United States of America. Oxford University Press.

Botes, L. and Van Rensburg, S. 2000. Community participation in development: nine plagues and twelve commandments. *Community Development Journal*. 1-18.

Brand, D.; de Beer, S.; de Villiers, I. and van Marle, K. 2013. Poverty as injustice. *Law democracy and development*. (17): 273 - 297.

Brynard, P.A. 2009. Policy implementation. Is policy learning a myth or an imperative? *Administratio Publica*.(17) 4: 2009.

Bryld, E. 2000. The technocratic discourse: technical means to political problems. *Development in practice*. 10 (5): 700-705.

Cernea, M.M. 1993. Anthropological and sociological research for policy development on population resettlement. In Cernea, M.M. and Guggenheim, S.E.(eds.) *Anthropological approaches to resettlement. Policy, practice and theory*. United States of America. Westview Press.

Cernea, M.M. 1994. Involuntary resettlement: Social research, policy and planning. In Cernea, M.M (ed.) *Putting people first. Sociological variables in rural development*. New York and London. Oxford University Press.

Cernea, M.M. 1994. Knowledge from social science for development policies and projects. In Cernea, M.M(ed.) *Putting people first. Sociological variables in rural development*. New York and London. Oxford University Press.

Chambers, R. 2005. *Ideas for development. Aid and administrative capacity*. UK. Earthscan.

Cloete, F. and de Coning, C. 2012. *Improving public policy. Theory, practice and results. Third edition*. Braamfontein. Van Schaik Publishers

Colson, E. 1982. Planned change: The creation of a new community. 27th Bernhard Moses memorial lecture. Institute of international studies. University of California, Berkeley.

COPAC 2010. Cooperating for transformation. Cooperative case studies from Amathole district, Eastern Cape. Amathole District Municipality.

DA news, February 2015. DA seeks answers on failed EC agricultural projects <https://www.da.org.za/2015/02/da-seeks-answers-failed-ec-agricultural-projects/> [Accessed 03 October 2015]

Dawson, S. 1996. Interest groups, objectives and strategy. *Analyzing organizations*. London. Macmillan Press Ltd.

Deeks, M. 2004. Cross-cultural team working within. The Cochrane Collaboration.

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. 1998. *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. London. Sage Publications.

De Wuit J., and Berner, E. 2009. Progressive patronage? Municipalities, NGOs, CBOs and the limits to slum dwellers' empowerment. *Development and change*. 40 (5): 927–947.

Dill, B. 2009. The paradoxes of community-based participation in Dar es Salaam. *Development and change*. 40(4): 717–743.

Escobar, A. 1992. Planning. In Sachs, W.(ed.) *The development dictionary. A guide to knowledge as power*. London. Zed Books Ltd.

Feni, L. 2015. State 'panics and prays' over rite toll. *Daily Dispatch news online*. <http://www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/state-panics-and-prays-over-rite-toll/> [Accessed on 21October 2015].

Ferguson, J. 1990. *The anti-politics machine: Development, de-politicization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*. Cape Town. David Philip.

Fetterman, D.M. 1998. Ethnography. Second edition. Step by step. *Applied social research methods series*. Vol. 17. Sage Publications.

Frankfort-Nachmias, C. and Nachmias, D. 1996. *Research methods in the social sciences. Fifth Edition*. New York. St. Martin's Press.

Friedman, J.T. 2006. On the post - structuralist critique of development: A view from north-west Namibia. *Development Southern Africa*. 23 (5): 587 - 603.

Gibbs, JP. 2003. A Formal restatement of Durkheim's "division of labor" theory: 103-127.

Hargadon, A.B. and Bechky, B.A. 2006. When collections of creatives become creative collectives: A field study of problem solving at work. *Organization Science*: 484 - 500.

Hartwell-Walker, M. 2015. Counter the psychology of pessimism.
<http://psychcentral.com/lib/counter-the-psychology-of-pessimism/00021237>
[Accessed on 11 November 2015]

Hatch, M. J. 1997. Organizational theory. *Modern, symbolic, and postmodern perspectives*. New York. Oxford University.

Hatch, M. J. 2006. Organizational theory: Modern, symbolic, and postmodern perspectives. *Organizational social structure*. New York. Oxford Press University.

Hays, S. 1994. Structure and agency and the sticky problem of culture. *Sociological Theory*. (12) 1: 57-72

<http://www.etu.org.za/toolbox/docs/localgov/webundrstdlocgov.html>. Understanding local government. [Accessed on 11 October 2015]

<http://www.paralegaladvice.org.za/docs/chap04/05.html>. Chapter 4 - Local government. The structures of a municipality. [Accessed on 11 October 2015]

<http://www.thedti.gov.za/offerings/offering.asp?offeringid=922> [Accessed on 23 October 2015]

Hobart, M. 1993. *An anthropological critique of development: The growth of ignorance*. London. Routledge.

Janoski, T. 2005. *The handbook of political sociology. States, civil societies, and globalization*. New York. Cambridge.

Jennings, K.M. 2008. Unclear ends, unclear means: Reintegration in postwar societies? *Global governance*. 14: 327-345.

Koppenjan, J. and Klinjin, E. 2004. *Managing uncertainties in networks. A network approach to problem solving and decision making*. New York. Routledge.

Lewellen, T. C. 1983. *Political anthropology: An Introduction. structure and process*. United States of America. Bergin and Garvey Publishers Inc.

Leviste, P. 2004. Bounded Pluralism: Politics and Participation in Health Policymaking. *Philippine Sociological Review*.(52): 37-54.

Long, N. 2001. *Development Sociology. Actor perspectives*. London and New York. Routledge.

Mavee A. and Cloete F. 2011. The role of civil society organizations in the policy-making process in Mozambique: case study of the poverty reduction strategy paper.

Mosse, D. 1999. Process-oriented approaches to development practice and social research. In Mosse, D., Farrington, J. and Rew, A.(eds.) *Development as process. Concepts methods for working with complexity*. London and New York. Routledge.

Mosse D. 2002. People's 'knowledge', participation and patronage: Operations and representations in rural development. In Cooke, B. and Kothari, U.(eds.) *Participation:*

The new tyranny? London. Zed Books.

Mosse, D. 2004. Is good policy unimplementable? Reflections on the ethnography of aid policy and practice. *Development and change*. 35 (4): 639-671.

Mosse, D. 2005. *Cultivating development: An ethnography of aid policy and practice*. England. Pluto Press.

Mouton, J. 2006. *How to succeed in your Masters and Doctoral studies. A South African guide and resource book*. Pretoria. Van Schaik Publishers.

Olivier de Sardan, J. 2005. *Anthropology and development: Understanding contemporary social change*. London. Zed Books.

Parker, J.; Mars, L.; Ransome, P.; and Stanworth, H. 2003. *Social Theory. A basic tool kit*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan.

Porpora, D.V. 1989. Four concepts of social structure. *Journal for the theory of social behavior*. (19) 2:195 - 211.

Rapport, N. and Overing, J. 2000. *Social and cultural anthropology: The key concepts*. London. Routledge.

Rew, A. 1996. Policy Implications of the involuntary ownership of resettlement negotiations. Examples from Asia of resettlement practice. In McDowell, C. (ed.) *Understanding impoverishment . The consequences of development-induced displacement*. Oxford. Berghahn Books.

Rew, A., Fisher, E. and Pandey, B. 2006. Policy practices in development-induced displacement and rehabilitation. In de Wet, C. (ed.) *Development - induced displacement: Problems, policies and people*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Rossi, P.H.; Lipsey, M.W.; and Freeman, H.E. 2004. *Evaluation. A systematic approach (Seventh edition)*. London: Sage Publications.

SALGA (South African Local Government Association) 2011. Guideline document on the roles and responsibilities of councillors, political structures and officials.

Shore, C. and Wright, S. 1997 (eds.) *Anthropology of policy. Critical perspectives on governance and power*. London. Routledge.

Singh, D.R. 1980. Dynamics of Organizational Structure in India. 16 (2): 243-258

Stewart, J. 1996. A Dogma of our times. The separation of policy-making and implementation. *Public money and management*: 33-40

Sutton, R. 1999. The policy process: An overview. Working paper 118. Overseas development institute. Portland house. Stag Place. London SW1E 5DP.

Tosun, V. 1999. Limits to community participation in the tourism development process in developing countries. *Tourism Management*. 21: 613 - 633.

UNICEF 2004. Programme manager's planning monitoring & evaluation toolkit. Tool number 2: defining evaluation.

Van Baalen, J. and de Coning, C. 2012. Programme management, project management and public policy Implementation. In Cloete, F. and de Coning C. (eds.) *Improving Public Policy. Theory, practice and results. Third edition*. Braamfontein. Van Schaik Publishers.

Vernekohl, I. 2009 Understanding and avoiding aggressive citizen outcries. The case of the recent outbreaks of violent public service delivery protests in South Africa.

Administration Publica. (17) 4.

Wedel, J. R.; Shore, C.; Feldman, G. and Lathrop, S. 2005. Toward an anthropology of public policy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.* 600: 30-51.

Whiting, L.S. 2008. Semi-structured interviews: guidance for novice researchers.

Nursing Standard. (22) 23: 35-40.

Wilson, G. 2006. Beyond the technocrat. The professional expert in development practice. *Development and change.* 37(3): 501–523.

Young, E. and Lisa Quinn, L. 2002. *Writing Effective Public Policy Papers. A Guide for Policy Advisers in Central and Eastern Europe.* Hungary. Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative.

ATTACHMENTS

Attachment 1 A sample of terms of reference

Attachment 2: Extract from performance framework in the ADM 2014 Version 8

Attachment 3: Research questions to Siyagaya Makhosikazi Cooperative project

Attachment 1: A sample of terms of reference from ADM

TERMS OF REFERENCE

for

An evaluation of LED projects in Amathole District Municipality

October 2010

Project name: An evaluation of LED projects in Amathole District Municipality

Contact number: 043 701 4010

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Request for proposals and Terms of Reference

Proposals are requested from service providers who have experience and qualifications to do an evaluation of LED projects in Amathole District Municipality (ADM). The ADM will enter into a formal contract with the appointed service provider in order to be doing this project. These Terms of Reference and the service provider's proposal will form the basis of the contract.

1.2 Brief details of the project

Province: Eastern Cape

Municipality: Amathole District Municipality

Project Name: An evaluation of LED (Local Economic Development) projects in Amathole District Municipality

SECTION 2: PROJECT BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

2.1 Project background

Firstly, over the past three years, there have been no initiatives for measuring the effects of LED interventions through projects at the local level. Resources (e.g. funding, training, etc.) from various sources have been poured into these LED projects. The sources include the ADM, local municipalities, and sector departments like the DEDEA (Department of Economic Development and Environmental Affairs) and DLGTA (Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs). For instance, the ADM alone has invested over R50 million in LED projects; however, the outcomes of this investment are not known.

Secondly, the funding that is provided on LED projects is often based on inaccurate and outdated information; this situation could lead to wrong decisions being taken, which result in a high rate of failure of LED initiatives.

2.2 Project objectives

The first objective is to collect data on LED funded initiatives in the Amathole region, i.e. on projects that existed within the past three years. In other words, to develop a database (e.g. with projects' purposes, objectives, successes, challenges, contact details, etc.) of the LED projects in the local municipalities; the database may reflect projects' available resources in the local municipalities, together with community needs (where appropriate) with respect to socio-

economic status. The database should be designed according to these terms of reference. The expected document from a service provider is the “Profile of LED projects in ADM”.

The second objective is to do an evaluation of the LED funded projects within the past three years:

- During the early phases, the project proposal must be produced, i.e. it must show the research design and methodology, data analysis, together with the proposed logic framework (in order to develop an understanding of each project’s conceptualization/project theory).
- In the end, the expected document (from a service provider) ought to present the findings of the study, conclusions, and recommendations; all this must link with the project proposal noted on the early phases. The final document should be the “Evaluation report on LED projects in the ADM”.

To conclude, the information that will arise from this project (evaluation report) will form the basis of planning and budgeting by the LED unit in the Amathole District Municipality; it will also assist the affected stakeholders in the district. This will give a better idea regarding which LED plan works better, and which one needs to be improved or eliminated.

SECTION3: LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT

The ability of this project to succeed will depend on how it is closely aligned to national legislation and policy initiatives. These are noted as follows:

3.1 Legislation

- a) The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, of 1996, as amended.
- b) The Local Government Structures Act of 1998, as amended.
- c) The Local Government Municipality Systems Act of 2000, as amended.
- d) The White Paper on Local Government, 1998.

3.2 Policy documents

- a) Eastern Cape Provincial Development Plan, 2005.
- b) The National LED Framework, 2006.
- c) LED Guidelines to Institutional Arrangements (200).
- d) Policy Guidelines for implementing LED in South Africa (2005).
- e) National Spatial Development Perspective.

SECTION 4: IMPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE & INDICATOR ACHIEVEMENTS

The service provider will be responsible for the compilation of the “project programme” detailing the activities and timeframes for doing an evaluation of LED projects in. This should be reflected in the Bid Document submitted to the Amathole District Municipality.

Activity	Time
First draft: Profile of LED projects in ADM	Four weeks after date of appointment
Final draft: Profile of LED projects in ADM	Two weeks

First draft: Evaluation Proposal	Two weeks
Final draft: Evaluation Proposal	Four weeks
Submission of a draft Evaluation Report to ADM	Two weeks
Submission of the final Evaluation Report	Within two weeks when all comments raised have been addressed

The above timeframes are only indicative and service providers can provide alternative timeframes. However such timeframes to take into account requirements of the municipality. These will be discussed with the appointed service provider.

SECTION 5: REPORTING REQUIREMENTS & CONSULTATION

- For project management purposes, the service provider will report to the Manager LED Research, ADM. For substantive issues, the service provider will also report to the Manager LED Research, but through the Steering Committee/Working Group that will provide guidance in terms of content issues. Instruction to the service provider can only be given by the Manager LED Research, and therefore the Steering Committee/Working Group will advise the Manager LED Research and make recommendations accordingly.
- The service provider will be required to give ongoing progress reports to the Manager LED Research at frequency to be agreed upon.
- The service provider will be called upon from time to time to give progress reports to the Steering Committee/Working Group.

SECTION 6: DOCUMENTATION AND INFORMATION RELATED TO THE BRIEF

The contents and findings of factual information, materials produced during this assignment (by the service provider), and paid for by the ADM, shall be treated as the property of the Amathole District Municipality. The information that has been generated in the course of this assignment shall not be made available to any third party without the prior permission of the participating stakeholders. All reports, information and documentation presented must be made available in both hard and digital copies. Should any further information be required, the Manager LED Research, is the contact person for the project.

SECTION 7: ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS AND PRICING

Should the bidder wish to propose an alternative approach or outcomes to those requested in this bid, this shall be clearly denoted in a section of the methodology entitled: Alternative action and/or approach proposed the specified outcomes and process, and invalidate any qualifications of the tender price.

SECTION 8: IMPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE

- The service provider will be responsible for the compilation of the “Project Programme” detailing activities and time frames for the project. This should be provided to ADM within a week of appointment and presented at the Steering Committee meeting.

- Any deviation from the accepted programme should be pre-negotiated with the Project Manager.
- It is expected that the activities described above, will be completed within the time frames noted in the contract.

SECTION 9: PROJECT COSTS & PAYMENT MILESTONE

The free breakdown for any service provider to be engaged must be specified in the project proposal. Project milestones and related payments will be accepted by the steering committee before the commencement of the project.

Methodology – The bidder must clearly demonstrate how the contract will be managed, detailing a work plan with timeframes and clearly explaining how the work will be implemented.

Project costs: +/- R500 000.00

The projected cash flow:

- 25% will be paid on approval of the situation Analysis by Amathole District Municipality, having gone through structures like the cluster and the HODs.
- 20% will be paid on approval of the Final Draft: Objectives, Proposal & Strategies by the ADM.
- 20% will be paid on approval of the Draft Reviewed Industrial Strategy by the ADM.
- 35% will be paid on approval and adoption of Industrial Strategy by the ADM Council.

All the service providers who submit proposals must attach the latest original tax clearance certificates, as well as to complete the attachment forms.

Attachment 2:

Extract from the performance framework for Amathole District Municipality. 2014 Version 8

1.7 Service Delivery Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP) Scorecards

The SDBIP gives effect to the Integrated Development Plan and budget of the Municipality. The budget gives effect to the strategic priorities of the municipality. The SDBIP therefore serves as a “contract” between the administration, council and community expressing the goals and objectives set by the council as quantifiable outcomes that can be implemented by the administration over the next twelve months. This provides the basis for measuring performance in service delivery against end-of- year targets and implementing the budget. The SDBIP measures the operational plan, whilst the PMS measures performance at a strategic level. The SDBIP and the PMS provides the vital link between the mayor, council (executive) and the administration, and facilitates the process for holding management accountable for its performance. The SDBIP and the PMS are management implementation and monitoring tools which will assist the mayor, the councillors, municipal manager, senior managers and the community in evaluating the performance of the council. A properly formulated SDBIP and PMS will ensure that the appropriate information is circulated internally and externally for purposes of monitoring the execution of the budget performance of the senior management and the achievement of the strategic objectives set by council. The SDBIP and PMS enables the municipal manager to monitor performance of senior managers, the mayor to monitor the performance of municipal manager and for community to monitor the performance of the municipality.

The SDBIP Scorecards will capture the performance of each municipal department including the organization. There will be one scorecard derived directly from the IDP, only excluding the outer year targets. This means that the objectives, strategies, baseline, indicators and annual targets are translated as is, further expanded with quarterly targets, both delivery and financial. This is seldom referred to as service plans. The SDBIP (Service Delivery Budget and Implementation Plan) requires cash flow projections to be displayed and captured, then linked to the service delivery targets for performance measurement purposes. The SDBIP scorecard will then provide a comprehensive picture of the performance of that department as well as the organization.

It is crucial to ensure that the SDBIP Scorecards do not duplicate current reporting, but rather be integrated as a core component of the municipality’s vertical reporting system. It should simplify all regular reporting from departments to the municipal manager and any other council structure including and mainly clusters.

The SDBIP's are also done in line with the legislative requirements as stipulated in the MFMA Circular 13 and National Treasury Guidelines for SDBIP's. Circular 13 of the MFMA stipulates five (5) components of an SDBIP, namely,

- Monthly projections of revenue to be collected from each source
- Monthly projections of expenditure (operating and capital) and revenue **for each vote**
- Quarterly projections of service delivery targets and performance indicators for each vote
- Ward information for expenditure for service delivery
- Detailed capital works plan broken down by ward over three years.

In this form, the SDBIP drawn from the IDP is regarded a top level SDBIP and it depicts the organizational performance, of which the Municipal Manager is measured against. So, the SDBIPs will rollup to give rise to the Municipal Manager's SDBIP. Thus meaning, there is no scorecard per se for the Municipal Manager but performance assessment is based on the rollup of the SDBIP's. The custodians of the indicators depict the department which the scorecard belongs to and in turn then has the unit managers captured to depict which unit has targets. This is a way to cascade to the unit level for Deputy Directors and Assistant Director (Senior Managers and Managers).

Performance in the form of a SDBIP Scorecard will be reported to the Working Group, Executive Management, Technical & Full Clusters and Mayoral Committee on a quarterly and monthly basis respectively where applicable.

The HoDs and the Municipal Manager will be primarily responsible for performance on the SDBIP Scorecard. As such, the SDBIP Scorecard is the component of how the HoD's and Municipal Manager's performance will be appraised. This is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 8 on Responding to Employee performance.

SDBIP Scorecards and performance reports must be formulated at departmental meetings constituted at least by the HoD and Unit Manager/Section Heads where applicable. Sectional planning must be informed by the SDBIP Scorecard and performance reporting must feed into the SDBIP Scorecard report. Therefore each section must have its own implementation plan that contributes to the overall implementation of the SDBIP Scorecard.

Directorate/Departmental scorecards

The departmental scorecards (detail SDBIP) will capture the performance of each defined directorate or department. Unlike the municipal/organizational scorecard, which reflects on the strategic priorities of the municipality, the SDBIP will provide detail of each outcome for which top management are responsible for, in other words a comprehensive picture of the performance of that directorate/sub-directorate. The departmental SDBIP will be compiled by departments and will consist of objectives, indicators and targets derived from the Municipality's annual service delivery and budget implementation plan and any annual business or services plan compiled for each directorate or department.

Approval of Departmental SDBIPs

The departmental SDBIP of each Directorate must be submitted to the municipal manager for approval within 14 days after the budget has been approved.

Approval of the institutional/top layer SDBIP

The Institutional scorecard must be submitted by the Municipal Manager to the Executive Mayor after 14 days of the budget being approved. The Executive Mayor needs to consider and approve the SDBIP within 28 days after the budget has been approved. The scorecard must be updated after the adjustment estimate has been approved and any changes to the scorecard must be submitted to the Executive Mayor with the respective motivation for the changes suggested, for approval. The Institutional SDBIP is the summary of all the departmental SDBIPs.

The Institutional SDBIP should be published on the municipal website once approved.

Adjustments to KPI's

The SDBIP and its targets cannot be revised without the approval of the Executive Mayor, and if there is to be changes made in service delivery targets and performance indicators, this must be with the approval of the Mayor, following approval of an adjustments budget (section 54(1)(c) of MFMA). Approval of the Executive Mayor is necessary to ensure that the municipal manager does not revise service delivery targets downwards in the event where there is poor performance.

KPI's should be adjusted to be aligned with the adjustment estimate (incl. capital projects) and the reason for the adjustment in the indicator / target should be submitted in a report to the Executive Mayor. The KPI's can only be changed on the system after Executive Mayor's approval has been obtained.

The SDBIP Scorecards should be presented in a consistent format so that they are easy to use and understand. Several concepts that are commonly used in the scorecard concept are defined below:

KPA: A Key Performance Area is defined as a broad focus area, or group of objectives within the Integrated Development Plan, for example; the provision of water, sanitation and roads can be grouped under a Key Performance Area of "infrastructural development".

Amathole District Municipality has adopted the **5 KPA's** as contained in the 5 year Local Government Strategic Agenda as the core KPA"s in its organizational performance scorecard.

The Key Performance Areas as transferred directly from the IDP to the SDBIP, which then forms the basis for a PMS. Refer to section 5 for details regarding the 5 key performance areas for local government. The KPAs are weighted in percentages and in terms of priority. The underlying principle in this regard is that KPAs pertaining to the core business of a department, e.g. Service Delivery and Infrastructure for Engineering department are allocated a higher percentage weighting than the other KPAs. The KPA weighting therefore represents the significance assigned to by the particular department as its contribution to the strategy of the ADM and service delivery. The KPAs will be weighted up to 100%.

Objectives: are statements drawn from the IDP about what a service wants to achieve that are specific, outcome and impact focused. These should not be general statements.

Indicators: are variables (qualitative or quantitative) that tell us whether we are making progress towards achieving our objectives. The following **SMART** criteria must be used for the setting of indicators and targets:

Specific

Is the target specific or vague? By being specific, the municipality commits itself to a standard of delivery. E.g. by stating “1000 standpipes will be constructed” the municipality is committing to a specific target opposed to a statement “to provide people with water”

Further, the municipality needs to be absolutely sure what element of objective it wants to measure e.g. the quality of water being provided or the numbers of stand pipes being constructed. Therefore, the KPI’s which needs to be measured should be identified and prioritized and specific targets set.

Care should be taken not to mix the different targets in one KPI measurement, as it will make measurement of it difficult.

Measurable

In deciding what specific part of the KPI a municipality wants to measure it must decide:

If the municipality can measure the targets set (example, does it have the staff, funding, information/data to do this)

If the municipality can provide proof (information / data) that the target set was actually achieved

If a municipality cannot measure a target for any reason, it should amend or remove it.

If the municipality wants to measure any target, it must decide on the most appropriate manner for obtaining such proof, and whether it is justified to employ additional staff or incur additional expenditure on providing the proof that a specific target was achieved?

Also, there should be a purpose or reason for measuring a target, e.g. there is no reason to measure the reduction in the incidences of cholera if the Municipality has no clear strategy and objective in place to address this aspect and is not doing anything to reduce the impact.

Measure against backlogs or and baseline.

Achievable/Attainable

Can the municipality meet the target set? Does it have the human, financial, infrastructure and other resources to deliver on the target set?

In determining if a target is attainable, the municipality must determine if it has a total executive control over the objective, KPI and Target set. E.g., provision of education is a national and provincial Government function. Thus, developing a KPI of “constructing schools” and setting a target of “building 5 schools” would not be attainable as it falls outside the control of the municipality (Operationally)

Further, the municipality need to determine/ identify whether there are real risks (Political, financial, human, natural etc.) involved, in firstly setting the target, and secondly meeting it. (This relates to the realistic element of the target as well)

Realistic

By setting a realistic target the municipality must take its capacity into consideration. There is no point in setting a target of “5000 stand pipes in one year “if the municipality only has the capacity (human, infrastructural and financial) to deliver “1000 stand pipes in one year.” Similarly in a non core-function, if a municipality does not have the capacity and the responsibility to build a school, the targets set should reflect the aim of that municipality to liaise and lobby with the Department of Education and Culture. By setting the unrealistic targets, the municipality will only set itself up for failure.

Risk identification: it is important for the municipality to identify all possible (high level) risks that can impact on the delivery of target/s.

Time-bound

Quarterly and annual targets are set, it must relate to a timeframe. These timeframes should in themselves be specific, attainable and realistic. Time frames are not necessarily related to a financial year, but could span over several years. Applicable target dates for each KPI must be determined.

However, a municipality should annually monitor its achievements towards the target and review/adapt if required. If a target cannot be met in one year, extend the time frame or reduce the target so that it can be met in the time frame specified. Consequently, a “SMART” target could be to build 1000 stand within the financial year (time related).

Note that for IDP purposes a five year target needs to be determined using the same criteria. The quarterly and annual target then feeds into the five year, which reduces each year.

The timeframes and the responsible person are critical areas which need to be considered when setting the targets.

A baseline measure: is the value (or status quo) of the indicator before the start of the programme or prior to the period over which performance is to be monitored and reviewed. For the purpose of standardizing the setting of baselines and for the sake of clarity, the following descriptions will be used:

- If the indicator is measurable on an annual basis, the baseline will be its measure in the last financial year.
- The baseline for annual targets that are incrementally measurable per quarter or per month will be the measure at the end of the last financial year but the targets can be set incrementally.
- The baseline for quarterly targets that are not incrementally contributing to an annual target will be the indicator’s measure in the last quarter it was measured unless by its nature it is seasonally variable in which case it will be an average of the last four quarterly measures.
- The baseline for monthly targets that are not incrementally contributing to a quarterly or annual target will be its measure in the last month it was measured unless by its nature it varies monthly in which case it will be an average of the last three monthly measurements.

A target: is the value (or desired state of progress) of the indicator that is intended to be achieved by a specified time period. These are the annual targets that are split into quarterly targets both delivery and financial (based on cash flows) This then achieves the compliance in terms of SDBIP legal requirement. There are two types viz, planned and actual.

All targets should follow the following principles:

- SPECIFIC
- MEASURABLE
- ACHIEVABLE
- REALISTIC
- TIMELY

The measurement source and frequency: should indicate where the data for measuring the quarterly targets or annual indicator will emanate from, and how frequently the indicator/target will be measured and reported. This information is crucial for the auditing process as it is required that an audit evidence file be compiled. This is seldom referred to portfolio of evidence. Management is urged to prepare evidence files as part of the planning phase as quarterly targets are already known at this stage. The evidence files can be prepared at the beginning of each quarter using the quarterly targets. Refer to annexure B.

Variance / Correction Measures: refers to the comments and explanation of why a target is not met and also by how far. It further requires corrective measures to be captured to list activities to bring target inline and recovered so it not lost and forgotten as it has an overall impact on the objective. An activity/ action plan is a byproduct of this.

Indicator custodian: refers to the person that takes responsibility for the monitoring of change in the indicator and reports on it.

The performance management plan for Amathole DM will have various indicators for the goals that are set in the IDP. These indicators, including those that will be further developed for SDBIP Scorecards as quarterly breakdown of the annual target and should be assessed against the following criteria.

Research Questions	Associated challenges at the office level in the ADM
--------------------	--

Attachment 3: Research questions and associated challenges: Siyagaya Makhosikazi Cooperative Project

<p>1. How is your project doing currently? And how has it been doing during the past 3 years, i.e. in 2012/2011/2010?</p>	<p>1. An ice-breaking question</p>
<p>2. Do you have any case example/s of delays that you have experienced, regarding the assistance that you have requested at the ADM office (in the Small Enterprise Development Unit)? E.g. getting your documents processed. Please elaborate.</p> <p>3. Are you aware of the closure of the office/unit for cooperative projects in the ADM during the year 2010? Do you think this has affected your project? Please elaborate.</p>	<p>2. & 3. Organizational social structure:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Delays in getting documents signed by the authorities. - The ongoing job vacancies. - Human resource inadequacy and overworked employees. - Underperformance by the Directors.
<p>4. Would you like to share some case example/s of political conflicts that you have experienced so far (in 2010/2011/2012), which affected your project somewhere somehow.</p>	<p>4. Political conflicts affect projects implementation.</p>
<p>5. Would you please provide your understanding of the long-term plan of the ADM, about developing cooperative projects? Do you think this plan has taken place or not? Please elaborate.</p>	<p>5. Unclear Policy Goals:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Absence of a strategic plan for cooperatives. - Outsourcing strategic plans.
<p>6. How often have you received site visits or phone calls by the ADM officers on your project so far (in 2010/2011/2012)? Did these sites visits / phone calls assist you in solving the problems of your project or not? Please elaborate.</p>	<p>6. Challenges in monitoring projects implementation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - About the LED technical cluster meetings. - Irregularities of LED technical cluster meetings.