APPROPRIATENESS OF MUNICIPAL WORKERS' JOB BEHAVIOUR AND PERFORMANCE AT THE BUFFALO CITY METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

by

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Declaration

I, **Thembinkosi Gladden Twalo**, student number 209092005, hereby declare that the thesis for Philosophiae Doctor Educationis titled:

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is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment or completion of any postgraduate qualification to another University or for another qualification.

Signature …….…… Date ……..…

Abstract

The Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) has been experiencing inappropriate job behaviour and performance from some of its workers. These inappropriate practices have been widely reported in the media, audit reports, parliamentary discussions, reports to parliament, municipal reports, and departmental reports. They include misappropriation of municipal resources, maladministration, mismanagement, lack of service delivery, fraud, and corruption. Since many BCMM workers have various levels of formal education, such practices are not expected, because the structural-functionalist assumption is that formal education is a solution to societal challenges. At the BCMM, however, formal education seemed to also serve a different purpose, that of realising the principle that says "[k]now the rules well, so you can break them effectively" (Dalai Lama 2013, 2). This study therefore hypothesises that the perpetual inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM is due to the paucity of broad skills. The concept of broad skills includes the various dimensions of knowledge (know that, know why, know how) as well as attitudes, ethics and values. Inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices thus indicate that current levels of broad skills are insufficient. This study acknowledges that labour (ability to work) is a product of multifarious forms of capital, hence this study amalgamates four forms of capital - human capital, social capital, cultural capital, and reputation capital – into a theoretical framework in order to get a broader explanation of the workers' job behaviour and performance.

The various forms of capital contribute to the formation of skill, hence the notion of broad skills. How workers discharge their responsibilities is determined by numerous

factors such as cultural capital (the workers' family background, race, ethnicity, personality, and geographical area) (Bourdieu 1977); reputation capital (the workers' brand, public perceptions of trustworthiness, popularity, authority in the field, ethics, integrity and reputation) (Ingbretsen 2011); social capital (the workers' social development, social relations, and social networks) (Blackmore 1997); and human capital (schooling) (Becker 1964). The value of adopting the broad skills approach lies in gaining a broader perspective on job performance as opposed to the dominant use of the human capital model alone which predominantly uses schooling to explain job performance. In practice, the human capital model is characterised by its association of job performance problems with lack of skills. However, investigation of the role of attitudes, ethics and values in the labour process reveals that the lack of will also contributes to job performance problems. In fact, the adoption of multiple perspectives for investigating the paradoxical co-existence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance with formal education reveals several factors that make this phenomenon possible, besides lack of skills. These include the job environment, ineffective performance management systems, compromised municipal effectiveness and efficiency due to the politicisation of municipal management, and manipulation of the labour process to suit the interests of the workers who want to engage in inappropriate practices.

For data collection, this study used the mixed method approach, that is, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative methods included an analysis of relevant literature and semi-structured interviews, and the quantitative method comprised the analysis of responses to a questionnaire. The data was then systematically and logically interpreted with reference to relevant laws and policies such as the Municipal Structures Act (1998), Local Government: Municipal Systems

Act (2000), and BCMM policies such as the supply chain management policy. Quantitative data analysis involved the use of non-parametric statistical methods such as the Spearman rank correlation co-efficient, cross-tabulation and the computation of mean, standard deviation, variance, and Chi-square.

The findings revealed structural, systemic and human impediments to labour productivity. These were manifested in several ways including ineffective decision making processes, high staff turnover at management level, and instability. It also appeared that political affiliation was the primary determinant of employment and that formal education was secondary. This social capital component (political affiliation) played a crucial role in how workers discharged their responsibilities at the workplace. It was observed that its effect on job performance included compromised reporting lines and tolerance for inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices. Consequently, while political intervention in municipal administration and management can be seen as playing a positive role, it can also play a negative one through interference and creation of blurred reporting lines. In addition politics at this municipality have created two centres of power - administrators and politicians - whose interests are sometimes been in conflict.

The other inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices reported included overtime creation by the workers, deceitful use of leave benefits and a tick a box attitude of mindless compliance with rules rather than problem solving and meaningful engagement with the labour process. Consequently, recommendations include taking into cognisance the role of the human factor in the labour process, depoliticising municipal administration and management, and establishing effective performance management systems.

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The journey would not have been possible without the company of Jehova. Thank you Lord.

List of acronyms

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ACCA	Association of Chartered Certified Accountants
ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
ANC	African National Congress
BCMM	Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality
CA	Chartered Accountant
CASAC	Council for the Advancement of the Constitution
COGTA	Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
COPE	Congress of the People
DA	Democratic Alliance
DBE	Department of Basic Education
ECDoH	Eastern Cape Department of Health
EXCO	Executive Committee
FASSET	Finance, Accounting, Management Consulting and other Financial Services Seta
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
HBU	Historically Black University
HR	Human Resources
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
HWU	Historically White University
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
KPA	Key Performance Area
MEC	Member of the Executive Committee
MMC	Member of the Mayoral Committee

NCA	National Credit Act
OPDCA	Observe-Plan–Do–Check–Act
OS	Operating System
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PDCA	Plan–Do–Check–Adjust
PMS	Performance Management System
SAICA	South African Institute of Chartered Accountants
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers Union
SCM	Supply Chain Management
SWEAT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Expectations, Abilities and Tensions
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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CHAPTER ONE

SCOPE AND FOCUS OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) has the very important responsibility of serving its 755, 200 residents (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2013). According to Chapter 7 of the Constitution (1996), municipalities' responsibilities include promotion of social and economic development, service delivery, and democratic and accountable governance. In 2011, the BCMM was awarded category A or metropolitan municipality status, which involves added responsibilities. According to the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act of 1998 this means it has exclusive legislative and executive competence in its area. Therefore, its administration will no longer be split between separate councils and it has exclusive authority to make rules over its area of jurisdiction. The criteria for being a metropolitan municipality include, as specified in the Act, having a complex, diverse and stimulated economic activities, extensive development and multiple business districts and industrial areas.

The BCMM's ability to cope with its responsibilities has been called into question by reports of poor administration; weak management of finances, human resources and assets; inappropriate job performance and behaviour by some municipal workers and other challenges (Nombembe 2013, Nombembe 2011, Coetzer 2009, *Times Live* 2011). Such claims appear regularly in the media and further evidence is

available from various sources like audit reports, parliamentary discussions, reports to parliament, and municipal and departmental reports.

Paradoxically, inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices have been taking place although many BCMM workers have formal education qualifications. Structural-functionalists perceive formal education as one of the factors that curb inappropriate job behaviour and performance in the attempt to achieve stability and consensus in society (Bryant 2012, Guerrero 2005, Haralambos and Heald 1985, Moore and Moore 1982, Almquist et al. 1978). In light of the structural-functionalist assumption that formal education is a solution to societal challenges inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM is unexpected. The expectation is rather that formal education should help obviate such problems (Labaree 2008). Since inappropriate job behaviour and performance continue to be reported in spite of the formal education of BCMM workers, this study seeks to establish how the two phenomena co-exist. It thus seeks to put into perspective the paradoxical co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance, by focusing on the BCMM as a case-study. The next section gives evidence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance at national, provincial and municipal levels in order to demonstrate the seriousness of this problem and also to show that, while this study focuses on the BCMM case-study, this challenge is not unique to this municipality.

1.2 Background to the inappropriate job behaviour and performance of municipal workers

1.2.1 At national level

Evidence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance at municipal, provincial and national levels abounds (Mawonga 2012, Helen Suzman Foundation 2012, Benya (Nqolase) 2011). Such evidence underscores the weaknesses in performance management systems at these levels of government, the weaknesses of monitoring and control systems, and the role of human nature in how workers undertake their responsibilities at the workplace. Examples of inappropriate job behaviour and performance at national level include cases widely reported in the media such as those investigated by the Office of the Public Protector. The reported cases from the Office of the Public Protector include the finding of the Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs Minister guilty of maladministration, unlawful conduct and repeated abuse of public funds (Public Protector South Africa 2012, Hopkins 2011, News 24 2011). Consequently, he was sacked. The National Commissioner of Police and the Minister of Public Works were found guilty of improper and unlawful conduct amounting to corruption and maladministration due to the procurement of leases for two buildings to house the new police headquarters valued at R1,6 billion (FSG Forensic Investigators & Auditors 2013, Helen Suzman Foundation 2012). As a result, the two ministers were sacked.

1.2.2 At provincial level

At provincial level, evidence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance includes the case of Limpopo wherein the national government had to intervene as the province was bankrupt because of various reasons including fraudulently awarded tenders, inflated prices for goods and services, illegal payments to service providers and unauthorised expenditure that ballooned from R1,5 billion in 2009 to R2,7 billion in 2010 (Rampedi 2012).

The Metcalfe Report on the education challenges in Limpopo revealed high levels of poor job performance (Metcalfe 2012). It noted that due to the prevalent inappropriate job behaviour and performance, the Cabinet had placed the Limpopo Department of Education under administration; the "provincial government", the report said, "was unable to order books in 2011 for 2012 because the province had overspent its budget"; orders for the 2012 academic year "began to be placed with publishers for textbooks for grade 1-3 and grade 10 learners only in the first week of June 2012"; and 8 percent of schools had not been receiving study material since 2009 (Ibid., 3-4).

In Middelburg, in Mpumalanga, eight ambulance officials and five policemen were arrested and charged with corruption for receiving bribes to call tow-truck drivers after an accident before calling an ambulance (*Sapa* 2010). The corruption case in Mpumalanga's construction of the Mbombela Stadium resulted in the provincial government taking over the running of the municipality and construction management and in June 2007 it placed the municipality under administration (Jazzie 2010).

In 2011, the National Cabinet decided that Basic Education Minister should take over the Eastern Cape Department of Education after it overspent its salary budget, but failed to spend money allocated to repair derelict schools and replace mud schools. The Eastern Cape Education Department instead returned this money to Treasury (*Times Live* 2011).

The Eastern Cape Department of Health (ECDoH) sacked 42 officials, including hospital managers, two doctors, a pharmacist, and middle managers, when they were found guilty of theft, fraud, corruption, sexual harassment and rape (*The Herald Online* 2011). Further cases of inappropriate job behaviour and performance in the ECDoH include the use of ambulances for unauthorised purposes, R36 million worth of financial irregularities and payment of R6,7 million between April and December 2010 to over 100 companies trading with the department that belonged to ECDoH officials (Ibid.). Furthermore, *News 24* (2012a) reported that in Zwelitsha township in the BCMM, five people including high ranking Eastern Cape government officials were arrested for defrauding the provincial Health Department of R11.8 million. It further noted that the PricewaterhouseCoopers audit report revealed that up to R45 million had been lost to fraud in this department.

1.2.3 At municipal level with special focus on the BCMM

Economic growth and service delivery in local government is often compromised because this tier of government has conspicuous skills shortages (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), Stokes 2010). The 2009 Empowerdex study revealed that “during the last three years, provincial governments have taken over the running of no less than 30 municipalities due to poor

governance, financial mismanagement and failure to deliver services" (Coetzer 2009, 4). At the BCMM, several cases of inappropriate job behaviour and performance have been reported (Nini 2012c, *Weekend Post* 2011).

The cases of inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM show that it is experiencing financial mismanagement, lack of service delivery, fraud and corruption (Mawonga 2012, Benya (Nqolase) 2011). The *Weekend Post* (2011) reported the continued strength of corruption in the BCMM in some quarters with the life of the municipal manager and his family threatened on several occasions due to his fight against it. His efforts appear to be bearing fruit as he seems to have managed to prevent "planned and random corruption" including tender fraud, job-selling (offering people jobs in exchange for payment) and a plan to sell a white lion in the zoo worth about R60, 000 for just R5, 000 (*Weekend Post* 2011).

There is more evidence which suggests that the BCMM is characterised by maladministration, mismanagement and misappropriation of resources (Mawonga 2012, Benya (Nqolase) 2011). The Auditor General revealed that the BCMM has never received a clean audit from his office.[1] Since the 2002/03 financial year, it has received many qualified audit opinions, disclaimers and adverse audit reports and regressed further to an adverse opinion in the 2010/11 financial year (Nini 2012a, Nini 2012b). The adverse audit opinion is worse than a disclaimer as it means the Auditor General believes the municipal financial statements contained false information or that some facts were left out (de Kock 2012). In fact, the Auditor General rated the BCMM as the worst metropolitan council in the 2010/11 audit (*Times Live* 2012). This is a clear indication of regression because in 2003, "it was

[1] The Auditor General has been in office since 1 December 2006.

voted the best municipality in South Africa" (Mabindla 2003, 1). van Onselen (2012) in Table 1.1 gives a broad view of the BCMM's performance since 2002/03, and it shows that its struggle with financial management is not new.

Table 1.1: BCMM audit outcomes 2002 - 2011

Year	Outcome of the audit report
2002/03	Qualified
2003/04	Financially unqualified
2004/05	Qualified
2005/06	Adverse
2006/07	Qualified
2007/08	Qualified
2008/09	Qualified
2009/10	Disclaimer
2010/11	Adverse

Source: Derived from van Onselen (2012)

Table 1.1 reveals that since 2002/03, the BCMM has never had a clean or unqualified audit opinion. This is concerning in light of its responsibilities and the need to be financially sustainable. According to the Ratings Africa agency (Maimane 2012,1; Badenhorst 2012, 1) municipal financial sustainability is

> the financial ability to deliver services, develop and maintain the infrastructure required by its residents without unplanned increases in rates and taxes or a reduction in the level of services and the capacity to absorb financial shocks caused by natural, economic and other adversities without external financial assistance.

Thereafter, Ratings Africa (2011) calculates the Municipal Financial Stability Index (MFSI) and rates the eight metropolitan municipalities in descending order of sustainability. From this, we learn that Cape Town obtained a rank of 63, Buffalo City 59, eThekwini 53, Ekurhuleni 47, Mangaung 43, Nelson Mandela Bay 36, Tshwane 32 and Johannesburg 26 (Badenhorst 2012). Although the BCMM financial stability

ranking stands at 59, which is better than many other metros, the MFSI 2011 also gives BCMM's four-year (2007-2010) financial stability trend which shows that it is on a significant decline (Ratings Africa 2011).

BCMM's financial stability looks even more bleak when considering the municipalities' unauthorised, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure. In the 2009/10 financial year, the Auditor General, Terence Nombembe (2012a), reported that unauthorised, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure by municipalities keeps rising instead of decreasing as depicted in Table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2: Three year trend in unauthorised, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure

	Unauthorised expenditure	**Irregular expenditure**	**Fruitless and wasteful expenditure**	**Total**
2008/09	2 billion	3.2 billion	56 million	5.2 billion
2009/10	6.3 billion	6 billion	253 million	6.5 billion
2010/11	4.3 billion	10 billion	260 million	14.5 billion

Source: Consolidated General Report on the Audit Outcomes of Local Government 2010-11

Nombembe (2012a, 54) argues that although 2010/11 unauthorised expenditure seemed to have decreased from R6.3 billion in 2009/10 to R4.3 billion in 2010/11, it actually had not because the "2009-10 unauthorised expenditure in Gauteng was an exception relating to the 2010 World Cup expenses" and North West's unauthorised expenditure seemed to have decreased because "fewer auditees were reported on because of outstanding financial statements." Irregular expenditure increased from R3.2 billion in 2008/09 to R10 billion in 2010/11. Likewise, fruitless and wasteful expenditure increased from R56 million in 2008/09 to R260 million in 2010/11. In total, R5.2 billion meant for service delivery was lost in 2008/09, increasing to R14.5 billion in 2010/11. According to Slabbert (2011), the picture is actually worse as the

2009/10 figure excludes R3.5 billion revenue loss from water and electricity distribution, R3.6 billion in write-offs of bad debts, and R1.2 billion under-expenditure which occurred only in five Western Cape municipalities.

Nombembe (2011) further reports that in the 2009/10 financial year, only 7 (3%) out of the country's 237 municipalities received a clean audit. In the 2010/11 financial year, this improved only insignificantly to 13 (5%). For this reason, Nombembe (2012a, 13) is of the view that the "2010-11 audit outcomes did not show improvement." Poor administration and financial mismanagement permeate many municipalities and, speaking of the Eastern Cape, the Auditor General revealed that "not one of the province's 45 municipalities has ever received a clean audit from [my] office" (Nini 2012a).

The BCMM cannot account for about R2 billion of the 2009/10 budget (Nini and George 2011, Skenjana n.d.). Furthermore, the Ernst and Young forensic report implicated former mayor and other mayoral committee members in the mismanagement of this R2 billion which resulted in the withdrawal of funding for development projects in an effort to curb mismanagement and corruption (*New Age* 2011). Furthermore, following the Ernst and Young forensic report, the Hawks arrested the former acting municipal manager and his partner and charged them with fraud and corruption relating to the awarding of a R419, 000 tender for erecting public viewing areas in the BCMM during the 2009 Confederations Cup. Collectively, this evidence buttresses the conviction of the BCMM municipal manager that this municipality "is corrupt to its core at an administration and supply chain management level" (*Times Live* 2010, 1).

On the basis of negative reports about the BCMM from audits, forensic investigations and the media, it is evident that this municipality needs an effective performance management system (PMS). It is for this reason that the BCMM introduced several mechanisms to address the challenge of inappropriate job behaviour and performance which translated to the negative reports. The mechanisms include the appointment of people to curb the misappropriation of resources. For instance, the municipality advertised, amongst others, the post of a "Forensic Investigator – Revenue Protection: Electricity", whose responsibility was to include investigating "complaints regarding fraud, corruption and maladministration within the Engineering Division" (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2012b, 1). Furthermore, one of the BCMM's (2011d, 3) good governance strategic objectives for 2011/12 is the "development of a fraud awareness and culture capable of mitigating fraud in a responsible manner." These strategies for curbing inappropriate job behaviour and performance in the BCMM are indicative of management's awareness of this challenge and of its efforts to address it. The next section, which unpacks the concept of job behaviour and performance, further illustrates the awareness of this challenge and also reflects on its seriousness and its impact on the municipality's performance.

1.3 Definition of job performance and job behaviour

Determining the appropriateness of BCMM workers' job behaviour and performance requires that there be a clear standard against which appropriateness or otherwise can be measured. This study uses various South African laws such the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (2000), Municipal Finance Management Act

(2003), BCMM supply chain management (SCM) policy, and related literature as a benchmark for ascertaining appropriate job behaviour and performance.

Concomitant with the conceptual and operational definition of individual performance is “the idea that performance can be equated with behaviour” (Williams 1998, 23). This is also informed by “the related question of what causes performance” (Ibid.). Hence, behavioural elements in the PMS include the identification of job behaviours, behaviour monitoring, positive behaviour reinforcement, inappropriate behaviour correction, and setting behavioural expectations (Maharashtra Institute of Technology School of Distance Education (MITSDE) 2012, Guinn 1987). Rotundo (2002, 2-3) observes that “researchers agree that job performance can be defined on a micro-level as actions and behaviours of an employee that contribute to the goals of the organisation.” However, caveat is in order because, “whilst performance is behaviour not all behaviour is performance – only behaviour that is goal-relevant counts as performance” (Williams 1998, 95). Churchill, Ford, and Walker (1990, 729) agree that performance “is behaviour evaluated in terms of its contributions to the goals of the organisation.” Performance thus has a normative element which reflects whether the workers’ performance is appropriate or otherwise in relation to the organisation’s objectives. In the same vein, the *Business Dictionary* (Web Finance 2013, 1) defines job performance as “work related activities expected of an employee and how well those activities were executed.” With respect to behaviour, Churchill, Ford and Walker (1990, 729) observe that it refers to what the workers actually “do – that is, the tasks they expend effort on while working.” The *Business Dictionary* (Web Finance 2013, 1) definition of job behaviour seems to be outcome-

based: “pattern of actions and interactions of the members of an organisation that directly or indirectly affects [their productivity].”

Moreover, job behaviour includes formally required and expected job behaviours and volitional or discretionary behaviours which are referred to as part of the psychological contract (Wei 2012, Stiles et al. 1997), as organisational citizenship behaviour (Al-sharafi and Rajiani 2013, Bateman and Organ 1983), as pro-social organisational behaviour (Hyde, Harris and Boaden 2013, Brief and Motowidlo 1986), as organisational spontaneity (Organ, Podsakoff and MacKenzie 2006, George and Brief 1992) or as extra role behaviours (Davoudi 2012, Van Dyne, Cummings and McLean 1995).

Workers’ actions which determine how appropriately or inappropriately they execute their tasks are guided by the various dimensions of knowledge (‘know that’, ‘know how’) plus motivation (Owusu 2012, Campbell 1990). The effect of motivation on job performance is crucial, hence Singh (2011, 498) argues that “[t]he human factor is not secondary to the existence of the organisation. Happiness is the key driver to achieve the vision of any organisation.” This underscores the wisdom of perceiving workers as human beings with interests, motives and technical capability as well. The cases of inappropriate job behaviour and performance cited in Section 1.2 demonstrate that workers’ interests and motives are not always in harmony with those of their respective employers. The typologies of inappropriate job behaviour further demonstrate the effect of motivation on job performance.

There are various typologies of inappropriate job behaviour, but Robinson and Bennett’s (1995) four-class typology seems to capture the essence of the other

typologies as well. It includes production inappropriateness which involves behaviours such as leaving early, intentionally working slow, or taking long breaks; property inappropriateness which involves sabotage of equipment, theft of property, and taking of kickbacks; political inappropriateness which involves showing favouritism, gossiping, or blaming others; and personal aggression which involves harassment, verbal abuse, and endangerment.

By and large, the inappropriate job behaviour and performance concept refers to a number of practices that fall short of the workers' behaviour and performance standards as stipulated by the various local government Acts and BCMM policies. It also denotes a breach of trust as it includes workers' inappropriate discharge of duties for self-gain at the expense of the employer. Some literature refers to inappropriate job behaviour and performance as counterproductive work behaviour that compromises the goals of an organisation (Sackett et al. 2006, Campbell, McHenry and Wise 1990, Murphy 1989). Some of the prominent features of the inappropriate job behaviour and performance concept include misappropriation of resources and corruption. Misappropriation of resources and corruption are closely related: the Council for the Advancement of the Constitution (CASAC) (2011, 1) describes corruption as "the abuse of public office for private gain … any kind – financial, in status – and it could be gain by an individual or a group, or those linked with such an individual or group." It also includes "bribery, … patronage, nepotism, embezzlement, influence peddling, use of one's position for self-enrichment, bestowing of favours on relatives and friends, moonlighting, partiality, absenteeism, late coming to work, abuse of public property, leaking and/or abuse of government information and the like" (Ibid.). Similarly, the *Business Dictionary* (2012, 13) defines

misappropriation of resources as the “dishonest use of another's funds or property for one's own use.” The *QFinance Dictionary* (2009, 6) adds that misappropriation of resources is the illegal use of resources by somebody who is not the owner but who has been entrusted with looking after them.

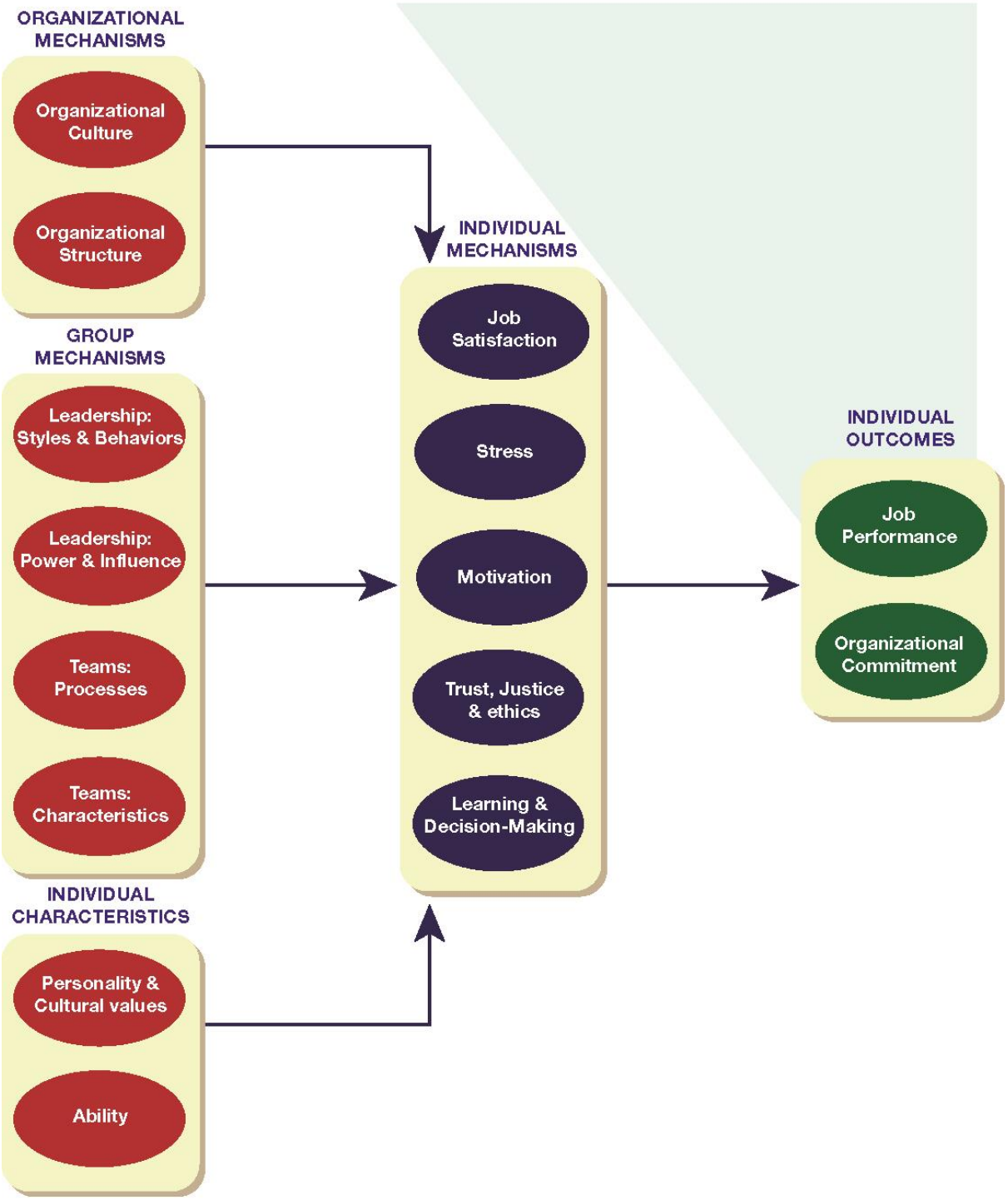
With respect to government departments in general, the Auditor-General (Coetzer 2009, 3) argues that many of them “are working with inadequate financial information because many chief financial officers are not doing their jobs. Too many government accountants were reporting to meet their minimum annual requirements rather than ensuring a steady flow of information to underpin accurate and efficient management.” This ‘tick a box’ attitude consists of mindless compliance with rules rather than taking full responsibility for one’s work and it does not augur well for appropriate job behaviour and performance. Maudlen et al. (2004) see the challenge as involving errors of omission and commission. Errors of omission relate to deficits of basic skills such as computation, communication, listening, critical thinking, and problem solving. Errors of commission relate to “deficits in work attitude, ethics, and competencies (e.g. absenteeism, tardiness, not working an entire shift, poor work habits, poor teamwork, maximizing sick leave, manifesting a ‘that's not my job’ attitude)” (Maudlen et al. 2004, 1).

Maudlen and his co-authors’ (2004) notion of errors of commission relates to Nombembe’s (Coetzer 2009) assessment that mismanagement is not only due to shortage of skills, but that there are attitudinal and misconduct factors as well. If, as Nombembe suggests, some accountants report just to meet the minimum annual requirements, this cannot be attributed to lack of skills, but rather to a lack of the appropriate attitude, diligence and integrity. Since the teaching of these traits is not

the key purpose of schooling, though they are vital components of labour (ability to do a job), it means that it should not be assumed during recruitment and performance appraisals that recruits or workers have them. Recruitment and performance appraisal, however, are summative stages where the panel seeks to establish if applicants or incumbents are able to undertake their responsibilities satisfactorily. Before broad skills can be assessed, they need to be inculcated through teaching, influence, and socialisation. It is apparent that the use of one medium (an oral or written examination) to ascertain the extent to which broad skills have been inculcated is insufficient, because the errors of commission Maudlen et al. (2004) refer to cannot be established through examinations.

Furthermore, in Figure 1.1, McShane and Von Glinow (2009, 34) show that job performance determinants are multi-dimensional. They involve organisational, group and individual mechanisms and individual characteristics. This tends to subvert the positivist assumption, captured by Chansarn (2010, 1), who argues that “only education and technological progress are the significant determinants of the growth rate of labor productivity.”

Figure 1.1:Multi-dimensional determinants of job performance



Source: McShane and Von Glinow (2009, 34)

McShane and Von Glinow's (2009) diagram shows that organisational, group and individual mechanisms and individual characteristics, collectively determine job performance. Westover (2011) concurs, adding that job satisfaction together with

other positive attributes such as life satisfaction, organisational commitment, and worker health are important determinants of job performance. Table 1.3 reflects the important outcomes of job satisfaction as depicted by Westover (2011, 116), buttressing the notion that appropriate job performance is an outcome of numerous and varied factors.

Table 1.3: Important outcomes of job satisfaction

Variable Related with Job Satisfaction	**Direction of Relationship**
Life Satisfaction	Positive
Job Performance	Positive
Worker Motivation	Positive
Job Involvement	Positive
Organizational Commitment	Positive
Organizational Citizenship Behaviour	Positive
Employee Tardiness	Negative
Employee Absenteeism	Negative
Withdrawal Cognitions	Negative
Employee Turnover	Negative
Worker Health	Positive
Perceived Stress	Negative

Source: Westover (2011, 116)

Although many studies confirm the positive relationship between job satisfaction and job performance (Ziegler, Hagen, and Diehl 2012, Judge, Thoresen, Bono, and Patton 2001, Kappagoda 2012), few studies found no significant relationship (Bowling 2007, Iaffaldano and Muchinsky 1985). Most recent studies confirm the positive relationship, but also argue that there are other contributing factors such as personality, gender, level of education, and workplace dynamics such as the

dangerous nature of certain work, and relationships with co-workers and management (Schleicher, Watt and Greguras 2004, Harter, Schmidt and Hayes 2002, Judge et al. 2001). The complexity of job performance and behaviour underscore the need for effective performance management. For that reason, the next section unpacks the problem statement which also explicates the performance management dynamics at the BCMM.

1.4 Problem statement

1.4.1 Paradoxical co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM

The functional analysis of society is called functionalism or structural functionalism (Gerber 2010, Cliff 2012) and these terms are used interchangeably in this thesis. The functionalist argument is that the purpose of education is to solve societal problems (Bryant 2012, Guerrero 2005, Haralambos and Heald 1985, Moore and Moore 1982). In light of the functionalist argument, the problem this study investigates is how is it possible for the BCMM to experience perpetual inappropriate job behaviour and performance when many BCMM workers have academic credentials. This paradox is central in this study because it questions the assumption that workers with formal education make a significant contribution in addressing the country's societal challenges, yet the BCMM experiences significant challenges from workers with formal education. While the assumption is not negated, this study draws attention to the evidence of workers with formal education who cause significant societal challenges. This study assumes that this is due to the over-emphasis of one component of skill, namely, job-specific skills, at the expense of others such as appropriate attitudes, values and ethics. This has created a

favourable environment for the proliferation of BCMM workers' inappropriate job behaviour and performance challenges. The study then assumes that the application of broad skills could counter this challenge effectively and lead to more appropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM.

The co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance raises questions about the effectiveness of the BCMM's performance management systems. Structural-functionalists assume that formal education is one of the factors that curb inappropriate job behaviour and performance in an effort to achieve stability and consensus in society (Bryant 2012, Guerrero 2005, Haralambos and Heald 1985, Moore and Moore 1982, Almquist et al. 1978). Mumbai University (2011, 3-5) notes on the functionalist perspective on education, refer to Durkheim (1977) who "saw the major function of education as the transmission of society's norms and values", a system through which "pupils would come to learn that it was wrong to act against the interests of the social group as a whole." If education serves this function, amongst others, then a question arises: How is it possible for some BCMM workers' job behaviour and performance to undermine the interests of the BCMM community when most of the workers have formal education? Inappropriate job behaviour and performance in the BCMM evokes what Plato, Aristotle and Locke (Naugle 2001, Cahn 1970) tried to resolve as they probed how it was possible for people who have been taught what is right to act contrary to the principles they have learned? This shows that this has been a concern for centuries; it has now been manifested in the BCMM through the workers' inappropriate job behaviour and performance. It is for this reason that this study investigates the co-existence of

formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM to attempt to establish what makes this possible.

Various inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices permeate society and are manifested in the public and private sectors (Helen Suzman Foundation 2012, Public Protector South Africa 2012, van Heerden 2010, Agrawal and Cooper 2007). These practices range from simple to complex, erroneous to purposeful and the role players include government employees, private citizens, and organisations. Furthermore, the ripple effect is severe, because these practices exacerbate poverty and under-development. With regard to corruption, for instance, money that could have been used for service delivery, poverty relief, community development, education, health, crime prevention and other socially useful purposes gets spent by a few individuals mostly on non-essential expenses (Mawonga 2012, Benya (Nqolase) 2011).

On the basis of the seriousness of this challenge, this study attempts to understand the inappropriate job behaviour and performance phenomenon so as to be able to propose possible solutions. It hypothesises that this phenomenon at the BCMM is attributable to the paucity of the various dimensions of knowledge (‘know that’, ‘know why’, ‘know how’) as well as attitudes, ethics and values. Testing this hypothesis requires a proper examination of broad skills in order to determine which of the components of broad skills is not being applied by the workers and it also requires identification of gaps in the BCMM management system which make it possible for this phenomenon to exist.

It is important to emphasise that though this study hypothesises that inappropriate job behaviour and performance in the BCMM is due to the paucity of broad skills, it does not downplay the importance of formal education. The importance of formal education in the BCMM is unquestionable as it is crucial for enhancing economic growth, social development and other municipal objectives. However, the hypothesis suggests that the uncritical acceptance of formal education as a panacea for socio-economic challenges translates to a failure to critically analyse the skills required to undertake a particular task. Skills acquired through formal education are narrow in nature as they predominantly enhance job-specific capabilities and only to a lesser extent enhance crucial elements that contribute to quality work performance, such as ethics, values and attitudes. Similarly, skills acquired through socialisation or background are also narrow in nature as they predominantly enhance interpersonal skills, communication, responsibility, integrity, empathy, teamwork, sociability and the like. However, the recognition of the various forms of narrow skill acquired through schooling, socialisation, culture, background and otherwise translates to the notion of broad skills. The notion of broad skills involves the idea that labour (ability to do a job) is a product of many varied elements and is determined by the total human being. For this reason, Gichure (2000, 3) notes that “because it is an activity, *work requires some effort* for its accomplishment ... work, as a human activity requires intentionality and voluntariness” (emphasis in original).

1.4.2 Complexity of ascertaining specific factors responsible for inappropriate job behaviour and performance

Since formal education forms part of the wide range of knowledge typologies, the investigation into the co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance encountered hurdles. Such hurdles include the

dimensions of capital – human capital, social capital, cultural capital, and reputation capital. These dimensions of capital refer to the accumulated wealth of different types of knowledge acquired from different sources and serving different purposes (the different forms of capital are explained in detail in Chapter 2). The dimensions of capital make it too complex to put a finger on a particular component as being responsible for the inappropriate practices because some of the components are neither observable nor measurable. Moreover, the narrow conception of skills privileges job-specific capabilities and overlooks the role of attitudes, ethics and values in the labour process. The narrow conception of skills predominantly uses certificates as a proxy for the ability to do a job, it is positivist, and it relies on scientific management principles which sit uncomfortably with the dynamics of the labour process. The labour process is intricate and transcends scientific management principles like observation, measurement, and analysis. Therefore, since the notion of broad skills is a combination of many factors such as the various dimensions of knowledge, attitudes, ethics, and values, establishing which of these is responsible for inappropriate job behaviour and performance requires an analysis of more than just academic credentials.

The narrow conception of skill has long been in practice. Historically, the state used education to pursue a dual purpose: to develop citizens for participation in society and to develop appropriate skills and knowledge among citizens to contribute towards economic development (Green 1990). This perception is narrow and one-sided, because it only takes into account the positive aspects of education and overlooks the subversion of the purpose of education through the application of acquired skills to undermine social and economic development. This subversion also

challenges the functionalist assumption of common interest, order and consensus. The pursuit of self-interest as manifested in inappropriate job behaviour and performance reflects motives and attitudes that dissent from this assumption. Academic credentials alone (narrow skills) can be a double-edged sword, serving either to enhance or undermine socio-economic development.

The double-edged sword nature of education came to light at the *Goedgedacht Forum for Social Reflection Debate* (2004, 12) as it appeared that "education is a battlefield, and people with vested interests pull it in various directions. There isn't a God-given purpose for education." The various education purposes are not necessarily incompatible, although at times they may be, depending on the goals envisaged through acquiring education. For this reason, this study investigated conflicting interests served by education through diametrically opposed narrow and broad skills.

In light of the conflicting interests served by education, it would then be naive to uncritically accept the functionalist claim that education is a solution to societal problems, hence the investigation of the co-existence of education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM. In fact, Moore and Moore (1982, 307) observed, in the context of the United States, that "education is always seen ... as a comfortable long-range solution to many ... problems in [the] country. Yet in the last few years comfort is being replaced by rising anxiety. Education, it appears is not a solution at all." This study does not go to the extent of suggesting that education is not a solution at all. It actually suggests the opposite, that education is helpful for the country's socio-economic development. However, by the same token, it cautions that education also has the potential to undermine the country's socio-economic

development through the application of acquired knowledge to the pursuit of ulterior motives. The pursuit of ulterior motives explains the concept of intellectual opportunism. *Webster's Dictionary* (1913/2013, 14) defines intellectual opportunism as "the pursuit of intellectual opportunities with a selfish, ulterior motive not consistent with relevant principles ... [that is] self-serving tendencies of the human intellect." This suggests that opportunistic practices are distinguished by ulterior motives and intentions. For this reason, in investigating the co-existence of formal education with societal problems such as inappropriate job behaviour and performance, this study explores the possibility of formal education's failure to fulfil its role of addressing societal challenges, as well as the contribution of other factors beyond the ambit of formal education. As the possible causes of inappropriate job behaviour and performance are multi-faceted, a multi-pronged analysis of this challenge is required.

Moreover, although broad skills encompass various forms of knowledge, ethics, attitudes and values, according to functionalist thinkers these should all be inculcated through social agents like schooling (Bryant 2012, Guerrero 2005, Haralambos and Heald 1985, Moore and Moore 1982, Almquist et al. 1978). Although capacity building, ethics and values are, to varying extents, included in academic programmes, it needs to be established whose province this is. For this reason, Badat (2004, 6) calls for clarity on "what contribution we can reasonably expect from education and training" since, in addition to the creation of knowledge, learning institutions are expected to teach ethics and values. Such is the functionalist mode of thinking, emphasising what functionalists believe to be positive aspects of

formal education such as the inculcation of values, attitudes and skills for economic participation and social development.

The question as to whose province the teaching of attitudes, ethics and values is, leads to further questions about whether attitudes, ethics and values are acquired or constructed and the implications thereof. The claim that there are skills shortages is often made on the assumption that societal problems like unemployment and consequently crime exist due to the lack of skills, therefore, more skills should be taught at the various institutions of learning (Institution of Engineering and Technology (IET) 2013). This is aptly captured by Bushway and Reuter (1996, 2) who observed that “many offenders lack the skills needed to obtain and retain attractive jobs, that is positions that pay enough to avoid poverty.” However, the paradoxical co-existence of skills with inappropriate job behaviour and performance compromises the validity of this claim. It further suggests that skills appropriateness in terms of quality and quantity needs to be thoroughly investigated before such claims are made. Exploring skill quality suggests looking at skill beyond its job-specific component. It requires consideration of other skill components like attitudes, ethics and values as the evidence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance by personnel with academic credentials suggests that job-specific capability alone (narrow skill) is not sufficient. This is because inappropriate job behaviour and performance may be caused by other factors than academic credentials.

1.4.3 Soft skills-hard skills dichotomy

The Life Associates and the Center for Managing by Values (2007, 1) define job-specific capabilities as those that are “unique to performing [a] specific job.” However, by themselves, they are “not sufficient for ongoing fully acceptable overall

job performance" (Ibid.). Transferable capabilities which enjoy less attention in relation to job-specific capabilities compensate for this insufficiency. Transferable capabilities are versatile and can be applied in various job settings. Attitudes, ethics and values fall into this category. The same source defines transferable capabilities as those that are critical and "significant for success for a job" and include "self-management, communications, or task management" (Ibid.). McKay's (2013, 1) examples of transferable capabilities are akin to those of the Life Associates and the Center for Managing by Values, and they also include capability to "plan and arrange events and activities, motivate others, deal with obstacles and crises, manage time and handle complaints."

Although transferable capabilities are critical, they continue to enjoy less attention and this is reinforced by the soft skills and hard skills dichotomy which privileges hard skills. The notion of soft skills subservience is aptly captured by Bock (2005, 1) who argues that "they may be soft skills, but they're real important." Yunkaporta (2012, 1-2), however argues that the "labelling of social knowledge as 'soft skills' and academic knowledge as 'hard skills'" is profoundly flawed, because it creates the impression that these are from different parts of the brain, yet all skills are a product of a "complex process [that] is a combination of many interwoven strands and simultaneous actions." Tan (2010, 2) agrees that "the hard-soft dichotomy is false", and that they are not mutually exclusive. He gives the example of computer hardware and software to demonstrate the spurious dichotomy. Neither can function without an operating system (OS) which

> enables applications to run properly on hardware, be it the desktop, laptop, mobile phone or machine. The OS manages resources (processors, memory, display, communications, etc) and controls traffic to and from peripherals

> (keyboard, mouse, disk drives, modems, printers, video camera, etc). ... the OS in education is its culture. (Ibid.)

Despite the soft skills-hard skills dynamic, it is important to note that what is referred to as soft skills plays a crucial role in shaping workers' job behaviour and performance. Hence, workers' capacity in some institutions is enhanced through ensuring that academic programmes include soft skills. In accountancy, for instance, students are taught accounting ethics which deals with moral values and acceptable ethical standards and judgements. Soft skills are also referred to as behavioural competencies, interpersonal and people skills and personal attributes that enhance an individual's interactions, job performance and career prospects (Giusti 2008, Paajanen 1992). Soft skills include friendliness, customer service, communication, responsibility, integrity, empathy, teamwork, sociability and conflict resolution.

Conversely, quantitative capacity enhancement is done through various measures geared towards increasing the number of available workers like learnerships, internships, school interventions for improving results, and various entry and exit points for enrolment. For a while now, for enhancing capacity, quantitative interventions have been over-emphasised at the expense of qualitative ones. These asymmetrical capacity enhancement measures are manifested through the existence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices among the workers as aptly captured in this study's research questions.

1.5 Research questions

This study's research questions are as follows:

Research question 1 (RQ 1): How do skills co-exist with inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM when skills have been advocated as a solution to such problems?

Research question 2 (RQ 2): What are the management gaps which enable the continued existence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM?

Despite the fact that many BCMM workers have formal education qualifications, this study hypothesised that perpetual inappropriate job behaviour and performance at this municipality is due to the paucity of broad skills. It particularly hypothesised that the emphasis on narrow skills at the expense of broad skills opened a gap which enabled the co-existence of narrow skills with inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM.

Moreover, the various dimensions of skill call into question the validity of skills shortage claims. Contrary to dominant positivist practice with its narrow conception of skill, the labour process actually makes use of skill in its broader sense, and the continued provision of job-specific capabilities alone is thus not likely to address inappropriate job behaviour and performance. As a result, the skills status quo reported by institutions such as Statistics South Africa may be skewed, since it is predominantly drawn from the human capital model that mostly recognises the job-specific capability component at the expense of the other components of skill. It could, for instance, be that the skills paucity is qualitative (ethical and attitudinal) rather than quantitative (the number of workers needed). For that reason, the BCMM could be in need of increased application of values and ethics in daily operations rather than an increased labour force. To this end, this study sought to disaggregate

broad skills so as to identify the particular components responsible for BCMM workers' inappropriate job behaviour and performance.

Furthermore, this study hypothesised that the continued co-existence of narrow skills with inappropriate job behaviour and performance is indicative of management gaps at the BCMM. In order to significantly close the gaps that enable perpetuation of inappropriate job behaviour and performance, the application of broad skills together with effective management practices is required. The co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance is made possible by the "[k]now the rules well, so you can break them effectively" principle (Dalai Lama 2013, 2). The role that effective management could play in this regard is to identify, address and prevent broken rules for the optimum performance of the municipality.

1.6 Aim and objectives of the study

Aim: The aim of this study is to establish how inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM persists despite the formal education qualifications of many workers.

This aim is the foundation for exploring the functionalist claim that formal education, in an effort to achieve social stability and consensus, is one of the factors that curbs inappropriate job behaviour and performance (Bryant 2012, Guerrero 2005, Haralambos and Heald 1985, Moore and Moore 1982, Almquist, et al. 1978). The investigation of what appears to be a failure of formal education is helpful in demonstrating the role of the other components of skill besides formal education.

The objectives of this study are twofold:

Objective 1: To disaggregate broad skills so as to be able to investigate the role of their various components.

Objective 2: To demonstrate the role of personal interests in the labour process.

This investigation depicts the limitations of narrow skills. This depiction is important, because South Africa's education is conceptualised in terms of the human capital development model which privileges schooling at the expense of other components of broad skills (Human Resource Development Strategy for South Africa (HRDSA) 2009). The broad skills concept challenges the validity of skills shortage claims that do not take into consideration all the components of skill. This research exercise is then helpful for correcting the portrayal of the skills status quo since regular claims of skills shortage are often oblivious of the collective elements that form a skill. Although the extent of skills shortage in various sectors is sometimes quantified, the basis on which the numbers are drawn is narrow and positivistic. Positivists use scientific management principles which sit uncomfortably with the dynamics of the labour process. This process is intricate and scientific practices like observation, measurement and analysis cannot adequately capture it. For instance, it is not possible for a researcher to visit the workplace to observe and measure the amount of values, ethics and attitudes that are required. Therefore, the over reliance on academic credentials which characterise the regular skills shortage claims, conflates and represses the other components and thereby depict a misleading unitary and all encompassing picture of skills. By so doing, it simplifies a very complex problem. It is for this reason that this study's first objective is to disaggregate skill so as to be able

to investigate the role of its various components. This is helpful in creating a reliable report on skills status quo in which the skills shortage claims would not be generic but rather specific enough for precise determination of the skill components that are lacking at the BCMM.

The disaggregation of skills could help streamline skills development initiatives. Such streamlining is made possible by clarification of the roles of the various forms of capital - human capital, cultural capital, social capital and reputation capital – so that formal education may not continue getting all the credit or blame when other forms of capital also play a role in shaping workers' job behaviour and performance. For instance, despite the suggestion that inappropriate job behaviour and performance exist due to the low formal educational profile of many workers, evidence abounds that many individuals who display such inappropriate ways have varying levels of formal education. Some are qualified doctors, nurses, and traffic officers. In such cases, it is not the paucity of skills that could be blamed, but their very availability that serves to help subvert societal goals for the pursuit of personal ones. Hence, the second objective of this study is to demonstrate the role of personal interests in the labour process.

1.7 Limitations and delineation of the study

Since the first objective of this study is to disaggregate skill so as to be able to investigate the role of its various components, there is a methodological difficulty. Skill may be disaggregated, but determining which component of skill is responsible for particular inappropriate job behaviour and performance is a challenge. Such information is difficult to source and verify through the research instruments used in

this study namely a self-reported questionnaire and once-off interviews. These research instruments, for instance, cannot paint a reliable picture of workers' soft skills such as courtesy, consideration, listening, honesty, respect and helpfulness.

Secondly, most statistics on skills are based on perception. Consequently, there are conflicting voices with some arguing, for instance, that there is an oversupply of engineers and chartered accountants (CAs) and others arguing that there is a serious shortage. With respect to engineers, Healing (2012, 1) observes that "[s]kills shortage continues to plague mining sector", Greve (2011) reports that the paucity of engineers leads to the deterioration of infrastructure, and the BCMM (2012a, 69) claims to be experiencing "shortage of skilled labour such as engineers, technicians and electricians." However, Excell (2010) argues that the suggestion of skills shortage insults engineers who cannot find jobs. In fact, some evidence indicates that the importance of engineers is declining, because of a declining employer demand for their skills (Durham 2007, Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Factsheet 8, 2004). This is due to a large decline in significant areas of engineering employment such as the military and mining sectors and a shift instead towards electrical and electronic engineering (Nusca 2010). Kolver (2012) alludes to the report of Stella Carthy, head of skills development at the Chamber of Mines, which reveals that the shortage of engineers in the mining industry is a myth.

Regarding CAs, a study by van Zyl, du Toit and Fourie titled *Skills Development in the Financial and Accounting Services Sector* (2002) suggests that some respondents challenged the notion of skills shortage especially of highly skilled professionals like CAs. They were of the view that employers tended to overestimate the skills required for certain functions and employ CAs to do work that less qualified

people could do. This dissonance is partly because job requirements are not determined scientifically. For instance, one may argue that the job of a Recruitment Manager requires someone with an Honours Degree in Marketing while someone else may believe that the job requires someone with a Masters Degree in Communication. Political appointments make this conundrum even more complex because there are no academic prerequisites for one to be the country's president, yet this position involves a lot of administration and management.

The ambiguity and uncertainty around skills does not augur well for addressing the challenge of inappropriate job behaviour and performance among BCMM workers. To address it, higher levels of certainty are required so as to be in a position to determine and eliminate the particular factors responsible for inappropriate job behaviour and performance. To minimise the impact of this limitation, this study used the mixed method approach. Mixing qualitative and quantitative data helped to cushion the weaknesses of each method and the two thus served to complement each other.

Thirdly, although this study's hypothesis is that widespread and continuing inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM is due to the paucity of broad skills, it is however, difficult to ascertain the exact nature and extent of such shortage since ethics, values and attitudes are neither observable nor measurable. The hypothesis is made all the more difficult to prove by the fact that skill is not a quantifiable commodity and is subject to various ontological and epistemological assumptions. This makes it a very complicated task to ascertain the nature and extent of the skill required for ensuring appropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM. Moreover, demonstrating the extent to which broad skills could curb

inappropriate job behaviour and performance practice is challenging since the research instruments used were questionnaires and once-off interviews. One, for instance, cannot say you need X amount of attitude to curb Y amount of inappropriate job behaviour and performance. Moreover, there are many other variables that could account for reducing inappropriate job behaviour and performance besides formal education. For instance, a theologian may argue that there could have been a change of heart from the people because of some religious intervention and, therefore, the people decided to desist from the inappropriate behaviour. A strategist may argue that after some intervention by management clarifying municipal operations, the workers became clearer about how they ought to behave and perform. A cultural activist may argue that the people may have come to realise that according to the values of their ethnic group, they are not supposed to engage in unbecoming behaviour. Therefore, singling out formal education or any of the components of broad skills as being responsible for curbing inappropriate job behaviour and performance is a serious challenge.

To overcome these hurdles, the research instruments were designed in such a way that they elicit as much information as possible about the workers' broad skills. Statistical methods were also used to paint a credible picture of job behaviour and performance practices at the BCMM.

1.8 Methodology

The study used the mixed method approach, that is, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (Creswell and Plano-Clark 2007). A mixed methods approach was appropriate for examining the hypothesis because of the complexity of the

notion of broad skills, some of whose components are not measurable, observable or quantifiable. Mixing qualitative and quantitative data helped to provide a better understanding of municipal workers' job behaviour and performance at the BCMM since limited data would have been collected if either method alone had been used.

Qualitative methods included analysis of relevant literature and semi-structured interviews with sampled workers from various departments and in different ranks. The quantitative method was in the form of a questionnaire with 79 closed-ended questions, which included 10 biographical questions. The questionnaire had 6 qualitative questions, thus the total number of questions was 85. BCMM workers were requested to complete and return the questionnaire that was sent to them by email and fax, but later hand delivered.

As of 30 June 2012, the BCMM had 8 directorates, 39 departments and a total staff complement of 5,427 (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2012c). The questionnaire was meant to be completed by a sample of ten respondents per department, so as to have 390 respondents in total. For the semi-structured interviews, one person was meant to be sampled per directorate, so as to have eight interviewees in total. This would have translated to 398 respondents in total – 390 questionnaire respondents and 8 interviewees. However, due to fieldwork logistics that included a high rate of refusal to participate in some departments, the share of respondents per department could not be balanced. Consequently, some departments were over-represented and others were under-represented. Instead of 398 respondents (7% of the total staff complement), only 344 (6% of the total staff complement) could participate, because of lack of time, fear of victimisation because the environment was highly political, and because of research fatigue by those who

felt that they had participated in too many research projects, with nothing seeming to change. However, physically administering the questionnaire around the BCMM offices meant that in the end there were many more than 344 respondents. This is because the researcher explained the questionnaire to the workers and, in return, they spoke about their experiences and observations at the BCMM, including those who had originally refused to complete the questionnaire.

The questionnaire and interview questions were focused on the two research questions of this study and were formulated to adhere to the study's conceptual framework, the amalgamation of human capital, social capital, cultural capital, and reputation capital. This was also useful in teasing out factors such as workers' attitudes, ethics and values as well as how these impact on job behaviour and performance.

There was purposeful sampling made since special attention had to be paid to staff with formal education in order to investigate its co-existence with inappropriate job behaviour and performance. However, many workers (49%) had no matric and most of them were in elementary occupations (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011c), and the formal education prerequisite for participants had to take this into consideration. The level of formal education was not made a prerequisite because most workers' education level was commensurate with their occupations. Taking these technicalities into consideration, the research questions then sought to probe how inappropriate job behaviour and performance persisted in the respective occupations despite the commensurate education credentials. In fact, the respondents' level of formal education was not an obstacle to the investigation as

most of the questions were about their observations of job behaviour and performance practices at the BCMM.

Furthermore, triangulation was very helpful for data analysis in light of the fact that the participants' responses were based on their observations of what was taking place at the BCMM. Since different people may observe things differently as a result of their interests, experiences, and expectations, the research design and data analysis took this into consideration by not aiming to reach consensus on the observations but to gain understanding of the workers' observations and experiences. Hence, the questionnaire had different rankings the respondents could choose such as 'Disagree strongly', 'Disagree', 'Neither agree nor disagree', 'Agree' and 'Agree strongly'. During data analysis, raw data was compiled in conjunction with information gained through interviews and document analysis. The combined wealth of data was then logically and systematically analysed using qualitative and quantitative tools.

1.9 Outline of chapters

Chapter One: The scope and focus of the study

Chapter one unpacks the rationale and plan for investigating inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM. It argues that this matter is worth investigating because of the seriousness of BCMM's responsibility as a metropolitan municipality. It advocates broad skills in light of this study's hypothesis that widespread and continuing underperformance and job misbehaviour in the BCMM is due to the paucity of broad skills which include various forms of knowledge, ethics, values and attitudes. The study's purpose and approach is further revealed in the

problem statement, research questions, aim and objectives of the study, and delineation and limitations of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature review of the multifarious forms of capital

This chapter challenges positivist and functionalist assumptions about the formation of skill by demonstrating the various forms of capital and the role they play in shaping job behaviour and performance. It argues that skill is a product of multifarious elements such as human capital, social capital, cultural capital, and reputation capital. The elements that contribute to skill formation further illuminate the distinction between narrow and broad skills. The discussion on broad skills shows how human capital enjoys recognition at the expense of other elements like cultural, social and reputation capital, yet in reality collectively the various forms of capital determine the workers' ability to do a job.

Chapter Three: Literature review of skill as a complicated ingredient in the labour process

This chapter discusses the positivist approach to labour (ability to do a job), and the functionalist purpose of education. It then demonstrates that the two do not adequately explain the labour process. According to positivists, there is a straight forward relationship with formal education producing skills and the labour market using them. Likewise, functionalists assume that formal education unproblematically translates to enhanced economic development, pursuit of the common good and the addressing of social problems (Haralambos and Heald 1985, Almquist, et al. 1978, Moore and Moore 1982, Guerrero 2005, Bryant 2012). This chapter then shows the difficulties of this assumption of a simple relationship between education and the labour market, as well as education and social problems. This leads to an exposure

of gaps in the labour process which helps in understanding the persistence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM despite the formal educational qualifications of many workers.

Chapter Four: Research design and methodology

This chapter explains the research process. It justifies the choice of the research design and research instruments by showing their strengths and weaknesses and how the weaknesses are offset in this study. It gives details about the research design, the BCMM workers, systems, and structures, and also discusses the process of data collection, cleaning and analysis.

Chapter Five: Analysis and interpretation of research findings

This chapter presents the qualitative and quantitative analysis, synthesis and interpretation of the findings. It reports on the data and conclusions reached through the analysis. It starts by clarifying the municipal management system, depicting the administrative and political roles and responsibilities of the various stakeholders in the BCMM. Thereafter, it provides qualitative analysis of the data using various statistical methods. It also provides quantitative analysis using systematic and logical analysis.

Chapter Six: Recommendations, critical evaluation of the research and conclusions

In light of the research findings, this chapter then makes recommendations for addressing the inappropriate workers' job behaviour and performance. It points out the role of broad skills in achieving the BCMM goals and how lack of them compromises the performance of the municipality. It revisits the key issues from the findings and explores ways for implementing them at the BCMM. The key issues

include an effective PMS; prevention of inappropriate ethics, values and attitudes at the workplace; and depoliticising the municipality.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE MULTIFARIOUS FORMS OF CAPITAL

2.1 Introduction

This chapter depicts the various elements that can be claimed to contribute to skill formation, namely human capital, cultural capital, social capital, and reputation capital. It shows how the human capital model has been credited for enabling workers to do a job when in fact several forms of capital collectively play a role in this regard. The varying contributions to skill formation demonstrate the complexities of the effect of education on labour productivity and shed some light on workers' job behaviour and performance. After explaining the conceptual framework of this study and the varying forms of capital, the discussion is narrowed to the specific elements chosen for analysing job behaviour and performance - knowledge, attitude, ethics and values. This is helpful for demonstrating the conceptual gaps that enable the paradoxical co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices.

2.2 Conceptual framework

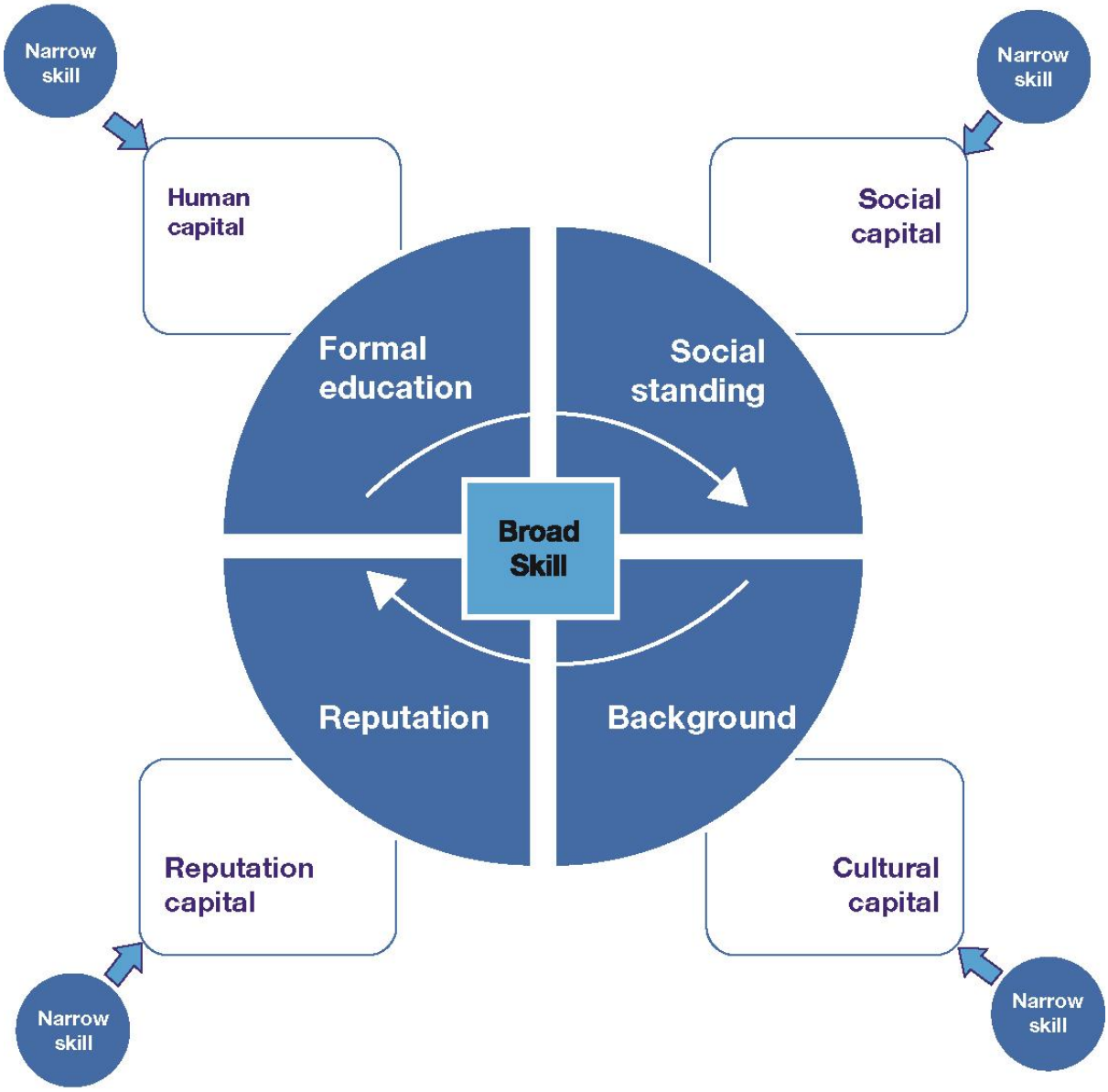
Human capital is a dominant education model as depicted in the *Human Resource Development Strategy for South Africa (HRDSA)* (2009). This thesis challenges the dominance of this theory by showing its explanatory gaps which are filled through

other forms of capital such as social capital, cultural capital, and reputation capital. In fact, these various forms of capital all lay claim to forming skills, leading to a broader theoretical structure for skills formation.

On the basis of the multiple components that form skills, a conceptual framework for analysing workers' inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM was formulated. The conceptual framework was structured along the lines of this study's hypothesis. Therefore, within the notion of broad skills, this study sought a more precise explanation for the widespread inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM. While it sought to understand how the various components of broad skill shaped the workers' behaviour and performance, it also examined the role of ethics, values and attitudes.

Figure 2.1, depicts the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study, showing the interaction and amalgamation of various narrow skills (human capital, social capital, cultural capital, and reputation capital). The interaction and amalgamation of narrow skills translates to broad skills. This conjures up the image of one body with many parts that work together for optimum performance of the body. Similarly, although the role served by the respective narrow skills is diverse, all roles are crucial for the achievement of appropriate job performance and behaviour.

Figure 2.1 Theoretical and conceptual framework of the study



Source: Author

2.3 The many components of broad skills

Human capital theory is helpful in explaining the role of education in enabling the labour force to undertake its responsibilities. However, it does not explain the way in which education may compromise the labour force in undertaking its responsibilities. While formal education is advocated by functionalists as enabling job performance,

evidence in Section 1.2 challenges this assumption as some workers with formal education qualifications engage in inappropriate job performance practices. Therefore, human capital theory's explanation of what enables the labour force to undertake its responsibilities appropriately is insufficient. To complement the human capital theory, this study developed a theoretical framework that encompasses various explanations of what enables the labour force to undertake its responsibilities appropriately. The theoretical framework is a combination of four theories, namely human capital, social capital, cultural capital, and reputation capital. This is depicted in Figure 2.1.

This thesis critiques the human capital model by showing its gaps which are then filled through the other forms of capital. This is how the notion of broad skills is conceptualised since different theories are used as building blocks towards the overall conceptual framework for analysing the appropriateness of job behaviour and performance. From the different forms of capital, relevant elements for analysing job behaviour and performance are selected namely knowledge, attitude, ethics and values.

Becker (1964), from a human capital perspective, argues that job performance is determined by one's schooling. Blackmore (1997), from a social capital perspective, argues that job performance is determined by one's social development, social relations and social networks. From a cultural capital perspective, Bourdieu (1977) argues that job performance is determined by one's family background, race, ethnicity, personality and geographical area. Ingbretsen (2011) and Klewes and Wreschniok (2009) from a reputation capital perspective, argue that job performance is determined by one's reputation, brand, public perceptions of trustworthiness,

popularity, authority in the field, ethics, integrity and resilience. The next section unpacks these different perceptions of what causes job performance and shows the interconnections between them and how over-emphasis of one perception at the expense of others incline workers to inappropriate job behaviour and performance. The essence of skill is the ability to perform a certain function and the role played by human capital, social capital, cultural capital and reputation capital is crucial in the formation of skill, that is, in enabling someone to perform particular tasks. Notably, the appropriate undertaking of tasks also requires attitudes, ethics and values to guide human thought and behaviour. These develop slowly over time as part of an individual's social and cultural development (Moore and Asay 2008). At the workplace, human thought gets manifested through behaviour that enhances or undermines the organisation's objectives.

The different perceptions of what enables the labour force to undertake its responsibilities appropriately help to demonstrate the role of the respective components of broad skills in the labour process. The complexities of ascertaining what enables the labour force to undertake its responsibilities as it should demonstrate that determining what formal education can or cannot do is a daunting task. It is difficult to single out what enables people to perform particular tasks. This means that ascertaining the contribution of each broad skill component is also a challenge. The various broad skill components contribute towards the quality of workers' job behaviour and performance, but to claim, for instance, that human capital contributed X% and reputation capital Y% is impossible to prove. As the causal relationship cannot be established with certainty, this study then seeks to establish the current nature and extent of BCMM workers' broad skills. The aim is to

determine the role of broad skills towards the BCMM workers' job behaviour and performance, especially because various studies reveal that there is correlation between attitudes and behaviour (Bektas and Nalcaci 2012, Negev, Sagy, Garb, Salzberg, and Tal 2008, Ajzen 2002, Fazio 1986, Davidson and Jaccard 1979, Ajzen and Fishbein 1977). A caveat is however in order because there is also evidence that suggests inconsistency between attitudes and behaviour (Schroeder, Meyers and Kostyniuk 2013, Ajzen and Fishbein 2005, Standen 2001, LaPiere 1934). Be that as it may, this study accepts that when using the right instruments, one can establish a correlation between attitudes and behaviour. This is why Davidson and Jaccard (1979) claim that attitudes can predict behaviour if you ask the right questions.

2.4 Different perceptions of skill formation

2.4.1 Human capital theory

The South African education model, as depicted in its education policies and programmes, is predominantly shaped by the human capital theory. This is demonstrated, for instance, in the *Human Resource Development Strategy for South Africa (HRDSA)* (2009), which emphasises the country's employment-focused education that privileges economic imperatives and such are central in the human capital theory (Efanga and Nwokomah 2013, Becker 1975). This section elucidates human capital theory and critiques its dominance because it regards it as a component of broad skills, thus on its own, it is a narrow form of skill. This chapter then shows that the probability of the perpetuation of inappropriate job behaviour and

performance is high when only one component of skill is applied and the others are overlooked.

According to human capital theory, the purpose of education is to prepare people for productive participation in the labour market (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 2010, Ehrenberg and Smith 2009, Bowles and Gintis 1976). The principle of manipulating material for the creation of the physical capital necessary for production was extended to humans which meant effecting changes in a person (imparting skill) to enhance his or her capability for performing specific tasks (Becker 1975, Schultz 1961). Assets that will generate income in the future are called capital, and the human capital concept followed this line of thinking. This concept also underscores the economic value of education, suggesting that the skills humans acquire will generate income in the future for personal and social gains.

Acquired skills are used in the labour market which is where labour sellers (workers) and labour buyers (employers) are matched to create employment (Ehrenberg and Smith 2009). Once matched, workers offer their labour (ability to do a job) to employers who then remunerate the workers for their services. The value and quality of labour is not cast in stone or predetermined, because it is decided, amongst other things, by the supply and demand of workers, products and services. For instance, if an airline buys 150,000 litres of diesel for its Boeing 747, it knows it will be able to do a 10-hour flight (The Naked Scientists 2011); if a construction company buys an automatic brick making machine, it knows that the output will be 7, 000 bricks per hour (Profile Concrete Equipment 2013). However, if employers buy eight hours of labour, they cannot be certain about the output as this is subject to a number of

immeasurable and unobservable factors which include the workers' job-specific capability, knowledge, ethics, attitudes and values.

The notion that the exact contribution of labour cannot be scientifically determined presents challenges for employers. As much as the BCMM, for instance, may know its staff complement and staff academic credentials, this merely reflects their job-specific capability. Being capable of undertaking their contractual tasks as per their respective job descriptions does not necessarily mean that the workers will do what they are capable of. Their capability also does not reflect the effect of workers' attitudes, ethics and values which are also important determinants of job behaviour and performance.

Taylor's (1911/2011) application of scientific principles in the labour process for the enhancement of economic efficiency, which translates to maximised labour productivity, seems to be a challenge as labour is not a linear process. Kling and Merrifield (2009, 8) argue that "the relationship between schooling and economic performance is not ... simple and straight-forward" because labour productivity is a result of many factors and schooling is just one of them. The schooling-economic performance relationship is also complicated because skill is not a quantifiable commodity. It is intricate, going beyond what can be understood through scientific principles of observation, measurement and analysis. It is further subject to various ontological and epistemological assumptions. The non-linear nature of the labour process together with the forces that shape labour productivity, complicate the process of ascertaining the nature and extent of the contribution of skills to job performance.

Despite the dynamics of subjecting labour to scientific principles like observation, measurement and analysis, human capital theory maintains that workers' possession of knowledge and skill as a result of education and training makes them more productive. It assumes that the more knowledgeable people are, the more capable they are of productive effort, and hence investment in human capital because it increases labour productivity and quality. Rumberger (1994) explains that human capital theory is based on three main propositions. The first is that the primary role of formal schooling is to develop human capital, or the knowledge and skills of future workers. The second is that the labour market efficiently allocates educated workers to firms and jobs where they are required. The third is that the human capital of workers increases their productivity at the workplace which is then rewarded with higher earnings. The human capital theory, however, makes these assumptions without adequate measures to verify them. For instance, it does not measure the extent to which schooling increases labour productivity. In light of the view that broad skills are a result of schooling plus factors such as attitudes, ethics, and values, the human capital theory unfairly credits schooling alone for labour productivity at the expense of other factors that also contribute towards labour productivity.

Another gap in the human capital model is the use of examinations to test if what has been taught has been learnt. This, however, falls short in ascertaining how far what has been learnt can be applied (Nicoll 2007, United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO) 2005). This is so because the application of knowledge is subject to the knowledge bearer's motives, will, attitudes, ethics and values. Consequently, inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices at the workplace could be due to numerous factors, including lack of the

necessary capabilities or refusal to apply what has been learnt due to racial or other prejudices as in the case of those who refused to serve black clients (Breytenbach 2009). The application of learnt concepts is part of Yorke's (2006, 7) definition of employability which suggests that it "implies something about the capacity of the graduate to function in a job." Discussing employability as a curricular process, Barnard and Heather (2009, 14) warn that "it must be emphasised that the curricular process may *facilitate* the development of requisite knowledge, skills and attributes appropriate to employment, but does not guarantee it. Hence it is inappropriate to assume that graduates are highly employable on the basis of curricular provision alone."

In his investigation of the employability[2] of graduates from further education and training (FET) colleges, Gamble's (2006) research instrument included a rating of four dimensions of competence that contribute to employability. The four dimensions were foundational competence (communication and numeracy), technological competence (use of technology and computer literacy), social competence (ability to get on with others, ability to help clients in a knowledgeable and courteous manner) and technical competence (understanding of and practical expertise in a particular technical area such as engineering, business, hospitality, and early childhood development). The findings revealed that many employers rated foundational competence and social competence as crucial, albeit they cannot train workers to develop these since they train them on technological and technical aspects. This study acknowledges the importance of all the competences although it does not rank

[2] There is no consensus on the definition of employability, but in general it is considered more than acquisition of a job. It also refers to work-readiness (Robinson 2000) and it involves the ability to gain and maintain employment, the ability to obtain new employment if required, and being pleased with the quality of such work or employment (Hillage and Pollard 1998).

them like Gamble (2006, 20) who acknowledges that technical competence is important “even though it ranks after social and foundational competence.”

The ability to function in a job has implications for job performance and the quality of labour. Barker (2007, 125) argues that the “quality of the labour force probably has the biggest impact on productivity”, but then the challenge is determining what enhances quality. Schooling is one of the many factors that contribute towards labour quality, but there are other intrinsic and extrinsic factors of similar importance. The intrinsic factors include attitudes, ethics, values and culture and extrinsic factors include the environment, background, policies, monitoring and management.

The other extrinsic factor that has an impact on productivity is wages (McConnell, Brue and Macpherson 2010, Ehrenberg and Smith 2009, Barker 2007). The effect of wages on productivity is the central argument of the efficiency wage hypothesis (Peach and Stanley 2009, Stiglitz 1976). This hypothesis suggests that wage increase can lead to productivity increase under certain circumstances such as better morale and health, low absenteeism, and appropriate skills development (Peach and Stanley 2009, Stiglitz 1976). This is the sentiment that is often articulated during wage strikes as echoed in chants during demonstrations such as *faka imali uzobona* (pay and see), which denotes that when workers are paid better, they can do anything (*Sowetan* 2010, Mmemezi 2012).

The role of wages in shaping appropriate job behaviour and performance is difficult to establish. It is a chicken and the egg scenario. One school of thought suggests that wages increase productivity (McConnell, Brue and Macpherson 2010, Ehrenberg and Smith 2009, Barker 2007) and another suggests that productivity

increases wages (Winslow 2012). Be that as it may, it is interesting that the country's challenges of inappropriate job behaviour and performance and poor service delivery are mostly attributed to skills shortages and are rarely attributed to low wages. However, many of those engaged in inappropriate job behaviour and performance are relatively well paid which throws doubt on the validity of a positive relationship between wages and productivity (high performance and appropriate job behaviour). For instance, the BCMM former mayor was earning R744 200 per annum, yet the Ernst and Young forensic report implicated her in corruption relating to BCMM's R2 billion (*Daily Dispatch* 2012a). The same applies to the former BCMM acting municipal manager who earned R595 360, yet the Ernst and Young forensic report charged him with fraud and corruption relating to the awarding of a R419 000 tender to erect public viewing areas in the BCMM during the 2009 Confederations Cup (Ibid.).

Inappropriate job behaviour and performance by some workers is aggravated by the capacity challenges the BCMM is experiencing. The BCMM (2012a, 54) admitted that "staff capacity is a serious concern" and it called for "the crafting of retention strategies [such as the] implementation of the scarce skills allowance." These strategies are being considered especially because some workers such as candidate valuers "leave immediately they receive their qualifications. This is at great loss and cost to the municipality as time to train an individual takes not less than five years" (Ibid.). However, capacitating the workers also seems to be experiencing challenges because of the workers' nature of employment. Councillors serve the municipality for a five-year-term and the municipality also has other workers who are employed on a part-time or temporary basis. From a human capital development perspective, this

could be contributing to having workers who are not appropriately capacitated, because the decision to invest or not in on-the-job training is largely determined by the likelihood of workers to remain in a job for a reasonable time. Ehrenberg and Smith (2009) observe that the human capital theory argument is that returns from an investment in temporary and/or part-time workers are generally less than those from workers in permanent and/or full-time positions. The shorter pay-off period and the increased chances of resignation render investment in temporary and/or part-time workers precarious and risky. Therefore, from a capacity development perspective, the employment of workers on such a basis stifles the BCMM's efforts to have a well capacitated and better performing workforce. In the context of municipalities, this challenge is more pronounced among political appointees such as councillors and mayors as they have a five-year tenure and change or are re-elected every five years (Schulz-Herzenberg, Mukadam and Felton 2012). Within this period, they need to be trained "to read council documents, policies and plans" and they often require "basic literacy and numeracy", and training in leadership; management of finances, people and resources, and in diversity and conflict (Paradza, Mokwena and Richards 2010, 90). The available time for offering training on these diverse training needs, and the requirement that the workers should carry on with their responsibilities compromises the effectiveness of these on-the-job training interventions.

It is suggested by McConnell, Brue and Macpherson (2010, 117) that on "average, individuals who receive the largest amount of formal education also receive more on-the-job specific training." This is because years of formal education attest to the trainability of the individuals concerned. A person with a bachelor's degree is likely to be more trainable than one with a matric certificate, translating to a higher rate of

return for the employer, and training costs are lower for people with more years of formal education. Therefore, employers are more likely to invest in on-the-job-training for those with more years of formal education as they have acquired the basics like numeracy and communication skills. However, the challenge is to measure the rate of return because some of the investments and returns are not quantifiable, observable and measurable. A classic example is government's average annual investment of about R18 000 per higher education student, excluding private contributions in the form of fees (World Bank 2010). Returns to this investment are hard to quantify, observe and measure.

Pillay, Juan and Twalo (2012) observe that although some provincial departments make substantial skills development investments, there is hardly any measurement of the rate of return. Therefore, it is not known whether such expenditure is a good investment or not. Most government departments only report on the number of trained personnel and training expenditure. They hardly report on the impact of the skills development initiatives as they cannot measure the extent to which they improve labour productivity.

For this reason, it is apparent that although it is important for the BCMM to ensure that all workers receive the necessary skills training, the lack of impact assessment compromises the skills development goal. This is so because skills development investments do not automatically translate to the application of acquired skills. The evidence of inappropriate job behaviour given in Section 1.2 reveals that being endowed with job specific skills could be subverted for selfish reasons that compromise social and economic development.

The inscrutable elements of human capital pose challenges for performance management. This is aggravated by the lack of clarity on whether workers can be regarded as assets and, if so, how their value may be calculated. Flamholtz (2012, 1) admits that, strictly speaking, people do not qualify as assets; "[t]hey cannot be transacted at will, their contribution is individually distinctive and variable (and subject to motivation and environment)." However, he notes that if assets are viewed as "value-creating entities", then the workers' crucial role in generating future benefits should be highlighted especially "in an era where knowledge and its application is the key competitive advantage" (Ibid.). Furthermore, to conclude that human capital is an asset, Flamholtz (1999) advises that it must have the potential to generate profits in the future, that these profits must be calculated in monetary terms and that they must be owned by the employer. This complication in the notion of investments and assets in the human capital theory reveal its limitations. These are discussed further in the next section.

2.4.2 Limitations and criticisms of the human capital theory

The sociological counterpart of the human capital model of education and the economy is structural functionalism (Gingrich 1999). It is an equilibrium theory, one of the theories of order and stability. Its explanation of the co-existence of skills with inappropriate job behaviour and performance can be inferred from its assertion that a social system's survival depends on order and stability. The lack of order and stability translates into, among others, rifts in social order like service delivery protests and workers' strikes. Structural functionalists use the analogy of the human body to depict the required balance among society's interdependent parts or subsystems (Henslin 2006, Gingrich 1999). They thus see formal education as

important in establishing and maintaining social order through its ability to socialise children. Through socialisation (by means of the formal and hidden curricula), children are imbued with the knowledge, attitudes and values they will need as responsible citizens. Regulation of learners' behaviour through socialisation into specific values and norms facilitates the internalisation and acceptance of widely accepted moral values (Crossman n.d.).

On the other hand, human capital theory contends that the ability to do a job is acquired through schooling (Rumberger 1994). It assumes a positive relationship between education and productivity as well as productivity and higher earnings. It portrays this relationship as unproblematic, seeming oblivious to labour market practices like discrimination (on the grounds of gender, race, age, nationality and religion), quotas, equity targets, and political affiliation (Rumberger 1994). Furthermore, this model overlooks other sources of income variation such as laws, customs, cultures, scarcity of natural abilities, nepotism, luck, geographical location and sector; values, ethics, attitudes, physical and mental state, wages and technology, which lead to people with the same educational attainments receiving different compensation (Langner 2005, Adnett 1989). These factors compromise the assertion that the labour market allocates workers to jobs efficiently. They also raise questions about the assumption of the education-productivity-earnings relationship as linear and clear-cut. Evidence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM as depicted in Section 1.2 attests to the weakness of this assumption. Blackmore (1997, 226) adds that "[a]t a macro level, human capital theory assumes an essentially structuralist-functionalist view of education-society relationship [since] it presumes a direct, linear and positive correlation between education and

technology, education and individual productivity, education and national economic productivity." She then argues that this assumption is out of touch with reality and therefore erroneous. Thus to attribute increased productivity solely to schooling is an unreliable inference as different people attribute it to different things. Kling and Merrifield's study (2009, 8) revealed that formal education only accounts for "about 14% of the average annual increase in labor productivity." Some theorists attribute increased productivity to wages (McConnell, Brue and Macpherson 2010, Ehrenberg and Smith 2009, Barker 2007), others attribute it to effective management (Akintayo 2013, McGregor 1960), and others to motivation (Zapounidis, Kalfakakou and Aretoulis 2013, Campbell 1993).

Moreover, human capital theory generally limits job training to job-specific capability thereby overlooking other factors that enable workers to be able to undertake their employment responsibilities appropriately. The driving school example aptly demonstrates the need for broad training especially because many jobs at the BCMM require people with drivers' licenses (Buffalo City Municipality 2010, Buffalo City Municipality 2009). When people learn to drive at driving schools, they are taught road signs, road rules and vehicle control. As drivers, they share the road with other motorists who vary in virtually everything - driving abilities, mood, stress level, behaviour, speed, urgency, and concentration. Car types, vehicle roadworthiness, state of the roads and weather conditions also vary. Therefore, the multitude of very varied drivers get to use the limited resource - roads - but driving school instructions do not fully prepare them for all these conditions. As road users, in addition to their job-specific capability (driving) they are expected to react appropriately to the many hazards and mishaps that frequently confront drivers. Thus, though job-specific

capability is a prerequisite for driving, it is evidently insufficient to prepare a driver to handle all road challenges competently. However, it needs to be established if it is practical to expect driving schools, in addition to driving instruction, to teach road manners, hijacking management and prevention, reaction to inconsiderate drivers and bribery requests or threats from traffic officials. Due to all the internal and external factors impacting on drivers, as a coping mechanism or as a manifestation of lack of broad driving skills, road rage and accidents occur. This illustrates the irony Plato, Aristotle and John Locke (Naugle 2001, Cahn 1970) tried to resolve: How is it possible for people who have been taught what is right to act contrary to the principles they have learned?

As licensed drivers may have the job-specific capability to drive vehicles, but not the road skills to handle the complexities of road use emanating from the drivers themselves or other road users, some municipal workers have job-specific capabilities for discharging their responsibilities, but lack the broad skills to prevent inappropriate job behaviour and performance. The formal education qualifications of some of the workers do not help them to practice excellent job behaviour and performance since, as discussed earlier, they engage in practices that compromise the quality of their work despite their formal education credentials.

Nel and Barnard (2009) revealed the importance of the other graduate attributes in addition to formal education qualifications. These include personal attributes such as honesty (integrity, professionalism and behaving in an ethical manner), self-assurance (self-confidence, self-awareness, and assertiveness), ambition (commitment, willingness to go an extra mile, and passion), self-regulation (time

management, and ability to work without supervision), and resilience (ability to work under pressure, ability to cope with stress, emotional maturity, and spiritual maturity). MITSDE's (2012, 101) formula for performance is "Performance = Capacity x Commitment", arguing that

> performance is the product of two factors, capacity and commitment. Mathematically, if either one of these factors is zero, the result is zero. It follows from this relationship of capacity to commitment in this equation that, adjustments to any one factor will directly affect performance (Ibid.).

This attests to the notion of broad skills. It shows that both personal and academic attributes play a role in shaping job behaviour and performance and determine the quality of work the workers produce.

Quality of work is important at the BCMM, especially because of its service delivery mandate. The municipality needs to enable its citizens to experience efficient, effective and professional service. Some retail sector practices are a good example for BCMM to follow. Because customer service and sales are crucial to company image and maintenance of market share, this implies training staff for more intricate applications than just repetitive tasks. In an effort to stay ahead of competitors in the marketplace, training content therefore includes four main areas namely company rules, culture and policies; product knowledge; job-specific skills and customer relations or people handling skills (Bailey and Noyelle 1990).

Moreover, as Gardner (1983) observes, other criticisms levelled against the human capital theory are that it overlooks differences in the types of knowledge and skills produced in relation to what is demanded in the labour market. Typologies of knowledge which include propositional or declarative or explicit factual knowledge (knowing that), procedural knowledge (knowing how) and understanding (knowing

why) further challenge the assumptions of human capital theory (Bruce 2008, Winterton, Delamare and Stringfellow 2006). Winterton, Delamare and Stringfellow (2006, 7), for instance, challenge the perception of knowledge as a concrete manifestation of intelligence on the basis that it is socially constructed: it is "the result of an interaction between intelligence (capacity to learn) and situation (opportunity to learn)." Therefore, though it may take into consideration the differences in skills that may be applied to various job settings, human capital theory omits the dynamics involved in physical, emotional, cultural, and social abilities and skills. It omits social processes and social structures which also play a critical role in job performance and behaviour and, therefore, fails to allow for or demonstrate the complexity of labour productivity.

2.5 Social Capital

There are various definitions of social capital, but a common thread among most of them is that they refer to social relations that are productive (Dolfsma and Dannreuther 2003, Foley and Edwards 1997). The concept underscores the value of social networks and the benefits derived from membership of such networks. Sander (2002, 213) argues that the value and benefits of networks are epitomised in "the folk wisdom that more people get their jobs from who they know, rather than what they know." Boxman, De Grant and Flap (1991, 52) corroborate this definition of social capital, because they regard it as "the number of people who can be expected to provide support and the resources those people have at their disposal." This indicates that the employer-worker match is not as clear-cut as the human capital model posits. The hegemony of social networks in the social capital model compromises the predominance of schooling as advocated by the human capital theory. Further, it gives a different perspective on the determinants of job

performance and behaviour and an alternative explanation of skills co-existence with inappropriate job performance and behaviour, because the social capital modus operandi is that the most favoured gets the job and not necessarily the most competent.

The social capital model shows that the determinants of appropriate job performance and behaviour are multipronged and not limited to schooling only. Winch and Gingell (1999) demonstrate this and further critique the human capital theory's assumption that education quality is homogenous. They argue that in addition to the values, knowledge, skills, and confidence imparted, "the value of one's education depends to some extent on *prestige*" (emphasis in original) (Winch and Gingell 1999, 127). Prestige is derived from studying at a high status institution and getting high status education which then translates to confidence about acquired knowledge results. Confidence is further enhanced if the school or university has a network of social contacts, the 'old school tie phenomenon', since learners get more benefits than just learning. They also get social prestige which is crucial for accessing employment opportunities through the extended internal labour market. Winch and Gingell (1999) use the race winner metaphor to illustrate the competition for accessing prestigious institutions since learners from these institutions have better employment opportunities. The high demand for access "puts the high-status schools in a very powerful position" (Winch and Gingell 1999, 128) and pushes up access costs with only the rich able to afford the expensive education from these schools. This spills over into the labour market as the products of these schools get privileged access to better paying jobs, underscoring the notion that it is not necessarily the most

competent who get employed, but those who also have productive social relations and effective social networks.

2.5.1 Internal labour market and extended internal labour market

Leverage from studying at prestigious institutions is enhanced through internal labour markets. Internal labour markets are labour allocation mechanisms within a firm, profession or sector which follow a set of internally accepted rules and procedures. For instance, it is an accepted rule in the legal profession that to be a practicing attorney, one needs to do articles and pass the board examination in addition to obtaining a bachelors degree. Workers in internal labour markets experience career mobility through employment opportunities, promotions and transfers and this shields them from the competition presented by external labour markets. Those not within the system are excluded as they may not measure up to all the internal requirements, rules and procedures like having certain years experience in the profession, a particular field's tacit knowledge and other on-the-job training qualifications like articles in the case of lawyers and accountants. People outside the system find it difficult to fulfil these requirements and are thus automatically excluded. The exclusion of outsiders is sometimes not justifiable as some may be as capable as the insiders (Nzimande 2011a, Nzimande 2011b). Cases in point are IT technicians, teachers, motor mechanics, and builders who, despite their lack of academic credentials confirming their knowledge of a subject area, may excel in their respective fields of operation. Conversely, some of their counterparts with academic credentials display inappropriate job performance which corroborates the view that certification is not always a reliable indicator of job performance and behaviour.

The concept of an extended internal labour market is used by Moore (1991) to explain how the discriminatory criteria used by enterprises in internal labour markets are expanded into the external labour market. The extended internal labour market functions within religious, political, cultural, social and other networks. These networks operate through word of mouth, referrals from members of the internal labour market and recommendations for vacancies and promotion from family, friends and comrades. Moore (1991) observes that potential new recruits acquire the tacit work socialisation skills that will be required in their future employment from their family and friends and they in turn will have to uphold the good reputations of their sponsors. This is what makes this system an effective tool for labour control. For this reason, political appointees need to keep their sponsors happy by toeing the lines of their respective camps as upsetting them might have deleterious effects on the appointees' careers (Munusamy 2012).

Van Onselen (2012, 1) laments the negative effects of the extended internal labour market, arguing that "cadre deployment has brought Buffalo City to its knees" because "political allegiance trumps merit and skill", hence "poor performance." The *Times Live* (2011, 1) adds that cadre deployment is responsible for the mismanagement and "dismal appointments in provincial and local government." The African National Congress (ANC) Special Provincial General Council (2010, 10) admitted that "infighting amongst our deployed cadre in the NMB [Nelson Mandela Bay] Metro and Buffalo City is detracting the municipalities from their core business of service delivery." Consequently, it resolved "to make ongoing ... public deployees' performance evaluation" (Ibid.). However, the Buffalo City Municipality Report: Mid-

Term Review of Municipal Performance by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) (Glass 2010, 6) revealed a counter move by ANC members:

> The turnaround of Buffalo City has had to confront the worst aspects of cadre deployment. The ANC branches were ordering the deployed cadres who were staff members of the municipality to make the municipality ungovernable. The cadres complied aggravating and further compromising the quality of municipality governance and delivery. This type of corruption cascades down from the top positions in the municipality into every facet of the administration.

The operations of the extended internal labour market continue to be a thorny issue in post-apartheid South Africa. Reports of comrades rewarding each other with jobs and promotion of friends at work abound (Maphumulo 2013, Mhlongo 2012, Maponya 2011). Poor service delivery has been attributed to this practice. The chairperson of the anti-corruption committee in the Mopani region, Calvin Mahlaole, emphasised that "[t]hese practices derail progress and undermine service delivery because we end up deploying people without relevant skills and qualifications only because they are related to politicians" (Maponya 2011). Similarly, Fourie (2006, 1) reports that “seventeen top directors employed at Limpopo’s municipalities are trained teachers with no management-related qualifications.” Their positions include those of municipal managers and directors of finance, integrated development planning, corporate services, local economic development, accounting and human resources. Such allocation of jobs to people without appropriate qualifications and who are not necessarily the most competent discredits the assumption of human capital theorists that workers and jobs dovetail, that workers have the same productivity characteristics, and that non-wage job characteristics are identical (Adnett 1989). This shows that allocation of jobs to incompetent people is not limited to the BCMM and it also exposes the gaps in labour market operations which explain the perpetuation of inappropriate job performance and behaviour.

2.5.2 Qualifications

The issue of appropriate qualifications is highly contested because the specifications for many jobs are unreliable and not exhaustive. For a Business Manager position, for instance, one may argue that the requirements are a Bachelor of Business Administration and another may perceive them to be an Honours Degree in Marketing. The nonlinear qualification-employment relationship is depicted in *HSRC Factsheet 8* (2004) which reports a growing pattern of employment of engineers within the financial sector because of their strong analytical and project management skills. Political appointments, which are not based on academic credentials, make this conundrum even more complex. It is important to examine this since municipal councillors are political appointees. There are no academic prerequisites to be a political appointee because the aim of democracy is to give every citizen a right both to vote, but also to be voted for. At times, this translates to the election of councillors with low or no formal education qualifications. A study conducted by the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) revealed that nationally 32% of councillors indicated the need to be trained in adult basic education and training (ABET) as they had challenges relating to reading, writing and understanding discussions and documents in English, hence they struggled in following deliberations (Local Government Sector Education and Training Authority (LGSETA) 2008, *Independent Online* (*IOL*) 2008, Mbanjwa 2008).

The country's President, Jacob Zuma is often cited in the discourse on formal education credentials, as he only has primary school education. When the issue of his low academic qualifications was raised, Leon's (2009, 1) defence was that, "character overcomes qualification." He also noted that international leaders like US

president Harry Truman and former British Prime Ministers Winston Churchill and John Major discharged their responsibilities despite low academic qualifications. The fact that some politicians with low or no formal education discharge their duties with relative success throws doubt on the notion that the lack of formal education translates to inappropriate job performance and behaviour. It suggests that there must be an alternative explanation for inappropriate job performance and behaviour, and this study hypothesises that this is due to the paucity of broad skills which include various forms of knowledge, ethics, values and attitudes.

Lack of consensus about the appropriate credentials for undertaking a particular task also affects the determination of the skills status quo, since current measures for doing so are unreliable. Currently, measures used to determine the skills status quo include interviews with sampled individuals and data on applicant-job ratios, recruitment lead times and job fill rates (Sharp 2011). The challenge with interviews is that the interviewees report on the skills status quo based on their perception of job requirements, as argued in 2007 by the then Chairman of the Employment Equity Commission, Jimmy Manyi, “that the shortage of skills in South Africa was not as ‘chronic’ as it was made out to be but had been stated over and over again to such an extent it had become an urban ‘legend’” (Breier 2009, 9). This emphasises that determining the requirements that workers need to perform and behave appropriately in their jobs is not clear cut. There are different understandings of what is required and there are conflicting interests which further cloud this issue.

The simplistic use of qualifications as a proxy for the ability to do a particular job as advocated by human capital theory is insufficient. The qualifications proxy is based on the assumption that students are taught skills which capacitate them to perform

tasks related to their qualification. When learning and teaching are complete, students are assessed to determine their understanding and they then receive certificates which are the documentary evidence of their capabilities. However, being taught and learning does not necessarily translate to application. For this reason, to address inappropriate job behaviour and performance, it is advisable to avoid heavy reliance on certificates as an indication of capability and rather use a broader perspective which incorporates academic credentials and factors such as ethics, values and attitudes. This is crucial since application of knowledge is subject to the knowledge bearer's motives, will, motivation, attitudes, ethics and values. The next section proceeds to argue that application of knowledge is subject to the knowledge bearer's family background, race, gender, and ethnicity.

2.6 Cultural capital

Cultural capital refers to "accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status" to the knowledge bearer (Barker 2004, 37). On the basis of acquired knowledge, its bearers then lay claims to authority and dependability which sets them apart from those who do not possess such knowledge and power.

2.6.1 Sifting of labour market entrants

The cultural capital theory explains the relationship between cultural privilege and academic success by attributing differential educational achievement to differing cultural influences (Bowles and Jensen 2001). Kingston (2001, 88) argues that "the privileged enjoy academic success because schools reward their elite cultural practices." This claim makes educational achievement a complex phenomenon to

explain because it is difficult to pin down the specific contribution of particular cultural factors. However, cultural capital theorists consider the contribution to be a set of cultural experiences, values, beliefs, and attitudes that play a crucial role in shaping one's job behaviour and performance (Bourdieu 1997). The concept also refers to cultural inheritance acquired through family background. Members of the dominant class get cultural advantage due to their familiarity with the dominant cultural values perpetuated through the schooling system. Since members of the subordinate class cannot identify with the experiences and values of the dominant class, their social mobility is limited and they find it difficult to climb the ladder of economic success through the schooling system. Therefore, labour market elimination or success do not respectively mean inability and ability. The challenge of inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices requires a more critical and subtle approach to ascertaining the required skills. It appears that in the case of BCMM, costly errors were made which enabled counter-productive practices to continue. These include the employment of workers who have the ability to do their jobs, but who apply that ability to compromising rather than performing their jobs (Nini 2012c, *Weekend Post* 2011, Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011d).

The cultural system also contributes to generating counter-productive practices that translate to inappropriate job behaviour and performance. To explain this, we first look at Levy's (2005, 6) statement that in America "White students are the only beneficiaries of American education because it is Eurocentric, using only Europe as a point of reference in all fields of study." In a multicultural context, it is the politically dominant cultural orientation that exercises the most influence on the concepts, values and skills that schools transmit (Shujaa 1994). For this reason, Levy (2005,

14) argues that “much of what the children are taught in school is biased, racist and Eurocentric making cognitive reconfiguration necessary if Black children are to excel from a strong cultural reference point.” It goes without saying then that under such circumstances, the subordinate group finds success harder in school due to the fact that they must unlearn most of what they acquired from their cultures and learn a new way of being, new way of relating to the world, and a new way of communicating using language that is sometimes foreign to them. Consequently, Levy argues, members of the subordinate group eliminate themselves from the system, thus reducing the subordinate group population while the privileged group continues with schooling. The few who succeed from the subordinate group may react in different ways to their success, with some feeling a sense of achievement and others rebelling against the system that made success so hard for them. The latter attitude may well lead to inappropriate job behaviour and performance, as such a context provokes insubordination (Weeks 2011, Tronti 1965, 1971).

2.6.2 Inappropriate job performance as a human-made problem

The fact that so few make it through the system demonstrates the ingenuousness of some of the skills shortage claims. It is not accidental that many are systematically eliminated from the ladder of education and economic success. Skills shortage has been attributed to challenges such as low economic growth, unsatisfactory job creation rate, unsatisfactory delivery of basic services, and inappropriate job behaviour and performance. For instance, the poor performance of many municipalities is attributed to lack of skills and evidence for this includes the appalling state of government’s books, with many municipalities and other government entities failing their audits (Nombembe 2011, Kaseke 2011, Stokes 2010, Kilbey n.d.).

If the poor performance of many municipalities can be attributed to skills shortage and inappropriate job performance by workers, then, when some are systematically excluded from acquiring the necessary skills, the chances of addressing this problem are rather slim. While the BCMM claims to be experiencing skills shortage (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2012a), some potential workers are systematically eliminated since the system makes it difficult for them to enter the labour market. These include the recipients of low quality education whom van der Berg et al. (2011) describe as being held in the poverty trap within two education subsystems. They argue that one system is meant for the poor, composed of mostly Black learners, located in historically and currently disadvantaged areas. “On average”, they say, “children in these schools demonstrate low proficiency in reading, writing and numeracy” (Ibid., 11). The other system “still serves mainly White and Indian children, but these schools are increasingly attended by Black and Coloured middle-class children too” (Ibid.). Since education is a crucial determinant of labour market prospects, learners from the disadvantaged education system drop out early and therefore “stand at the back of the job queue” (Ibid., 8). This is how they are systematically prevented from acquiring the necessary skills. If skills shortage is attributable to the poor performance of many municipalities and the inappropriate job performance of the workers, this challenge is unlikely to be addressed soon, as the system continues to prevent others from acquiring the necessary skills. For this reason, this study argues, the poor performance of many municipalities and the inappropriate performance of the workers is also a human-made problem.

The elimination of some potential workers from contributing to the alleviation of the skills shortage problem is explained by Bourdieu (1990) through the tension between

structure and agency. Bourdieu defines agency as the capacity to act independently and make free choices. Structure, on the other hand, acts as an impediment through recurrent patterned arrangements which limit individual choices and opportunities. Education and social reproduction theory holds that class position determines life chances (Sosnaud, Brady and Frenk 2013, Stroud 2001, Furze and Healy 1997, Henry, Knight, Lingard, and Taylor 1988). Conversely, the theory of structure and agency maintains that structures determine individuals' life chances, subject to the internalisation of acceptable demeanour, conventional ideas, representation of the world, self-representation, knowledge and assumptions. The implication is that non-acceptance of these restricts labour market participation and chances for social mobility and economic success. Those whom social structures impede from labour market participation are branded as unskilled. This then renders them unemployable and unable to contribute towards alleviating the skills shortage problem that contributes towards the poor performance of municipalities. Similarly, some potential workers are excluded from contributing to BCMM performance on the basis of their reputation.

2.7 Reputation Capital

Ingbretsen (2011) describes reputation capital as “the brand your name carries – the sum total of your good name, good works, and your history.” It includes public perceptions of trustworthiness, popularity, authority in the field, ethics, integrity and resilience, hence Hirsch and Meyer (2010, 86) argue that reputation “can support the assessment of the degree of behavioural uncertainty.” Reputation capital is subjective and prone to bias because gaining people’s trust, for instance, is subject to a number of things which include appearance, gender, race and age. The dynamic

presented by this component of broad skills on job behaviour and performance, thus includes uncertainty, bias, and heavy reliance on perceptions, hence next section explores one aspect of it: the effect of tainted reputations on skills shortage.

2.7.1 The effect of tainted reputations on skills shortage

At the *Goedgedacht Forum for Social Reflection* (2004, 4), it was reported that people “whose eyes are brown with dagga ... get marginalised” and they struggle to find employment because potential employers find it difficult to trust them. Some people have similar perceptions of ex-offenders, finding it difficult to ignore the prison stigma. The prison stigma with its concomitant challenges explains why the probability of reoffending is high among ex-offenders (Bierens and Carvalho 2011). This is corroborated by Holzer (1996) to whom more than 60% of employers he surveyed admitted that they would not knowingly hire an applicant with a criminal record.

The hiring or not of applicants with criminal records is a serious dilemma where there are skills shortages. It complicates the concept of skill and underscores the notion that skill is more than just job-specific capability. Qualified accountants, doctors and lawyers who get struck off the roll due to misconduct are in essence declared to have the required job-specific capability, but lack appropriate ethics and values. For this reason, they cannot hold office. Therefore, although available, even if there is skills paucity in their respective professions they cannot be utilised. If inappropriate job behaviour and performance are arguably a consequence of skills shortage, then declaring skills shortage when labour with some of the required skills is available is not helpful in addressing the skills shortage challenge. By the same token, that some workers are rendered unable to practice in their respective professions underscores

the notion that doing one's particular job is determined by several factors besides schooling.

Striking qualified professionals off the roll demonstrates that, like human capital, reputation capital is sold and bought; the greater the reputation, the greater is the demand for it and the greater the price and vice versa. The value of skill is compromised when reputation capital is low, hence people with criminal records struggle to get jobs despite their skills. Hamori (2003, 1) observes that "reputation capital is an important predictor of the size of the promotions that employees receive as they change organisations" and it is also an important predictor of one's employability. The challenge of struggling to get a job despite ones skills applies to reputation capital, as much as to cultural and social capital. Some people, with the required educational qualifications, struggle to get jobs if their communication or interpersonal skills are weak, or if they do not have good social networks. Collectively, the various forms of capital determine one's skill value and employability. In light of this, skill could then be redefined as the ability to undertake particular tasks by a person with appropriate job-specific knowledge, cultural tuning, social networks and reputation.

The skills shortage challenge is not limited to the BCMM. There have been several reports of this phenomenon nationally (van Essche 2013, *Fin24* 2011, Erasmus and Breier 2009). Consequently, in some professions, emigrants and retirees are recalled to service and there is an ongoing debate about whether people with tainted reputations, such as those with criminal records, should be hired or not. Part of the

motivation for hiring them is that criminal records are for life[3], albeit the offender may have been rehabilitated. Also, some criminal offences are not related to the jobs applied for. Those who hold such a view include the *In Source IT Recruitment Specialists* (2010) who challenge the barring of people with criminal records from employment on the basis that some of the criminal records are bizarre and that they exacerbate skills shortage. Such records include parking violations[4] and illegal dumping of waste. The essence of this debate is determining whether to declare skills shortage when there are people available who have been ejected from the labour market not on the basis of incapacity, but on the basis of criminal records that are inconsequential or unrelated to the job in question. The same applies to old age in the case of retirees. If the BCMM needs procurement managers and the available candidates have criminal records for parking violation and illegal dumping, depriving them of such jobs cannot be justified as such criminal records are unlikely to have a bearing on how they would discharge their responsibilities. It is, therefore, important not to uncritically accept skills shortage claims since skills statistics evidently conceal important factors that could potentially change the skills status quo. The practice of uncritically accepting the skills status quo is often mirrored in the uncritical acceptance of formal education qualifications as determinants of appropriate job performance.

2.8 Some factors that shape how workers discharge their responsibilities

The distribution of various dimensions of capital represents the social order which determines the limitations and chances of success of individuals in a specific society at a given time (Bourdieu 1997). This must be remembered when addressing the

[3] The suggestion of criminal records being for life excludes minor offences that may fall away or be expunged under Sections 2 and 3 of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, 2008 (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development 2009)

[4] In cases where the candidate decides to attend court rather than pay the imposed fine.

paucity of broad skills since accurate diagnosis of its nature, extent and causes is required to develop effective mechanisms for addressing inappropriate job behaviour and performance.

The notion that skills shortage contributes to poor municipal performance (Kaseke 2011, Stokes 2010, Kilbey n.d.) suggests that skills enhancement should translate to better performance. This assumption is simplistic as translation of skills enhancement to better performance is not automatic. Fourie (2013, 2) suggests it is erroneous because "we still have an incomplete understanding of the human behaviour, determinants and causal relationships" between skill and job performance. Critical theory and functional theory enhance our understanding of the relationship between skill and job performance.

Critical theory suggests that skills shortages are deliberate; they are systematically and purposefully established and maintained for the purpose of including some and excluding others (Nzimande 2011a, Nzimande 2011b, van der Berg et al. 2011, Levy 2005, Bourdieu 1997, Sargent 1994, Moore 1991). Functionalist theory suggests that skills shortages are symptomatic of instability in the educational, political, governmental and economic institutions of society (Henslin 2006, Gingrich 1999). When systems are functioning correctly, they promote solidarity and stability as with human organs, but when one organ fails to function, the whole system is affected. Since the functionalist school of thought argues that social structures continuously attempt to maintain social equilibrium, a phenomenon such as inappropriate job behaviour and performance is viewed as dysfunctional and disturbing social balance.

The various dimensions of capital, together with the various views on how skill is formed and what forms it, makes it difficult to determine labour output with certainty.

The many determinants of skill require that all forms of capital must be taken into consideration when determining the skills status quo and analysing job behaviour and performance. The human capital theory erroneously relies on only on one component of skill formation (schooling), overlooks the others and thereafter claims a monopoly of the explanation of skill formation. Its economistic view is limited to mercantile and economic exchange whose goal is maximisation of profit, and it overlooks the significance of factors that are not directly economic in the creation of value (Bourdieu 1997).

Moreover, the various dimensions of capital demonstrate how a particular phenomenon can be interpreted from various angles. According to the human capital theory, academic progress or its lack "provide[s] signals ('credentials') about talents and abilities" (Becker 2008, 2). On the other hand, the social and cultural capital hypotheses attribute this to competing interests as when the system eliminates participants in the informal economy for the benefit of those in the formal economy. The elimination of the others on the basis of their race and social class (van der Berg et al. 2011, Bourdieu 1997) from accessing skills development opportunities is not justifiable especially where the municipality's poor performance is attributable to skills shortage. Forojalla (1993, 64) argues that the elimination process haunts the subordinate group before and after dropping out of school. As a result, the side effects include "lowered self-esteem and a sense of failure on the part of the dropouts, or more appropriately 'push-outs'." These schooling side effects are important for this study especially in light of the fact that many BCMM workers (49%) had no matric (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011c). Therefore, any strategy

for enhancing BCMM workers' job behaviour and performance should take into consideration their state of mind including their attitudes, emotions and motives.

Consideration of the various types of capital justifies the notion of broad skills. One broad skills perspective is the economic theory which takes into account only pecuniary investment, that is, schooling and opportunity costs. Opportunity costs include leisure and forfeited earnings as a result of committing to school rather than finding employment (Kaufman and Hotchkiss 2006). Another broad skills perspective is the notion of cultural capital which highlights cultural investment and the assets accrued thereby. Bourdieu (1997, 48) argues that human capital theory omits "the best hidden and socially most determinant educational investment, namely the domestic transmission of cultural capital." Its fixation on economic explanation overlooks that the success of human capital is influenced by the foundation of cultural capital invested by the family. This underscores the role of the various stakeholders in skills development as opposed to the focus on schooling as the only contributor. The implication is that in order for the BCMM to address its inappropriate job behaviour and performance challenges effectively it also needs to take into account the other role players in skills development, in addition to schooling.

2.9 Challenges of dealing with the varying forms of capital

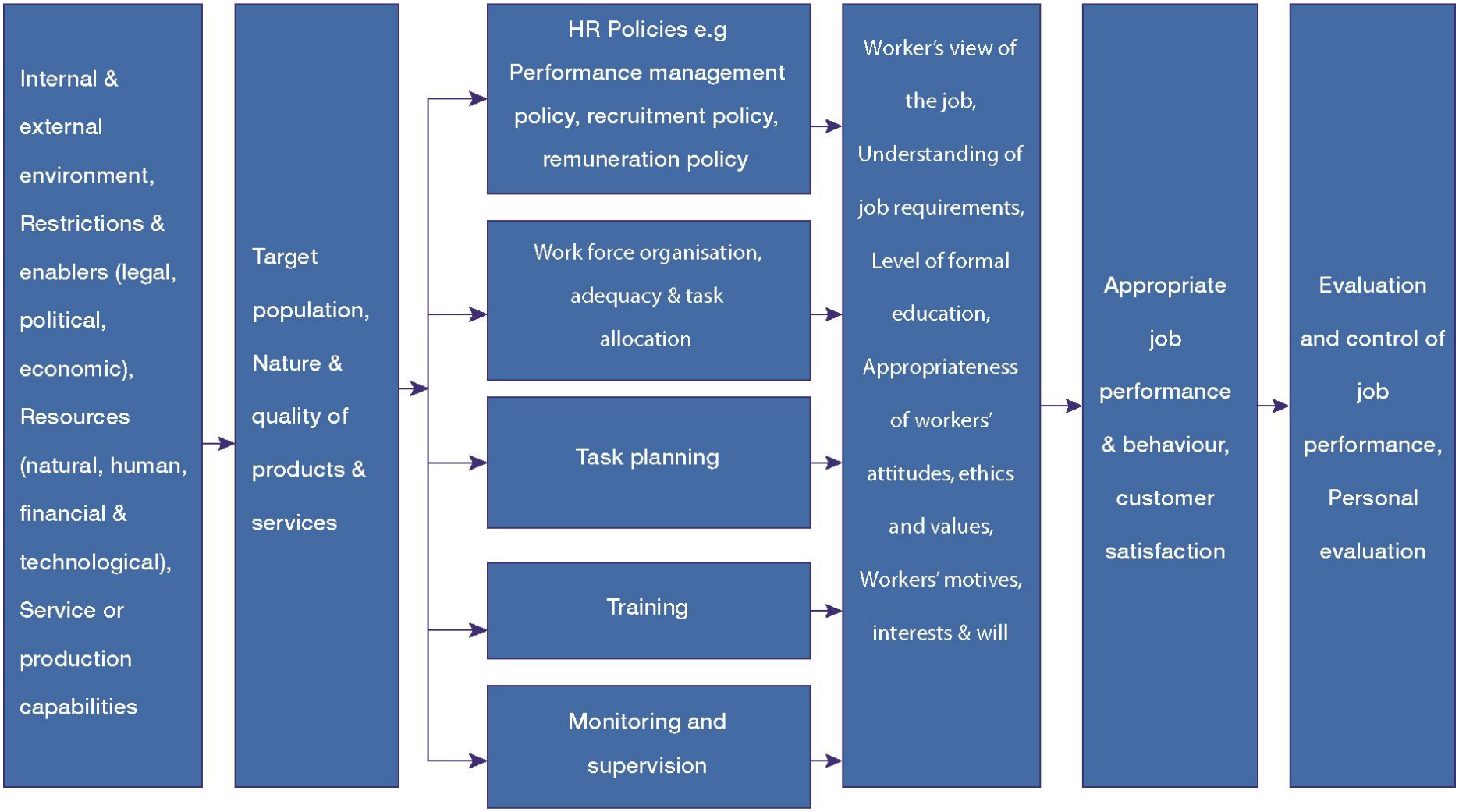
The challenge with the location of South African education within the human capital development model is that it tends to rely heavily on the acquisition of academic certificates' as an indication of workers' capacity to undertake their responsibilities appropriately. Certificates or academic credentials may be indicative of workers' ability or competence to do a job, but they do not reflect the holder's attitudes, ethics

and values which are also crucial determinants of how workers discharge their responsibilities. Such workers include accountants who misrepresent information, nurses who steal drugs from hospitals to sell to them privately, civil servants who embezzle state funds, and police who sell dockets to criminals (Keupp 2007, *News24* 2012c). Such cases of inappropriate job behaviour and performance cannot be attributed to skills shortage, that is, the shortage of workers with job-specific capabilities. However, they are indicative of the shortage of the other components of broad skills particularly the lack of appropriate attitudes, ethics and values.

From these cases of inappropriate job behaviour and performance, we learn that it is possible to erroneously attribute socio-economic challenges to a lack of skills (job-specific capability). The service delivery challenge is a classic example. One school of thought attributes it to lack of skills (Kaseke 2011, Stokes 2010) and another to poor work ethic (Faling 2011). To be in a position to propose appropriate solutions to inappropriate job behaviour and performance it was important for this study to be able to distinguish between legitimate skills problems and work ethic problems. The difficulty of distinguishing between the two leads to the practice of conflating them under the skills shortage umbrella. The next section demonstrates that this also poses management challenges because it is difficult to plan and manage when there are significant uncertainties.

Moreover, although they analyse personal selling and sales management, in Figure 2.2 Churchill, Ford and Walker (1990, 21) diagrammatically depict the intrinsic and extrinsic factors that determine job behaviour and performance. The diagram shows that performance is an outcome manifested after many other factors have been put in place.

Figure 2.2: Determinants of job performance



Source: Adapted from Churchill, Ford and Walker (1990)

Figure 2.2 shows that supervision, planning and natural, financial and human resources play a key role in determining performance. This underscores the notion that performance does not take place in a vacuum, but in a specific context which must be taken into consideration when examining the appropriateness of workers' job behaviour and performance. For this reason, this study's questionnaire had six sections that included sections on workers' capacity, job behaviour, job performance and job environment.

2.10 Definitions of performance management

Effective performance management entails articulation of the institution's vision, establishment of core objectives, and identification of operational objectives (Pun and White 2005, Lawson 1995). To inform decision-making, performance then needs to be regularly measured through indicators which measure the establishment of effective departmental controls, monitoring and continuous control of quality by the four key performance measures - quality, delivery cycle, time, and waste (Pun and White 2005, Lawson 1995). According to Bulsuk (2009), there are three performance management perspectives namely: (1) performance management as a system of managing employee performance; (2) performance management as a system of managing organisational performance; and (3) performance management as a system of managing integrated organisational and employee performance. Several scholars elucidate the three performance management perspectives.

2.10.1 Employee-focused performance management models

Employee-focused performance management models suggest that "[p]erformance management supports a company's or organisation's overall business goals by

linking the work of each individual employee or manager to the overall mission of the work unit" (Costello 1994, 3), that "[t]he central aim of performance management is to develop the potential of staff, improve their performance and, through linking an employee's individual objectives to business strategies, improve the company's performance" (Incomes Data Services 1985, 1), and that it "is about directing and supporting employees to work as effectively and efficiently as possible in line with the needs of the organisation (Walters 1995, 10).

2.10.2 Organisation-focused performance management models

Organisation-focused performance management models hold that performance management is "the use of performance measurement information to effect positive change in organisational culture, by helping to set agreed upon performance goals, allocating and prioritising resources, informing managers to either confirm or change current policy and programme directions to meet those goals, and sharing results of performance in pursuing those goals" (Keyes 2005, 28), and that it "can be defined as the process that enables an organization to deliver a predictable contribution to sustained value creation. A world-class performance management process consists of excellent strategy development, budgeting/target setting, performance measurement, performance review and incentive compensation sub-processes" (de Waal 2002, 1).

2.10.3 Integrated organisational and employee performance management models

Integrated organisational and employee performance management models hold that there is a need to manage performance at all levels – organisation, process, labour, and labourer (team/individual) (Pay Research Bureau 2013, Rummler and Brache

1995, Spangenberg 1994). Holistic performance management is necessitated by the symbiotic relationship between organisational context and workers' performance. In fact, job context is a key determinant of performance as factors such as the availability and quality of equipment, degree of staff support, working conditions, actions of co-workers, management style, remuneration and organisational policies play a key role in workers' performance (Council of UC Staff Assemblies 2011, Williams 1998, Campbell, McCloy, Oppler, and Sager 1993, Blumberg and Pringle 1982). These contextual factors serve either as performance enablers or constrainers.

2.11 Application and dynamics of performance management

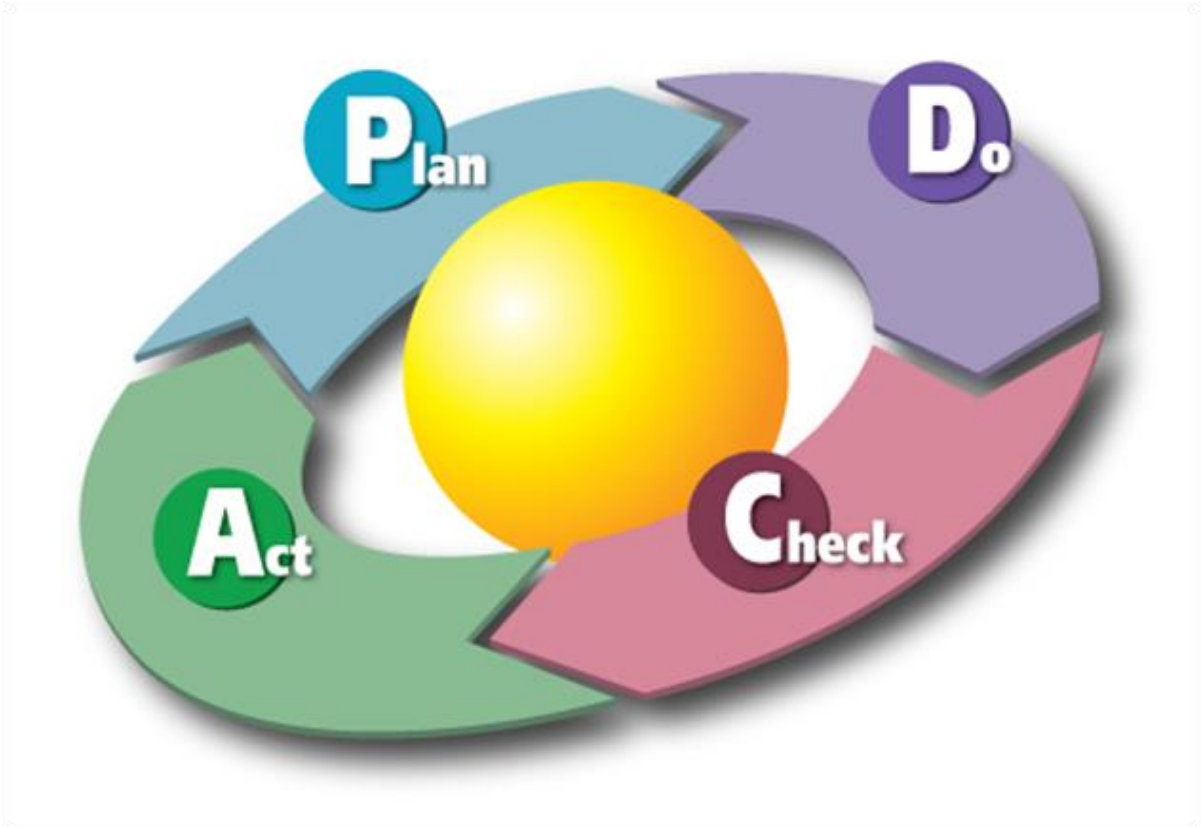
Definitions of performance management shed some light on its value in the labour process. However, the performance management process is not without its challenges. To begin with, a performance constrainer identified in Singh's (2011) study was the traditional management approach wherein workers felt powerless, and excluded from decision-making and work-planning. For this reason, he advocated a SWEAT (strengths, weaknesses, expectations, abilities and tensions) achievement cycle. The aim of this innovative management strategy is to provide an enabling environment which is made possible by the model's collegial approach, characterised by devolution of power, empowerment of stakeholders, and shared decision-making and leadership. This approach translates to sharing of responsibility for the organisation and for job performance. It augurs well for appropriate job behaviour and maximum labour output because it spreads the responsibility for job performance and thereby enhances the workers' self-esteem. This is crucial because some studies suggest a positive correlation between self-esteem and job

performance (Orth, Robins and Widaman 2012, Judge, Hurst and Simon 2009, Kammeyer-Mueller, Judge and Piccolo 2008, Baumeister et al. 2003).

Be that as it may, it is important to note that goal setting is a common element in many of the performance management definitions. Some scholars specifically recommend 'SMART' goals. One of the various interpretations of this acronym is 'S' = specific, 'M' = measurable, 'A' = attainable or achievable or agreed or acceptable or assignable, 'R' = realistic or relevant or results oriented, 'T' = time bound or timed (Meyer 2003, Williams 1998, Doran 1981). Such an objective-based and task-oriented management approach, that is logical and prescriptive, job-specific and scientific, with step-by-step blueprint or plan, and sequenced activities, is anchored in positivism (Ornstein and Hunkins 2004). However, its weaknesses include the assumption that behaviour can be objectively and mechanistically measured. This study, however, argues that job behaviour and performance are complex and cannot be fully explained by scientific tools such as observation, measurement and analysis. This is corroborated by Prus (1996, 9) who sees it as a major flaw that "the positivists overlook the fundamental social essences of human behaviour."

Another performance management mechanism used in businesses and public institutions for continuous control and improvement of processes and products is the plan–do–check–act or plan–do–check–adjust (PDCA) cycle (Kraay 2012, Williams 1998, Bulsuk 2009). Figure 2.3 gives the PDCA cycle as depicted by Bulsuk (2009).

Figure 2.3: The Plan–Do–Check–Act cycle



Source: Bulsuk (2009, 1)

Bulsuk (2009) shows that the planning stage of PDCA includes having as much detail as possible about the task to be undertaken or resource to be managed, identification of goals, division of labour, and specific steps to be taken with key milestones. The doing stage is that of implementation which requires the noting of problems encountered as no plan is ever perfect. The checking stage is a reflection of the process which shows how the problems encountered were addressed and how they should be avoided or confronted in future. The acting stage is informed by awareness of the root causes of the problem(s) to prevent their reoccurrence or to know how to deal with them effectively in case they reappear. From the acting stage, the cycle restarts with planning for the next stage of the task using the expertise learnt from the previous cycle to improve the next one.

The PDCA has most of the hallmarks of other models such as the observe-plan–do–check–act (OPDCA) model (Rother 2012, Rother 2010) and Bredrup's (1995a) planning, improving and reviewing processes. Bredrup's performance improvement model includes 'doing' to continuously improve the process and 'acting' to address performance gaps.

With regard to reflection on the process which shows how problems encountered were addressed and how they should be avoided or dealt with in the future, Bulsuk (2009) proposes the use of '5-why' in an effort to identify root causes of problems. '5-why' is a problem identification process which asks, five consecutive times, why something happened. Using one of the common problems at BCMM, the '5-why' approach might go as follows: Suppose some municipal workers are using BCMM vehicles to collect their children from school, placing an additional burden on the municipality in terms of fuel and maintenance. To find the root causes, we could then ask 'why' five times as in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1: The '5-why' approach

Step	Reason	Why?
1	Some municipal workers used BCMM vehicles to collect their children from school.	Why did this happen?
2	Because they wanted to save personal expenses for collecting their children from school.	Why did they prefer to save their personal expenses and place an additional burden on the municipality?
3	Because (A) costs of living are high, so every opportunity to save is appreciated and (B) this practice has been going on for some time without consequences for those who engage in it.	Why (A) are the costs of living high and (B) why has this practice not been stopped?
4	Because (A) salaries are stretched and (B) management has not been able to effectively implement its asset management policy.	Why (A) are salaries stretched and (B) why has the management not been able to effectively implement its asset management policy?
5	Because (A) people live beyond their means, (B) South African structural arrangements cause people to spend more for transport, communication and other living expenses and (C) the implementation of the asset management policy has been compromised by political interference.	Why (A) do people live beyond their means, (B) is the South African structural arrangement causing people to spend more for transport, communication and other living expenses and (C) is the implementation of the resources management policy being compromised by political interference?
Root Cause	Because (A) of the bling-bling culture, materialism and determination of human value by possessions rather than identity, (B) the apartheid spatial arrangement has not yet been reversed, (C) the role of politics in the running of a municipality compromises firm decision-making in order to gain popularity which then determines one's chances of re-employment.	

Source: Author

Table 2.1 shows that there could be several explanations for a particular phenomenon and delving deeper into an issue is important in order to get to the root cause of the problem. Furthermore, all the job performance models discussed earlier reveal several factors which either enable or constrain performance. Some of these

factors are internal and others are external in nature; others are structural and systemic in nature. The internal factors include the workers' abilities, goals, and motives and the external ones include organisational leadership, environment, and division of labour. The structural factors include decision-making, communication, and reporting lines and systemic ones include planning, execution and review. The categorisation of structural and systemic factors is sometimes fluid depending on the issue at hand and the perspective from which it is addressed. The several job performance factors echo this study's assertion that labour (ability to do a job) is a result of several forms of capital which then underscores the need to take into consideration factors additional to schooling that shape workers' job behaviour and performance.

2.12 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter shows that the ability to do a job is an outcome of different forms of capital namely human capital, cultural capital, social capital, and reputation capital. The conceptual framework underscores the multifarious factors that shape workers' ability to discharge their employment responsibilities appropriately and this adds value to this study's analysis of inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM. It appears that the labour process makes use of all the forms of capital, therefore, continued overlooking of other factors that shape the labour process opens a gap for inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices. Importantly, this chapter argues that labour process dynamics such as the internal labour market, extended internal labour market, role of formal education qualifications, and sifting of labour market entrants are not without consequences. The consequences are manifested through workers' appropriate or

inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices or what some scholars refer to as performance enablers or disablers.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW ON SKILL AS A COMPLICATED COMPONENT OF THE LABOUR PROCESS PLUS LANDSCAPE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

Evidence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance abounds in the BCMM (Nini 2012a, van Onselen 2012, Nombembe 2012a, Skenjana n.d., *New Age* 2011, *Weekend Post* 2011). A bird's eye view of such evidence is given in Section 1.2. This chapter uses different paradigms to explain the existence of practices that compromise the goals of the BCMM despite mechanisms to prevent such practices which include formal education. This explanation helps to address the paradox underlying this study, that is, the co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance. This chapter further unpacks the broad skills concept in order to tease out the determinants of this performance and behaviour. It does this through a review of relevant literature that serves to anchor this study's argument that regardless of the availability of job-specific capabilities, the dearth of the other components of broad skills also shapes the quality of the job, and this deserves immediate attention.

In an attempt to put the findings in perspective, the three last sections of this chapter give a landscape review which demonstrates the importance of this investigation in light of the BCMM's recently acquired metropolitan status. It also clarifies the municipal management system which depicts the administrative and political roles and responsibilities of the various BCMM stakeholders.

3.2 Complexity of the concept of skill and its impact on this study

3.2.1 Dynamics of the concept of skill

Testing this study's hypothesis is made complex by the fact that skill is not a quantifiable commodity. Additionally, skill is subject to various challenging ontological and epistemological assumptions. The problem of the approach to take is exacerbated by the possibility of multiple variables that could be responsible for the reduction of inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices. This echoes the view that appropriate or inappropriate job behaviour and performance could be attributable to numerous factors. For instance, Section 2.11 established that lowered worker self-esteem could be manifested in inappropriate job behaviour and performance. In the case of misappropriation of resources, Langner (2005) observes that this practice may be due to workers' feeling of being treated unfairly or underpaid and in such cases the motive includes revenge, resentment and animosity.

The involvement of motives, will, interests, and emotions in the labour process underscores the value of McGregor's (1960) XY human resource management theory. This demonstrates that people are different and, therefore, their management should be such. It also draws attention to the various explanations for inappropriate job behaviour and performance, and further contributes towards this study's objective which is to disaggregate skill so as to be able to investigate the role of its various components. McGregor (1960) explains that theory X reflects an authoritarian management style which moves from the premise that workers generally do not like work, avoiding it when possible, hence the employer must coerce them, implementing consequences for underperformance. The X theory

suggests that albeit workers want job security, they avoid responsibility, and are unambitious and prefer to be directed. McGregor (1960) explains, however, that theory Y reflects a participative management style which moves from the premise that motivation to work is natural. For this reason, workers "apply self-control and self-direction in the pursuit of organisational objectives, without external control or the threat of punishment" (Chapman 2012, 1). Workers are said to appreciate responsibility and their commitment is a consequence of associated rewards. From the XY theory, we learn that a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to inappropriate job behaviour and performance is not helpful as the challenge could be caused by different worker-specific factors requiring different remedies.

Moreover, the intrinsic and extrinsic factors that determine job behaviour and performance make it difficult to ascertain with certainty which skill component is responsible for improving services or production. This is because skill is composed of many elements and this makes it difficult to investigate the paradoxical co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance. If a worker executes a task proficiently, it is not possible to ascertain the particular role played by each determinant of how workers discharge their responsibilities. This is reminiscent of Yeats' (1928, 2012) rhetorical question in "Among School Children" where he asks: "how can we know the dancer from the dance?", and echoes the assertion by McConnell, Brue and Macpherson (2010) that labour is inseparable from the labourer, as labour is embodied in human beings. Therefore, any measurement of skill should take the skill bearer into consideration. This is problematic because the objectives of the skill and the skill bearer are not always in harmony. This is a challenge to this study's second objective which seeks to

establish the extent to which personal interests are pursued at the expense of municipal ones. The divergent objectives of the skill and the skill bearer are evident in priests who sexually molest kids (Ganeva 2010), doctors who accept bribes from drug companies to use their products despite being aware of more helpful drugs (Reuters 2012) and accountants who manipulate figures to deceive shareholders (Keupp 2007). Such job misbehaviour underscores the lack of other components of skill besides schooling as these workers are qualified in their respective occupations, yet they engage in inappropriate and unethical practices.

Inconsistency in theory and practice in the labour market is clarified by the labour process theory (Han 2010, Wu 2009). This theory critiques scientific management principles since its focus is on how people work, how the work process is controlled, and the required skills for engaging in the labour process (Thompson and Smith 2001, Braverman 1974, International Labour Process Conference (ILPC) n.d.). It also looks at the worker holistically, not just as a labourer, but as a human being with a particular identity in terms of culture, class, religion, society, age, tribe, gender and education. Han (2010, 17) acknowledges that the labour process is a complex combination of human and natural resources in which people are "the subject of labour with special purposes such as wills and plans; by contrast, natural substances are only labour objects and instruments without special motive … [and] the two defining aspects of labour process are heterogeneous and antagonistic." The involvement of motive, wills and plans in the labour process indicates that the process is more complex than the linear and unproblematic positivist depiction.

In light of the differing objectives of the skill and the skill bearer, it is clear that one needs more than just formal education to improve job behaviour and performance. In

fact, even if it is admitted that formal education is a variable that curbs job misbehaviour, it is still not possible to ascertain the extent of its contribution. The first challenge stems from the positivist principle of verification which holds that an investigation should be value-neutral and that all hypotheses must be tested against observations (Phillips 2009). Subjecting this investigation to such scientific requirements would not be possible because the verification principle only accepts empirically verifiable phenomenon as reliable. Although empirical verification enhances the reliability of the findings, the notion that reliability refers to the extent to which research findings can be replicated already poses a challenge because human behaviour is never static (Merriam 1998).

Logical positivists hold that all propositions must be analytically or synthetically verifiable (Newall 2005, Ozmon and Craver 1999). Analytic verification is that which is clear from the statement even though its ontological assumption may not yet be verified. To state, for instance, that “this paint is blue” is analytic despite the ontological assumption about whether the paint exists or not, or whether the substance in question is paint or something else. However, stating that the application of broad skills curbs inappropriate job behaviour and performance is synthetic, because confirming it requires empirical investigation. It is, however, not possible to get an empirical result that shows the extent to which broad skills ensure appropriate job behaviour and performance as skill cannot be scientifically measured. The current measures of skill are predominantly limited to the technical capability component of skill such as taking a test for driver’s license, and the measurement of broad skills in the sense of ascertaining the required skill (quality and quantity) is still a challenge. Therefore, to curb worker’s inappropriate job

behaviour and performance is thus challenging because determining the required number of workers and the broad skills they should have is complex since each task requires various components of skill in addition to the workers' job-specific capability.

The variables that may be responsible for curbing inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM, complicate how the required skill may be ascertained. For instance, one cannot claim that X workers are required to reduce the misappropriation of Y amount of resources. Attempts to analyse the education-economic productivity link have been strewn with theoretical and empirical failures because demonstrating a causal relationship between the two is virtually impossible due to power relations as well as to the social and job-specific determinants of skills demand and supply (Stevens and Weale 2003, Klees 1986). There are also personal, emotional, cultural, and spiritual determinants of productivity. For instance, in a study by Churchill, Ford and Walker (1990), respondents ranked factors that determine performance in sales jobs in terms of their importance in descending order, thus: enthusiasm, well organised, obvious ambition, high persuasiveness, general sales experience, high verbal skills, specific sales experience, highly recommended, follows instructions, and sociability. Also, measuring the contribution of available skills and determining the skills shortfall is a challenge because the number and quality of workers must be taken into consideration.

Having a standardised measurement of the quality of a skill bearer is also a complicated task. This is so because the cultural capital model, unlike the human capital theory, holds that skill formation cannot only be attributed to formal education because cultural credentials also contribute in this regard (Bourdieu 1977). However, the cultural value of credentials compromises the claimed fairness in the recruitment

process since culture is not neutral. Therefore, making an assessment of a culture that you either do not understand or do not belong to compromises the reliability and validity of the recruitment process as it is not practical to suggest that for recruitment purposes, applicants should be assessed by people of their own culture, race, gender and age.

Blackmore (1997) adds that human capital theory overlooks the fact that skill is a social construct, hence its a-historical and gender blind view of the education-work relationship. In light of the lack of clarity on the role and extent of the particular components of skill that shape job performance, she disputes the positivist view which holds that skill is job-specific and can therefore be measured. The expression that if you cannot measure you cannot control, captures the essence of scientific management principles. The application of scientific principles to the labour process so as to enhance economic efficiency, which amounts to maximising labour productivity has, however, proven to be challenging. This is because the labour process is not linear, but rather intricate and transcends scientific principles like observation, measurement and analysis. Although these scientific principles play a crucial role in the labour process and performance management, they should not be used exclusively as non-observable and immeasurable components of skill such as attitudes, ethics and values also play a crucial role in shaping job performance and behaviour.

Winterton, Delamare and Stringfellow (2006) admit that while practical, social and emotional intelligence are essential, they are not amenable to evaluation. The inability to evaluate them despite their crucial role in the labour process is concerning. As essential components of labour, they determine workers' contribution

(in the case of appropriate job behaviour and performance) or threat level to the company (in the case of inappropriate job behaviour and performance).

A caveat is in order. From the human resource accounting perspective, Mayo (2001) proposed the concept of a human capital monitor for measuring human value. This moves from the premise that people are important assets in an organisation, and their value must be accounted for by measuring and tracking the intrinsic value or human capital that workers lend to their work places; their motivation and engagement as determined by, inter alia, the environment in which they work; and the pecuniary and non-pecuniary value they contribute for stakeholders. Such measurement of human resources is appropriate for performance management and for accounting for company assets. However, this study is limited to investigating the appropriateness of job behaviour and performance of workers.

Another aspect of critical yet immeasurable intelligences is the question of conceptual skills. These are critical at the workplace because tasks require analysis, interpretation and decision-making. Bailey and Noyelle (1990) for instance, note that computer-based information-processing and production control needs abstract understanding of the work and there is evidence suggesting an increasing need for symbolic rather than concrete knowledge. Abstract thinking in an environment where there is a high demand for interpretation of complex information, uncertainty and rapid change of the work environment is crucial to all those involved in the service delivery or production process. Abstract thinking is crucial because referring all problems to managers and supervisors is inefficient, counterproductive and could translate to poor work performance or poor service delivery. The lag in abstract thinking is manifested in the *Challenges in smaller municipalities* report

(Infrastructure News and Service Delivery 2013) which reveals challenges relating to operations and maintenance. Due to supply chain management procedures and poor inter-departmental communication and co-operation “obtaining an order number for fuel or spares is no simple task” which then “limits the ability of maintenance teams to respond to infrastructure failures without delay” (Ibid., 2). Such arrangement of the work environment reveals the performance impediments which reflect weak application of abstract, logical and systematic thinking.

3.2.2 Pitfalls associated with the positivist conception of skill

The pitfalls associated with the positivist conception of skill include lack of clarity about the skills required to undertake a particular task. It is common for employers to overestimate or underestimate the skills required for undertaking certain tasks. For instance, the employment of highly skilled professionals to do work that less qualified people could do has been raised in the skills shortage debate (van Zyl 2008). It also transpired in the *FASSET Case Study 2011: Skills Development for the Financial Sector* (Kruss et al. 2011) that there are conflicting voices with regard to the accounting skills status quo. The report reveals that the South African Institute of Chartered Accountants (SAICA) believes that there is skills paucity while some employers observe that there are enough or even too many CAs (Ibid.). SAICA submits that the country’s economic underperformance is attributable to the shortage of CA’s and their exorbitant salaries represent this with their short supply increasing the value of their skill. On the other hand, the evidence of some employers demonstrating the oversupply of CAs is that a number of them are struggling to find jobs, that is why they take longer to be employed or settle for less.

The *FASSET Case Study 2011: Skills Development for the Financial Sector* (Kruss et al. 2011) also reveals that CAs now possess an elite qualification with some being fastidious about who to work for. The elite status of some qualifications serves as a gate-keeping device that makes it difficult for new entrants to join the profession thus pushing up the salaries of insiders because the system has been designed to appear to be experiencing skills shortage (Nzimande 2011a, Nzimande 2011b). Such dynamics cloud the skills status quo and negatively affect skills development and planning because it is unclear as to whether there is a shortage or excess of skills. Under such circumstances, the BCMM's skills shortage claim (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2012a) needs to be thoroughly investigated especially in light of the association of such a shortage with municipal performance (Kaseke 2011, Stokes 2010, Kilbey n.d.). This is imperative because the consequences of planning from an unclear position are dire. Economic under-performance, graduate unemployment, skills shortage and skills excess are just some of the consequences. For instance, while there has been ongoing concern about the shortage of teachers that resulted in the introduction of bursaries like Fundza Lushaka by the government to enhance the training of teachers, Mda (2009) and Arends (2011) hold that there does not seem to be any absolute shortage of teachers. Mda (2009, 201) adds that "evidence from research and various data bases suggests that, in terms of numbers, there may be enough teachers ..., but ... there is a problem related to distribution according to geographic areas, provinces, regions/districts, grade levels, subjects, qualifications, skills, quality, race and language." The enhanced training of teachers when they are not in short supply will inevitably mean that many of them will struggle to find jobs. If the BCMM's skills shortage claim is not thoroughly investigated,

chances are that resources may be wasted by being allocated to skills development in areas with skills surplus.

This study seeks to transcend the positivist linear, limited and unproblematic depiction of the labour process. This limited conception of skill owes its existence to the human capital model which is economistic and predominantly recognises narrow skills. Winterton, Delamare and Stringfellow (2006) have a broader conception, though they make no distinction between narrow and broad skills. They describe skill as a “level of performance” or a “goal-directed, well organised behaviour that is acquired through practice and performed with economy of effort” (Ibid., 7). However, they acknowledge that competence is multifaceted, holistic and integrated. Conceptual competences include cognitive competence (knowledge) and meta-competence (facilitating learning of other competences). Operational competences include functional competence (skills) and social competence (attitudes and behaviours). Broad skills are thus captured by these competences as they recognise the multifarious components that shape labour (ability to do a job).The next section unpacks the notion of skills further in an effort to define components such as attitudes, ethics and values.

3.3 Conceptual analysis of skills, knowledge, values, attitudes and ethics

3.3.1 Skills and knowledge

In the introduction to his paper “Beyond Obsession with Skills and Towards a Discourse of Knowledge, Skills and Attitudes”, Badat (2009) refers to a conversation between Humpty Dumpty and Alice in Carroll’s (1871/2009, 81) *Through the*

Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There. Humpty Dumpty says, “When *I* use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less.” Alice says, “The question is, whether you *can* make words mean so many different things” (Italics in original). Humpty Dumpty says, “The question is, which is to be master — that’s all.” This indicates that the definition of knowledge, skills, ethics and values varies widely and Badat (2009) argues that Humpty Dumpty’s practice of making words mean anything is not helpful as it neither clarifies concepts nor distinguishes them from others. Humpty Dumpty’s suggestion that the only thing that matters is “which is to be master” is equally problematic as there is no universally accepted basis for determining who is to be the master. Such a judgement reveals society’s asymmetrical power relations as espoused by the social and cultural capital theories, because historically, the elite and privileged get to decide, on behalf of everyone else, who is to be master. For this reason, Kingston (2001, 88) argues that “social stratification ... has troubling implications for the basic fairness of our social arrangement.”

Badat (2009) identifies three skills discourses. Two of them, however, refer to job-specific capability but emphasise different occupational levels. One level refers to artisans such as electricians, plumbers, welders, brick-layers, plasterers, tilers, machinists, mechanics and tool makers. The other refers to professions in areas like construction (e.g. engineers, architects, quantity surveyors, project managers), health (e.g. surgeons, general practitioners, therapists and nurses), and financial services (e.g. accountants, actuaries, and economists). The third discourse refers to knowledge, expertise and attitudes.

Like Badat (2009), Winch and Clarke (2003) have three different categories of skill. They note that skill is the ability to carry out a particular task. In the context of a firm, it is the ability to do a particular job as specified by the employer or by a contract, and in the context of an occupation, skill is the ability to fulfil all the tasks associated with it.

Badat's (2009) distinction between the two interpretations of skill with connotations of job-specific capability is unclear, as the only line of demarcation is that some are professions and others are not. This is inconsistent. He initially demonstrated the problem of making words mean whatever is wished, but his classification neither clarifies concepts nor distinguishes them from others. His use of 'professions' does not take the skills debate forward since he uses it as a line of demarcation without unpacking what constitutes a profession, where professions begin and end, and what is not a profession. It is, however, clear that he is using the dichotomous mode of defining skill. Mothata (2000) refers to this dichotomy in the context of South Africa's past experience of rigid division between education and training with education being the province of education institutions, and training being the province of employment institutions. Such rigid divisions were also seen in terms of head and hand, theory and practice, educators and trainers, and learners and apprentices. This translated into the perception of education as an academic tool designed for personal social mobility and training as inclined towards the workplace and the economy at large but with minimal opportunities for personal social mobility.

According to Bloom's (1956) taxonomy of learning, knowledge refers to mental ability, that is, cognition; skill refers to manual or physical ability; and attitude refers to the affective area, that is, feelings or emotions. Clark (2010) expands and

illuminates Blooms taxonomy of learning. He argues that, in addition to mental ability, knowledge includes information recall, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation. The affective domain, which Bloom refers to as attitudes, includes the manner in which we deal with things emotionally, such as feelings, values, and appreciation. The affective domain also emphasises the internalisation of values in order to have a value system that controls human behaviour. In addition to Bloom's categories, he also has a psychomotor domain which includes physical movement and coordination measured in terms of speed, precision, distance, procedures, or techniques in execution. Clark includes values and attitudes in the affective domain and Allen and Friedman (2010, 1) concur, arguing that "critical components of the affective domain, includ[e] values, attitudes, ethics, and self-awareness."

There are nuances in Bloom's (1956), Clark's (2010) and Badat's (2009) definitions of knowledge, which are pronounced upon closer examination. Badat categorises knowledge and attitude together though Bloom and Clark refer to them as mental aptitude and emotions respectively. Although Badat (2009) aggregates knowledge, expertise and attitudes in the third discourse on skill, he, however, argues that attitude is distinguishable from knowledge and skills since it refers to mindset, conduct and approach to issues. He then leans on Winterton, Delamare and Stringfellow's (2006) elucidation of the concept of knowledge which, they claim, encompasses three dimensions. The three dimensions are 'know that' (explicit factual knowledge), 'know how' (procedural knowledge), and 'know why' (understanding). Dissecting the knowledge dimensions is crucial for this study since its first objective is to disaggregate skill so as to be able to investigate the role of its

various components. According to Winterton, Delamare and Stringfellow (2006, 25), knowledge is socially constructed as it is “the result of an interaction between intelligence (capacity to learn) and situation (opportunity to learn).” Its dimensions include ‘knowing that’ (propositional knowledge), ‘knowing how’ (tacit knowledge, procedural knowledge), ‘knowing why’ (understanding) and ‘knowing what’ (declarative knowledge, explicit factual knowledge). Bruce (2008) shares their approach, but categorises the dimensions of knowledge as meanings of knowledge. The first meaning concerns “cognitive abilities that result from learning but sometimes even motor abilities” like knowing a language and knowing how to drive (Bruce 2008, 1). Another meaning involves recognition abilities as in acquaintance, familiarity and personal experience like knowing a place, a person and a particular feeling. The last meaning concerns “facts gathered by study, observation, or experience” and conclusions inferred from such facts like knowing that snow is white and grass is green (Ibid.).

The lines of demarcation between different dimensions of knowledge are rather thin. The definition given by Winterton, Delamare and Stringfellow (2006) of ‘knowing what’ is the same as that given by Clark (2011) for ‘knowing that’. Clark argues that declarative knowledge is ‘knowing that’ and Winterton, Delamare and Stringfellow argue that it is ‘knowing what’. In fact, Clark (2011) only has two categories of knowledge - declarative and procedural. Procedural knowledge can be directly applied to a task for solving problems and declarative knowledge cannot because it is the knowledge one possesses about something, like the difference between knowing about fixing cars and knowing how to fix cars. In this study, ‘knowledge’ is used to refer to three categories which combine ‘knowing that’ and ‘knowing what’ in

one category of declarative, propositional and explicit factual knowledge. The second category is ‘knowing how’ which refers to tacit knowledge and procedural knowledge. The third category refers to ‘knowing why’ which refers to understanding. The implication of the knowledge dimensions is that they highlight the importance of thoroughly investigating the BCMM’s skills shortage claim in order to reveal which specific dimension is lacking, which is sufficient and which is in excess.

While it is taken as self-evident that the dearth of job-specific capabilities has a stifling effect on economic growth and social development, the dearth of knowledge, expertise and attitudes seems to be overlooked due to the obsession with these capabilities (Badat 2009). Badat then advocates for an approach to education, training and development which encapsulates the overall and particular configurations of knowledge, skills, expertise and attitudes as job-specific skilling alone is insufficient. An international example that depicts the importance of the broad approach to skills is given by McLaughlin (2009, 1) who observed that in the “post-Enron world, values and ethics are an urgent concern.” Enron, Worldcom, Tyco, Health South Corporation and Lehman Brothers are some of the companies engaged in scandals which included accounting manipulation and corporate fraud (Agrawal and Cooper 2007). This experience led to the collapse of capital markets in the US, from which some companies learnt a lesson, hence the shift towards “‘triple bottom’ line, a commitment to ‘people, planet, profit’” (McLaughlin 2009, 1). South African markets were, to some extent, cushioned from the effects of the accounting scandals by the National Credit Act (NCA) which seeks to ensure that consumers are making “informed choices about the products and services they want and need, without being seduced by misleading and deceptive business practices” (Burt 2007,

1). The spirit of the NCA echoes McLaughlin's (2009, 1) sentiments that workers are "'morally obligated to help customers solve problems' – they're not just to sell people products." When workers discharge their employment responsibilities without consideration for their moral obligations, this indicates inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices because they are serving their own interests and disregarding those of their employers, and the community.

Furthermore, Badat's (2009) observation on the obsession with job-specific capabilities at the expense of other dimensions of knowledge and skill is evident in recruitment processes where only academic qualifications are taken into consideration. This is a common practice in South Africa. Some institutions or companies, however, do security clearance, verifying qualifications and knowledge of the subject area, and checking criminal and credit records and previous employment (RefCheck 2013, Tourism Department 2013, Department of Environmental Affairs 2013). Most screening mechanisms do not verify ethics, values and attitudes and this is due, inter alia, to the difficulty in ascertaining these qualities. There is also the assumption that they are not static as a person's ethics, values and attitudes today may not necessarily be the same tomorrow, and if incumbents have appropriate ethics, values and attitudes when recruited, that does not mean that these will remain the same throughout their tenure. A caveat is in order here since in the debate about attitude strength, there is a view that attitudes are stable and crystallised in the memory and a counter view which suggests that attitudes change as they are evaluative judgements formed on the spot (Schwarz 2007). This further complicates the employers' responsibility of ensuring that they employ workers with appropriate ethics and values. Those that have them are an

asset to the company, but workers with inappropriate ethics and values are a threat to the company despite their possession of job-specific skills, which they may indeed use to compromise company goals. Such subversion of the purpose of job-specific skills is evident in the inappropriate job behaviour and performance of some workers.

3.3.2 Values and attitudes

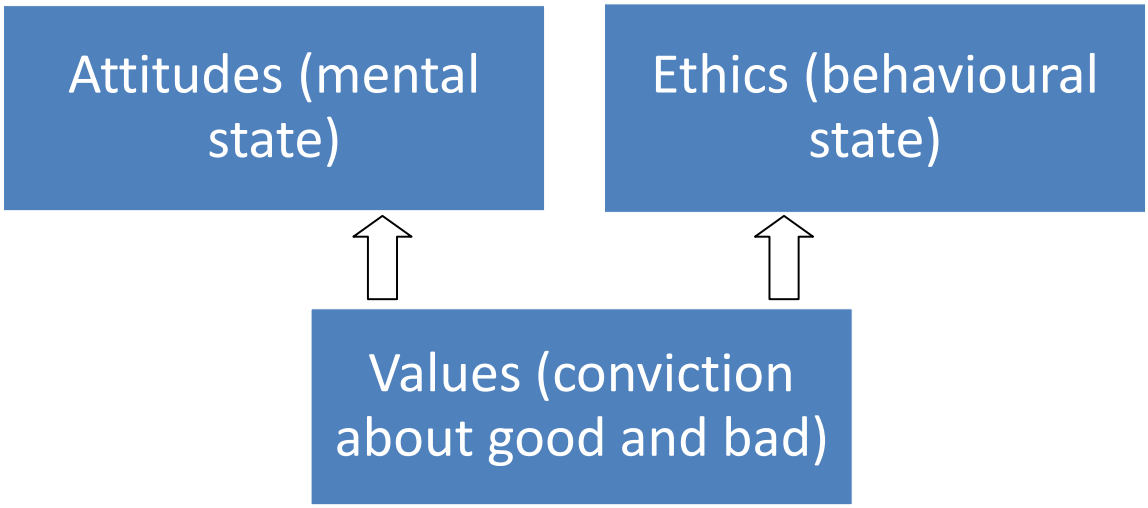
Empirical research on values has experienced the challenge of values being considered unobservable, “too subjective or too difficult to measure accurately” (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004, 359), and there is lack of coherence between the various approaches used to measure them (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004, Hechter 1992, Spates 1983). Although Ravlin (1995, 598) defines values as “a set of core beliefs held by individuals concerning how they should or ought to behave over broad ranges of situations”, Hechter (1993, 5) argues that “existing theoretical traditions provide little guidance for understanding how values shape behaviour.” However, the value theory offers insights. In value theory, the economic, legal, moral, and aesthetic usefulness, worth or value of people or things is central, and the attachment of a value to a particular element or phenomenon then guides human preferences and choices (Schroeder 2012). That is, the appropriateness or otherwise of job behaviour and performance is a reflection of the value the workers place on these aspects of the labour process. Therefore, cultivating appropriate job behaviour and performance requires shaping the value the workers place on their work, thereby enabling them to take pride in their work. Roe and Ester (1999, 3) argue that “values are always positive, i.e. in favour of something”, therefore, preferences and choices are in favour of the value holder’s priorities, interests and prejudices.

One school of thought believes that values determine behaviour, although the process that generates values is unclear (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004, Hechter 1993). For this reason, theorists who hold this view find behavioural explanations unconvincing, especially because values are often conflated with other social and psychological phenomena like attitudes, traits, norms and needs, and they also vary according to context and culture (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004, Hechter 1993). Schwartz (2006) has a different approach to explaining how values are shaped and how they influence behaviour. He argues that life circumstances, background, gender, education, and age are some of the variables that guide the nature of values, determining peoples' opportunities and constraints. Schwartz (2006, 1) uses the value theory definition to show what motivates behaviour, viewing values as "desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives." He then alludes to the ten "broad and basic values [that] are derived from three universal requirements of the human condition: needs of individuals as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and survival and welfare needs of groups" (Ibid., 2). The ten broad and basic values are: self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, benevolence, and universalism. The variables then determine preferences. For instance, the elderly are more likely to prioritise the security value since they prefer a predictable environment due to their waning coping capacities – strength, energy, speed and memory. Such preferences echo Hofstede's (1984, 18) definition of values as "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others." Schwartz (1992, 2) also depicts behaviour as a preferred mode of action, as he defines values as "desirable states, objects, goals, or behaviours, transcending specific situations and applied as normative standards to judge and to choose among alternative modes of behaviour."

Furthermore, one school of thought conflates attitudes and values (Bem 1970, Rose 1956) and another holds that the two are different (Haslam, Whelan and Bastian 2009, Hitlin and Piliavin 2004, Roe and Ester 1999, Hollander 1971). Hitlin and Piliavin (2004) as well as Moore and Asay (2008) hold values to be more abstract and durable than attitudes as they focus on ideals. Attitudes, on the other hand, are applied more to concrete social objects and can either express values or influence the perception of values (Kristiansen and Zanna 1991). They reflect "our mindset, way of thinking, outlook, conduct and approach to issues and tasks" (Badat 2009, 6).

A value is an attitude held by an individual or a group toward an object which is esteemed or considered worthy. The reverse applies to negative values (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004, Rose 1956). Roe and Ester (1999, 3) add that the "difference is that attitudes can be positive or negative, whereas values are always positive, i.e. in favour of something." However, the definition of values by Hitlin and Piliavin (2004), Rose (1956) and Roe and Ester (1999) is what Moore and Asay (2008, 110) describe as attitudes: "expressions of how we feel about any given thing." This demonstrates the blurred line between values and attitudes. This study accepts that values precede attitudes as they are the guiding principles behind attitudes and attitudes are the reflection or expression of values. This is depicted in Figure 3.1, which shows that values are the foundation of attitudes and ethics since they are a conviction about good and bad and an expression of one's preference as determined by life circumstances, background, gender, education, and age. Therefore, values determine attitudes (state of mind) and ethics (state of conduct).

Figure 3.1: Attitudes and ethics emanate from values



Source: Author

The idea of negative and positive values corresponds with the idea of negative and positive behaviours (Keefer 2012, Posner 2011). The performance-as-behaviour model places behaviour in four categories, with the first two indicative of positive values and behaviours and the last two indicative of negative values and behaviours: (1) task oriented behaviours; (2) maintaining interpersonal relations, (3) downtime behaviours (e.g. absenteeism, alcohol and drug abuse); and (4) destructive behaviours (e.g. safety violations, sabotage) (Civil Service UK 2012, Williams 1998, Murphy and Cleveland 1995, Murphy 1989). The performance-as-behaviour model further postulates that behaviour is determined by knowing what to do, how to do it and motivation which points towards one's choice of action (Campbell et al. 1993).

That being the case, the definition by Hitlin and Piliavin (2004) and Rose (1956) assumes some degree of relationship between a person's mental state and behaviour. This study, however, does not delve into the nature of this relationship as it is not its point of focus. Secondly, as already noted, the demarcation between

values and attitudes is blurred with one school of thought arguing that attitudes reflect our mindset and way of thinking (Badat 2009) and another arguing that values reflect the state of mind or attitudes held by an individual (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004, Roe and Ester 1999, Rose 1956). Both these schools of thought associate attitudes with the mind - state, processes and product - although they are silent on what shapes this state of mind and how it is shaped. Schwartz's (2006) explanation of how life circumstances, background, gender, education, and age shape the state of mind and influence behaviour is, however, helpful, and Blackmore (1997) and Bourdieu (1977) contribute as well. Bourdieu (1977) argues that family background, race, ethnicity, personality and geography play a significant role in shaping the mind and conduct. Blackmore (1997) argues that mind and conduct are shaped by context, history and gender.

Moore and Asay (2008, 100) echo Blackmore (1997) and Bourdieu (1977), observing that values are "guiding principles of thought and behaviour which develop slowly over time as part of the individual's social and psychological development." They then distinguish between cultural, social and universal values. Cultural and social values are those shared by a group of people and used to judge the conduct of group members. They, however, avoid defining universal values and admit that such a definition has been troublesome to theorists as, for instance, the acceptance of human rights as universal, albeit some of these rights are not accepted by all groups. Despite the lack of consensus about the definition of universal values, there is a general understanding that they supersede personal, cultural and social values and in some cases even supersede civil law. The example of a traffic officer who would

not give a speeding fine to drivers because they are rushing to hospital during a medical emergency demonstrates the superiority of universal values.

3.3.3 Ethics

Michelson et al, (2012, 2) argue that “values determine what is right and what is wrong, and doing what is right or wrong is what we mean by ethics.” Rossouw (2007, 4) adds that values are “convictions about what is good or desirable” and since people do not have the same convictions about what is good due to many factors like culture, religion, background, education level, age, gender, and race, they consequently have different ethical judgements. This is further complicated as personal ethics, professional ethics and organisational ethics are not always in agreement with each other. This poses a moral dilemma. Although Rossouw’s (2007) ethics definition is pragmatic, it experiences challenges in resolving some moral dilemmas. He argues that “ethical behaviour is characterised by the fact that it is unselfish and balances what is good for oneself with what is good for others” (Rossouw 2007, 2)**.** This definition, however, does not resolve the dilemma a young married female boss may face if she has been socialised to be a submissive woman (personal ethics), when she has to reprimand older male subordinates as required by organisational practices (organisational ethics) in a company with dominant patriarchal attitudes and when the professions’ code of conduct is silent on this (professional ethics).

The law adds another ethical complexity as not all illegal conduct is unethical as in the case proposed above of a traffic officer who would not give a speeding fine in a medical emergency. This is ethical, but unlawful. The BCMM workers have many such ethical-legal decisions to take in their various departments. For instance, traffic

officers need to make a decision in a case of a driver who exceeds the speed limit in a serious emergency. The decision to prosecute the speeding driver or not is the province of the court, but traffic officers still need to apply their minds on whether to pull over the speeding driver. The same applies to a technician who has to cut off electricity supply to a household of school going AIDS orphans who rely on electricity to prepare meals they have to take with their medication but who have defaulted on payment of municipal rates and services fees.

3.4 Debated remedy for workers' inappropriate job behaviour and performance

The few examples of inappropriate job behaviour and performance given in Section 1.2 underscore the importance of investigating such behaviour and performance at the BCMM as such practices compromise labour productivity and service delivery. There is a view that the inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM could be attributed to lack of capacity (Kaseke 2011, Stokes 2010). It suggests that available personnel are insufficient and lack capacity and thus need to be appropriately trained and provided with relevant tools and infrastructure (Mntengwana 2013, Bengeza 2013, Gourrah 2011, Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2010a). Lack of capacity is indeed fertile ground for inappropriate job behaviour and performance due to ignorance and misunderstanding. Erroneous discharge of duties by workers is understandable in an environment such as the BCMM where some workers are "overworked due to staff shortages" (Gourrah 2011, 13). On the other hand, purposeful inappropriate job behaviour and performance is often committed with some level of understanding of the wrongfulness of the act and

with the capacity to prevent or avoid it. That is why it is ironical when workers' job behaviour and performance is inappropriate although they are capacitated, through formal education, to perform well and be productive in their respective occupations.

This study moves from the premise that capacity is one element of skill, but without the other elements such as appropriate attitudes, ethics and values, what capacity can achieve is compromised. Gichure (2000, 8) goes to the extent of arguing that "technique without morality is not only a disaster, but to a certain extent, an impossibility because, the damage it could, in the long term, bring to mankind would eventually lead to a reversal of the values." Employers are faced with serious risks from people with job-specific capabilities, but with inappropriate ethics, attitudes and values, because such workers are 'skilled' and have good knowledge of the systems, thus know how to conceal their inappropriate actions. Therefore, the co-existence of skills with inappropriate job behaviour and performance challenges the functionalists' proposition that formal education can solve social problems (Bryant 2012, Guerrero 2005, Haralambos and Heald 1985, Almquist et al. 1978).

Functionalism likens society to a living organ with a structure and many different parts which function collectively for the sustenance of the body, arguing thereby that the society is composed of social structures and functions whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability (Gerber 2010, Henslin 2006). Functionalism holds that the government, or state, provides education for the children, that parents pay taxes to enable the state to provide education and that educated citizens get jobs so as to provide for their families and pay tax to the government to continue providing education (Crossman n.d.). In this way, education serves to curb unemployment and poverty by increasing productivity and social order. This positive role of formal

education is also based on the human capital assertion that people with formal education contribute to the country's economic productivity and job creation (Efanga and Nwokomah 2013, Olaniyan and Okemakinde 2008, Hanushek and Woessmann 2008, Heiner 2008).

On the other hand, continuing inappropriate job behaviour and performance challenges the assertion that formal education translates to fewer social problems. The evidence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance by those with formal education makes the achievement of the functionalists' goals for education doubtful, specifically the economic development and common good goals. The evidence also reveals the weakness of the functionalist theory which focuses on the positive contributions that education makes to society and overlooks its negative contributions and limitations. By so doing, it unproblematically depicts education as a solution to social problems (Labaree 2008). Studies of communities with a high proportion of people with formal education do reveal a correlation between education and relatively limited crime and other social problems as compared with communities with little or no formal education (Bridgeland, DiIulio and Morison 2006, Moretti 2005, Lochner and Moretti 2004, Harlow 2003). These findings, however, do not sit well with the inappropriate job behaviour and performance perpetuated by people with formal education.

Moreover, despite the increased gross enrolment ratio (GER) at all education levels in South Africa (Department of Education 2009a, Department of Education 2009b), the democratic era continues to be clouded by various social and economic ills like fraud and corruption which compromise the claim of a positive relationship between education and a reduction of social problems. The level and content of some of the

formal education qualifications are relevant to the workers' occupations. When they understand the national qualifications framework (NQF) levels in terms of the knowledge imparted to learners per level, prospective employers can then require potential workers to have a skill level that corresponds to their job responsibilities. For construction plumbers with NQF level 3, for instance, prospective employers can know that learners with this qualification are able to "[a]pply understanding of the functioning of plumbing systems to install, test and maintain them in a built environment. [They can also] [a]pply fault-finding techniques to diagnose and repair installed plumbing systems" (South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) 2012, 2). However, with other employment arrangements, it is not a prerequisite for potential workers' skill level to correspond with job responsibilities. A case in point is that of political appointments wherein the appointment is not necessarily made on the basis of the skill level corresponding with job responsibilities. This is demonstrated by the cases of illiterate municipal councillors, yet their responsibilities include verbal and written communication, reading of meeting minutes, reading and writing reports, policy making, and policy review (LGSETA 2008, IOL 2008, Mbanjwa 2008).

The qualification-occupation link is, however, highly debatable because the issue of matching qualifications with jobs is complex. For instance, occupations like being the country's president involve significant levels of administration and management, but such appointments are generally made on political rather than academic merit as no one goes to school to enrol for a course on being a president. The importance of using formal education credentials as the basis for appointment is diminished by the fact that inappropriate job behaviour and performance has been manifested by those appointed both on political and academic grounds. On the basis of disappointed

expectations from formal education, some scholars have concluded that “education is useless” (Cottom 2003, 1). Widespread inappropriate behaviour by even those with formal education calls into question the impact of education on job behaviour and performance. The BCMM workers’ inappropriate job behaviour and performance is a serious setback for functionalist claims about education as even some of those appointed on academic merit do not reflect appropriate ethics, attitudes and values. Levine’s (2011) observation of nursing negligence clearly demonstrates the co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance. She observed nonchalant and careless nursing in many South African public and private hospitals. She argued that it was this indifference that caused nurses to neglect rinsing babies' bottles or check for contaminated drips. Pumping money into the public health system will not solve nursing apathy as this negligence was not due to lack of skills and funding, but lack of appropriate attitudes, ethics and values. However, investigating this phenomenon requires a multipronged approach because what may appear as workers’ apathy may actually be a manifestation of the workers’ challenges about their working environment, resources, management, leadership, treatment, relationships, and policies.

The attribution of inappropriate job behaviour and performance to lack of skills (Kaseke 2011, Stokes 2010) by one school of thought and to poor work ethic (Faling 2011) by another demonstrates the need for a multipronged approach to such an investigation. Kaseke (2011, 8) argues that “[l]ack of skills hampers effective service delivery and it also leads to mismanagement of resources in most instances.” Conversely, Faling (2011, 1) argues that “the ‘skills shortage’ has become a convenient scapegoat for most shortcomings in service delivery by municipalities,

public utilities and government departments. Businesses in the private sector often use the same lament as an excuse for sloppy service." He further argues that most service delivery grievances require the most basic skills as one does not "need a BSc Chem Eng degree to detect sewerage running into the streets" or "a CA qualification … to sort out a R12 000 municipal account presented to a pensioner living in a cluster home" (Ibid.). For this reason, he attributes the lack of service delivery to a pervasive poor work ethic and argues that without discounting legitimate skills problems, the country is suffering from a work ethic problem.

Faling's (2011) input is helpful in pointing out an alternative cause of the problem, but falls short of advising how to identify legitimate skills problems as opposed to work ethic problems. This does not augur well for effective performance management and elimination of inappropriate job behaviour and performance. Similarly, McCarthy (2013, 1) argues that inappropriate job performance is due to "either a lack of skill or a lack of will." The difficulty of distinguishing between the two leads to the practice of conflating them under the idea of skills shortage. Such conflation explains the unclear skills status quo picture. For instance, the misuse of the air ambulance that is meant for emergency transfer of patients by high-ranking officials in the Eastern Cape and the Health MEC, as revealed by the Public Service Accountability Monitor (n.d.), cannot be attributed to lack of skills. It could be due to lack of consideration for others which happens because of weak management of resources. It is no wonder then that the remedy for inappropriate job behaviour and performance is a highly debatable issue.

What seems to help, to some extent, in identifying legitimate skills problems as opposed to work ethic problems is Mager and Pipe's (1990) model for diagnosing

performance problems. The model includes ascertaining performance discrepancy (the difference between what is done and what is supposed to be done), ascertaining if performance problems are due to skill deficiency (capability of the worker for the given task), frequency of skill use (worker's level of familiarity with the task), performance obstacles (information about the job requirements, available resources such as time and material), and best possible solutions (in light of the diagnosis, propose a solution that is apt for each of the problems identified).

A thorough diagnosis of job performance problems is very important because these challenges involve compromised service quality and this does not augur well for the sustainability of the BCMM's metropolitan status. Some of the workers' responsibilities require not so much formal education qualifications, but rather, any applicable skill in addition to an ethical and moral approach to undertaking job responsibilities. This was echoed by the Auditor General, Terence Nombembe (2012a) when launching the 2010/11 municipal audit report which revealed that none of the South African metropolitan municipalities received a clean audit. Nombembe argued that such audit reports in the metropolitan municipalities are disappointing since they have more capacity than smaller municipalities. He inferred that in metropolitan municipalities such poor audit reports are due, amongst other things, to lack of discipline, lack of consequences for poor performance, and lack of a culture of accountability. At the release of the 2011/12 municipal audit results, Nombembe (2013, 105) announced:

> we also identified a lack of discipline, no commitment to serve the public interest and non-adherence to the code of conduct for municipal officials as root causes by national, provincial and oversight role players, which were echoed in the experiences of the public at some municipalities. In order to improve the performance and productivity of municipal officials, the leadership should set the tone by implementing sound performance management

processes, evaluating and monitoring performance, and consistently demonstrating that poor performance has consequences.

By and large, the unquestioning acceptance of the assumption that skills shortage is responsible for inappropriate workers' job performance and behaviour is discredited by the evidence of skilled personnel who exercise their responsibilities in a manner that undermines their occupational requirements. Therefore, it is imperative to realise that the narrow conception of skills that privileges job-specific capabilities is not enough for cultivating a workforce with appropriate job behaviour and performance practices.

3.5 Efficient management for appropriate workers' job behaviour and performance

To achieve its economic development mandate, the BCMM needs to apply various management strategies which include performance, financial, human resources, asset, operations and service quality management. This is crucial, especially in light of the suggestion that poor municipal service delivery is due to lack of management skills (Kwinana 2010, Cloete 1993, Fox, Schwella and Wissink 1991). For this reason, Krapohl (2007, 15) emphasises the importance of efficient management practices in municipalities since they have an enormous service delivery challenge which requires them to "display, and embody, the virtues of transparency, accountability, participation and effective use of resources." In Section 153 of the South African Constitution (2011, 77), service delivery is portrayed as the developmental role requiring that "a municipality must structure and manage its administration, budgeting and planning processes to give priority to basic needs of

the community and to promote the social and economic development of the community."

The seriousness of the municipal responsibility necessitates efficacious application of management principles, because the growth and development of every economy hinges on how resources are judiciously managed and increased. Therefore, the application of broad skills and effective management practices is crucial to close the gaps that enable the perpetuation of inappropriate job behaviour and performance in BCMM systems. Importantly, the broad skills concept does not place importance on one of its components at the expense of the others, as does the positivist model which raises the importance of schooling above the other factors contributing towards enabling workers to discharge their responsibilities appropriately.

Moreover, the *Buffalo City Municipality* (2009) notes that its key performance areas towards which the integrated development plan (IDP) is geared include the five-year local government strategic agenda. This emphasises basic service delivery and infrastructure, local economic development, municipal transformation and institutional development, municipal financial viability and good governance, and community participation. To achieve its IDP, the BCMM avers that it is working towards expanding its revenue, enhancing its financial viability and eliminating institutional inefficiencies. The compromised service delivery, corruption, maladministration, and poor financial management, corroborated by the several qualified audit reports the BCMM has received, media reports, and other sources of government communication, underscore the loopholes in the BCMM's management and control systems. Weak management also contributes to poor service delivery and delay in many development projects, as funding for this purpose gets misused

through theft, corruption, fraud, overspending, under-spending and wasteful expenditure. A case in point is the BCMM withdrawal of funding for development projects in an effort to curb mismanagement and corruption after the Ernst and Young forensic report revealed mismanagement of about R2 billion (*New Age* 2011).

According to the Development Bank of Southern Africa (2010), institutions with poor management systems risk being regarded as high-risk clients by commercial banks who consequently tend to be reluctant to lend them money. With its qualified audit reports and many reported cases of financial mismanagement, it means the BCMM also falls into this category. This is a significant problem as the municipality needs the additional funding to supplement what it gets from Treasury and municipal trading accounts like water, electricity, rates and other services. Liebig et al. (2008, 1) observed that although local governments in many countries are responsible for the delivery of essential infrastructure services like water, electricity, roads, sewerage, and sanitation, infrastructure spending "is far below what is needed, and most developing countries experience severe infrastructure backlogs. In this context, sub-national borrowing can be an important means to finance more infrastructure spending." Liebig et al. (2008, 1) further note that the BCMM has a significant amount of debt to service as it is the fifth highest municipal borrower in the country. It, therefore, needs to have efficient financial management systems in place which leave no room for inappropriate job behaviour and performance.

The Development Bank of Southern Africa (2010) also identified the challenge of poor service delivery in many municipalities. In an effort to address this challenge, it is engaged in financial management capacity building in several municipalities, including the BCMM. It has, for instance, seconded skilled personnel to areas where

there are shortages of artisans and skilled people in finance, engineering, project management, and town planning. The aim is to transfer skills and implement projects to eradicate backlogs. It also facilitates short and long term accredited training courses for staff in planning, management, and finance. The South African Local Government Association (SALGA), the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) and the Office of the Accountant-General are also involved in capacity building for local government since lack of capacity has been identified as one of the key contributors to inappropriate job behaviour and performance, poverty, underdevelopment and poor service delivery.

Inappropriate job behaviour and performance has been identified as contributing to compromised service delivery (Council for the Advancement of the Constitution 2011, Development Bank of Southern Africa 2010, Aderinwale 1995). Interestingly, most of the intervention strategies are around job-specific capability enhancement, which is but one element of skill. They omit the other components of skill like ethics, values, and attitudes. It is for this reason that the enhancement of broad skills is so critical in order to achieve the BCMM's goals of poverty reduction, service delivery and economic growth. Qualified audit reports, corruption and poor service delivery could be indicative of broad skills shortage. Johnston and Bernstein (2007, 20) illustrate the emphasis on job-specific capabilities, reporting that "South Africa has 37 government departments and 284 municipalities. Government departments in particular need about five chartered accountants each. They are presently nowhere near that number." Skilled personnel are needed, but the call for more people with job-specific capabilities seems to outweigh the call for skilled personnel who also have the appropriate attitudes, ethics, and values. The emphasis on narrow skills at

the expense of broad skills takes place despite some of the personnel with good academic credentials seeming to lack appropriate ethics, attitudes and values for undertaking their employment responsibilities.

The paucity of broad skills has serious implications for municipal administration and management as well as the local economy. Stringent management and control practices which are made possible by the application of broad skills are critical for internal controls, appropriate expenditure, and efficient administration. It is evident that the application of stringent management and control practices is compromised if workers only possess narrow skills.

The application of effective management practices also helps to expose corner cutting such as accounting manipulation and corporate fraud. According to van Heerden (2010, 1) the 2009 PricewaterhouseCoopers Global Economic Crime Survey revealed that South Africa has “the second highest level of fraud (62%) behind Russia (71%)” with accounting fraud, the second highest level of fraud globally after asset misappropriation, having tripled since 2003. The international evidence of accounting scandals adds weight to the case for enhancement of broad skills in the various professions, since workers may use their narrow skills to pursue self-interest. In fact, Gichure (2000, 8) argues that from a technical point of view, something may appear to be a great success, but an aberration from a moral point of view. He argues that “the manipulation of information technology, genetic engineering and the various modalities of economic corruption are just few examples. Thus Technique is secondary to Ethics [sic].” This study does not go to the extent of suggesting that technique is secondary to ethics, however, it challenges

the privileging of one component of skill (technical capability) at the expense of the others (attitude, ethics and values).

3.6 Landscape Review

3.6.1 The metropolitan status of the BCMM: background and expectations

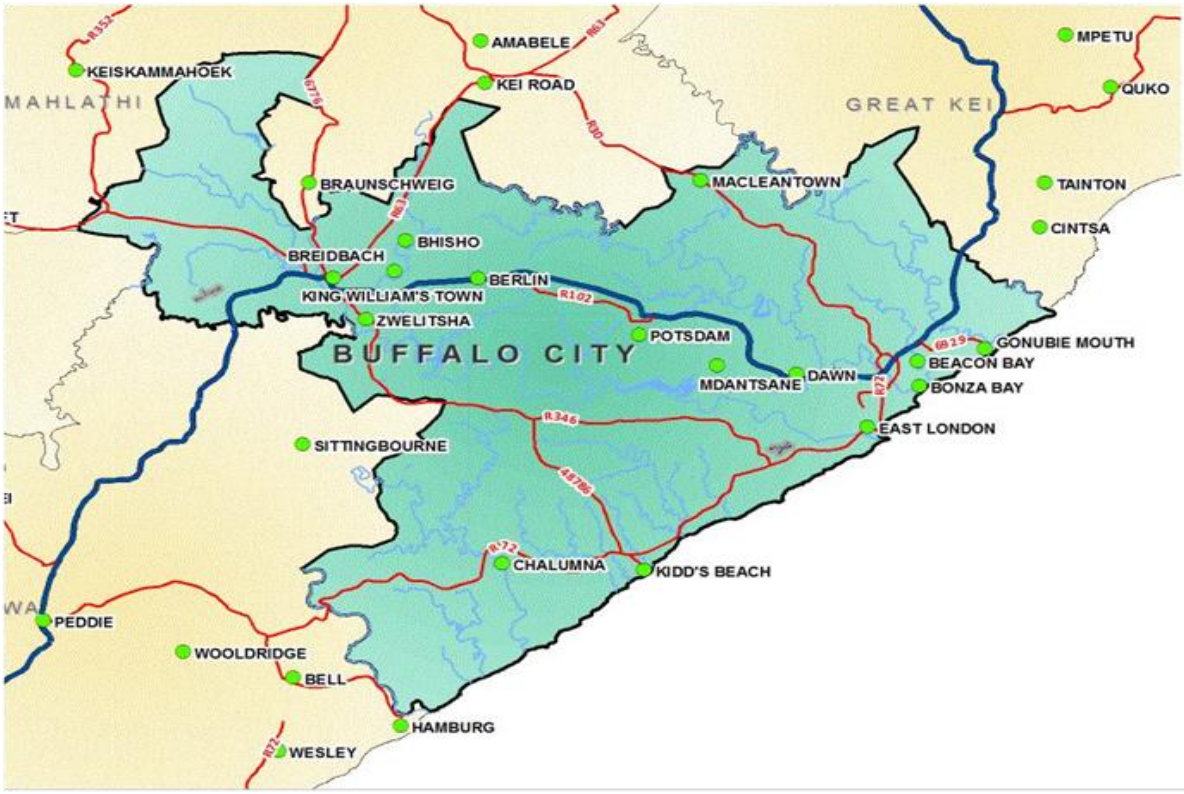
South Africa's administration is hierarchical. It cascades down from national to provincial administration, district municipalities and local municipalities. The BCMM was a local municipality in the Amathole district in the Eastern Cape Province until 18 May 2011 when it was separated from Amathole District Municipality and became a metropolitan or category A municipality. The Municipal Structures Act (1998) defines a metro as a conurbation with areas of high population density, intense movement of people, goods and services, extensive development, and multiple business districts and industrial areas. It also must be a centre of economic activity with a complex and diverse economy, a single area for which integrated development planning is desirable, and have strong interdependent social and economic linkages between its constituent units.

The Eastern Cape has six district municipalities, Amathole, Western District, Chris Hani, Ukhahlamba, O R Thambo, and Alfred Nzo. Before the BCMM became a metro, Amathole had eight local municipalities namely Buffalo City, Mbhashe, Mnquma, Great Kei, Amahlathi, Ngqushwa, Nkonkobe and Nxuba. Amathole is now composed of seven local municipalities.

The BCMM, shown in Figure 3.2, covers about 1 100 square km and is made up of Bhisho, Dimbaza, Duncan Village, East London, Khambhashe, King Williams Town, Zwelitsha, Mdantsane and Pefferville. In 2011, the BCMM population was 755, 200

out of the 6.5 million people in the Eastern Cape (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2013).

Figure 3.2: Map of the BCMM



Source: Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011a

The job distribution profile in the district includes public services (75,000 jobs), manufacturing (27,000 jobs), trade (25,000 jobs), and agriculture (17,000 jobs) (Amathole District Municipality 2010). In 2010, the BCMM had 42% of the Amathole district's population, albeit it accounted for 83% of the district's economic output and 72% of its formal employment. Badenhorst (2012, 1) suggests that "Buffalo City is definitely a metro", and the BCMM is critical to the district's and province's growth and integrated development agenda. It is thus imperative for the BCMM to have efficacious administrative and financial systems and that its workers should display appropriate job behaviour and performance to enable it to make maximum contribution towards economic growth and social development.

3.6.2 Administrative roles and structure of the BCMM

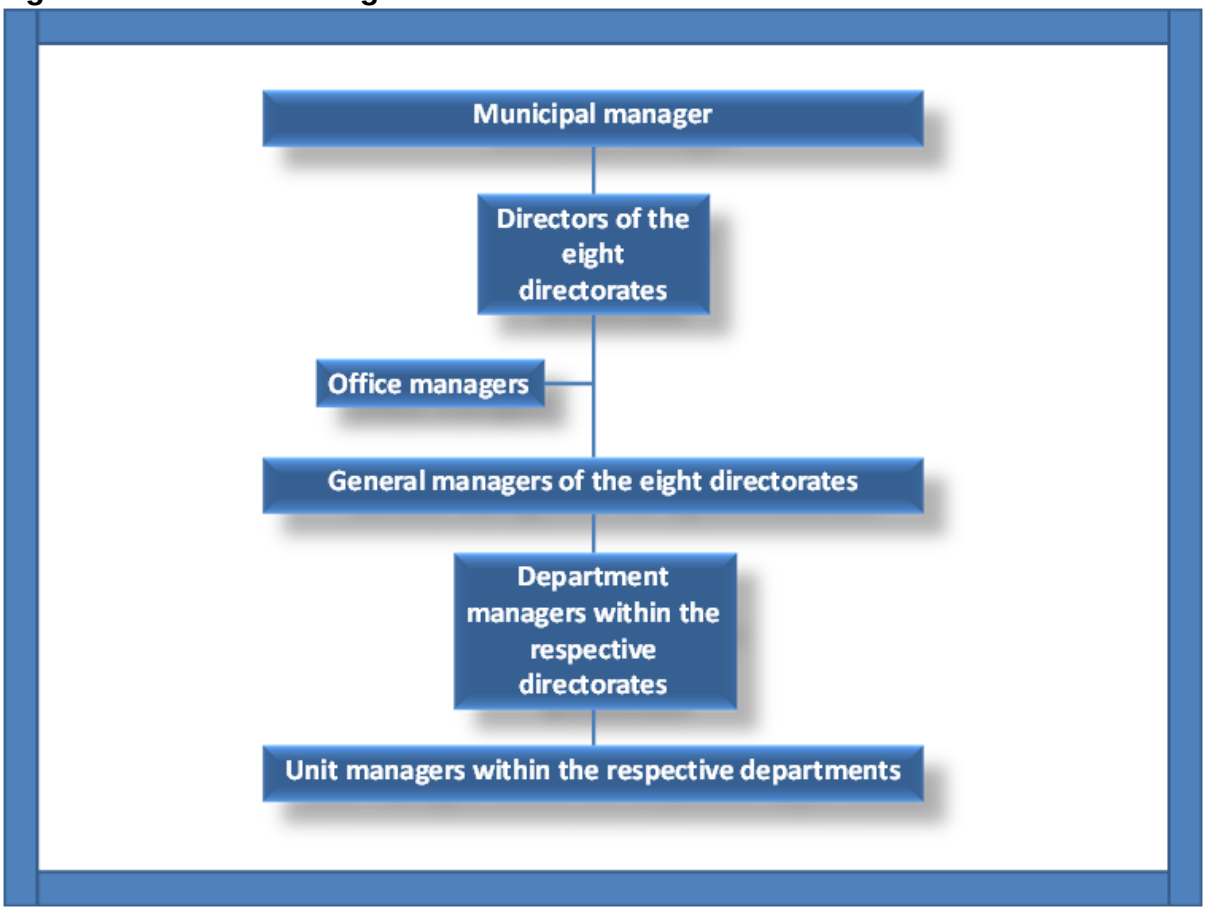
The mission of the BCMM is to (1) promote good governance, (2) to provide effective and efficient municipal services, (3) to invest in the development and retention of human capital for servicing the city and its community, (4) to promote equitable social and economic development, (5) to ensure sustainability and financial viability of the municipality, (6) to create a safe and healthy environment, and (7) to place Batho Pele principles at the centre of service delivery (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2010b). The mission of the BCMM is pursued through its eight directorates namely Community Services, Development Planning, Engineering Services, Chief Operating Officer, Health and Public Safety, Corporate Services, Executive Support Services, and Finance.

The administrative roles of the municipality include implementing all programmes approved by council. Such programmes are undertaken under the auspices of the municipal manager and other officials. The Local Government Municipal Systems Amendment Act (2011) provides guidance on the appointment of municipal managers and managers directly accountable to the municipal managers, and outlines procedures and competency criteria for their appointment. Section 54A, for instance, states that appointments are “null and void if the person appointed does not have the prescribed skills, expertise, competencies or qualifications” (The Presidency 2011, 3).

Figure 3.3 shows how the BCMM management structure cascades down from the municipal manager who is the most senior official (the accounting officer at the BCMM), to unit managers. The next in charge after the municipal manager are the

eight directors of the various departments who work closely with portfolio chairpersons.

Figure 3.3: BCMM management structure



Source: Author

This explanation of the administrative roles and structure of the BCMM suffices for contextualising the findings. The next section paints a picture of the political roles, responsibilities and structure of the BCMM.

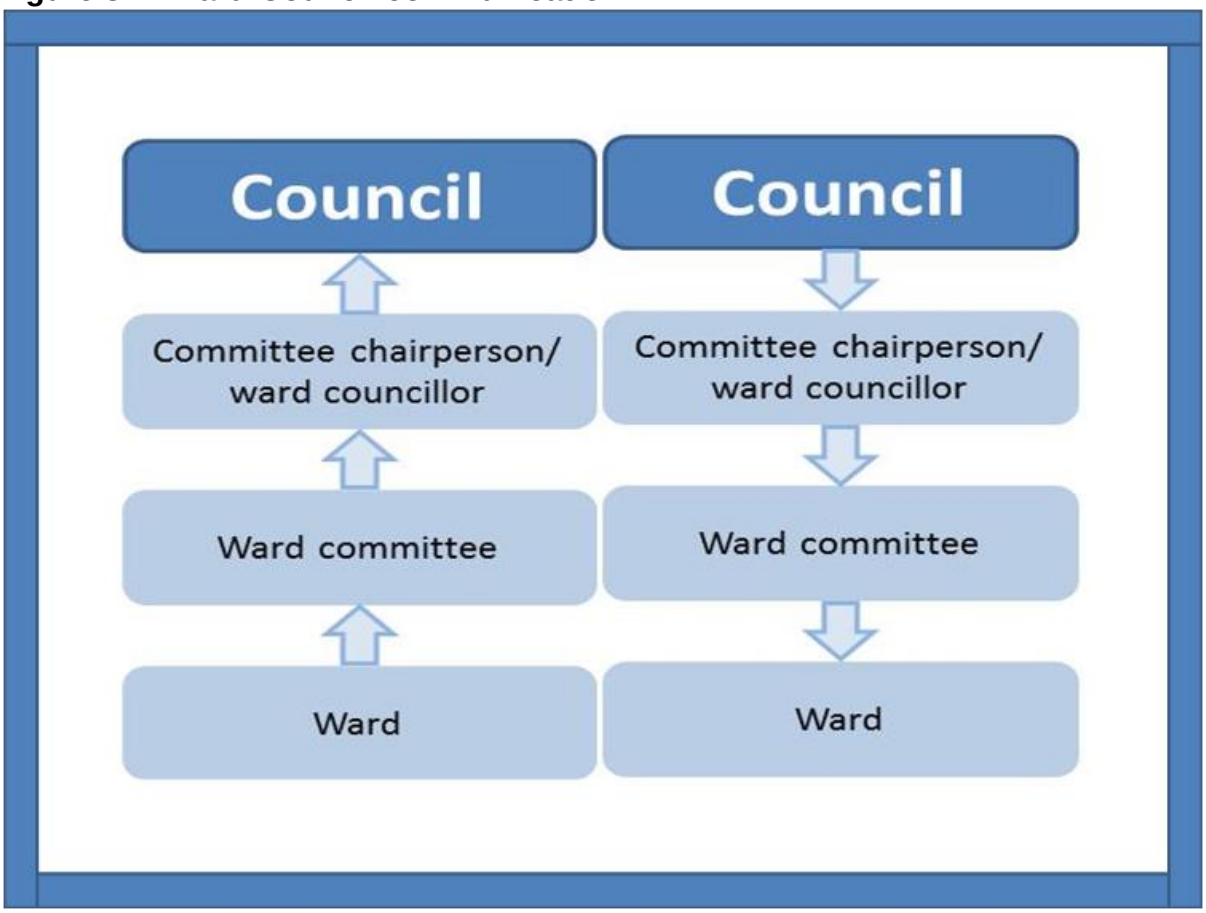
3.7 Political roles, responsibilities and structure of the BCMM

This section discusses how the municipality functions and how politics and administration operate. Politics and administration are the two centres of power that play a crucial role in the running of a municipality.

The BCMM political structure includes the mayor who heads the council, the mayoral committee that meets regularly to co-ordinate the work of the council and make recommendations to council, the speaker who chairs council meetings where the full council meets to take decisions, and committees where a few councillors meet to discuss specific issues (Education and Training Unit 2001). The political structure is populated by individuals who are elected into positions on the basis of their political affiliation in the case of proportional representation (PR) councillors and residential location in the case of ward councillors.

A hybrid system is used in municipal elections, leading to differing roles and responsibilities for PR and ward councillors. Ward councillors, who form half of the total number of councillors, are elected by residents in the respective wards to represent the interests of their wards, and are primarily accountable to the ward. The ward committee chairpersons then represent the ward in the council, hence they are called ward councillors. Ward committees represent the local ward and are not necessarily politically aligned (Smith 2008). Ward committees are, inter alia, responsible for monitoring the performance of the municipality. They give a mandate to the ward councillor who then raises ward issues with the council since, as depicted in Figure 3.4, the ward councillor's responsibility includes relaying communication between the ward and the council, and handling queries and complaints in the ward (Smith 2008). It is for this reason that municipalities are said to be at the grassroots level of the country's governance and administration, because they handle, amongst other things, the service delivery issues of affected individuals and communities.

Figure 3.4: Ward-Council communication



Source: Author

The other half of councillors is made up of PR councillors who are elected primarily to represent the interests of their political parties, and are primarily accountable to them, unlike ward councillors who are primarily accountable to the ward (Centre for Public Participation 2010). Through the PR system, the people vote for a party and the number of councillors per party is determined by the percentage of votes the respective parties get.

Authority is delegated to some councillors to lead committees formed within council for enhancing the efficiency of municipal operations. The committees report to the mayor. The Centre for Public Participation (2010) notes that delegated authority gives committee members the ability to act on behalf of the mayor. It, however, cautions that “authority should ... not be confused with power. Power has a coercive

character, while here authority implies a conferred decision-making power" (Centre for Public Participation 2010, 57).

The committees' chairpersons, together with the mayor, form the executive committee (EXCO) which is also referred to as the mayoral committee. The EXCO assists the mayor in governing the municipality and thereby becomes the eyes and ears of the mayor. This arrangement enables the mayor to use an overarching management strategy that keeps her informed about the municipality's day-to-day affairs. Her political responsibility includes being accountable for the strategic direction and performance of the municipality, and the "mayoral committee functions like a local cabinet, with individual members having responsibility for different aspects of municipal government. Members of the Mayoral Committee advise the mayor on the strategic direction the municipality follows" (Buffalo City Metro n.d., 1).

The functioning of the mayoral committee like a local cabinet is made possible by the appointment of councillors, who are part of EXCO, as chairpersons of the portfolio committees. The portfolio committees are aligned to the respective departments such as finance, roads and infrastructure, and housing. This places EXCO members in a better position to fulfil their monitoring and support responsibility as each portfolio chairperson reports to the EXCO about the respective departments they lead. Portfolio chairpersons work closely with the directors who keep them informed about what is happening in the respective departments. Directors are not part of the council, but they may be called in when the need arises to, for instance, explain a project in their departments. Like the municipal manager, they do not have any voting rights in the council. Only politicians have these. In fact, Section 56 of the Local Government: Municipal Systems Amendment Act (2011) requires that "a

municipal manager or manager directly accountable to a municipal manager may not hold political office in a political party, whether in a permanent, temporary or acting capacity."

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter explains the complexity of the inappropriate workers' job behaviour and performance by showing that it is multidimensional – educational, social, cultural and reputational. It also shows the limitations of the positivist attempts to apply scientific tools to deal with a complex phenomenon such as workers performance. It is like placing square pegs in round holes. This is because the ability to appropriately discharge employment responsibilities is a result of internal and external factors which collectively are not amenable to scientific principles. This chapter then argues that the narrow positivist conception of skill, whose main focus is on the quantitative aspect, errs by overlooking qualitative aspects like social, cultural and reputation capital which are critical elements of broad skills as well. In light of this, it argues that broad skills are required to curb inappropriate workers' job behaviour and performance. The chapter then goes on to set the scene by giving a landscape review which depicts the BCMM in terms of its demographics and the roles and responsibilities of the various stakeholders.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

A research project requires a clear research approach and purpose because the same phenomenon may be investigated from different angles due to researchers' varying perspectives (Guest, Namey and Mitchell 2013, Merriam 1998). The researchers' perspectives are important because they influence the investigation approach (Rist 2009, Laughlin 1995). The researcher's perspective in this study is the broad skills approach which brings together several explanations for job behaviour and performance and the nature of the explanations include positivist and critical theory paradigms.

The investigation used the mixed method approach, that is, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (Creswell and Plano-Clark 2007). The nature of this study warranted a combination of methods because of the complexity of the notion of broad skills. This chapter explains the choice of the mixed method approach and demonstrates its appropriateness for investigating municipal workers' job behaviour and performance at the BCMM. It explains the chosen research instruments and gives motivation for the choice. It also shows how the research process was shaped by BCMM dynamics and developments during various stages of the research process.

4.2 Research design and methodology

Some scholars see the lines of demarcation between research design and methodology as blurred, and use these terms interchangeably (Chauhan 2012, Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2005). However, de Vos et al. (2005, 148) suggest that research design "refers to the researcher's plan for collecting and analysing data. This includes who will collect it, how, from whom, when, and where." Leedy and Ormrod (2001) and Hussey and Hussey (1997) concur. Hussey and Hussey (1997, 54) define research design as the "overall approach to the research process, from the theoretical underpinning to the collection and analysis of the data." According to Leedy and Ormrod (2001), a research design is a complete operational strategy or plan which encompasses procedures, data collection and data analysis. They suggest that methodology is specific and detailed and thereby selects appropriate tools. For example, studying chromosomes with a questionnaire and attitudes with a chemical analysis will not work. Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2004, 31) also draw attention to the specificity of research methodology, arguing that it refers to a "combination of techniques used to enquire into a specific situation", while methods are "individual techniques for data collection, analysis, etc."

Leedy and Ormrod (2001) then discuss the research problem, research design and research methodology using the example of a man from a remote village travelling to the city by aeroplane for the first time. Upon return, his friends who have never flown in an aeroplane ask him different questions based on what they want to know. Naturally, they get different answers. The questions range from the speed of the aeroplane, distance travelled, distance from the ground, the feeling of flying and being above the clouds, and description of the view from above. Therefore, when the

friends relay the story about flying, they will tell different stories. They may not be factually incorrect, but most likely will not tell the whole story because what they know about flying is limited to their questions and the answers they received. Such is research. Different questions yield different answers, different problems require different designs and methods and each phenomenon may have many dimensions and layers. Consequently, Leedy and Ormrod (2001, 147) observe that many researchers have realised that there is no "single, ultimate Truth to be discovered. Instead there [are] multiple perspectives held by different individuals, with each of these perspectives having equal validity, or truth." For this reason, the ambit of this study is limited to exploration of the effect of broad skills on the workers' job behaviour and performance at the BCMM.

Table 4.1 depicts the research design used in this study. It is a specific case study of the phenomenon in question, using, simultaneously, qualitative and quantitative research methods. The qualitative data collection techniques are interviews and relevant document analysis, while the quantitative data collection technique is a questionnaire.

Table 4.1: Nature of the research design

Nature of research: Case study		
Methodology	**Data collection techniques**	**Data analysis techniques**
Qualitative	Interviews Document analysis	Systematic and logical analysis
Quantitative	Questionnaire	Statistical Package for Social. Science (SPSS)

4.3 Case Study

Case study research was chosen as a suitable modus operandi for this investigation. Yin (1994, 9) suggests that case study research is appropriate when "a how or why question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control." De Vos et al. (2005, 106) further suggest that descriptive research "presents a picture of the specific details of a situation, social setting or relationship, and focuses on 'how' and 'why'" and it can either be quantitative or qualitative. This study mostly addresses the 'how' question: How is it possible for formal education and inappropriate job behaviour and performance to co-exist when formal education has been presented by the functionalists as a solution to societal problems? (Bryant 2012, Guerrero 2005, Haralambos and Heald 1985, Moore and Moore 1982, Almquist et al. 1978).

A case study differs from other types of qualitative research through its intensive description and analysis of a single unit like a community, intervention, or programme and also because its purpose is to gain an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon (Laws and McLeod 2006, Merriam 1998). To be able to give such an intensive description and analysis, it uses various data collection and analysis methods. In this study, these included a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and document analysis.

The appropriateness of BCMM workers' job behaviour and performance is discussed at length and evidence is given to corroborate the existence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices. Data from respondents and relevant literature is interpreted systematically and logically on the basis of relevant laws relating to municipal governance and workers' behaviour and performance. Such laws include

the Municipal Structures Act (1998), Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (2000), Municipal Finance Management Act (2003), and BCMM supply chain management (SCM) policy. The aim is to ascertain if there are anomalies between the Acts and the workers' job behaviour and performance, in order to confirm or refute the claims of inappropriate activities in this sphere.

Furthermore, Merriam (1998) observes that the limitations of case studies include doubts about reliability, validity and generalisation. She argues that this is because case studies are not as representative as other research tools like surveys and that the researcher is central to data collection and analysis which makes the study vulnerable to human error and personal biases. A mixture of methods strengthens the methodology since the limitations of one approach are compensated by the other. Moreover, Flyvbjerg (2006, 225, 228) disagrees that single case study findings are not generalisable, because generalisability "depends on the case one is speaking of and how it is chosen"; he notes that the "in-depth approach" of a case study is an advantage which enables the researcher to see that the "all swans are white" assumption on closer examination often turns out to be incorrect.

Moreover, awareness of the possibility of bias and error made the researcher ensure that they are eliminated from the research process. This also benefitted from the fact that this project is a doctoral thesis and the researcher worked under the auspices of an experienced promoter who served as one of the quality assurance mechanisms, helping to ensure good quality research and reliable findings.

4.4 Methodology

Quantitative research is used for explaining, predicting and controlling phenomena, while qualitative research is used for describing and understanding the phenomena from the participants' point of view (Leedy and Ormrod 2001). Merriam (1998) adds that understanding the phenomenon under investigation from the participant's perspective is a hallmark of qualitative research, having, that is, an emic as opposed to an etic (outsider's) perspective. Use of the quantitative or qualitative approach is determined by the kind of question asked. As Flyvbjerg (2006, 226) aptly puts it, "the choice of method should clearly depend on the problem under study and its circumstances." If researchers want to investigate the media in marketing, asking 'what makes the media effective?' they may observe how the media operates, how it gets people's attention and how people respond to it. Thereafter, they will write a description and interpretation of their observations. This is the qualitative approach. Other researchers interested in the same phenomenon may want to know 'which is the most effective marketing strategy?' They will then compare the marketing of the same product using different strategies – media, celebrities, billboards, mobile phones, and newsletters - and compare the success of the various strategies using a statistical model that measures the impact of each marketing strategy on product sales. This is the quantitative approach.

The quantitative technique used in this study was a questionnaire which was distributed in a survey of BCMM workers. The advantage of a survey is that it captures a fleeting moment in time like a camera taking a single-frame photograph of an ongoing activity (Leedy and Ormrod 2001). The difficulty is, however, that attitudes change and the captured moment may cease to represent ongoing reality.

However, one could argue that the captured picture does reflect an ongoing activity and that in any case there is no alternative. Mitigating the issue of the single moment in time, the survey was surrounded by semi-structured interviews and informal conversations when participants and interlocutors reflected on the job behaviour and performance of BCMM workers. The survey also heeded Fowler's (2002) suggestion that questions must be carefully worded, as asking the same question in different forms gives different results.

The questionnaire questions were on a five-point Likert-style scale, which measures positive or negative responses to given statements. The respondents had to select the most appropriate answer from 'Disagree strongly', 'Disagree', 'Neither agree nor disagree', 'Agree' and 'Agree strongly'. For questions that sought to ascertain the extent of a phenomenon, they had to select from 'To a very low extent', 'To a low extent', 'Neither low nor high extent', 'To a high extent' and 'To a very high extent'. Respondents used the middle option of 'Neither agree nor disagree' and 'Neither low nor high extent' when undecided or unsure about a particular issue.

The qualitative techniques used in this study were interviews and document analysis. The qualitative data from the interviews and document analysis was important for triangulation as it served to corroborate or challenge findings from the quantitative data. The analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data benefitted from the study of documents such as BCMM reports, relevant Acts and policies, previous studies and the South African Constitution. These documents depicted the expected standards and levels of performance by the workers and served as baseline measures for workers' job behaviour and performance.

Interviews and document analysis also provided greater amounts of information as compared to the questionnaire where answers are limited to what is asked. With semi-structured interviews, the researcher is able to ask for clarity and pose follow up questions. This was very important in this study since the municipality has its own systems and structures which are important to understand to make sense of the responses and do a proper analysis. Fer (2004) recommends interviews for investigation of phenomena that are difficult to observe and such was the case in this study as it sought to disaggregate skill so as to be able to investigate the role of its various components. While skill may be disaggregated, determining which component of skill is responsible for particular inappropriate job behaviour and performance is challenging. Interviews in addition to the other research instruments were then helpful for explaining the relationship between different variables. For instance, quantitative data may indicate that the workers have insufficient resources to undertake their employment responsibilities, but not explain why they are insufficient. Through interviews, the researcher may then learn that the probability of resources being insufficient is high because some workers use BCMM resources for personal purposes. The researcher may get to understand the departments that are affected, the culprits, and the specific resources used inappropriately by the workers. Also, supporting statements such as direct quotes from the interviewees not only strengthen the arguments and deepen the analysis but add immediacy of the study and significance of this intervention.

4.5 The application of the research instruments

The research instruments were focused on the two research questions of this study and were formulated so as to adhere to the study's conceptual framework, that of

human, social, cultural and reputation capital. The first research question looked at how skills co-exist with inappropriate job behaviour and performance in spite of being advocated as a solution to such problems. Exploration of this question helped determine the nature of BCMM workers' broad skills. The second research question investigated the management gaps which enable the continued existence of inappropriate job behaviour and performance. This required disaggregation of the concept of management so as to be able to investigate the role of its various components such as communication, supervision, and quality control mechanisms.

From literature, we learn that some of the crucial job performance factors comprise the various dimensions of management which include financial, human resources, asset, operations, and service quality management. In examining the appropriateness of municipal workers' job behaviour and performance at the BCMM, this study inevitably probed the effectiveness of the various dimensions of management. Regarding human resources management, for instance, there were questions relating to workers' qualifications as well as the number of workers required to undertake particular tasks. Such questions were helpful for addressing the assumptions embedded in the view that introducing more skilled people in the labour market could address the country's service delivery challenges (Kaseke 2011, Stokes 2010).

The research instruments used enabled the researcher to obtain facts and opinions from workers about the reported inappropriate job behaviour and performance in the BCMM (Nombembe 2011, *Times Live* 2011, Coetzer 2009). They were carefully designed in line with the advice of de Vos et al. (2005) that the interviews and questionnaire should be short enough to collect all relevant information and long

enough to cover all the questions. The questionnaire and interview questions met these criteria. They were limited to the most important ones and 'nice to have' questions were eliminated. The questionnaire had 85 questions in total, made up of 79 closed-ended questions, plus 6 qualitative questions. The closed-ended questions included 10 biographical questions. The questions were easy to complete because most of them were quantitative, requiring the respondent simply to select one from the given answers. The interview schedule had ten questions that sought to understand the broad skills status quo at the BCMM; workers' experiences and observations of job behaviour and performance practices; effect of political, systemic, and structural factors on the workers' job behaviour and performance; and their assessment of the performance of the BCMM in light of its rating as the worst metropolitan council by the Auditor General in the 2010/11 audit.

The covering letter accompanying the questionnaire introduced the researcher and explained the purpose of the study and how respondents could help towards achievement of the study's goals. It also included information about the researcher's institutional affiliation, and his contact details and those of his promoter.

The questionnaire was divided into five sections: Section A - Biographical information, Section B - BCMM workers' capacity, Section C - BCMM workers' job behaviour, Section D - BCMM workers' job performance, and Section E - BCMM workers' job environment. Section B sought to solicit information regarding the workers' capacity in order to understand their skills, thus addressing part of the first research question. The other part of the first research question was addressed through Sections C and D. However, Sections C, D and E also addressed the second research question as they interrogated various aspects of management such

as policies, systems, relationships, assets, benefits, decision-making, job procedures, accountability and planning. Sections C, D and E also addressed the first research question as responses to the questions on the job environment shed some light on the co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance. The job environment questions that contributed in this respect were about how inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices were addressed as well as the nature of management practices. Such questions sought to understand monitoring, performance evaluation, recruitment practices, and inter-departmental co-operation at the BCMM. They were also helpful for shedding light on the role of social networks in the workers' job behaviour and performance, varying understandings of the workers' responsibilities, effectiveness of monitoring and control mechanisms, job satisfaction, and use of authority.

To get a broader view of the BCMM workers' job behaviour and performance, the researcher distributed a questionnaire to BCMM workers from different occupation levels, departments and directorates. This was first piloted in all eight directorates and sixteen people (two per directorate) were requested to participate. The pilot participants were requested to complete and return the questionnaire that was emailed to them. However, the response from the pilot was poor despite regular follow ups by email and telephone. Only four completed questionnaires were returned. However, from the few who responded, lessons were learnt about the appropriateness of the research instrument. The pilot participants were requested to inform the researcher about how long it took them to complete the questionnaire as well as their views on it, such as errors identified and its user friendliness. The questionnaire was subsequently adjusted in line with the lessons learnt from the pilot study. For instance, it was found that in its then form, it was more appropriate for

hard copy completion because the text shifted when respondents were completing the electronic copy. It was subsequently formatted and locked to prevent changes being made to it by the respondents, while allowing them to submit their responses. This was in line with Fowler's (2002) suggestion that format and layout should be clear, neat and easy to follow, a standard adhered to in this study.

In the main study, the questionnaire was first emailed to the directors and managers in the various departments and they were requested to distribute it to all their staff. The aim was to observe departmental protocol although permission had already been received to undertake this study in all BCMM departments, and it was also to gain access to as many respondents as possible. The relevant directors and managers were regularly requested to encourage their staff to attend to the questionnaire, but this did not bear much fruit. They struggled to get many workers to respond to the questionnaire. Some workers claimed that participation was voluntary, that they were busy, and thus could not prioritise participation. Subsequently, the researcher decided to physically administer the questionnaire in the BCMM offices and depots in East London, Mdantsane, Bhisho, King Williams Town, Zwelitsha and Dimbaza. Despite the reluctance of some workers, this proved useful as most of the responses received were from those to whom it was physically administered. Physically administering the questionnaire proved useful also because it enabled the researcher to talk to the workers and get more understanding about their reluctance to participate, their perception of job behaviour and performance, and their observations on the performance of the municipality.

4.6 Sample, population and participants

The sampling design for this project was multi-stage. Creswell (1994) explains the difference between single- and multi-stage sampling procedures. Single-stage is when “the researcher has access to names in the population and can sample the people directly.” With multistage, “the researcher first samples groups or organisations (or clusters), obtains names of individuals within each group or cluster, and then samples within the cluster” (119). In this study, the first sampling stage was at municipal level. BCMM was purposefully sampled on the basis of its location and performance reports. It is located in the Eastern Cape, one of the poorest provinces in South Africa (Makiwane and Chimere-Dan 2013, Michael 2003), yet there are frequent reports of inappropriate job behaviour and performance (Nombembe 2011, *Times Live* 2011, Coetzer 2009).

Another issue considered was sample size. Asking ‘How big should a sample be?’, Fowler (2002) points out three sample size misconceptions:

1. The suggestion that sample size depends on the population fraction to be included in the sample. This is erroneous because the impact of the sampled population fraction on sampling errors is trivial;
2. Following standard survey practices. This is erroneous because this decision should be made on a case-by-case basis as surveys have various goals and research designs;
3. Deciding on a tolerable margin of error or requiring precise estimates to determine sample size. This is erroneous because specifying the desired level of precision in more than a general way is unusual and overlooks other sources of error besides sampling errors.

Fowler (2002) then recommends the use of an analysis plan which reveals the study's goals and the subgroups for which separate estimates are required. It is generally accepted that there is rarely a definitive answer to the question of sample size, hence the rule of thumb for increasing the reliability of survey estimates is increasing the sample size (Brown 2013, Scherbaum and Ferreter 2009, Fowler 2002, Hill 1998).

Although some researchers subscribe to 'the larger the sample, the better' rule (Brown 2013, Scherbaum and Ferreter 2009, Fowler 2002, Hill 1998), Gay (1996), argues that this is not helpful to a researcher who has a practical decision to make. He thus gives a more pragmatic advice: for small populations (N < 100), sampling is not necessary, one might as well survey the entire population; if the population size is around 500, 50% of the population should be sampled; if the population size is around 1 500, 20% should be sampled and if the population size is beyond a certain point (± 5 000), the population size is almost irrelevant, and a sample size of ±400 (±8%) will be adequate (125).

For a representative sample, as the population size increases, the percentage may decrease, but the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the population should be taken into account. For this reason, although as of 30 June 2012, the BCMM staff complement was 5,427 (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2012c), the population size mattered since this was not a homogeneous cluster. As BCMM (2011c) categorises its personnel as directors and managers, professionals, technicians and trade workers, community and personal service workers, clerical and administrative workers, machine operators and drivers, and labourers, sampling in the various departments, therefore, accommodated the heterogeneous nature of the personnel.

Since as of 30 June 2012, the BCMM had 8 directorates, 39 departments and a staff of 5,427 (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2012c), the aim was to sample 10 respondents per department and request them to complete the questionnaire. The 10 respondents per department translated to 390 respondents which is 7% of the BCMM population. That is an acceptable sample (Friedman and Riley 2012, Gay 1996). For the structured interviews, the aim was to sample one person per directorate, with a total of eight interviewees. However, due to fieldwork logistics, the anticipated number of respondents could not be reached. This was due to a high refusal rate due to the highly legislated and highly political BCMM environment as well as research fatigue amongst some of the workers. Some workers thought that if the management discovered that they had participated in this study, they might be victimised. Although they were given a letter from the BCMM Manager: Knowledge Management, Research and Policy Department indicating that the researcher had been given permission to undertake this study in all BCMM departments, they still wanted proof that their own line managers were aware and approved of it. They feared that line managers might think that they were stabbing them at the back, and thought that an internal memorandum from the various line managers should have accompanied the letter from the Manager: Knowledge Management, Research and Policy Department.

As a result of the different responses, respondents per department could not be balanced. Some were over-represented and others under-represented. In lieu of 398 respondents (390 questionnaire respondents plus 8 interviewees), that is 7% of the total staff complement, only 344 (6% of the total staff complement) participated. This, however, is still satisfactory bearing in mind Gay's (1996) suggestion that if the

population size is around 5 000, the population size is almost irrelevant, and a ± 8% sample size will be adequate.

The plan was to do purposeful sampling in order to have respondents with formal education who would shed some light on the question of co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance. The researcher, however, had to take into acount that a considerable share of BCMM workers (49%) had no matric, and that the 51% with matric was composed of 21% with matric only and 30% with matric plus other tertiary education qualifications (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011c). This, together with the general reluctance to participate in this study, meant that the focus had to be on any BCMM worker with formal education regardless of its level. The level of education was, however, was not a problem as generally workers' education was commensurate with their jobs since most of them were in elementary occupations. Moreover, although some questions were about their qualifications and the perceived appropriateness of these to their responsibilities, most questions were about respondents' observations of BCMM workers' job behaviour and performance.

4.7 Data analysis

The research process and instruments were designed to enable systematic and logical interpretation of the data because on its own, data are meaningless unless systematically and logically interpreted. This interpretation was done through analysis of the responses against relevant laws and policies such as Municipal Structures Act (1998), Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (2000), BCMM supply chain management (SCM) policy and recruitment policy.

For the quantitative data analysis, empirical statistical data were generated and processed by a qualified statistician from the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University's (NMMU's) Statistics Department. Non-parametric statistical tests were conducted using SPSS version 12.0 programmes to analyse the relationships between variables. Non-parametric statistical methods are also called parameter-free or distribution-free methods because they rely on classification, ranking or order rather than numbers because the researcher is not in a position to give a numerical description of the population (*Business Dictionary* 2013, *Investopedia* 2013).

The Spearman rank correlation coefficient was used to determine the relationship between categorical variables. The statistical significance of the variables' correlation was calculated using the chi – square test and cross-tabulations of the data. For each cross-tabulation, the chi-square test is reported that indicates statistical significance, Cramer's V is also reported that indicates practical significance (small, medium or large), and lastly Spearman rank correlation is also reported since the variables are ordinal. Since the instruments sought to determine the opinions of the respondents, ordinal scales were used since they are "measures of non-numeric concepts like satisfaction, happiness, discomfort, etc." (My Market Research Methods 2012, 1). Statistical distribution then demonstrated the measures of central tendency (mean, median and mode) and measures of variation (range and standard deviation). For measuring the internal consistency (reliability) of the instrument, Cronbach's alpha was used. The levels of reliability appeared to be high as indicated below:

Section B -The BCMM workers' capacity

Question B1.1-B1.5, Cronbach's alpha = 0.56. Average inter-item correlation = 0.22.

The alpha is low because question B1.2 does not measure the same construct as the other questions, hence without B1.2 the alpha increases to 0.71. There were 324 valid responses for this section, with 3.07 mean and 1.07 standard deviation.

Section C - The BCMM workers' job behaviour

Question C1.1-C1.11, Cronbach's alpha = 0.75, average inter-item correlation = 0.22. Question C2.1-C2.10, Cronbach's alpha = 0.87, average inter-item correlation = 0.43. Question C3.1-C3.9, Cronbach's alpha = 0.86, average inter-item correlation = 0.47. Question C4.1-C4.5, Cronbach's alpha = 0.70, average inter-item correlation = 0.36. There were 314 valid responses for this section, with 3.29 mean and 1.02 standard deviation.

Section D - BCMM workers' job performance

Question D1.1-D1.10, Cronbach's alpha = 0.82, average inter-item correlation = 0.34. There were 308 valid responses for this section, with 2.86 mean and 1.04 standard deviation.

Section E - BCMM workers' job environment

Question E1.1-E1.14, Cronbach's alpha = 0.50, average inter-item correlation = 0.09. The alpha is low because the items ask different things (average correlation = 0.09). Therefore, these items cannot be combined to form one score, and should rather be analysed separately. There were 304 valid responses for this section, with 2.90 mean and 1.06 standard deviation.

The alpha if an item is deleted was also calculated. Alpha has a maximum of 1.0. If 'alpha if deleted' is higher than the alpha for all the items, it means that when that particular item is omitted, the alpha for the remaining items will be higher, which means that, that specific item 'does not belong' to the factor. If 'alpha if deleted' is

lower than the overall alpha, it means that when that particular item is omitted, the factor is less reliable, that is, the omitted item is a ‘good’ item in the sense that it ‘belongs’ there.

Furthermore, the systematic and logical analysis was helpful for investigating the role of narrow and broad skills in inappropriate job behaviour and performance. Although the data was factual, accurate and systematic, it could not get to the root of how the lack of broad skills affected job behaviour and performance, that is establish a causal relationship between these variables. In fact, the lack of broad skills can only serve as an indication of the higher probability to display inappropriate job behaviour and performance tendencies, since descriptive research cannot be confidently used to create a causal relationship where one variable affects another. Descriptive research is, however, helpful for deriving insights by studying, analysing and interpreting a phenomenon. However, since there are multiple variables that can contribute towards inappropriate job behaviour and performance and most cannot be measured, it therefore cannot be concluded that these are the only causal factors and that fixing them would obviate the problem. It, however, could be argued that particular factors contribute towards inappropriate job behaviour and performance although the extent of their contribution cannot be ascertained.

Leedy and Ormrod (2001) argue that the same phenomenon may be interpreted differently by different people and that the various interpretations may all be right or wrong or have elements of right and wrong. To prevent wrong interpretation in this study, special attention was paid to the collection, analysis and interpretation of data in order to harmonise the research hypothesis, question, methodology and findings.

Leedy and Ormrod (2001) further observe that the research process is cyclical, helical and spiral. While admitting that the process starts with a problem and ends with a possible solution to the problem, they argue that a neatly closed circle is deceptive, because research is rarely conclusive, hence the suggestion of a helix or spiral shape. They argue that “in exploring an area, one comes across additional problems that need resolving. Research begets more research ... genuine research yields as many problems as it resolves. Such is the nature of the discovery of knowledge” (ibid., 8). For these authors to suggest that research is rarely conclusive is risky because it is an admission that conclusive findings are not possible, therefore, the findings cannot be used for decision-making.

However, when a study is well focused and delineated, with clear research questions and a specific perspective, one may be able to make a conclusive claim about a specific element of a broader phenomenon. While the same phenomenon may be investigated by someone else from a different perspective and yield different results, this should serve to enrich understanding and not necessarily suggest that the investigation was inconclusive. It would also demonstrate that there are multiple perspectives for examining the same phenomenon, and show that inappropriate job behaviour and performance could be attributed to many different factors. In light of the varying interpretations, this study anchored its interpretation on the broad skills perspective, moving from the premise that the ability to do a job is a product of numerous elements which include various types of knowledge, attitudes, ethics and values.

Regarding validity and reliability, Merriam (1998) argues that all research is assessed on the basis of conceptualisation, data collection, analysis and

interpretation, and presentation of findings. Validity refers to the ability of the research study to truly measure that which it intended to measure and to have truthful research results (Borrego, Douglas and Amelink 2009, Golafshani 2003, Joppe 2000, Merriam 1998). Merriam (1998) proposes six strategies for enhancing validity namely, triangulation, member checks, long term observation, peer examination, participatory or collaborative modes of research and guarding against researcher bias. With the exception of long term observation and collaborative research, due to the nature of the study, application of four of the six strategies was possible in this study. Examination of the whole research process by an experienced promoter involved checking the instruments and, guarding against researcher bias. Triangulation, defined by Guion, Diehl and McDonald (2012, 1) as "a method used by qualitative researchers to check and establish validity in their studies by analyzing a research question from multiple perspectives", was made possible through analysis of the questionnaire, interviews and relevant documents. In this case, data from the interviewees, questionnaires and relevant documents was used to corroborate claims made, and identify and analyse inconsistencies in the data. This was important for the reliability of the findings especially in such a politically charged BCMM environment.

Reliability refers to the extent to which research findings can be replicated, that is, the ability of the study to produce the same results when repeated (Borrego, Douglas and Amelink 2009, Joppe 2000, Merriam 1998). Merriam (1998, 206), however, argues that achieving reliability in social sciences "is not only fanciful but impossible" because human behaviour is never static. In lieu of striving for reliability, Lincholn and Guba (1985) suggest aiming for dependability or consistency and this can be

ascertained through the investigators' explaination of their positions, assumptions, and theories in relation to what they investigate, triangulating through multiple methods of data collection and with an audit trail as in business auditors authenticating business accounts.

4.8 Limitations

The advantage of a case study is that it typically includes individuals or institutions with the specific characteristic that is being investigated. What this study sought to establish is not whether there is inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM. This had already been established by reliable entities such as the Office of the Auditor General, and by parliamentary, municipal and departmental reports. The question is epistemological in nature as it seeks to establish how formal education co-exists with inappropriate job behaviour and performance when formal education is meant to eliminate such practices. Although inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices is attributed to the lack of broad skills, it is however difficult to attribute specific inappropriate job behaviour and performance practice(s) to particular broad skill component(s). This is due to the challenge in establishing a causal relationship between attitudes, ethics and values on the one side and particular inappropriate job behaviour and performance on the other. To put it differently, it is not possible to establish that people with, for instance, a certain measure of honesty will display particular job behaviour and performance practices. Such a notion would assume that levels of honesty could be ranked as very honest/100%, honest/75%, neutral/50%, dishonest/25% and very dishonest/0% and would translate into very performing/100%, performing/75%, neutral/50%, poorly performing/25%, and very poorly performing/0%. The inability to establish a causal

relationship between attitudes, ethics and values on the one side and particular inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices on the other, has, however, been mitigated through establishment of the extent and nature of broad skills available at the BCMM according to the perception of the respondents. For instance, a question such as “To what extent do BCMM workers use deceitful leave benefits?” reveals levels of honesty in a particular activity as perceived by respondents.

Secondly, the challenge with investigating how broad skills shape workers’ job behaviour and performance is that most statistics relating to skills are based on perception. Consequently, there are conflicting voices with some people arguing, for instance, that there is an oversupply of engineers and CAs and others claiming that there is a serious shortage.

The approach towards skills, that is characterised by uncertainty, does not augur well for addressing the challenge of inappropriate job behaviour and performance among BCMM workers. To address it, higher levels of certainty are required so as to be in a position to determine and eliminate the particular factors responsible for this behaviour and performance. It is for this reason that this study uses a mixed method approach to minimise the impact of the limitations, as the mixing of qualitative and quantitative data help to cushion the weaknesses of each method and the two complement each other.

4.9 Ethical considerations

Participation in this study was voluntary and all participants were made aware of this through the covering letter. Their confidentiality was also promised with the covering

letter undertaking that participants' personal details would not be disclosed under any circumstances. There would therefore be no risk of harm, embarrassment or offence to any participant or to the municipality. In fact, the biographical information section enabled them to remain anonymous since the required information was about their directorates and departments, type of employment, tenure, and educational qualifications, but their names or precise positions were not required. The covering letter also noted that there were no risks or discomforts associated with participation. It also clearly stated that there were no pecuniary benefits in participation although the study would be very helpful in supporting policy changes that would help in addressing the broad skills shortage challenge.

Participants' attention was also drawn to the fact that this research was approved by the NMMU's Research Ethics Committee, with ethics approval number H12-EDU-ERE-028. They were assured that this committee is competent, being composed of experts whose responsibility includes ensuring that the rights and welfare of participants in this study are protected and that the study is conducted in an ethical manner.

4.10 Conclusion

The research design and methodology discussion has shown the complexity of this study and the way in which the research process navigates towards a reasonable explanation for the paradoxical co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance. The broad skills theoretical approach adopted - an amalgamation of human capital, social capital, cultural capital and reputation capital - is applied appropriately in the different questionnaire sections. Each section enquires

about a particular component that enables workers to appropriately discharge their employment responsibilities. At the heart of the research is a case study using mixed research methods for data collection such as a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and relevant document analysis. This chapter explained the whole research process: the research problem, how it was addressed, research instruments, data collection, data analysis and limitations and ethical considerations.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of this study and their implications for the BCMM. The semi-structured interviews and informal conversations the researcher had with many of the people to whom the questionnaire was distributed were helpful in adding more information that helped the researcher to have a good understanding of how the municipality operates, roles and responsibilities of the stakeholders, and individual, systemic, and structural factors that had an impact on the workers' job behaviour and performance. Such information is tringulated with other sources of information and the responses from the participants are juxtaposed with the expected manner of performance and behaviour as stipulated in the relevant regulations and policies.

The data revealed that inappropriate job behaviour and performance elements that characterise the BCMM include lack of effective leadership, lack of stability, uncertainty, high turnover at management level, political interference, weakly performing management systems, inefficient communication, blurred reporting lines, inconsistent application of policies, favouritism, dissatisfaction with remuneration, distracting trade union influence, lack of resources, and unqualified staff. These elements are unpacked in the subsequent sub-sections as they emanate from the quantitative and qualitative data. A summary of the quantitative data from the questionnaire is presented in Appendix G and discussed in various sub-sections of this chapter.

5.2 Staffing at the BCMM

Table 5.1 shows that most (26%) BCMM workers are in elementary occupations. The second biggest category of workers is clerical and administrative positions (21%) and the third biggest share is service and sales workers (16%).

Table 5.1: BCMM 2011/12 personnel

	Permanent workers	**Contract workers**	**Positions**	**Percentages**
Councilors (Political office bearers)		100	100	1.8%
Municipal manager and senior managers		10	10	0.1%
Other managers	20	18	38	0.7%
Professionals	162		162	2.98%
Technicians	351		351	6.4%
Clerks (Clerical and administrative)	1 122	28	1 150	21.1%
Service and sales workers	872	1	873	16.0%
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	214		214	3.94%
Craft and related trades	370		370	6.8%
Plant and machine operators	737		737	13.5%
Elementary occupations	1 422		1 422	26.2%
Total personnel	**5 270**	**157**	**5 427**	

Source: (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2012c, 91)

The BCMM council is composed of 100 councillors from different political parties namely, ANC = 71, DA = 21, COPE = 3, AIC = 2, PAC = 2, ACDP = 1 (Local

Government Handbook 2012, 1). On 30 June 2011, the BCMM staff complement was 4,597 (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011c), but it had grown to 5,427 by 2012 (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2012c). Table 5.2 depicts the education qualifications of BCMM workers.

Table 5.2: Education qualifications of BCMM workers

	Education qualifications of BCMM Workers		**Education qualifications of the respondents**	
Qualification	**No of workers**	**Percentage**	**No of workers**	**Percentage**
No matric	2,249	49%	28	8%
Matric only	971	21%	53	15%
Matric plus other tertiary qualifications	1,377	30%	263	76%
	(Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011c)			

Table 5.2 indicates that most of the workers, that is, 2,249 (49%), had no matric, 971 (21%) had matric only, and 1,377 (30%) had matric plus other tertiary qualifications (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011c). The education distribution profile of the respondents was ≤ Grade 10 (Std 8) = 28 (8.13%), Grade 12 (Std 10) = 53 (15.40%), Matric + Diploma = 147 (42.73%), Matric + 1st degree = 90 (26.16%), Honours / B.Tech. or equivalent = 13 (3.77%), Masters / M.Tech. or equivalent = 4 (1.16%), Doctorate / D.Tech. or equivalent = 1 (0.29%) and Other (e.g. chartered accountant) = 8 (2.32%).

Generally, many BCMM workers have the required qualifications for their jobs because most of them are in elementary occupations which require no matric. The 30% that had matric plus other tertiary qualifications is composed of managers, professionals and technicians. Although the overall picture shows that workers have the relevant academic qualifications for the jobs they do, when disaggregated the

picture may change as it will show nuances that are not revealed by the aggregated data. This study did not disaggregate the individual workers' profiles to show their education qualifications in relation to their jobs. Be that as it may, 68% of respondents revealed that their qualifications were relevant to the kind of work they did on a daily basis.

5.3 Determinants of employment at the BCMM

With regard to determinants of employment at the BCMM, 64% of respondents believe that many people are employed because of who they know, rather than what they know. This shows the significant role played by social capital in BCMM employment. Table 5.3 shows the extent to which different attributes are said to contribute to people being employed at the BCMM.

Table 5.3: Extent to which different attributes contribute in getting people employed at the BCMM

	To a very low extent	To a low extent	Neither low nor high extent	To a high extent	To a very high extent	Valid Responses	Mean	Standard Deviation	Percentages
Educational qualifications	3.10	6.19	29.72	30.65	30.34	323	3.79	1.04	61%
Gender	5.92	5.30	35.20	51.71	1.87	321	3.38	0.86	54%
Race	6.27	27.59	30.09	30.41	5.64	319	3.02	1.03	35%
Political affiliation	27.64	3.42	6.52	4.97	57.45	322	3.61	1.77	62%
Physical appearance	55.45	29.60	10.59	2.18	2.18	321	1.66	0.91	4%

To get the percentages in Table 5.3, the last two options (to a high extent and to a very high extent) were combined, but the mean and standard deviation are for all five options in the Likert scale. The mean for the question on physical appearance is low (1.66) because the respondents tended to respond more on the low end of the scale, as confirmed by the frequency scores which show that the respondents chose to a very low extent (55.45) and to a low extent (29.60). Hence, only 4% thought that

people are employed at the BCMM on the basis of their physical appearance. The question on physical appearance was the only one with a low mean as all the others ranged from 3.02 to 3.79, indicating that many respondents tended to choose the high end of the scale. Table 5.3 shows that political affiliation plays a crucial role in determining chances of employment according to 62% of respondents. Educational qualifications also play a crucial role according to 61% of respondents. This is buttressed by the 68% of the respondents who thought that their qualifications are relevant to the kind of work they do on a daily basis. Few respondents (29%) thought that their qualifications were not relevant to the kind of work they did on a daily basis. The cross-tabulation shows that of the workers who thought that their qualifications were relevant to the kind of work they did on a daily basis, 52.07% thought that people were employed in the BCMM because of their educational qualifications. This was established through combining respondents who agreed and strongly agreed on the question about their qualifications' relevance to the kind of work they did on a daily basis and those who chose the high extent and the very high extent on the question about whether people were employed at the BCMM on the basis of their educational qualifications {13 + 81 + 7 + 12 = 113 / (185 + 32) = 52.07%}. The relationship between the two variables was found to be statistically significant (Chi^2 = 210.52, df = 12, p = 0.0000) with Cramér's V = 0.47 which indicates that this finding is of large practical significance. However, the Spearman correlation coefficient (0.06) indicates that generally there was no correlation between the relevance of the respondents' qualifications and employment of BCMM staff on account of educational qualifications. This buttresses the notion that although educational qualifications are generally known to be important for employment, in reality, they are

not the principal determinants of finding employment; at the BCMM political affiliation is the principal determinant.

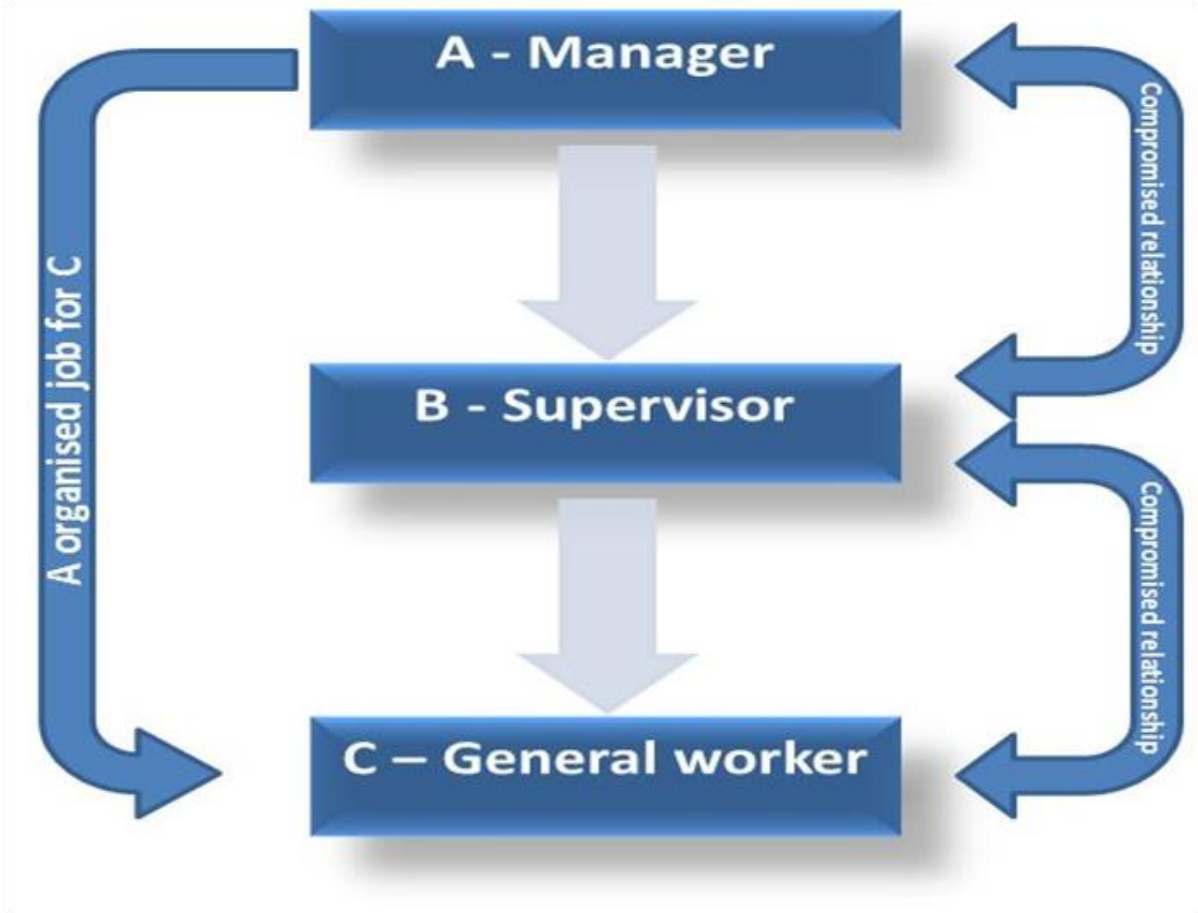
Nationally, according to the Council on Higher Education (2004, 160), “67% of graduates ... from historically white universities (HWUs) found employment immediately [after the completion of their degrees, while] only 28% of their counterparts from historically black universities (HBUs) were as fortunate.” At the BCMM, 37% of respondents believe that people who studied in previously white institutions stood a better chance of finding employment in this municipality, while 31% did not think so and 32% committed to neither opinion. At the BCMM, employment opportunities were only slightly different between those who attended the HWUs (37%) and those who did not (31%). Though the HWUs are generally more expensive than their black counterparts, from an investment perspective, the cost of attending the more expensive institutions does not seem to be justified in terms of employment at the BCMM.

Political affiliation is evidently important and the effect of such social capital on employment and promotion goes a long way. One respondent who observed the effect of social capital on the job environment noted that

> some workers don’t know how to separate politics from their work and personal lives. They bring these differences and their preferences to the work place. At times you will swear that BCMM is run by trade unions, management is controlled by these trade unions. People use workers in order to pursue their political dreams. When employees perceive any existence of unfairness and impartiality then we have a big problem. BCMM culture is like you "eat or be eaten", people don’t care about others. some people will do anything be it immoral or unethical to go on top. Management promote or second some staff without following the policies and you will see that such are not based on exceptional performance but it depends on ‘whom you know in the zoo‘. Some managers abuse their power because of the authority they have in terms of the relevant policies and legislations.

One aspect of social capital that manifests itself at the BCMM is nepotism. It has been a thorny issue for some time and for this reason the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) protested outside the city hall on 28 September 2012. One of its demands was that the municipality must investigate nepotism within the system and bring to book all those found guilty (Mxengi 2012). It appears from the interviews that nepotism has serious effects on job performance because workers who get their jobs or promotion through it, are also protected by their job sponsors. This is depicted in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Compounding effect of nepotism on job performance



Source: Author

In the Figure 5.1 scenario, A, who is a manager, organises a job for C who is a general worker. C reports to B who is her supervisor and line manager. B's line manager is A. It happens that B charges C for underperformance and C reports the

matter to A. In protecting C, A victimises B for charging C. B is then forced to ignore C's underperformance in order to avoid victimisation from A. Consequently, inefficiency and low productivity continue. This is how nepotism and favouritism create tolerance for inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM.

The Figure 5.1 scenario portrays the challenge of an extended internal labour market, since it also shows that the consequences of 'touching the untouchables' are dire. The extended internal labour market functions within a given context which includes religious, political, cultural and social networks (Heery and Noon 2012, Yakubovich 2006, Kraak 1993). It uses word of mouth, referrals from members of the internal labour market and recommendations of family, friends and comrades for vacancies and promotion. However, the job sponsors sometimes find themselves with divided loyalties between the employer and the family or religious or political group to which the job sponsor and job recipient belong. For instance, if the job sponsor and job recipient belong to the same political party, and if during the job recipient's tenure he decides to join a different political party or different faction of the same party, then the recipient's loyalty would be questionable. A case in point is the expulsion of Mayor by the ANC regional disciplinary committee for collaborating with the opposition (*Mail & Guardian* 2009). Effectively, this meant she lost her job at the BCMM because she did not meet the expectations of the job sponsor, the ANC. During their tenure, the job sponsor and job recipient protect each other's interests and influence decisions using the resources at their disposal such as a position of authority.

Despite the mutual job sponsor-job recipient protection of interests, at the BCMM only 15% of respondents observed the use of positional authority by some workers

to pursue personal interests. This could suggest that the negative effects of the extended internal labour market are not prevalent at the BCMM. That is not, however, the picture painted by the interviewees. Political interference was raised as a serious deterrent to appropriate workers' job performance and they suggested that the enforcement of BCMM policies is selective according to one's political affiliation. The 15% of respondents who observed use of positional authority by some workers for pursuing personal interests, together with the interviewees' responses, indicate that the BCMM is experiencing this challenge, although the extent could not be ascertained in this study.

Conversely, one school of thought holds that what some may perceive as nepotism is actually *broederbond*/brotherhood or *susterbond*/sisterhood and is helpful for enhanced worker performance and retention. Potential new recruits acquire from their family and friends the tacit work socialisation skills that will be required in their future employment context (Skattebol et al. 2012, Moore 1991). In turn, the potential new recruits have to uphold the good reputations of their sponsors and this is how this system enhances job performance and prevents job misbehaviour.

Enhanced job performance and prevention of job misbehaviour through nepotism or brotherhood/sisterhood is, however, not indubitable. It is clear that this practice has both positive and negative aspects. The negative ones are exacerbated by the fact that nepotism or brotherhood/sisterhood does not promote equity and opportunities are unfairly open only to the chosen few. Besides, the most competent candidates get overlooked in favour of friends, relatives and comrades.

Some respondents noted that for many administrative positions, the appointment process appears to comply with fair labour practices, because the positions are advertised and candidates shortlisted, interviewed and appointed. However, some members of the selection committee are said to follow their political parties' instructions to appoint certain people and this is made possible by the arrangement that "in any recruitment panel sit three councillors and two (municipal) officials. As a result, the councillors always overrule the officials. Sometimes people who are not qualified or are inexperienced get appointed because they are friends with the politicians" (Loggi 2009, 2). A similar concern was raised by the Auditor-General, Terence Nombembe (2012b, 114) in the *General report on the audit outcomes of Local Government EASTERN CAPE 2011-12*, where he noticed that "interference and nepotism by councillors in the recruitment processes often resulted in potential candidates with the required competencies not being shortlisted, resulting in unnecessary delays in the appointment of key personnel." The respondents' view that is also corroborated by literature demonstrate that politicians influence the selection committee to appoint the party's preferred candidate regardless of who may be more competent among the interviewees. The failure to select the party's preferred candidate has serious consequences for party members, since they are threatened with removal from office. As in the Figure 5.1 scenario, in order to avoid victimisation, members have to tow the line and see to it that political party interests are served.

Instructions for the appointment of certain individuals are often given from different political levels (national, provincial and local). Respondents stated that this mode of operation – getting instructions from elsewhere – also applies in the issuing of

tenders. Like the recruitment process, the tender process may appear to comply with fair procurement practices, as tenders are advertised, evaluated and awarded. However, some members of the bid committee follow their political parties' instructions to give certain tenders to specific service providers.

The instructions to appoint or give tenders to politically preferred applicants creates management and supervision challenges. This crippling power of politics in job performance was depicted in acting police commissioner's admission in Parliament that made national headlines, that "'powers beyond us' had been telling him who he could or could not investigate" (de Lange 2012, 1). He further admitted that "we have been told in many instances of late that we don't have the right to investigate certain case dockets" (Ibid.).

There are also management and supervision challenges with structures and people at national and provincial levels who politically influence decisions on tenders that will be undertaken at municipal level. The expectation is that the municipality will monitor and supervise those projects, yet workers in such projects sometimes resist monitoring and supervision from the local leadership on the basis that the project is from a provincial or national office and it is only such monitoring and supervision authority that would be accepted. Eventually, this translates to lack of clarity about reporting lines, lack of accountability and poor service delivery. This could explain the observation of 35% of respondents who were of the view that people were not held accountable for the quality of work they produced while only 14% observed that they were held accountable and 51% were undecided on the matter. Avoiding accountability by workers who perform their jobs inappropriately, as confirmed by 35% of the respondents, echoes Auditor-General Terence Nombembe's (2012a)

assertion that in metropolitan municipalities, poor audit reports are often due to lack of discipline, lack of consequences for poor performance, and lack of a culture of accountability.

5.4 Knowledge, attitudes, ethics and values at the BCMM

It is difficult to ascertain if BCMM systems encourage mindless compliance with rules rather than the taking of creative initiatives because 52% of the respondents had no opinion on the matter, while 39% thought that the systems encouraged mindless compliance and 8% thought they did not. However, on the basis of those who had an opinion, it is clear that the municipality should not assume that the workers have the required active knowledge of systems and operations. The fact that most of those who had an opinion (39%) thought that BCMM systems encouraged mindless compliance with rules rather than taking of initiatives shows that some aspect of the three categories of knowledge is lacking. The knowledge categories include declarative, propositional and explicit factual knowledge (‘knowing that’ and ‘knowing what’), tacit knowledge and procedural knowledge (‘knowing how’) and understanding (‘knowing why’) (Bruce 2008, Winterton, Delamare and Stringfellow 2006).

The notion of mindless compliance with rules was also observed by Auditor-General who argued that “too many government accountants were reporting to meet their minimum annual requirements rather than ensuring a steady flow of information to underpin accurate and efficient management” (Coetzer 2009, 3). That 39% of respondents think that BCMM systems encourage mindless compliance with rules

means that some BCMM workers have the ‘tick a box’ attitude which causes them not to take full responsibility for their work.

That being said, 59% were of the view that workers do not seem to care about the moral implications of their actions at work and 88% observed that some workers know what is right, but still do what is wrong. The cross-tabulation shows that, of the respondents who thought BCMM workers do not seem to care about the moral implications of their actions at work, 96.86% thought that some BCMM workers know what is right but still do what is wrong. This was established through a combination of respondents who agreed and strongly agreed on the question about whether BCMM workers seem to care about the moral implications of their actions at work and those who also agreed and strongly agreed on the question about whether the workers know what is right but still do what is wrong {89 + 77 + 2 + 17 = 185 / (172 + 19) = 96.86%}. The relationship between the two variables was found to be statistically significant (Chi^2 = 250.25, df = 16, p = 0.0000) with Cramér's V = 0.44 which indicates that this finding is of large practical significance. However, the Spearman correlation coefficient (0.02) indicates that generally there is no correlation between the workers’ taking into consideration the moral implications of their actions at work and the workers’ doing of what is wrong when they know what is right. The workers’ display of inappropriate behaviour when they know what is right underscores the contradiction between education and practice. It shows that some workers, regardless of their formal education qualifications, practise inappropriate job behaviour and performance. The level and content of many workers’ formal education qualifications are relevant to their occupations, yet according to 88% of the respondents, some workers know what is right but still do what is wrong. The

challenge, however, is that it is not known how many of those with formal education still practise inappropriate job behaviour and performance. Therefore, it is not possible to conclude that those who claim to have relevant qualifications are also part of those who practise such behaviour. However, in light of the high numbers of workers who know what is right but still do what is wrong, there is a considerable probability that those with relevant educational qualifications are also amongst those who practise inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM.

Section 195 (1) of the South African Constitution fosters “a high standard of professional ethics” (South African Local Government Association (SALGA) 2011, 10). Such a high standard does not seem to have been achieved according to 59% of the respondents as they were of the view that workers do not seem to care about the moral implications of their actions at work. However, 33% thought that they cared and 9% had no opinion in this regard. Furthermore, 39% of the respondents believed that what was important when working was how the job is done and not just the results; 33% thought the results are more important than how the job is done, while 28% had no opinion on the matter. The cross-tabulation shows that, of the respondents who thought BCMM workers did not seem to care about the moral implications of their actions at work, 44.91% thought what was important when working are the results and not how the job is done. This was established through a combination of respondents who agreed and strongly agreed on the question about whether the BCMM workers seemed to care about the moral implications of their actions at work and those who also agreed and strongly agreed on the question about whether the workers thought that what is important when working are the results and not how the job is done {77 + 3 + 3 + 1 = 84 / (171 + 16) = 44.91%}. The relationship between the two variables was found to be statistically significant (Chi^2 =

342.28, df = 16, p = 0.0000) with Cramér's V = 0.52 which indicates that this finding is of large practical significance. The Spearman correlation coefficient (0.48) indicates that there was moderate correlation between the workers' taking into consideration of the moral implications of their actions at work and their thinking that what is important when working are the results and not how the job is done.

One respondent noted that "if BCMM management wants staff to perform and take pride in what they do, they should practice what they preach, lead by example. There is no equality in our institution, no mutual respect; gone are the days of taking pride in what you do." To restore pride in one's work, it is important for workers to place more importance on how the job is done than just the results. Product-focused job performance is predisposed to the 'tick a box' attitude and a mindless compliance with rules rather than taking full responsibility of one's work. Although most (39%) of the respondents believed that what was important when working is how the job is done and not just the results, the 33% who thought results are more important than how the job is done is concerning. It corroborates this study's hypothesis that widespread inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM is due to the paucity of broad skills which include various forms of knowledge, ethics, values and attitudes. Although many BCMM workers have the required academic qualifications for their jobs, many do not seem to have the required ethics, values and attitudes.

There is undoubtedly inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM despite the fact that for more than two thirds of workers, the level and content of their formal education qualifications is relevant to their occupations. This corroborates the view that the functionalists' assumption that formal education is a solution to societal problems needs to be qualified, because, on its own, it is not enough to address this

challenge. It further shows that narrow job-specific capability inadvertently enables malpractices like fraud, corruption and embezzlement because without appropriate values, ethics and attitudes it creates a favourable environment for such malpractices to permeate the workplace. The application of broad skills could efficaciously counter the challenge of misappropriation of resources and lead to more appropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM. This is because though job-specific capability enhances labour productivity, the paucity of appropriate values, ethics and attitudes can compromise it. This explains the irony Plato, Aristotle and John Locke (Naugle 2001, Cahn 1970) tried to resolve - how is it possible for people who have been taught what is right to act contrary to the principles they have learned? The emphasis on one aspect of skill at the expense of the others makes it possible for people who have been taught what is right to act contrary to the principles they have learned.

Not having the required ethics, values and attitudes could be on account of not having learnt them or their erosion for various reasons. Awareness of injustice, inconvenience and unfairness at the workplace could contribute towards the erosion of these components of broad skills or failure to apply them even if they are not eroded. Table 5.4 shows that different factors could play a role in compromising the job performance and behaviour of the workers. They are personal, systematic, and structural in nature.

Table 5.4: Extent to which different attributes compromise the job performance and job behaviour of the workers

Attribute	To a very low extent	To a low extent	Neither low nor high extent	To a high extent	To a very high extent	Valid Responses	Mean	Std. Dev.	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if deleted	Extent of contribution towards job misbehaviour
Ignorance	7.67	28.12	52.40	5.43	6.39	313	2.75	0.91	0.37	0.69	12%
Greed	5.11	3.19	30.35	51.76	9.58	313	3.58	0.90	0.42	0.67	61%
Unclear job procedures	6.45	4.84	51.94	30.00	6.77	310	3.26	0.90	0.65	0.58	37%
Lack of security for BCMM assets	4.58	3.27	28.76	29.41	33.99	306	3.85	1.07	0.43	0.67	63%
Protection from relatives, friends etc. for those accused of job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption	6.27	3.63	32.01	28.05	30.03	303	3.72	1.12	0.46	0.66	58%

To get the percentages in Table 5.4, the last two options (to a high extent and to a very high extent) were combined, but the mean, standard deviation, Cronbach alpha, and average inter-item correlation are for all five options in the Likert scale. The mean in Table 5.4 suggests that many respondents tended to choose the high end of the scale as the lowest average is 2.75 and the highest is 3.85. Table 5.4 shows that according to 63% of respondents, job behaviour that is against BCMM interests is mostly caused by lack of security for BCMM assets, greed (61% of respondents) and protection by relatives and friends of those accused of job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption (58% of respondents). Greed also features prominently in qualitative responses. As one respondent puts it, “greed and current salary levels is the cause for corruption as our salaries make it almost impossible to keep up with the inflation rate and the increases that have to be financed by salaries that do not increase at the same rate as service charges, such as municipal services and electricity.” A like-minded respondent argued that “politics, greed and self-enrichment of the management and council are responsible for the state of the municipality.”

That lack of security for BCMM assets is ranked high among factors that compromise job performance and job behaviour, indicates gaps in BCMM systems which enable the existence of inappropriate practices. Unclear job procedures were identified by 37% of respondents as contributing towards workers' inappropriate job performance and behaviour. While Section 53 (5) of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act, 2000, seeks to make efficient and timeous governance possible by clarifying roles and responsibilities (SALGA 2011, 2), according to 37% of respondents efficient and timeous governance at the BCMM seems to have been compromised by internal procedures that affect job performance negatively. However, the majority (56%) thought that internal procedures did not negatively affect job performance while 7% had no opinion.

Furthermore, while 28% thought that this was not the case, most respondents (67%) observed that people with friends in some of the BCMM departments find it easy to get their administrative requirements attended to rapidly. The cross-tabulation shows that of the respondents who think protection from relatives and friends for those accused of job misbehaviour contribute to job behaviour against BCMM's interests, 95.40% believe that people with friends in some of the BCMM departments find it easy to get their administrative requirements attended to rapidly. This was established through combining respondents who chose the high extent and the very high extent options in responding to whether protection from relatives and friends for those accused of job misbehaviour contribute to job behaviour against the BCMM's interests and those who agreed and strongly agreed on the question about whether people who had friends in some of the BCMM departments found it easy to get their administrative requirements attended to rapidly {79 + 3 + 2 + 82 = 166 / (85 + 89) = 95.40%}. The relationship between the two variables was found to be statistically

significant (Chi^2 = 443.92, df = 16, p = 0.0000) with Cramér's V = 0.61 which indicates that this finding is of large practical significance. The Spearman correlation coefficient (0.67) indicates that there was moderate correlation between protection from relatives and friends for those accused of job misbehaviour and having administrative requirements attended to rapidly.

That only 12% of respondents attribute job behaviour that is against BCMM interests to ignorance, shows that most of these inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices are purposeful with some level of understanding of the wrongfulness of the act and with the capacity to prevent or avoid it. That is why directing more money towards skills development, assuming that there is capacity shortage, may not be an appropriate solution to this challenge. On the contrary, when inappropriate job behaviour and performance is purposeful, it means that workers tend to use their capacity for wrongful ends in lieu of using it only for undertaking their occupational responsibilities. It also suggests that the workers are capable of doing their jobs, but choose to pursue ulterior interests in line with the adage of knowing the rules well enough to know which to break without being noticed. This underscores the importance of other elements of skill in addition to technical capability. Purposeful inappropriate job behaviour and performance show that the paucity of appropriate attitudes, ethics and values could compromise what capacity could achieve.

Purposeful inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices echo the point in the debate about narrow and broad skills, that formal education is neither good nor bad; it acquires a good or bad image from the uses to which it is put. Most respondents (56%) perceived conflict in the uses to which education is put, observing that people with the right educational qualifications, but wrong ethical

conduct are employed in the BCMM. However, 32% of respondents observed no such conflict and 12% had no opinion on this issue. The employment of people with the right educational qualifications, but wrong ethical conduct results from the human capital development model's over reliance on academic credentials which indicate the ability or competence to do a job, but overlooks attitudes, ethics and values which are also elements of skill in the broader sense.

5.5 Staff turnover

Some interviewees suggested that inappropriate job behaviour and performance indicate that not all is well at the BCMM. They alluded to the fact that the BCMM has been characterised by rapid turnover of municipal managers and mayors. The chronology of municipal managers, mayors and chief financial officers (CFOs) reflects this high turnover and is depicted in Tables 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7. The chronology starts from 2000, because in this year, after restructuring of municipal areas in South Africa, the BCMM was established as a local municipality. In 2011, it was converted into a metropolitan municipality.

Table 5.5: BCMM municipal managers since 2000

Date of office	Municipal managers	Nature of employment
November 2010 – to date	Andile Fani	In acting position from November 2010 to March 2012 when his permanent appointment was confirmed
July 2010 – October 2010	Vuyo Zambodla	Acting
March 2010 - July 2010	Lulama Zitha	Acting
Jan 2010 – March 2010	Vusi Mavuso	Acting
July 2009 – December 2009	Amanda Magwentshu	Acting
Jan 2009 – June 2009	Nonceba Mbali-Majeng	Acting
November 2008 – December 2008	Vuyani Lwana	Acting
May 2006 – October 2008	Gaster Sharpley	Permanent but suspended before the end of contract
2000 - April 2006	Mxolisi Tsika	Permanent

The two permanent municipal managers, before the current one, were suspended. Between October 2008 and March 2012, they were followed by seven municipal

managers in acting positions. Mxolisi Tsika's permanent contract as a municipal manager was "terminated on 24 April 2006 after he was found guilty *in absentia* on a number of charges of misconduct" (High Court: East London Circuit Local Division 2008, 2). Gaster Sharpley took over from him, but was also suspended after the report of Gobodo Forensic and Investigative Accounting who were appointed to investigate the awarding of waste management tenders worth R33 million by him without the council's knowledge. The report revealed that he flouted the Municipal Supply Chain regulations and Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA) in the awarding of the tenders (Legalbrief Forensic 2008, *Daily Dispatch* 2008). Table 5.6 reveals that high turnover also characterised mayors' terms of office, though slightly less than the municipal managers.

Table 5.6: BCMM mayors since 2000

Date	Mayor	Political Party
May 2011 – to date	Zukiswa Ncitha	ANC
Jan 2009 – April 2011	Zukiswa Faku	ANC
Dec 2008 – Jan 2009	Sakhumzi Caga	ANC
Mar 2006 – Nov 2008	Zintle Peter	ANC
2000 - 2006	Sindisile Maclean	ANC

Zintle Peter, Sakhumzi Caga and Zukiswa Faku did not finish their terms of office. Zintle Peter "was ousted when the council passed a vote of no confidence in her leadership. [She] was formally axed over a corruption report" (Omarjee 2008, 1). Sakhumzi Caga was instructed by the ANC to resign, because he was voted mayor by the councillors yet this was not sanctioned by the ANC's provincial executive committee (*Daily Dispatch* 2009). Zukiswa Faku was expelled by the ANC regional disciplinary committee for bringing the party into disrepute, collaborating with the opposition and using a BCMM credit card for personal use (*Mail & Guardian* 2009).

High turnover also characterised the CFOs' terms of office as depicted in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: BCMM Chief Financial Officers since 2000

Date	Chief Financial Officers	Nature of employment
Jan 2012 – to date	Pam Adonis	Acting
March 2010 – December 2011	Vincent Pillay	Acting
October 2009 – March 2010	Pam Adonis	Acting
2008 - 2009	Eddie Nqonywa	Acting
2000 - 2008	Brian Sheperd	Permanent

The BCMM has not had a permanent CFO since 2008. According to the former mayor, Zukiswa Faku, the municipality's financial crisis is due to the "acting" capacities of the municipal managers and CFOs since "acting capacities in managerial responsibilities do not create conducive conditions for proper financial management" (Hollands 2011a, 3). The R340-million irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure in 2010/11 and R150-million in 2011/12 confirm the weak financial management at the BCMM, claimed to be partly attributable to the vacant CFO position (Nini 2012d). The weak financial management at the BCMM also signals capacity development gaps among the workers.

5.6 Capacity development at the BCMM

The Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000, 66) requires the municipality to "develop its human resource capacity to a level that enables it to perform its functions and exercise its powers in an economical, effective, efficient and accountable way." Achieving this may be a challenge for the BCMM, since 36% of respondents observed that BCMM capacity development programmes do not

improve workers' job performance, while 11% thought that they did and 53% were neutral. A caveat is required here. Rumberger's (1994) assertion that formal education develops human capital, thereby increasing productivity in the workplace is made without adequate empirical verification. In fact, Kling and Merrifield's (2009, 8) study revealed that formal education only accounts for "about 14% of the average annual increase in labor productivity." They further argue that the lack of a more significant correlation between formal educational achievement and productivity growth has led some economists to believe that many skills and capabilities are derived from learning outside formal education structures and systems. It is important to remember that respondents' conclusions about the efficaciousness of BCMM capacity development programmes were based on their observations. Like Kling and Merrifield (2009), many respondents did not observe a significant correlation between formal educational achievement and productivity growth.

Capacity development programmes do not improve workers' job performance, 36% of respondents believe. This could explain why 31% of respondents think that workers are uncertain about how to perform their respective tasks, 39% think that they are certain and 30% have no opinion. Cross-tabulation shows that, of the respondents who think BCMM capacity development programmes improve workers' job performance, 17.39% think that BCMM workers are uncertain about how to perform their respective tasks. This was established through a combination of respondents who agree and strongly agree on the question about efficacy of capacity development programmes and those who agree and strongly agree on whether BCMM workers are uncertain about how to perform their respective tasks {2 + 1 + 0 + 1 = 4 / (14 + 9) = 17.39%}. The relationship between the two variables was found to be statistically significant ($Chi^2 = 314.55$, df = 16, p = 0.0000) with Cramér's

V = 0.50 which indicates that this finding is of large practical significance. The Spearman correlation coefficient (0.45) indicates that there is moderate correlation between the impact of capacity development programmes on the workers' job performance and workers' uncertainty about how to perform their respective tasks. The notion that capacity development programmes do not improve workers' job performance could also be as a result of information gaps some workers experienced due to not being taken through induction as some interviewees claimed.

One respondent's explanation of how the BCMM's rating as the worst metropolitan council by the Auditor General in 2012 affected his job performance and behaviour revealed that such a rating places a lot of pressure on workers to rectify the BCMM image. He noted that

> the lack of training causes staff not to understand what they are doing, this results in them referring customers to our department. Small issues that can be resolved the first time, now escalate to such a level that clients become frustrated, therefore increasing your workload. You become frustrated yourself, impacting negatively on your mind frame. It gets so bad sometimes that you are too scared to attend to your telephone as you receive queries that are not even for your department, but because you're dealing with already frustrated consumers, you cannot refer them further and therefore have to assist them. The pressure is constantly on you to prove to the customer that BCMM does have staff who care about their clients.

However, another respondent noted that the negative image of the BCMM "is not a good thing at all, personally I have declined in giving my best, going that extra mile and there is little desire to wake up in the morning in order to contribute by making a difference." Another similarly affected respondent stated that "I personally do not want to be associated with the BCMM; its values are different to mine."

Furthermore, many respondents confirmed McConnell, Brue and Macpherson's observation (2010, 117) that on "average, individuals who receive the largest amount

of formal education also receive more on-the-job specific training." Their explanation is that individuals with more years of formal education are more trainable, that is, a person with a degree, for example, is more trainable than one with a matric certificate. Respondents have a different explanation. They hold that, in relation to capacity development, BCMM systems favour those with more years of formal education and overlook those with experience and dexterity in particular areas such as plumbers and electricians. They argue that those with more years of formal education are poor at application of concepts learnt, yet those with job-specific competence are overlooked for promotion and capacity development programmes. Overlooking those with fewer years of formal education corroborates Bourdieu's (1990) claim about the ingenuousness of the system which claims that there is a skills shortage yet systematically eliminates those outside the magic circle from career progression, education and economic success. Therefore, chances of addressing the skills shortage are compromised when some are systematically deprived of skills that the BCMM claims are in short supply (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2012a). Besides skills shortage, the other BCMM systemic challenges are internal and external factors that impact on workers' job performance and behaviour.

5.7 The impact of internal factors on job performance and behaviour at the BCMM

The responses indicate that some managers struggle to exercise control in their respective departments due to internal and external factors. Many people in BCMM management are in acting positions. They hope for permanent appointment which they believe depends on them pleasing the relevant stakeholders. One respondent

refers to the BCMM as “Hollywood because everyone is acting in a position they are still studying to be in or on sick leave. BCMM is an extended wing of St Marks Hospital.” The acting capacity of many workers renders them indecisive when tough and unpopular decisions have to be taken. For instance, some respondents suggest that a line manager may follow all procedures for dealing with poorly performing and/or inappropriately behaving workers, but when managers exhaust the applicable corrective measures without achieving the desired outcomes, then punitive ones should be used. This may include sacking the workers in question. However, the municipal manager as the accounting officer of the municipality has the authority to hire and fire workers after all proper procedures have been followed. Since all municipal managers were in acting positions from November 2008 to March 2012 when the current municipal manager was appointed permanently, they did not want to jeopardise their chances of permanent employment in this position. Consequently, they usually refused to fire poorly performing and inappropriately behaving workers. Instead, they asked the manager concerned, who has no authority to fire someone, to deal with the matter, thereby expecting him or her to use corrective measures indefinitely. This compromises management authority and under such circumstances, some workers may take advantage of the environment because they know that no negative consequences will follow their inappropriate job behaviour and performance.

Despite the challenges with acting municipal managers, it is important to note that the enforcement of disciplinary measures is not solely this official’s responsibility. According to the BCMM Key Performance Indicators (KPA) Achievement Report (2011c, 36), the Labour Relations Division of the Human Resources Department “is

responsible for employment relations and maintenance of discipline at the workplace." The report further notes that the responsibility of the Labour Relations Division also includes ensuring that line managers are capacitated in all aspects of labour relations so as to be able to exercise control and diligently discharge their duties. The Labour Relations Division also ensures the implementation and enforcement of the collective agreement disciplinary code. Consequently, "during the 2010/11 financial year a total of one hundred and forty six (146) disciplinary hearings were conducted and thirty one (31) suspension cases and disciplinary enquiries were handled and finalised" (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011c, 36). Of the 86 submitted grievances, 33 were resolved (Ibid.). To prevent further occurrences of job misbehaviour, the Labour Relations Division conducted road shows to educate workers about expected job behaviour and made them aware of the common misdemeanours that lead to punitive measures against offenders.

It is important to note that 146 disciplinary hearings were conducted in the 2010/11 financial year, that is, when the municipality still had an acting manager. This challenges the suggestion that there was indecisiveness which translated to inaction against offending workers. The collective decision making process in the disciplinary hearings may have assisted in this regard, mitigating the effects of punitive decision making by managers who are in acting positions.

Furthermore, the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000, 22) requires municipalities to "take measures to prevent corruption." It is commendable that the BCMM is acting against job misdemeanours such as fraud and corruption as evidenced by the suspensions, dismissals and issuing of written warnings to misbehaving workers. However, BCMM measures to prevent corruption seem to be

under threat. Expanding on the question “Does the BCMM have an effective policy to get rid of unproductive workers?” one respondent argues that the BCMM does not have such a policy. “The only policy this place has is to try and get rid of good people and cover up corruption. Take the City Manager, he points out the wrong doings of all ..., suddenly he is in the firing line, wonder why, maybe because tenders are not going the way they used to and the CM [City Manager] knows how to say no. BCMM IS CORRUPT TO THE CORE [sic].”

It also transpired that some BCMM councillors were accused of corruption, even though the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000, 106) states that a councillor must “perform the functions of the office in good faith, honestly and in a transparent manner; and at all times act in the best interest of the municipality and in such a way that the credibility and integrity of the municipality are not compromised.” To curb corruption, the requirements of the Act need to be applied. The same Act (2000, 64) requires the municipality, in accordance with the Employment Equity Act (1998) to

> develop and adopt appropriate systems and procedures to ensure fair, efficient, effective and transparent personnel administration, including (a) the recruitment, selection and appointment of persons as staff members; (b) the supervision and management of staff; (c) the monitoring, measuring and evaluating of performance of staff.

The Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000, 22) requires that there be “a culture of public service and accountability amongst staff.” It is, however, difficult to know whether this has been achieved at the BCMM because most of the respondents (53%) are neutral on the question about whether workers are mindful of the impact of their actions on others. However, 38% thought that the workers were mindful while only 9% thought that they are not. With regard to whether workers

cared if others suffered as a result of them doing their jobs badly, 34% of the respondents agreed, 36% dissented and 30% were neutral.

In terms of the same Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000, 114), the code of conduct for municipal staff members requires them to “foster a culture of commitment to serving the public.” However, while 31% of respondents observed that the quality of service discourages customers from dealing with the BCMM again, 37% thought it does not. This shows that more still needs to be done at the BCMM in line with section 95 of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000) which seeks to “establish a sound customer management system that aims to create a positive and reciprocal relationship between persons liable for ... payments and the municipality” (SALGA 2011, 9).

Responding to the question as to why some workers engage in inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices although they have formal educational qualifications, one respondent argues that

> it is because there is no or little communication by Management of all relevant policies and procedures when employees are newly employed in BCMM. Management is inconsistent in the application of such policies ... it depends whether the Manager likes or dislikes you and that will determine the outcome of the specific issue. Staff who outshine, and go the extra mile in their work are not recognised as there is no performance management system in place, so employees just come and do "that much" and go home, whether it’s in line with policy or not, who cares. Lack of genuine care, respect, trust and positivity for each other has greatly diminished and the spirit of Ubuntu is almost dead / already dead. Management too don’t comply with the policies, they are just there in black and white, but few if any comply or review such policies. I think for unskilled / semiskilled employees it could be that they are less educated and need someone to educate them in their mother tongue about the repercussions of non-compliance.

The fact that according to 88% of respondents, some workers know what is right but still do what is wrong indicates shortage not of narrow, but of broad skills. In fact,

evidence suggests that human nature and the work environment could be fuelling inappropriate job behaviour and performance. Hence Singh's (2011, 498) caution that "the human factor is not secondary" to the labour process.

As 52% of respondents have no opinion in this regard, while 34% think that they are consistent and 8% think they are not, it is difficult to ascertain if policies and practices in the BCMM are consistent in addressing unethical conduct. Moreover, it is difficult to ascertain if the BCMM provides enough protection for people who disclose corruption because 59% of respondents have no opinion in this regard, 38% think the BCMM does not provide enough protection and only 2% think it provides enough protection. The 38% of respondents who think that BCMM does not provide enough protection could be indicative of BCMM's progress towards the achievement of its good governance strategic objectives for 2011/12. The strategic objectives include the "development of fraud awareness and culture capable of mitigating fraud in a responsible manner" (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011d, 3). If most people feel vulnerable as a result of exposing fraud and corruption, then very few will have the courage to risk their lives. This is especially so in light of the death threats the municipal manager and his family received as a result of his fight against corruption and these threats attest to the determination by some individuals to continue with corruption by removing people who prevent it (Weekend Post 2011, Hollands 2011b). This is not unique to the BCMM as whistle-blowers were victimised in other municipalities such as Sol Plaatjie Municipality (Gxoyiya 2011).

Evidently, BCMM measures for preventing fraud and corruption are insufficient because the use of BCMM resources for personal purposes continues. Table 5.8 shows the extent to which specific resources were used for personal purposes. This

happened despite the stipulation in the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000, 118) that "a staff member of a municipality may not use, take, acquire, or benefit from any property or asset owned, controlled or managed by the municipality to which that staff member has no right." That being said, 36% of respondents believe that workers use what does not belong to them without permission from the owners, while 13% think this does not happen and 51% are neutral.

Table 5.8: Extent to which specific resources are used for personal purposes

Resource	Valid Responses	Mean	Standard Deviation	Item-total correlation	Alpha if deleted	Highest share of staff who observed these attributes
Use of BCMM's vehicles for personal purposes	315	3.62	1.23	0.81	0.84	57%
Use of BCMM's phones for personal purposes	312	3.26	0.88	0.32	0.88	36%
Use of BCMM's money for personal purposes	302	2.98	0.98	0.38	0.87	31%
Use of BCMM's time for personal purposes	311	3.70	1.13	0.68	0.85	60%
Use of BCMM's equipment for personal purposes	308	3.64	1.16	0.73	0.85	56%
Use of positional authority in the BCMM to pursue personal interests	310	2.91	0.92	0.30	0.88	15%
Deceitful use of leave benefits	309	3.42	0.90	0.57	0.86	55%
Rewards for favours received which are against the BCMM policies	308	3.97	1.04	0.79	0.84	81%
Bribery of BCMM workers	308	3.73	1.13	0.67	0.85	58%
Delaying decisions in order to pursue personal interests	309	3.35	0.86	0.61	0.86	37%

To get the percentages in Table 5.8, the last two options (to a high extent and to a very high extent) were combined, but the mean, standard deviation, Cronbach alpha, and average inter-item correlation are for all five options in the Likert scale. The mean in Table 5.8 suggests that many respondents tended to choose the high end of the scale as the lowest average is 2.91 and the highest is 3.97. Table 5.8 also shows that according to 81% of the respondents, BCMM workers accept rewards for

favours received which were against BCMM policies. These include getting inside information regarding tenders, and inducements, rewards, gifts, and favours to municipal officials for the purpose of getting a contract. This buttresses the conviction of the BCMM municipal manager that BCMM "is corrupt to its core at an administration and supply chain management level" (*Times Live* 2010, 1). According to 60% of respondents, BCMM's time is used for personal purposes, with 55% of respondents observing that some workers use their leave benefits deceitfully. Deceitful use of leave benefits includes acquisition of fraudulent certificates, and not reporting for duty on account of being sick while in reality they are not. For this reason, Tanzi (1998, 565) emphasises that "not all acts of corruption result in the payment of bribes. For example, a public employee who claims to be sick but goes on vacation is abusing his public position for personal use. Thus, he is engaging in an act of corruption even though no bribe is paid." The rate of absenteeism of BCMM workers is rather high. Although the internationally accepted rate of absenteeism is 3%, for sick leave only, the BCMM recorded 2.8%, 3.9% and 4.4% in April, May and June 2011 (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011c, 38). The council then established the Absenteeism Management Committee whose responsibility was to monitor the rate of absenteeism, investigate its motivation and propose measures to reduce it. It also researched worker absenteeism (at the time of writing this research report, the results of this study had not yet been made public).

Vehicles, according to 57% of the respondents, and equipment, according to 56%, are also used for personal purposes, yet the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000) forbids this practice. This suggests that one has to dig deeper in order to understand the 69% of respondents who note that there is a shortage of material to use for doing their jobs. Logically, there is bound to be a shortage of such material if

workers use it for personal purposes. The cross-tabulation shows that, of the respondents who think there is enough material for all the workers to use in doing their jobs, 86.36% think that BCMM workers use BCMM's vehicles for personal purposes. This was established through a combination of respondents who agree and strongly agree on the question on whether there is enough material for all the workers to use in doing their jobs and those who chose the high and the very high extent on whether BCMM workers use BCMM's vehicles for personal purposes {1 + 73 + 0 + 2 = 76 / (84 + 4) = 86.36%}. The relationship between the two variables was found to be statistically significant (Chi^2 = 380.28, df = 16, p = 0.0000) with Cramér's V = 0.56 which indicates that this finding is of large practical significance. The Spearman correlation coefficient (0.63) indicates that there is moderate correlation between thinking that there is enough material for all the workers to use in doing their jobs and the use of BCMM's vehicles for personal purposes.

Moreover, 31% of respondents observe that workers use BCMM's money for personal purposes. The cross-tabulation shows that, of respondents who think that all BCMM workers can be depended upon to undertake honestly the work assigned to them, 70.58% thought that BCMM workers used BCMM's money for personal purposes. This was established through a combination of respondents who agree and strongly agree on the question about whether BCMM workers can be depended upon to undertake honestly the work assigned to them and those who chose high extent and very high extent on the question about whether the workers use BCMM's money for personal purposes {76 + 3 + 0 + 5 = 84 / (98 + 21) = 70.58%}. The relationship between the two variables was found to be statistically significant (Chi^2 = 476.22, df = 16, p = 0.0000) with Cramér's V = 0.63 which indicates that this finding is of large practical significance. The Spearman correlation coefficient (0.57)

indicates that there is moderate correlation between thinking that all BCMM workers can be depended upon to undertake honestly the work assigned to them and the use of BCMM's money for personal purposes.

The 37% of respondents who observed delaying of decisions in order to pursue personal interests could also be referring to the R3.1 million spent on "emergency requisitions" (Nini 2012c, 1). The BCMM's supply chain management (SCM) policy suggests that "in the normal course of business, procurement of goods and services are allowed either by way of price quotation or through a competitive bidding process" (Public Safety 2010, 13, Buffalo City Metro n.d.). However, National Treasury (2004, 32) states that in emergency cases, that is, "cases where immediate action is necessary in order to avoid a dangerous or risky situation or misery" these processes may be dispensed with and procurement done in any manner that is in the best interests of the department or municipality concerned. Some respondents suggest that some workers take advantage of this and create emergency cases by delaying procurement decisions in order to procure from their accomplices. Such cases make it impracticable to ensure procurement that is "fair, equitable, transparent, competitive and cost-effective" as stipulated in article 217(1) of the Constitution because standard procurement processes are bypassed (Buffalo City Metro Municipality 2010, 204, National Treasury Republic of South Africa 2004, 2). Emergency cases then make it possible for the selected supplier to charge uncompetitive prices and thereafter share the profits with the official who created the emergency.

The fact that 41% of respondents hold that all BCMM workers can be depended upon to undertake honestly the work assigned to them needs to be viewed with

caution in light of such high level use of BCMM resources for personal purposes. This caution is underscored by the fact that 54% of respondents think that insincerity is a form of inappropriate job behaviour that occurs in their respective departments. In fact, the cross-tabulation shows that, of the respondents who think all BCMM workers can be depended upon to undertake the work assigned to them honestly, 69.35% think workers use BCMM's vehicles for personal purposes. This was established through a combination of respondents who agreed and strongly agreed on the question about whether BCMM workers can be depended upon to undertake honestly the work assigned to them and those who chose high extent and very high extent on the question about whether the workers used BCMM's vehicles for personal purposes {74 + 3 + 2 + 7 = 86 / (100 + 24) = 69.35%}. The relationship between the two variables was found to be statistically significant ($Chi^2 = 517.98$, df = 16, p = 0.0000) with Cramér's V = 0.65 which indicates that this finding is of large practical significance. However, the Spearman correlation coefficient (0.12) indicates that there is no correlation between the idea that BCMM workers can be depended upon to undertake honestly the work assigned to them and the idea that BCMM workers use BCMM's vehicles for personal purposes.

According to 38% of respondents, the BCMM views mismanagement of assets like money, vehicles and telephones as a serious offence; 31% think it does not view it as a serious offence and another 31% had no opinion one way or the other. Some respondents, however, suggest that if the municipality was serious about its assets, there would not be many people in acting positions because they think that this makes the municipality vulnerable by weakening decision-making on inappropriate job behaviour. Apparently, acting staff do not want to jeopardise their chances of

permanent employment, and are thus reluctant to take tough decisions. The reverse argument is that people in acting positions could take advantage of the situation and take tough decisions in an effort to prove that they are capable of doing the job to which they should therefore be appointed permanently.

A factor that contributed to thinking that the BCMM does not view mismanagement of its assets as a serious offence is the alleged inefficient treatment of suspension cases. Suspension on full pay and appointment of someone to act in that position means an increase in the municipality's salary expenses because the suspended worker is paid and the one acting has to be paid an acting allowance. These expenses continue until the suspended worker is proven guilty or not guilty by a disciplinary committee or court of law. The longer the disciplinary and/or court processes take, the longer the municipality suffers increased salary expenses. It is then not surprising that many respondents (38%) think that the BCMM has no effective policy to get rid of unproductive workers, while 28% think that it does and 33% are neutral. The high percentage of noncommittal responses, though respondents were promised anonymity, could indicate lack of trust due to the political camps that exist at the BCMM, as discussed in the next section.

5.8 Impact of external factors on job performance and behaviour at the BCMM

There are external factors that enhance the worker's inappropriate job performance and behaviour at the BCMM. These include managers who struggle to exercise control due to allegiance to party politics, threats from political parties and intimidation by colleagues who may have assisted a subordinate in getting a job (this is depicted in Figure 5.1 which shows the compounding effect of nepotism on job

performance). It seems that members of the same organisation avoid taking punitive measures against their comrades at work even when BCMM policies require so. Some respondents say that this is manifested in cases where political and administrative priorities differ. Councillors lobby and canvas since their power lies in voting majorities. If workers who engage in inappropriate job performance and behaviour can assist them in getting the support they need, then the councillors seek to have such workers in office for as long as possible. Efficient management practice on the other hand would be to seek to eliminate wrong doers regardless of their political orientation.

The sometimes varying interests of politics and administration translate into inconsistent application of disciplinary measures with some workers feeling discouraged from exposing inappropriate job behaviour. Reluctance to expose job misbehaviour occurs mostly if workers know that the worker in the wrong and the manager who has to take a decision belong to the same political party. They then know that no strong action will be taken against such a worker. One respondent revealed that “because action is not taken, people go on suspension only to come back 15 months later and do the same again. Various directors have been suspended more than once and they happily keep coming back … This place is a holiday farm, the less you do the better.” Given this context, it can be understood why 60% of respondents indicate that they feel discouraged from exposing inappropriate job behaviour such as fraud and corruption, because no strong action gets taken against such behaviour. However, 34% are not discouraged and although they are relatively few, some indicate that they are very committed to exposing fraud and corruption. As one respondent puts it, “I WILL [sic] expose you.”

The discouragement of many workers' from exposing inappropriate job behaviour is indicated by the fact that 65% of respondents hold that in the BCMM, workers do not reveal wrongdoings of their colleagues to those in authority. Only 28% thought they do. The cross-tabulation shows that, of the respondents who feel discouraged from exposing inappropriate job behaviour such as fraud and corruption because no strong action ever gets taken against such behaviour, 95.8% think that in the BCMM, workers do not reveal wrongdoings of colleagues to those in authority. This was established through a combination of respondents who agree and strongly agree on this question about feeling discouraged from exposing inappropriate job behaviour and those who agree and strongly agree on the question about whether the workers reveal the wrongdoings of colleagues to those in authority {84 + 72 + 7 + 21 = 184 / (161 + 31) = 95.8%}. The relationship between the two variables was found to be statistically significant (Chi^2 = 358.52, df = 16, p = 0.0000) with Cramér's V = 0.53 which indicates that this finding is of large practical significance. The Spearman correlation coefficient (0.71) indicates that there is also a strong correlation between those who feel discouraged from exposing inappropriate job behaviour and the thought that in the BCMM, workers do not reveal wrongdoings of colleagues to those in authority.

Another external issue that impacts on the BCMM workers' performance is the question of diversity. It transpired that much as belonging to the same political party often causes people to cover up for one another, so belonging to different factions of the same political party also causes people to discriminate against one another. Before the 53rd ANC national conference in Mangaung on 16-20 December 2012, the ANC was characterised by warring factions which resulted in some members

being shot, some branch members taking one another to court, and disruption of meetings (*News24* 2012b, *Times Live* 2012a, *Zoutpansberger* 2012). Some respondents observed that those in the Zuma camp of the ANC overlooked for positions those in the other camps like those of Motlante or Sexwale. Such discrimination was also practised along regional and race lines.

Some respondents indicate that some people from the former Transkei, sometimes referred to as amaGcaleka, are discriminated against by those from the former Ciskei, referred to as amaRharhabe. The animosity between the Gcalekas and Rharhabes has a long history that goes as far back as the eighteenth century during the split of the Xhosa house of Phalo into the sub-nations of his two sons Gcaleka and Rharhabe (Tisani 2001, Webster 1991). This has some contemporary manifestations including disunity among some BCMM workers manifested in job behaviour and performance that compromises the BCMM goals. Such disunity and discrimination makes the work process complicated and delays progress because it erodes mutual trust. Consequently, colleagues sometimes judge one another sceptically or undermine decisions by colleagues from different regions or racial groups. In addition to the effect of diversity in the labour process, the next section reveals that the question of remuneration also seems to have a profound effect on how workers discharge their employment responsibilities.

5.9 How much do BCMM workers deserve to earn?

For remuneration of its workers in the 2011/12 financial year, the BCMM budgeted R971.6 million, which is 28% of total operating expenditure (Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality 2011b). However, most respondents complain about low salaries. They

think they are underpaid based on various factors including comparison with other metropolitan municipalities, the high cost of living, their understanding of what a worker in a particular occupation should earn and their belief about what they think is appropriate for the amount and kind of work they do. Conversely, some respondents suggested that there is serious underperformance augmented by lack of monitoring and supervision of the workers. They reckon that any suggestion of underperformance should be juxtaposed with individual worker's labour contribution and if that were to be done, many workers would appear as overpaid because they are seriously underperforming and "lazy" according to municipal manager and other respondents (Sangotsha 2011, 1). In fact, 33% of respondents admit that some workers work slowly in order to delay the job, while 36% think this is not the case and 30% are neutral.

The fact that one third of respondents observe that some workers work slowly in order to delay the job, yet the employer pays them on the basis that they are performing optimally, means that the employer is cheated. Moreover, if some workers have to do more than they are getting paid for on account of their colleagues who work slowly to delay the job, means they are also cheated by their colleagues as a result of the municipal systems that enable such. One respondent observed that "the newly acquired metro status, job evaluation, and implementation of the wage curve presented problems that resulted in serious unhappiness amongst staff because they feel they are underpaid and over-worked." This underscores the need for the BCMM to establish an effective performance management tool which would be able to determine if workers' remuneration is commensurate with their job performance in light of their employment contracts, responsibilities, and non-

contractual tasks. It also shows the importance of implementing performance-related pay with all municipal workers and not only section 56 and section 57 employees as it is currently. Section 56 appointees are the municipal managers and section 57 appointees are managers directly accountable to a municipal manager.

The use of performance-related pay is, however, generally increasing in the labour market. This is due to its correspondence with many performance management processes which are more individualised, differentiate performers from non-performers, and thus recognise employee contributions, as opposed to time-based pay which is often carried out on a collective basis (Raath 2012, Shelley 1999). Individualised performance-related pay is the explicit link of financial reward to individual or group or company performance (Raath 2012, Smith 2012, Goss 1994, Armstrong and Murliss 1991). According to Kessler (1994, 466), the prevalent form of performance-related pay includes "individual merit and performance-related systems based on some form of appraisal or assessment of the individual using various input (traits, skills, competences) or output (objectives) indicators."

Moreover, the suggestion of higher salaries assumes that they induce higher productivity or improved job performance, hence some workers question the expectation of satisfactory job performance when remuneration is not satisfactory. This, however, is problematic because the employee and employer are sometimes not on the same page in this regard. Sometimes workers' justification for inadequate work is that they are compensating for the insufficient remuneration they receive. This, however, is a violation of the employer-employee contract which requires workers to work for the employer and be compensated with an agreed upon amount for their labour. The employer may thus rightfully charge the underperforming worker

with underperformance on the basis of such a contract. Similarly, if the employer fails to meet its obligation, the workers could also lay a charge against the employer for violating the employment contract. Therefore, from this contractual perspective, workers should perform their responsibilities and be remunerated according to what they have agreed upon with the employer and if there are changes from either side, the contract should be revised. Changes that may come with time include addition or reduction or modification of workers' responsibilities, and concomitant rewards such as remuneration. Such changes necessitate revision of the contract, sometimes culminating in restructuring and retrenchments (to reduce labour costs), dismissals (to eliminate workers who do not meet their contractual obligations), and strikes (to force the employer to pay what the workers think is commensurate with their labour input and output).

Moreover, although most respondents (67%) note that there is staff shortage in relation to the responsibilities of their respective departments, and only 26% think that the staff is sufficient, it is difficult to establish the required amount of staff with certainty. This is more so because while some respondents observed that some workers delay doing their jobs in order to create overtime for themselves, others complain that the municipality does not pay them an overtime allowance. It is thus difficult for the employer to distinguish between genuine and artificial overtime. The BCMM (2012a, 36) admits that the "control of overtime has been identified as one of the major challenges facing Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality. This problem has been a long-standing challenge" and various measures are being implemented in an effort to minimize overtime costs. The challenge with finding an effective solution to overtime management and control stems from the complexity of labour. Labour

cannot be subjected to positivist scientific management principles like observation, measurement and analysis. This challenge is further echoed in the expression, 'if you cannot measure, you cannot control'. Measuring is made complex by the fact that each task requires application of various components of broad skills, in addition to the complication pointed out by McConnell et al. (2010) that labour is inseparable from the labourer, because it is embodied in human beings. Therefore, any measurement of skill should consider the skill bearer or labourer.

One school of thought holds that wage increases have an impact on productivity (McConnell, Brue and Macpherson 2010, Ehrenberg and Smith 2009, Barker 2007). If this is so, then the country's challenges of unsatisfactory job performance should not only be attributed to skills shortages. In fact, some respondents attribute inappropriate job behaviour and performance to low salaries, lack of consequences for job misbehaviour, low ethical and moral standards, greed and lack of personal financial management skills. One respondent stated that "management is overpaid already and it further gets petrol allowance, cell phone allowance and performance bonuses and the workers who are underpaid get none of this, hence they compensate by taking bribes."

Paying workers more to prevent them from engaging in inappropriate job behaviour and performance may be a good solution, on condition that low salaries are the only cause of this challenge. However, this leads to more complex questions about how much each worker needs to be paid in order not to engage in inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices. It also requires a common understanding of low, sufficient, and high salaries, but in light of divergent employer-employee interests, this may be difficult to achieve. The use of salaries to prevent inappropriate

job behaviour and performance further changes the purpose of employment. According to the human capital model, employment is central because the labour market is composed of labour sellers (workers) and labour buyers (employers) whom the system matches to create employment (Ehrenberg and Smith 2009). Once matched, the workers offer their labour (ability to do a job) for the benefit of the employer who then remunerates the workers for their services. Therefore, the labour seller-labour buyer relationship is not for the purpose of preventing inappropriate job behaviour and performance. Its fundamental purpose is fulfilment of the requirements of the employer (products and/or services) who then compensates the workers for their efforts. Moreover, the country's experience of inappropriate job behaviour and performance reveals that many workers who engage in these practices are relatively well paid. For instance, the former BCMM mayor was earning R744 200 per annum, yet the Ernst and Young forensic report implicated her in corruption relating to BCMM's R2 billion (*Daily Dispatch* 2012a). The same applies to the former BCMM acting municipal manager who earned R595 360, yet the Ernst and Young forensic report charged him with fraud and corruption relating to the awarding of a R419 000 tender to erect public viewing areas in the BCMM during the 2009 Confederations Cup (Ibid.). Therefore, paying workers more to prevent them from engaging in inappropriate job behaviour and performance may not address the problem. This is corroborated by Ngamlana (2011, 1) who argues that "in most cases, especially in South Africa, the rich and corrupt become even richer at the expense of the poor." The remuneration challenges underscore the need for an effective performance management system (PMS) that would address them as well as other challenges such as the issue of overtime.

5.10 Performance management at the BCMM

Performance management is defined as a process that improves the functioning and accountability of an institution on an ongoing basis for the purpose of implementing plans, establishing the impact of their implementation, and measuring the efficiency of their execution (Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada 2013, The Presidency 2007, Department of Constitutional Development 1999). This understanding is corroborated by the Department of Local Government which suggests that performance management

> is a strategic approach to management, which equips leaders, managers, employees and stakeholders at different levels with a set of tools and techniques to regularly plan, continuously monitor, periodically measure and review performance of the organization in terms of indicators and targets for efficiency, effectiveness and impact (eThekwini Municipality 2008, 15).

Although the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000) requires the municipality to establish and implement a PMS, at the time of this study, only section 56 and section 57 appointees used it. The attributes of section 56 and section 57 appointees' contracts are depicted in Table 5.9 which shows the categories of municipal officials.

Table 5.9: Categories of municipal officials

	Section 56 Workers	Section 57 Workers	Bargaining Workers
Workers' level	Municipal manager	Managers directly accountable to a municipal manager	All workers except the municipal manager and managers directly accountable to the municipal manager
Performance Appraisal	Subject to performance appraisal	Subject to performance appraisal	Not subject to individual performance appraisal, but their performance is managed through the service delivery budget implementation plan (SDBIP) which evaluates departmental performance and does not go to the extent of evaluating individual performance
Bonus	Bonus determined by performance	Bonus determined by performance	Get 13th cheque/bonus regardless of performance
Conditions of service	Conditions of service governed by legislation	Conditions of service governed by legislation	Conditions of service governed by bargaining council and they are negotiated nationally
Contract	Five-year performance-based contract	Five-year performance-based contract	Permanent until terminated by either the employer or worker but others are temporary workers

Section 56 and section 57 appointees are subject to performance appraisal and may get performance bonuses according to their performance. Bargaining workers are all municipal workers who are neither section 56 nor section 57 appointees. Currently, they get their 13th cheque/bonus regardless of their performance. This varying remuneration system is common and Williams (1998, 30) observes that bonus

schemes are mostly used for “manual employees” and staff appraisal-related pay is mostly used for “white-collar staff.”

Du Toit (n.d., 1), further explains that the “13th cheque or Christmas bonus ... is a payment of gratitude by the employer to the employee in recognition of a job well done, or if you like, going the extra mile ... [although] over the years most employees have come to expect the payment of the 13th cheque as a right or entitlement, or as a condition of employment.” In light of the precondition for a bonus, as explained by du Toit namely job well done or going an extra mile, few BCMM workers would qualify for it. Only 37% of respondents observed that workers are prepared to go an extra mile to ensure that their jobs are done well. In fact, 33% of respondents observed that workers are not prepared to go an extra mile while 29% had no opinion in this regard. Furthermore, most respondents (55%) chose to remain neutral on the question about the extent to which workers fail to do their jobs at the BCMM. Nevertheless, 32% of the respondents observed that the workers’ failure to do their jobs is to a high extent and 13% thought that it was to a low extent. The municipal manager’s 2010/11 report to council, however, revealed that workers’ failure to do their jobs was a serious problem at the BCMM since “contracts worth R10.7-million were awarded without acquiring three quotations as required by law for tenders of more than R30 000” (Nini 2012c, 1).

The Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000, 48) requires the municipality, in terms of its PMS, to “set appropriate key performance indicators as a yardstick for measuring performance including outcomes and impact.” It further acknowledges that the PMS serves “to maximise the ability of the municipality as a whole to achieve its objectives and improve the quality of life of its residents” (Ibid., 114). This

is because the PMS is helpful for decision-making, monitoring the effect of strategic plans, performance evaluation, diagnosis to indicate progress towards meeting set targets, management of a continuous improvement process, motivation, comparison, and record development (Bredrup 1995b).

This Act, however, acknowledges that not all municipalities have a PMS. It is thus commendable that at the time of writing this research report, the BCMM was in the process of introducing a change management programme for the purpose of, amongst others, establishing a PMS for non-section 56 and 57 appointees, addressing low morale, and unfavourable attitudes, ethics and values towards work.

Furthermore, the Act stipulates that the municipality should provide an enabling framework for performance management processes. It suggests that this will assist in achieving “an efficient, effective and transparent local public administration” (The Presidency 2000, 2). At the BCMM, the performance management of non-section 56 and 57 appointees seems to be a challenge. For instance, some managers advise that it is difficult to hold non-section 56 and 57 appointees who are underperforming accountable, because they are not subject to PMS. Consequently, managers become frustrated because they struggle to charge shop stewards who spend most of their time on union matters rather than on their employment tasks. This is aggravated by the shop stewards’ political clout especially because the BCMM is a highly political institution and politics play a powerful role in its running. In fact, one respondent averred that “politics rules this institution” and another observed “too many union meetings, shop stewards interfering in operational matters, lack of discipline amongst staff members and insubordinations.”

The research conducted by Ayele, Ntliziywana and de Visser (2011, 2) revealed that "party officials enjoy privileges that are not available to others. ... when there are events at party level, political officials leave their posts in order to 'work' for the party." This blurs the lines of accountability. A director who participated in the research conducted by Ayele, Ntliziywana and de Visser (2011, 2) argued that "the untouchable position of such a political figure has a demoralising impact on other staff members as they see how the applicable legal rules do not work." The selective application of BCMM policies is apparently a common phenomenon, because one of the respondents notes that "workers know about the scandals of their bosses, everybody knows, but nothing ever gets done about that. Therefore the policies only exist on paper." Another respondent suggested that "if you are connected to key people, then you may do whatever you want. After all, the BCMM culture is that you either eat or be eaten."

Regarding "non-performance and maladministration", the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000, 94) places the responsibility of investigating such elements of job behaviour and performance on the member of the executive council (MEC). The MEC, however, is rather remote from the daily operations of the municipality which, therefore, means that s/he may come to know of such malpractices only when they have fully developed or matured which could then be at a crisis stage. However, the BCMM has other levels of authority that are responsible for curbing such malpractices and they seem to be working, to some extent, because the BCMM has had some of its workers subjected to disciplinary hearings, suspensions, warnings, and dismissals. Such levels of authority include line

managers, the municipal manager, and the Labour Relations Division in the Human Resources (HR) department.

In addition to the mechanisms for monitoring job behaviour and performance already implemented at the BCMM, much still needs to be done because the problem seems intractable. However, in light of the corrective and punitive measures taken against some workers, and the 52% of noncommittal responses to the question on whether managers struggle to exercise control in their respective departments, it is difficult to ascertain the levels of management control. Nevertheless, on the basis of the evidence presented on inappropriate job behaviour and performance, it is clear that current performance management mechanisms need to be strengthened. Few (15%) of the respondents though believe that managers struggle to exercise control in their respective departments and 33% think they do not.

However, one respondent explains how the politics-administration marriage translates to operational challenges such as managers who struggle to exercise control, arguing that

> the unclear separation of politics and administration is causing a massive crisis for workers. Workers will address their challenges with the city manager bypassing all levels of authority and such things are entertained. This is unacceptable. Some workers have low regard for authority and the channels of communication. Some managers are either not qualified or extremely lack management skills. The recruitment and selection process is fraught with people seeking to employ friends and family members which results in poor performance because such workers didn't get their jobs on merit.

Furthermore, although the "performance of individuals ... should be monitored to make sure ... that resources are being used efficiently" (Education and Training Unit 2001, 5), 62% of respondents observed that daily monitoring of workers' activities to ensure that tasks are done properly is seriously lacking. The same applies to the

weekly and/or monthly evaluation and feedback of the workers' job performance, with 65% of respondents observing that there is nothing of this nature, while 30% think there is. The lack of regular evaluation of the workers' job performance could be attributed to the fact that most municipal workers are non-section 56 and 57 appointees, thus they are not subjected to PMS.

It is however commendable that 56% of respondents observed that there is a harmonious relationship between workers and management, although 39% observed otherwise. However, the same could not be said in relation to the understanding of management and workers about how workers should do their jobs. According to 38% of the respondents, management and workers do not have the same understanding of how workers should do their jobs. However, 29% of respondents think that workers and management have the same understanding about how jobs should be done, while 32% have no opinion on the matter. This needs to be addressed, because most of the respondents think that the two parties' understanding differs and, therefore, monitoring is bound to be compromised in such an environment.

Although 38% of respondents observed that the BCMM's policy of getting rid of unproductive workers is ineffective, 28% think it is effective and 33% are neutral. The fact that monitoring and evaluation systems seem to be weak could be a fertile ground for proliferation of an unproductive work force. That 62% of respondents who observed that there is no daily monitoring of workers' activities to ensure that tasks are done properly shows that the environment is conducive to mediocrity. The environment is also conducive to misunderstanding and discombobulation because in practice, the workers experience different applications and interpretations of interference and intervention concepts as explained in the next section.

5.11 Interference and intervention

Some respondents claim that lines are blurred between politics and administration because some councillors interfere with the administration of the municipality. The general conduct of councillors is spelt out in the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000, 106) which states that

> a councillor may not, except as provided by law (a) interfere in the management or administration of any department of the municipal council unless mandated by council; (b) give or purport to give any instruction to any worker of the council unless when authorised to do so; (c) obstruct or attempt to obstruct the implementation of any decision of the council or a committee by a worker of the council; or (d) encourage or participate in any conduct which would cause or contribute to maladministration in the council.

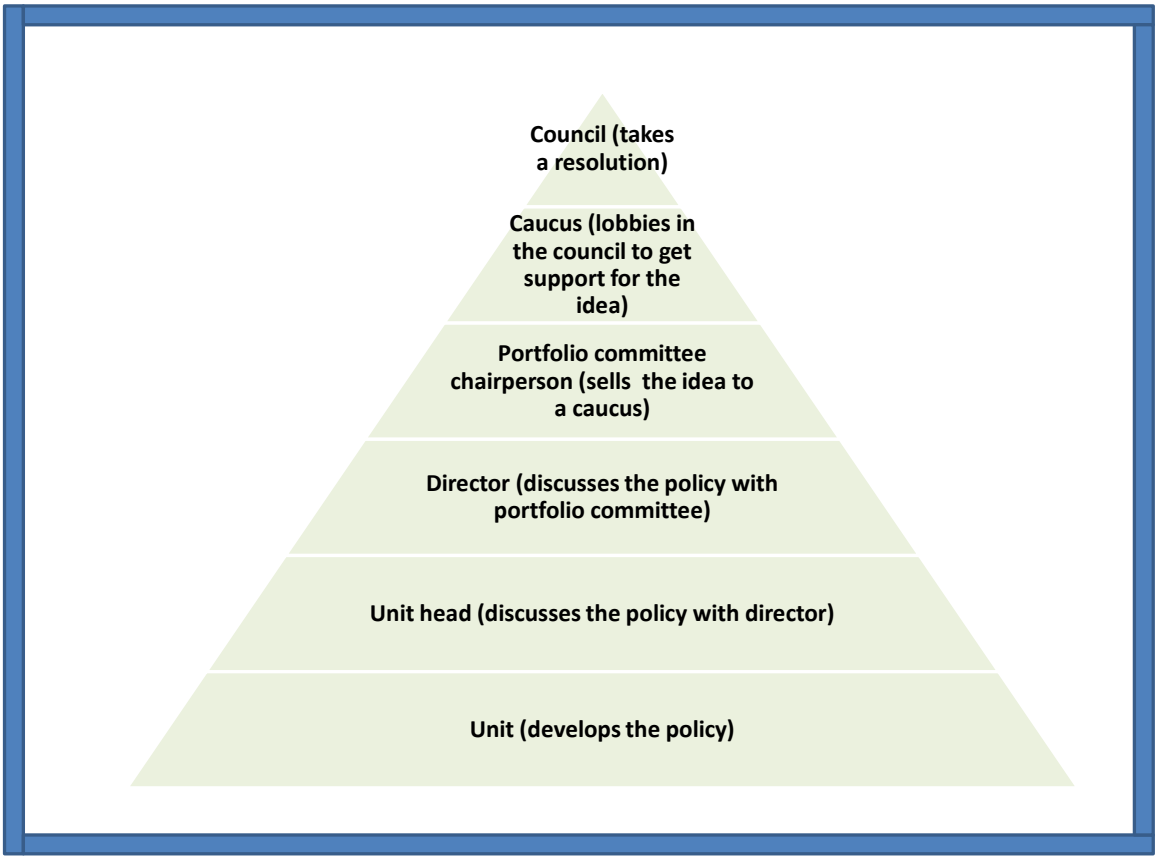
The councillors' responsibility includes overseeing the municipality, and in light of this, there is a view that what some perceive as interference is in fact intervention. Accordingly, councillors make proposals and question what they think is going amiss. However, their involvement (making proposals, questioning, and overseeing) is called into question by some workers since their appointment to the municipality is on the basis of votes and not on the basis of their ability to discharge their municipal responsibilities appropriately. For this reason, it sometimes happens that councillors are appointed to oversee fields they do not understand. Some reported cases include councillors with no appropriate formal education appointed to oversee directorates such as Development Planning and Economic Development, Health and Public Safety, Engineering Services, and Financial Services. This is very likely since research by the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) reveals that, nationally, 32% of councillors indicated the need to be trained in ABET as they had challenges relating to reading, writing, and understanding discussions and documents in English, and therefore struggle to follow deliberations (LGSETA 2008, *IOL* 2008, Mbanjwa 2008).

Workers who are experts at their particular jobs sometimes get disheartened and view it as interference when decisions about their work are taken by people who are not field experts. Although councillors have political power, running a municipality requires much more as it involves administration, management, and rendering of particular services. To this end, the contribution of many councillors is compromised because of their low skills profile (Smith 2008). Other studies, such as the 2008 skills audit findings conducted at Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality by the Project for Conflict Resolution and Development (Bendle 2008), confirm this challenge. Of the 373 ward committee members who participated in this study, only 34 (9%) had any post-matric qualification and 59 members (16%) had a matric qualification only. Another study conducted by Himlin (2005) in the City of Johannesburg revealed that many ward committee members were not clear about their roles and responsibilities and also not clear about how to discharge their responsibilities.

This challenge means that it is crucial for officials to have the appropriate knowledge and job-specific capability for their respective areas of operation. Councillors who do not have such knowledge and capability are expected to rely on the reports of the officials to help them make decisions. The low literacy rate of some councillors has dire consequences for municipal performance and this is exacerbated by the fact that councillors have the final say in proposals coming from municipal officials, since officials have no voting rights in the council. This arrangement is echoed by the suggestion that the “Buffalo City Municipal Council is the ultimate political decision-making body of the municipality. **…** The heads of departments and officials are responsible for physically implementing policy” (Buffalo City Metro n.d., 1).

In practice, for instance with regard to policy development, a unit develops a policy and the unit head then discusses it with the director. Since only politicians have voting rights in the council, the directors need to get their portfolio committee chairpersons to buy their ideas. The portfolio committee chairpersons organise caucuses to sell their ideas and the respective caucuses then lobby in the council to get support and vote for their ideas when the council takes a resolution. This decision-making process is depicted in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2: Decision making in the BCMM



Source: Author

Although it is clear that councillors play a crucial role in the management of the municipality, the view that they interfere in municipal administration is strong. According to one respondent “the problem is that politicians (councillors) interfere a lot with what workers are doing and how they should do their work. This is

unacceptable because we don't interfere in their work and such interference causes unhappiness and role ambiguity as you are not sure who to please, your bosses as administrators or councillors as politicians." Additionally, Ayele, Ntliziywana and de Visser (2011, 1) drew attention to the 2009 Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) report on the state of South African local government that identified "interference by political parties as a cause of the 'dysfunctionality' and 'instability' of municipalities." They further allude to the Local Government Turnaround Strategy which revealed that "political parties are 'undermining the integrity and functioning of municipal councils through ... inappropriate interference in councils and administration'" (Ibid.). Adherence to the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000, 46) which requires the municipality to "promote a culture of performance management among its political structures" is therefore crucial. Such performance management should include ensuring adherence to the defined roles and responsibilities, as well as boundaries for administrators and politicians.

5.12 Two centres of power

It appeared from this research that BCMM workers are experiencing a dilemma with regard to submission to the authority of the employer or to that of the ruling political party. On paper, members of the mayoral committee (MMCs) work closely with the directors. They are not supposed to give them instructions, but to liaise with them so that the directors may give instructions to municipal officials. However, tension arises because councillors who are MMCs are allocated directorates to oversee. In spite of not being field experts in the directorates they lead, they wield a lot of authority which enables them to influence the directorates' objectives and operations, sometimes to the detriment of the officials who are field experts. As overseers, the MMCs are

accountable to the mayor for their directorates. Therefore, in an effort to get their respective directorates to succeed, they assert their authority and demand that work be performed in the manner they think is right.

On the other hand, the officials find themselves being torn between their expertise and towing the politicians' line, hence the notion of the two centres of power. The officials observe that some of the councillors' ideas are populist, understandably so, because they need to please the voters in order to secure re-election. The understanding of the officials, on the other hand, is informed by professional theories that guide them on the best practices to follow.

Officials, particularly directors, collaborate with MMCs but unlike MMCs, they are accountable to the municipal manager. The interests of the administrators (officials) and politicians (MMCs) do not always dovetail, and it is in such instances that tensions emanate and the two centres of power become more pronounced.

Furthermore, the nature of the councillors' work is demanding (SALGA and Gesellschaft Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) South Africa 2006). On this basis, Judge Willie Seriti, chairman of the Independent Commission for the Remuneration of Public Office Bearers, argued that municipal councillors are poorly paid (*Daily Dispatch* 2012b). Since they are perceived in their communities as responsible for service delivery, they bear the brunt of violent service delivery protests. Their houses and motor vehicles are sometimes set alight by furious residents. Councillors feel the heat from the communities, hence "the SA Local Government Association has called on the national government to urgently implement the risk insurance scheme for councillors" (Mabuza 2012, 1). SALGA and GTZ South Africa (2006, vi) note that

“the difficult challenges that councillors ... face during their five-year term” include “high level of expectations of the community they serve, competing interests among the different groups of citizens living in the municipality, limited human and financial resources and tight timeframes for delivery of services.” Consequently, they instruct the directors and other municipal officials to improve their job performance and service delivery according to community priorities and in the interest of their own personal safety from the wrath of communities. These may not necessarily be the municipality’s priorities and interests. Community demands frustrate the councillors because as Mudzuli (2013, 1) aptly puts it “they don’t have the resources or the power to make things happen. All they do is serve as middlemen between communities and local authorities.”

The National Planning Commission (2013, 55) suggests that the misplaced anger of communities which is vented on the councillors during service delivery protests is a result of the “weaknesses in the accountability chain, with a general culture of blame-shifting” which translates to the citizens not being clear about who is responsible for the lack of service delivery. Most of the respondents (54.90%) chose to be neutral on the question about whether workers are sometimes blamed for problems over which they have no control. However, 39.21% of respondents admitted to being blamed for such problems. According to the National Planning Commission (Ibid.), the blame-game seems to be a national phenomenon and the example it gives clearly demonstrates how citizens end up not being clear about who is responsible for the lack of service delivery. It gives the example

> of what happens when the water in a town is found to be undrinkable. The media blame the Minister of Water Affairs. The community blames the mayor. The mayor blames the head of the water utility. The head of the water utility blames the technical engineer. The engineer says that the maintenance

> budget has been cut for the past three years and now the water is undrinkable. The head of finance in the municipality says that the budget was cut because personnel costs have crowded out maintenance expenditure. The mayor argues that the salary structure is negotiated at a national level by the South African Local Government Association. The association says that municipalities can opt out of these agreements if they are unaffordable. And so on. (60-61)

These blurred lines of responsibility, partly as a result of the administration-politics marriage, seem to impact on job performance in several ways. In addition to the two centres of power dilemma and diverse interpretations of interference and intervention, there are discomforts around the workers' political standing at the workplace. Some senior political party members are junior at work. The council is effectively the employer in a municipality; councillors get instructions from their political parties and therefore the majority political party in a municipality holds authority. Hence, it was possible for the ANC to instruct Sakhumzi Caga to resign as mayor of the BCMM because his appointment was not sanctioned by the provincial executive committee (PEC) of the ANC (*Daily Dispatch* 2009).

The dual identity of the worker who is, for instance, a powerful regional committee member of his/her political party, but a general worker at the BCMM is depicted in the scenario given by one of the respondents which indicates blurred lines between politics and administration. Such a worker, in his/her capacity as a political party regional committee member, would give instructions to the municipality through the councillors about how it should function. However, in his/her capacity as a general worker, s/he would be a subordinate and be expected to take orders from councillors and other officials who are his/her political juniors. This translates to tensions at work because the subordinate may not take kindly to instructions that may deviate from his/her political party's priorities.

The appointment of political party office bearers to managerial positions was identified as a serious distortion of the lines of accountability in the research conducted by Steytler, de Visser and Annette (2009). A classic example depicted in Ayele, Ntliziywana and de Visser's research (2011, 2) is "of a clerk in a municipal administration who felt powerful enough to give instructions to municipal councillors because of the position he held in his political party." They also observed that municipal managers were unable to apply disciplinary measures where senior party officials held administrative positions. In such cases, the municipal manager, instead, "takes instructions from his subordinate, resulting in maladministration" (Ibid.). For this reason they ask, "who's managing whom?" (Ibid.). Ngamlana (2013, 3) concurs, arguing that it is common for a municipal manager to be unable to reprimand any of the Directors and Senior Managers, because they hold senior positions within the party. There are cases where the Chief Finance Officer gets reprimanded by the Speaker for terminating services to certain political activists who have not paid their municipal rates accounts. This definitely interferes with the municipality's policies for revenue collection services and the Chief Finance Officer's ability to do his work without unnecessary interference.

Some interviewees and interlocutors advised that the BCMM is also experiencing such blurred lines of reporting and disruptive power dynamics. This, however, could not be determined with certainty as they did not divulge the names of the people who were affected by this phenomenon. This phenomenon is also not limited to the BCMM.

Ngamlana (2013, 1) notes that "the role of politics and administration is blurry in South Africa, particularly at the local government level." Sefara (2009,1), however,

observes that the blurred lines also characterise national government, as he asks "Zuma or Gwede who is in charge?" Jacob Zuma is South Africa's president and Gwede Mantashe is the secretary general of the African National Congress. Sefara's (2009) question resulted from several incidents where the ANC was perceived to be usurping state responsibilities. Such included the convention at the ANC headquarters "to sort out the Occupation Specific Dispensation, a programme on how to increase the pay of civil servants" and summoning of "Public Enterprises Minister Barbara Hogan and her deputy, Enoch Godongwana, ... to explain Hogan's controversial statement that unprofitable state companies should be sold off" (Sefara 2009, 1). As with the interference-intervention debate at municipal level, the ANC did not see these incidents as interference, but as fulfilment of its oversight responsibility to ensure "that its policies were implemented" (Ibid.). Be that as it may, Fakir's (2009, 21) word of caution is that the state is an entity in perpetuity, which outlasts the longevity of politicians, and given the inextricable link between politics and governance, governance and institutions may require some insulation from the broader political currents that may render institutions susceptible to the impact of changing political winds.

5.13 Planning at the BCMM

McKay (2013) regards planning as one of the transferable capabilities critical for the success of a job. It is then concerning that according to 36% of respondents, BCMM departments respond to crises as they arise, rather than plan appropriately in advance. However, 33% thought that their departments plan properly and 31% had no opinion on the matter. On the other hand, circumstantial evidence suggests that the BCMM could be experiencing problems with regard to planning and implementation because in the 2011/12 financial year, it spent "R3.1-million ... on

emergency requisitions" (Nini 2012c, 1). This took place although as early as 2004, the National Treasury (2004, 31) made it clear that "urgent cases are cases where early delivery is of critical importance and the invitation of competitive bids is either impossible or impractical. (However, a lack of proper planning should not be constituted as an urgent case)." Even worse, the officials who spent R3.1-million on emergency requisitions "did not have permission from the accounting officer to justify the 'emergency'" (Nini 2012c, 1), though National Treasury (2004, 32) states that the "reasons for the urgency/emergency and for dispensing of competitive bids, should be clearly recorded and approved by the accounting officer/authority or his/her delegate."

Since the details, causes and motives of each of the emergency requisitions are unknown to the researcher, it is difficult to ascertain what could have caused them to be implemented without the necessary permission. However, laziness and insincerity are the most probable causes since these two attributes of poor job performance were noticed by the highest share of staff - 56% and 54% respectively. Furthermore, the reason for spending R3.1-million inappropriately on emergency requisitions could just have been worker's failure to do their jobs. Indeed, 32% of respondents observed this practice among workers. On the basis of the responses, it is unlikely to have been insubordination or defiance since only 10% of respondents noted this practice as is shown in Table 5.10 which tabulates poor job performance practices in BCMM departments. In fact, according to the Auditor-General, Terence Nombembe (2013) this could indicate the lack of consequences for inappropriate job behaviour and performance. He notes that this tends to lead to officials

> realising that there are no consequences for their actions. Officials who previously complied with legislation and who diligently performed their duties

> may become disillusioned and may also start to transgress. The ultimate effect of the lack of consequences is poor service delivery, poor financial management, and unreliable financial and service delivery reporting. (104)

Talking about continuing misdemeanour at the BCMM, one of the respondents echoed Nombembe's views, arguing that "the lack of appropriate action against these offenders increases the likelihood that they will continue conducting this type of behaviour. Line managers are also not adequately equipped to effectively deal with human resources issues."

Table 5.10: Poor job performance practices at the BCMM departments

Attributes	Valid Responses	Mean	Standard Deviation	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if deleted	Highest share of staff who observed these attributes
Insubordination / defiance	305	2.69	0.85	0.74	0.84	10%
Laziness	313	3.40	0.99	0.83	0.83	56%
Insincerity	306	3.39	0.93	0.72	0.84	54%
Not taking responsibility for one's mistakes	313	3.04	1.03	0.55	0.85	36%
Not informing colleagues about information that is important for them to know	313	3.11	1.05	0.52	0.86	40%
Working slowly in order to delay the job	311	2.94	1.05	0.60	0.85	33%
Arrogance shown through a 'know-it-all' attitude	314	2.79	0.92	0.41	0.87	12%
Anti-teamwork spirit shown through an "I can do this better than you" attitude	314	3.03	1.08	0.28	0.88	35%
Failing to do one's job	313	3.16	0.89	0.82	0.83	32%

In light of the political infighting at the BCMM, it is surprising that, as reflected in Table 5.10, at 10% respondents rank insubordination or defiance as the least common poor job performance practice in BCMM departments and laziness, at 56%, as the most common. The mean in Table 5.10 suggests that many respondents tended to choose the high end of the scale as the lowest average is 2.69 and the highest 3.40.

Some respondents attribute the poor performance of the BCMM to general lack of integrated planning in government. The National Planning Commission (2013, 273) appears to agree, observing that

> [t]he planning system has cemented municipal and provincial boundaries, making it almost impossible to plan across borders or to collaborate between one province or municipality and another. This has hindered development planning as many developmental issues, such as environment, transportation and economy issues, straddle political boundaries.

Taking the example of housing delivery to underscore the importance of integrated planning, one respondent points out at the dynamics the BCMM have to deal with in this regard. They include access to land for building houses in light of increasing population and decreasing land availability, environmental sustainability, willingness or otherwise of beneficiaries to relocate to where the houses are built for them, and access to infrastructure such as roads, public transport, electricity, schools, water, sanitation, healthcare facilities, and grocery stores. The National Planning Commission (2013, 45) argues that

> infrastructure that supports human settlements ... is unnecessarily complicated. The planning function is located at local level, the housing function is at provincial level, and the responsibility for water and electricity provision is split between those responsible for bulk services and reticulation. In practice, these arrangements do not work. In general, human settlements are badly planned, with little coordination between those installing water reticulation infrastructure and those responsible for providing bulk infrastructure. Responsibility for housing should shift to the level at which planning is executed: the municipal level.

Furthermore, it also appeared that intra-municipality and inter-governmental planning and delivery affects BCMM performance. Regarding intra-municipality planning and delivery one respondent complained about too much time spent by the Supply Chain Management Unit in processing orders which translates to delayed work schedules in the respective departments. The Supply Chain Management Unit on the other hand is obliged to ensure adherence to all relevant procurement policies and the

Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA), and the unintended consequence is that compliance is inevitably seen as time consuming. This underscores the need for a well co-ordinated, collaborative planning and implementation strategy that cuts across municipal, provincial and national levels and enables all stakeholders to be on the same wavelength in terms of understanding processes, projects, plans, and strategies. This would eliminate mistrust and misunderstanding among the stakeholders. As one respondent says, “people in authority do not want to sign documents and any excuse is used to delay projects and point fingers at people who try and do their work.”

5.14 Job satisfaction

In addition to cultivation of appropriate ethics, values and attitudes to enhance job behaviour and performance, it is clear that more still needs to be done at the BCMM about the work environment. If 37% of respondents observed that workers like their jobs, 30% thought they do not and 32% had no opinion, it means that although most respondents thought workers like their jobs, there is still a significant number who are unhappy. Reasons for the unhappiness must then be investigated and addressed. Some could be related to conflict at work, communication and job characteristics. If 36% of respondents felt that their managers manage conflict well, 34% felt that they did not and 30% had no opinion, it means that although most respondents thought managers manage conflict well, a significant number does not think so. Conflict management involves understanding the cause and nature of conflict, therefore, it would be prudent to get to the bottom of this challenge and address it thoroughly. Similarly, 36% of respondents felt that their jobs had more attractive than unattractive characteristics, 31% felt that unattractive characteristics

dominate and 33% had no opinion. Although most respondents (36%) thought their jobs had more attractive than unattractive characteristics, the 31% who thought otherwise is significant.

Table 5.11.1 - Table 5.11.4 use type of employment (permanent or contract), age, gender, and race to depict three aspects of job satisfaction namely, (1) Workers who feel discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption, because no strong action ever gets taken against the culprits; (2) Workers who are bored at work and; (3) Workers who think their jobs have more attractive than unattractive characteristics.

Table 5.11.1: Job satisfaction by type of employment (permanent or contract)

	Workers who feel discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption because no strong action is ever taken against such behaviour	Workers who are bored at work	Workers who think their jobs have more attractive than unattractive characteristics
Permanent	48.76%	40.32%	48.21%
Contract[5]	92.86%	0%	1.27%
Chi-square	67.96	174.78	196.14
Cramér's V	0.46 (large practical significance)	0.73 (large practical significance)	0.80 (large practical significance)
Degrees of freedom	4	4	4
P value	.00000	.00000	.00000

Table 5.11.1 reveals that 92.86% of the respondents who are temporary and contract workers feel discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption, because no strong action is ever taken against such behaviour. There are fewer (48.76%) permanent workers who feel the same. The high rate (92.86%) of discouragement among temporary and contract workers could be because many of

[5] Temporary and contract workers are combined into one category

them hope for permanent employment. Therefore, the notion that there is no strong action taken against fraud and corruption could be seen as compromising their chances of permanent employment. This notion could also be held on account of their observation that finding employment is on the basis of who you know. This is illustrated in Figure 5.3 which depicts the compounding effect of nepotism on job performance. The hope for permanent employment is corroborated by the fact that no temporary and contract workers admitted to being bored at work. On the contrary, only a very small percentage (1.27%) of them thought their jobs had more attractive than unattractive characteristics and most (96.20%) chose the 'neither agree nor disagree' option. A significant share (48.21%) of permanent workers, however, thought that their jobs had more attractive than unattractive characteristics.

As depicted in Appendix G, of the 344 respondents, 259 (75.29%) were employed on a permanent basis, 6 (1.74%) temporary and 79 (22.96%) on contract. The tenure distribution was <1 year = 5 (1.45%), 1-5 years = 96 (27.90%), 6-10 years = 143 (41.57%), 11-15 years = 63 (18.31%), 16-20 years = 13 (3.78%), 21-25 years = 8 (2.32%), 26-30 years = 7 (2.03%), ≥31 years = 6 (1.74%) and unspecified = 3 (0.87%). Moreover, the data shows that people in clerical and administrative positions comprise a big share of BCMM workers. These positions include Enquiry Clerks, Natis Clerks, Chief Clerks, Admin Clerks, Records Clerks, and Senior Clerks.

Table 5.11.2: Job satisfaction by age

	Workers who feel discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption because no strong action is ever taken against such behaviour	Workers who are bored at work	Workers who think their jobs have more attractive than unattractive characteristics
20-39 years	86.39%	5.79%	46.74%
40-49 years	13.86%	73.53%	8.52%
50+ years	50%	34.29%	60%
Chi-square	240.39	229.27	222.87
Cramér's V	0.61 (large practical significance)	0.59 (large practical significance)	0.61 (large practical significance)
Degrees of freedom	8	8	8
P value	.00000	.00000	.00000

As depicted in Appendix G, the age distribution profile of the respondents was 20-29 years = 17 (4.94%), 30-39 years = 183 (53.19%), 40-49 years = 105 (30.52%), 50-59 years = 31 (9.01%), 60 years and above = 7 (2.03%), and unspecified = 1 (0.29%). Table 5.11.2 reveals that 86.39% of respondents in the 20-39 years cohort felt discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour because no strong action is ever taken against such behaviour. However, 13.86% in the 40-49 years cohort and 50% in the 50+ years cohort felt the same. The high rate of discouragement in the 20-39 years cohort could be because many of them are new in the labour market and, for the first time, are experiencing the differences between what they learnt at school or university and how the labour market operates. For instance, while school or university may have inculcated meritocratic values (e.g. the harder you work, the higher you progress career wise and the more you earn), the reality may be that factors such as who you know, political affiliation, and laws such as the Employment Equity Act (1998) which gives preference to candidates from designated groups may play a role. This is supported by the fact that only 5.79% of respondents in the 20-39 years cohort admitted to being bored at work as opposed to 73.53% who are bored

in the 40-49 years and 34.29% in the 50+ years cohorts. However, most of those who thought that their jobs had more attractive than unattractive characteristics are in the 50+ years cohort, followed by 46.74% in the 20-39 years and 8.52% in the 40-49 years cohorts.

Table 5.11.3: Job satisfaction by gender

	Workers who feel discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption because no strong action is ever taken against such behaviour	Workers who are bored at work	Workers who think their jobs have more attractive than unattractive characteristics
Male	50%	43.14%	9.84%
Female	77.04%	8.14%	81.82%
Chi-square	31.68	155.90	183.41
Cramér's V	0.31 (medium practical significance)	0.69 (large practical significance)	0.78 (large practical significance)
Degrees of freedom	4	4	4
P value	.00000	.00001	.00000

As depicted in Appendix G, the gender distribution profile of the respondents was 209 (60.75%) males, 134 (38.95%) females and 1 (0.29%) unspecified. From Table 5.11.3, we learn that 77.04% of female respondents felt discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption, because no strong action is ever taken against it. At 50%, fewer male respondents felt the same. The high rate of discouragement among female respondents could be in support of Rivas's (2008, 1) research finding that "women are indeed less corrupt than men." However, males (43.14%) seem more bored at work than their female (8.14%) counterparts. While some studies suggest that "gender is not matter for boredom at work" (Sohail, Ahmad, Tanveer, and Tariq 2012, 923), others argue "that males are more boredom prone than females" (Vodanovichet al. 2011, 2). Additionally, most (81.82%) female

respondents thought that their jobs have more attractive than unattractive characteristics as opposed to the few (9.84%) males who thought the same.

Table 5.11.4: Job satisfaction by race[6]

	Workers who feel discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption because no strong action is ever taken against such behaviour	Workers who are bored at work	Workers who think their jobs have more attractive than unattractive characteristics
Black	48.44%	41.51%	12.56%
White	90%	4.44%	89.66%
Chi-square	54.60	207.65	182.90
Cramér's V	0.42 (medium practical significance)	0.81 (large practical significance)	0.79 (large practical significance)
Degrees of freedom	4	4	4
P value	.00000	.00000	.00000

As depicted in Appendix G, the race distribution profile of the respondents was 237 (68.89%) Blacks, 90 (26.16%) Whites, 4 (1.16%) Asians, 11 (3.19%) Coloureds, and 2 (0.58%) Other. From Table 5.11.4, we learn that 90% of White respondents felt discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour because no strong action is ever taken against such behaviour. At 48.44%, fewer Black respondents felt the same. The researcher could not find studies on the attitude of Blacks in relation to Whites concerning fraud and corruption. However, Hyslop (2005, 786) observed that "attitudes toward corruption in the post-1994 political leadership were certainly affected by the ANC's 180-degree shift in ethos from advocacy of an austere socialism in the mid-1980s to celebration of the self-enrichment of a new black elite by the mid-1990s." Few (4.44%) White respondents admitted to being bored at work, as compared to 41.51% of Black respondents with a similar admission. Similarly, most (81.82%) White respondents thought that their jobs have more attractive than

[6] The number of Asian and Coloured groups is insignificant and, therefore, these racial groups are not classified separately.

unattractive characteristics, while few (12.56%) Black respondents thought the same.

There are obviously reasons for jobs to be attractive or unattractive. These need to be investigated and addressed properly. The qualitative responses reveal that the unattractive parts of working at the BCMM include tensions as a result of the two centres of power, unequal treatment of employees, remuneration, corruption, delays in organogram review, job insecurity, and municipal instability.

Furthermore, many workers are not pleased with communication at the BCMM as 39% of respondents thought that there is no regular communication between workers and management about work-related issues, though 32% thought that there is and 29% were neutral. Apparently, workers whose responsibilities do not involve using a computer and having access to the intranet get fewer communiqués from the management than those with computer access. For them, the message has to be relayed by the line manager and sometimes this means that they get the communiqués late or not at all. This is because some, like electricians and plumbers, work outside municipal premises and only report at the depot in the morning and afternoon when they come back from the field.

Regarding capacity, although most respondents (67%) noted that there is staff shortage in relation to the responsibilities of their respective departments, 30% admitted to being bored at work. The cross-tabulation shows that, of the respondents who felt bored at work, 79.56% thought there are too many workers in relation to the responsibilities of their departments. This was established through a combination of respondents who agreed and strongly agreed on whether they felt bored at work and

those who chose high extent and very high extent on whether there are too many workers in relation to the responsibilities of their departments {73 + 0 + 0 + 1 = 74 / (82 + 11) = 79.56%}. The relationship between the two variables was found to be statistically significant (Chi^2 = 436.27, df = 16, p = 0.0000) with Cramér's V = 0.60 which indicates that this finding is of large practical significance. However, the Spearman correlation coefficient (0.37) indicates that there is moderate correlation between feeling bored at work and the number of workers in relation to the responsibilities in the respective departments. It is rather difficult to reconcile the staff shortage claim with boredom. The bored workers could be uninterested in their jobs or idling with nothing much to do, which would echo the view that the public service labour force is bloated (Sol Plaatje Municipality 2012, National Treasury 2011, Child 2011). However, 43% admitted that they are not bored and 27% had no opinion on this issue.

Despite the claim of boredom, 36% of respondents thought the BCMM is the best employer to work for, while 34% disagreed and 30% had no opinion. The cross-tabulation shows that, of the respondents who felt bored at work, 78.12% thought the BCMM is the best employer to work for. This was established through a combination of respondents who agreed and strongly agreed on the question about feeling bored at work and those who agreed and strongly agreed about whether the BCMM is the best employer to work for {73+ 0 + 0 + 2 = 75 / (82 + 14) = 78.12%}. The relationship between the two variables was found to be statistically significant (Chi^2 = 608.83, df = 16, p = 0.0000) with Cramér's V = 0.69 which indicates that this finding is of large practical significance. However, the Spearman correlation coefficient (0.24) indicates that there is no correlation between feeling bored at work and thinking that the BCMM is the best employer to work for.

5.15 Conclusion

The data analysed in this chapter supports the hypothesis of this study. It corroborates the study's view that the challenge of inappropriate job behaviour and performance at the BCMM is due to the paucity of broad skills. It appeared that human factors such as greed, laziness, boredom, and 'tick a box' attitude play an important role in how the workers discharge their employment responsibilities. In addition to the human factors, some hindrances are systemic and structural in nature. These include the interference by politicians in the running of the municipality, inconsistent application of policies, poor planning, and lack of an effective PMS. These factors need immediate attention in order for the BCMM to be able to cope with its responsibilities of social and economic development, service delivery, and accountable governance.

CHAPTER SIX

RECOMMENDATIONS, CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter reflects on this study particularly on the purpose, process and conclusions of the research in an effort to ascertain whether the objectives have been achieved. On the basis of the findings, this chapter then makes recommendations for enhancing the appropriateness of the workers' job behaviour and performance at the BCMM. The recommendations have serious implications for the sustainability of the metropolitan status of the BCMM as well as its fulfilment of its socio-economic development mandate.

In addition to taking the findings into consideration, the recommendations are also cognisant of the BCMM context which includes loss of hope and agitation among some workers as a result of the BCMM state of affairs. Talking about her reluctance to complete the questionnaire for this study, one respondent aptly reflected the loss of hope and agitation among some workers thus:

> why do we have to fill in a questionnaire like this when all you have to do is read the local press to find out about the non-performance of the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality? Do you really want to change the work ethics in this municipality? Employ competent, honest and qualified people. Fire the rubbish and stop wasting our time filling in questionnaires like this as at the end of the day nothing will change.

The failure to see the value of responding to this study's questionnaire by this respondent also explains the poor response rate experienced in this study. The

respondent's view that "nothing will change" also had an impact in the formulation of the recommendations as attempts were made to make them as practical as possible.

6.2 Prevention of inappropriate ethics, values and attitudes at the workplace

It has been established in this study that the workers' inappropriate job behaviour and performance is a result of the dearth of broad skills. One component of broad skills, namely technical capability, has several measures for enhancing it such as specifically designed skills development programmes to address particular problem areas. For instance, such training in the finance department could include workshops on municipal procurement practices; in HR it could be workshops on how to implement the municipal disciplinary code, and in traffic services it could be training on how to use the electronic national administration traffic information system (eNaTIS). Conversely, if the missing components of broad skills are things like appropriate attitudes, ethics, and values, then organising training to enhance them may experience challenges relating to means of verifying whether what has been taught has been learnt. Therefore, due to the dynamics around attitudes, ethics and values, it is important for the BCMM not to assume that the workers have these qualities but should rather check them through several mechanisms. Such mechanisms could include regular monitoring and evaluation of the workers' job behaviour and performance to ascertain their application of appropriate attitudes, ethics, and values when discharging their responsibilities. For new recruits, the BCMM needs to explicitly indicate in its job requirements for applicants that their attitudes, ethics and values will be continually monitored and evaluated as part of the municipality's PMS.

Ensuring that workers have appropriate attitudes, ethics and values requires inculcating such continually throughout one's lifetime and this responsibility lies all citizens and societal institutions, including families, schools, workplaces, and religious institutions. As parents and guardians, for instance, have a responsibility according to the South African Schools Act (1996) to ensure school attendance of their 7-15 year old children, similarly the responsibility of teaching appropriate attitudes, ethics and values could also be formalised, enforced and monitored. School attendance for 7-15 year olds is compulsory and it is a criminal offence for parents and guardians not to send their children to school without valid reasons. The monitoring of parents and guardians in relation to their inculcation of appropriate attitudes, ethics and values could include checking, whenever possible, if there was negligence of this responsibility in cases of misbehaviour. A practical example could include school bullying wherein, upon investigation, it is discovered that the child is exposed to domestic violence, therefore, the parents should also be held accountable for their child's behaviour.

Regarding the role of human nature in the appropriateness of the workers' job behaviour and performance, many respondents believe that greed plays a significant role. Therefore, in addressing this challenge, advocating for more skills development programmes may not be an appropriate solution. Currently, such programmes predominantly cover the enhancement of capabilities in particular sectors or trades, thus they are job-specific. They also, to a lesser extent, also cover soft skills. Soft skills are crucial for appropriate job behaviour and performance, however by and large they deal with the symptoms and not necessarily the root causes of the problem. They include features like friendliness, customer service, communication,

responsibility, integrity, empathy, teamwork, sociability, and conflict resolution. Traits like friendliness, responsibility and integrity are a reflection of the person's ethics, values and attitudes. Since values determine attitudes (state of mind) and ethics (state of conduct), they are then manifested through the value holder appearing as friendly, responsible and honest or otherwise. Therefore, without discounting the current teaching of soft skills, a more fundamental question to address would be how to cultivate a workforce with appropriate ethics, values and attitudes? This is everyone's responsibility - individuals, families, schools, workplaces, and religious institutions. Such a responsibility echoes the conventional formula for changing the world which says "we can clean the whole world if we all clean our front yards." However, suggesting that ensuring the appropriateness of the workers job behaviour and performance is everyone's responsibility is not enough, because for every responsibility there has to be monitoring and evaluation mechanisms so as to ascertain how well the people undertake their responsibilities.

Similar to the declaration of income by businesses annually and declaration of financial interests by parliamentarians, individuals, families, schools, workplaces, and religious institutions could be required to declare their contributions towards a national code of ethics. This could include what they have done towards ensuring the appropriateness behaviour at various levels – individually or as organisations, schools, and workplaces. In this regard, social workers could play the role played by the South African Revenue Services (SARS). Although the implementation of this strategy could have some challenges such as those experienced by SARS such as lack of compliance and evasion by some people, it will however make a considerable mark in terms of raising ethics consciousness nationally.

Ethics consciousness could also help to reverse the negative effects of the current socio-economic environment whose elements include materialistic tendencies that are devoted to instant riches, often summed up as a 'bling-bling'[7] culture, with 'tenderpreneurial'[8] practices. This culture's accentuation of material comforts and the need for the latest techno-gadgets tends to undermine appropriate behaviour. Through 'tenderpreneurism' many people have become rich through getting government tenders. Although many practices are above-board, the 'bling-bling' culture and 'tenderpreneurism' are often associated with inappropriate job behaviour and performance such as fraud and corruption. An alternative to this materialistic pursuit needs to be demonstrated in all structures of the society. This could include showing the virtues of a simple life, contentment with what a person has and striving for excellence in everything people do. Since 61% of respondents observed that job behaviour that is against BCMM interests is caused by greed, it is prudent to get a more thorough understanding of this human weakness, so as to know what causes it, what sustains it and how it can be prevented.

The fact that 63% of the respondents observed that there is a lack of security for BCMM assets shows that the BCMM needs to enhance its security systems for all its assets. Some of the respondents describe the job behaviour of their colleagues as akin to that of sheep crossing the road - if one crosses the rest follow. This is due to seeing certain inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices tolerated by management, and if it is tolerated for one, then it could be tolerated for the rest. Some respondents suggest that if some use BCMM vehicles to collect their children

[7] 'Bling-bling' culture is characterised by extravagance that includes material comforts and pursuit of the latest techno-gadgets.

[8] The 'tenderpreneurism' concept refers to the practice wherein people get rich as result of being granted large government tenders, thus a tenderpreneur is "someone politically well-connected who has got rich through the government tendering system" (*The Star* 2010).

from school, then they also deserve that benefit. Therefore, to stop this misuse of BCMM vehicles practice, there must be consistency – none of the workers should have the chance to misuse the vehicles and the consequences for misuse should be applied to all.

Observing workers who behave inappropriately escape the consequences of their misdemeanour creates an environment that is conducive to the perpetuation of this challenge. This is aptly captured by the National Planning Commission (2013, 57) which observes that "[t]he state sets the ethical bar for society as a whole. If corruption is seen as acceptable in government, it will affect the way society conducts itself. This makes it even more important that government acts to address the high levels of corruption in its ranks." Inconsistency in addressing inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices makes it difficult to apply disciplinary measures due to lack of consistency. If a line manager does not subject one worker to appropriate disciplinary measures, then doing it to others may be difficult because workers may make claims of victimisation and favouritism. This further discourages workers from exposing inappropriate job behaviour and performance, and indeed 60% of the respondents indicate that they felt discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour because no strong action is ever taken against such workers. This, however, is a dilemma for the workers because deliberately omitting to report acts of dishonesty and deliberately withholding information which could assist in investigating irregularity is an act of corruption (The Ombudsperson and Head of Investigations n.d.). This indicates that the lack of consistency translates to having many people involved in corruption, even those who do not necessarily misappropriate BCMM resources, or engage in fraud and corruption. That such

people remain silent about inappropriate practices which they are aware of, renders them guilty of passive corruption.

Furthermore, calls to address the skills shortage problem often place this responsibility with learning institutions and this is a challenge due to the conflation of skills shortages with poor work ethic under the skills shortage umbrella. While the teaching of ethics and values in various academic programmes academic programs is commendable, this is questioned by some as taking over the parenting responsibility. Those who have identified this include Bleazby (2011, 1) who argues that schools are expected to do too much parenting, because “besides teaching academic skills and knowledge, teachers are now considered to be responsible for developing each child’s social skills, manners, organisational skills, ... self-control, self-motivation ... and lifestyle choices.” Badat (2004, 6) thus calls for clarity on “what contribution we can reasonably expect from education and training.” While learning institutions’ role in the skills shortage challenge is emphasised, the role of other players such as the family, society, and individuals does not seem to be emphasised with equal clarity. These players seem to be abdicating their responsibilities in this regard, resulting in the tendency to apportion blame for inappropriate job behaviour and performance predominantly to learning institutions. This underscores the need to hold individuals, families, schools, workplaces, and religious institutions accountable for contributing towards a national code of ethics.

6.3 Theory and practice dynamics of attitudes, ethics and values

The challenge with teaching values and ethics in academic institutions is that such institutions are generally limited to theory in this regard and are not positioned for also covering practice since values and ethics are not easily assessed through the

means of formal education. A person with inappropriate values may pass an examination on values since what people know and what they practice are not always the same. In relation to instilling a sense of ethical responsibility among students, it is important to have a clear understanding of what is achievable through academic programmes such as Health Ethics, Environmental Ethics, and Accounting Ethics. Such understanding should take into cognisance the notion that the knowledge of appropriate values and ethics does not guarantee their application. Even for the best performers in the ethics courses, is not possible to vouch for their ethical conduct and adherence to taught values because sometimes even those with a clear understanding of appropriate values and ethics do not apply what they have been taught. The application of knowledge is subject to the knowledge bearer's motives, will, attitudes, ethics and values since knowledge typologies can be mutually exclusive, that is 'knowing-how' which has capability connotations may exclude the attitude connotations of 'knowing-why'.

While academic credentials are assessed, reliable instruments for assessing ethics and values are still a challenge due to the lack of reliable empirical methods to measure them. In light of the complexities pertaining to researching ethics, attitudes and values, the tendency has been to overlook them, hoping that workers possess and will practise them. The strategy for overlooking ethics and values is clearly inefficient and the consequences of such omissions have been manifested in inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices.

It may be helpful for BCMM to explore an instrument from fields such as behavioural psychology which have several mechanisms for predicting human behaviour. One such instrument is used for measuring ethical decision making in Canada's

Department of National Defence and the Canadian Forces (DND/CF). The purpose of the instrument is, among others, to assess "individual ethical values used by DND/CF personnel as they carry out their duties; … individual ethical values that DND/CF personnel believe they should be using as they carry out their duties" (Kelloway, et al. 1999, 22).

On the basis of his view that "ethics are largely 'hard-wired stuff'", another strategy proposed by Prachar (2006, 1) is asking strategic, focused, and probing behaviour-based questions during a job interview so as to learn about the prospective employee's decision-making process, thinking patterns, beliefs, value set and past behaviour. The American College of Healthcare Executives (ACHE) (2013) encourages the use of ethics self-assessment, thereafter "developing a specific action plan" to address areas not aligned to ACHE's code of ethics. Rudloff (2013) suggests that organizations should have a code of ethics that should be regularly audited. The audit should verify the existence of the code of ethics, its accessibility to workers, its coverage of values, its content, its format, its communication plan and its relationship with other useful sources of information. It should also ensure that it is regularly updated and that all workers and third parties such as service providers undertake to respect the code of ethics by signing to acknowledge that they have read and understood it, and have agreed to comply with it. Behaviour-based questions for interviews and performance appraisals, ethics self-assessment, individuals' specific action plans, and a code of ethics audit are some of the measures the BCMM could explore for ascertaining workers' broad skills and clearly understanding their knowledge, skills, ethics, attitudes and values. Such a tool could also form part of the municipality's PMS.

6.4 Distinguishing between skills shortages and poor work ethic

For planning and policy making, a resolution is needed regarding the causes of inappropriate workers' job performance as the conflation of skills shortages with poor work ethic under the skills shortage umbrella is not helpful. Mager and Pipe's (1990) model for diagnosing performance problems could be helpful in this regard as it investigates performance discrepancies, performance obstacles, skill use, and best possible solutions for identified problems. The strength of this model lies in its disaggregation of labour (ability to do a job) and thereby exploring several factors that may have an impact on the workers' performance. The BCMM could then customise this approach and apply it as part of its PMS in order for the capacity of workers to be enhanced qualitatively or quantitatively from an informed position, rather than attributing every problem to skills shortage. The other performance diagnostic mechanisms include the plan–do–check–act or plan–do–check–adjust (PDCA) cycle (Kraay 2012, Bulsuk 2009, Williams 1998); observe-plan–do–check–act (OPDCA) model (Rother 2012, Rother 2010) and Bredrup's (1995a) planning, improving and reviewing process.

Another challenge in distinguishing between skills shortages and poor work ethic is that of knowing the number of workers required to perform a particular task. The dynamics of this issue include conflicting claims of staff shortage and bloated labour force, workers' inefficient discharge of their responsibilities since sometimes a task that could be done by two workers in one day takes ten workers a whole week, and pursuit of personal interests such as overtime creation to augment one's regular salary. The limitations with regard to measurement of labour create a human resource management problem for the BCMM, because it is sometimes difficult for

the management to determine what is expected from each worker within a given period and thereby translating to workers' unhappiness such as complaints that one person has to do three people's jobs. Resolving this is a challenge because, as discussed in chapter two, labour cannot be measured to the extent of claiming that X amount of labour input is required to achieve Y amount of production or services. Be that as it may, it is important for the BCMM to enhance its PMS for all workers so as to be able to determine, as far as possible, what is achievable and thus could be expected from each worker within a given period, taking into consideration the existing performance enablers and disablers. An effective PMS at the BCMM that includes a good monitoring and evaluation mechanism would enable the BCMM to distinguish between skills shortages and poor work ethic.

The BCMM's inability to distinguish between skills shortages and poor work ethic opens gaps for the proliferation of inappropriate job behaviour and performance practices. The enhancement of this distinguishing ability together with an effective PMS could help to get the employer and employee on the same page with regard to many things including responsibilities, expectations and remuneration, because it can help to get the workers to understand that for a particular amount of labour, a particular amount of salary is paid. This is inclined to the use of performance-related pay which may be appropriate for the BCMM in light of its challenges with some workers work slowly in order to delay the job, yet the employer pays them on the basis that they are performing optimally, and workers who have to do more than they are getting paid for on account of their colleagues who work slowly to delay the job, Performance-related pay that is implemented with concomitant performance management processes which differentiate performers from non-performers could curb the challenge of workers who cheat the employer or cheat one another by not

performing optimally, yet they get remunerated as if they perform optimally. The current arrangement only has section 56 and section 57 appointees on performance-based contracts and the other workers, who are in the majority, are bargaining workers whose remuneration is not subject to performance appraisal. Therefore, performance-based contracts need to be extended to all BCMM workers.

6.5 Depoliticising the municipality

There is a view that to run effectively and efficiently, municipalities need to be depoliticised (Zibi 2012, Ayele, Ntliziywana and de Visser 2011, Malope 2010). The role of politics in the running of municipalities includes democratic exercise of power and enhancement of community participation. The community voice is intended to be heard in the municipal council through ward councillors (Natalini 2010). Municipal councils pass local laws and regulations, approve budgets and development plans, impose rates and other taxes, charge service fees and borrow money. Major decisions must be made in full council meetings and minor decisions "can be delegated to exco [sic], portfolio committees or to officials or other agencies that are contracted to deliver services. [However], when other agencies deliver services, it is important that the municipal council keeps political power" (Education and Training Unit 2001, 5).

Although the BCMM experience shows that politicised municipal management leads to compromised effectiveness and efficiency, the dangers of depoliticised municipal management include neoliberal practices that are focused at market interests at the expense of the BCMM citizens. While neoliberal practices could be commended for pursuing effectiveness and efficiency, they, however, fall short in taking the context

into consideration. The context in South African municipalities includes the need to redress apartheid inequalities in most aspects of life, need to upskill councillors so they could be able to participate effectively in municipal management, and serious service delivery challenges such as lack of clean drinking water, electricity and roads. This renders insistence on meritocratic principles unfair as it continues to give opportunities to the previously advantaged racial groups at the expense of the previously disadvantaged ones. Therefore, in South Africa, the depoliticisation of municipal management is premature until all apartheid inequalities are fully redressed.

However, while the reversal of apartheid inequalities is not yet complete, Zibi (2012, 1) observes that the party list electoral system "forces upon us representatives whose personal suitability we never have a chance to scrutinise", therefore "citizens must now be given an opportunity to elect directly candidates they desire who have met clear objective criteria for the roles to which they aspire, to be trusted with responsibility." Hence, the introduction of direct election of presidents, premiers and mayors by all voters in the country, province and municipality respectively could enhance accountability and thereby improve job behaviour and performance among civil servants.

Disputing SAMWU's claim that depoliticising the municipalities would be disastrous for the country as it would tamper with the workers' rights to freedom of association, Ayele, Ntliziywana and de Visser (2011) argue that depoliticisation will not affect workers' rights but will "only require individuals to choose between municipal employment and a leadership position in a political party ... [because] the plan [is] to delink political officialdom from municipal administrative positions" (Ibid., 4). In a

study by SALGA and HSRC (2011, 18) of Bela Bela Local Municipality in Limpopo Province, the “de-linking [of] political processes/dynamics from professional management of the municipality was cited as a common area of change that would drastically strengthen the professional [sic] and performance of the municipality.” However, it is difficult to imagine in reality how the concept of a de-linked, depoliticised or apolitical municipality could operate as every decision has a political component including decisions about infrastructure development and provision of social services.

The municipal manager of Umdoni Municipality, one of the few municipalities that received a clean audit in the 2010/11 financial year, revealed that this was due to a “strategy they had adopted ... of running the municipality like a business to achieve profitability and sustainability” (*Sunday Tribune* 2012, 1). This may be a good starting point because the problem with politics in running municipalities includes the pursuit of party interests at the expense of the collective interest. The BCMM could then extract efficiency lessons from the depoliticised municipal model and apply them in a context of direct community participation where candidature for municipal leadership is based on merit and is regularly assessed through a comprehensive PMS that includes job-specific capability, ethics, attitudes and values.

One of the insights gained in the research process is how difficult it can be to do research in a highly politicised environment. The fear of victimisation that this politicisation leads to did not augur well for research since the environment was characterised by anxiety which determined workers’ decision to participate or not. Fear of victimisation translated to a high rate of worker refusal to participate. Of those who participated, many did not want to commit themselves in the

questionnaires, hence they chose the neutral option of ‘Neither agree nor disagree’ and ‘Neither low nor high extent’.

6.6 Systemic, structural and human factors’ effect on job behaviour and performance of the workers

It transpired from the study that BCMM workers’ inappropriate job behaviour and performance is a result of systemic, structural and human factors. Systemic and structural factors include the politicisation of the running of the municipality. While councillors from various political parties wield a lot of decision-making power regarding the objectives of the various directorates, many of them are not experts in the fields for which they are taking decisions.

The politicisation of the municipality leads to blurred lines between politics and administration as some councillors interfere with the administration of the municipality. On paper, the administrative and political roles, responsibilities and structure of the BCMM are clear, because this is legislated. However, in practice, the administrative and political roles and responsibilities become blurred and lines are crossed to the detriment of municipal efficiency and effectiveness. Therefore, continuous monitoring and evaluation of the stakeholders’ discharge of their responsibilities is required and could be integrated into the BCMM’s PMS.

Regarding staff recruitment, most respondents thought that education and political affiliation are the key determinants for employment at the BCMM. However, political affiliation and other social networks were shown to have an effect on job performance because job sponsor and job beneficiary tend to have obligations to support each other’s interests and thereby undermine the workers’ job behaviour and

performance. Even in this regard, the direct appointment of municipal staff, coupled with performance-based contracts, could significantly eliminate the weak recruitment practices and their concomitant inappropriate job behaviour and performance tendencies.

Intra-municipality and inter-governmental planning and communication is another area that needs immediate attention. It appeared that there is sometimes tension and misunderstanding at the BCMM due to planning in silos and systems that are not aligned. For instance, compliance with applicable policies and procedures by the Supply Chain Management Unit is perceived as delaying work schedules of the various departments. This then requires collaborative planning and implementation strategies with municipal, provincial and national planning aligned to one another.

Furthermore, that some workers know what is right, nevertheless do what is wrong underscores the role of human nature in shaping workers' job behaviour and performance because some of their inappropriate actions are intentional in pursuit of personal interests. The BCMM's PMS should then have mechanisms for detecting and preventing pursuit of personal interests at the expense of the municipality.

6.7 Further research

Most respondents observed that some workers know what was right, but still do what was wrong, yet most respondents thought that they have appropriate formal educational qualifications for their jobs. The challenge this poses is that the overlap between those with formal education and those who engage in inappropriate job behaviour and performance is not known. Therefore, it is not possible to conclude

that those who claimed to have relevant qualifications were also part of those who engaged in inappropriate job behaviour and performance. It may be helpful to analyse the disciplinary cases handled by the Labour Relations Division to see the profile of each individual convicted of inappropriate job behaviour and performance. The profile may include variables such as educational qualifications, age, gender, race, rank, department, tenure at BCMM, salary range and family background. This could help in drawing a picture of the workers who engage in inappropriate job behaviour and performance, but it would still be limited because of the lack of exposure to the workers' motives and interests. Therefore, it would be beneficial to have a study that unearths the workers' motives and interests in such a way that, just like academic credentials, employers may make the decision to employ on the basis of disclosed motives and interests of the workers.

The many determinants of job behaviour and performance render labour (ability to work) nebulous. This poses challenges in ascertaining the skills status quo especially in light of the notion of broad skills. This challenge has serious implications for the country's skills development plans and policies. The conflicting views include that which holds that there is a shortage of skills while the other says there is an excess. Further research in this regard is needed in order to draw a precise picture of the skills status quo.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the difficulty the BCMM faces due to the lack of clarity around key concepts that play a role in the enhancement of workers' job behaviour and performance. Such include the challenge in distinguishing between skills

shortages and poor work ethic, and the responsibility for determining and teaching attitudes, ethics and values. It also proposed practical strategies for the prevention of inappropriate ethics, values and attitudes at the workplace. Thereafter, it made recommendations such as drawing efficiency lessons from the depoliticised municipality approach while acknowledging that the actual depoliticisation of municipal management is premature in South Africa. It also examined the effect of systemic, structural and human factors on workers' job behaviour and performance.

Despite the challenges encountered during this study such as some BCMM workers' reluctance to participate, and many respondents not wanting to commit themselves by choosing the neutral options in the questionnaire, the study was successful. The data from the workers who participated was illuminating as it pointed out the human, systemic, and structural hindrances to labour productivity at the BCMM. The value this study added was to delve into these issues to examine their nature, extent of occurrence, and reasons for occurrence. The findings were helpful for re-examining the BCMM's systems, structures and practices. For instance, while politics have an important role in the running of a municipality, the study established that politics also compromises the BCMM's ability to efficiently and effectively carry out its responsibilities.

This study also drew attention to the notion that labour (ability to do a job) is inseparable from the labourer, as labour is embodied in human beings. For this reason, the role of the human factor in the labour process - motives, will, attitudes, ethics and values - must always be taken into consideration, since it determines how workers engage in their employment responsibilities. This is because a politically charged environment such as the BCMM, with vying political and personal interests,

is a fertile ground for the human factor to manifest itself in ways that may undermine the performance of the municipality.

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Appendix A

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

Tel . +27 (0)41 504 2125

Fax. +27 (0)41 504 9383

27 September 2012

Mr T Twalo / Prof P Singh

Education Faculty

NMMU

Dear Mr Twalo / Prof Singh

APPROPRIATENESS OF MUNICIPAL WORKERS' JOB BEHAVIOUR AND PERFORMANCE IN THE BUFFALO CITY METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

Your above-entitled application for ethics approval was approved by the Faculty Research, Technology and Innovation Committee of Education (ERTIC) meeting on 4 September 2012.

We take pleasure in informing you that the application was approved by the Committee.

The ethics clearance reference number is **H12-EDU-ERE-028**.

We wish you well with the project. Please inform your co-investigators of the outcome, and convey our best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Ms J Elliott-Gentry

Secretary: ERTIC

Appendix B

BUFFALO CITY METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

MEMORANDUM

				Date:	**17 AUGUST 2012**
From:	MANAGER: KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT, RESEARCH AND POLICY		To:	**MR THEMBINKOSI TWALO**	
Our ref:		Please ask for **dR t norushe**		Your ref:	H12-EDU-ERE-028
		(043) 705 9706			

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN BCMM: MR THEMBINKOSI TWALO

It is hereby acknowledged that **Mr. Thembinkosi Twalo**, a PhD Candidate in Education at **Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU)** has met the prerequisites for conducting research at Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) for fulfillment of his degree. He has provided us with all the necessary documentation as per the BCMM Policy on External Students conducting research at the institution.

With reference to the letter to the City Manager, permission was requested to conduct research at BCMM for the Dissertation, focusing **on Appropriateness of Municipal Workers' job behaviour and performance in the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality.** This request was acknowledged by the Office of the City Manager and forwarded to the Knowledge Management and Research Unit for further assistance. Mr. Twalo was asked to provide the Unit with the necessary documentation, which he subsequently did.

The relevant Officials to assist in the research were identified and duly informed about the research, and the fact that Mr. Twalo has met the prerequisites. Their contact details have also been provided to Mr. Twalo and he was informed to contact them directly for assistance.

Wishing you good luck in your studies.

DR T F NORUSHE
MANAGER: KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT, RESEARCH AND POLICY

Appendix C

Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)
Education and Skills Development Unit
Private Bag x 41, Pretoria, 0001
Tel: 012 302 2230
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Email: ttwalo@hsrc.ac.za
20 August 2012

Dear BCMM staff member
Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality

Request for your participation in a study on the 'Appropriateness of municipal workers' job behaviour and performance in the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality'

I am doing PhD in Education at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) and I kindly request your participation in a study on Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM). The study is looking at the 'Appropriateness of municipal workers' job behaviour and performance in the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality'.

Investigators

Principal investigator: Thembinkosi Twalo
Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), Education and Skills Development Unit, Private Bag x 41, Pretoria, 0001, Tel: (012) 302 2230, Fax: 086 657 4835, Cell: 083 446 8854, Email: ttwalo@hsrc.ac.za

Primary responsible person: Professor Prakash Singh
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Education Department, P O Box 77000, South Campus, Port Elizabeth, Tel (041) 504 2898, Fax: (041) 504 1976, E-mail: Prakash.Singh@nmmu.ac.za

Purpose of the research

This study seeks to establish the reasons for the persistence of the reported municipal workers' inappropriate job behaviour and performance despite the availability of a prevention mechanism of such practices in the form of formal education qualifications that many workers have. It will add value to the BCMM's service delivery and economic growth goals as it addresses some of the impediments to effective service delivery and economic growth. It will do this through drawing attention to the challenges encountered due to the focus on narrow skills (formal education qualifications) at the expense of broad skills which include attitudes, ethics, values and formal education qualifications.

Procedures

The uses the mixed method approach, that is, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative methods will include semi-structured interviews with some BCMM staff who will include people at different levels and from various departments. The quantitative methods will include a questionnaire with closed and open-ended questions. The juxtaposition of the qualitative and quantitative data should then give a clear picture of the broad skills status quo in the BCMM which would then shed some light on the co-existence of formal education with inappropriate job behaviour and performance. Staff are requested to complete and return the questionnaire by email (ttwalo@hsrc.ac.za) or fax (0866574835).

Confidentiality

There are no risks of harm, embarrassment, and offence to the BCMM staff, third parties or the community at large due to their participation or refusal to participate in this study. You are requested not write your name on the questionnaire as this is a confidential survey and no one will see the responses except the researcher and his promoter. Although your identity will remain confidential at all times, the results of the study may be presented in scientific conferences and/or publications.

Risks or discomforts

There are no anticipated risks or discomforts for your participation in this study.

Benefits

There are no financial benefits to the participants for participating in this study. However, this study will be very helpful to the researcher for proposing policy changes that will help to address the BCMM's challenge of broad skills shortage.

Questions about the research

If you have any questions about the research, you may contact the principal investigator, Mr. Thembinkosi Twalo at the contact details above. You may also contact the primary responsible person, Professor Prakash Singh telephonically at (041) 504 2898 or by fax (041) 504 1976 or e-mail: Prakash.Singh@nmmu.ac.za

Participation conditions

To participate, you are requested to complete the attached consent form to verify that you understand the conditions of your participation and therefore agree to participate.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. Since you are not obliged to participate in this study, you will incur no penalty for discontinuing your participation. However, should you decide to discontinue, you are requested to inform the principal investigator in order to terminate the research process in an orderly manner.

Study ethics

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that this research has been approved by the NMMU's Research Ethics Committee. This committee is composed of experts who have the responsibility to ensure that the rights and welfare of participants in this study are protected and that the study is conducted in an ethical manner. Should this not be the case, you are welcome to contact the Research Ethics Committee at the Department of Research Capacity Development, P O Box 77000, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, 6031.

Yours faithfully

Thembinkosi Twalo (Principal investigator)

Appendix D

Consent Form

I…….from the…….

(department) in the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality agree to participate in the study on '*Appropriateness of municipal workers' job behaviour and performance in the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality'*.

I understand that I am participating freely, without being forced in any way to do so, and that my identity will be treated confidentially at all times in this study, and not disclosed to anyone.

I grant the researcher permission to use a video and/or a digital camera during my interviews, should such a need arise.

The researcher can re-use the empirical data for research purposes should the need arise.

I also understand that neither I nor the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality will benefit financially from this study.

SIGNED: …… DATE: ……..…….

Department:…… POSITION: ……..…….

Appendix E

Questionnaire

Topic: Appropriateness of municipal workers' job behaviour and performance at the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality

Instructions

- Please answer all the questions by marking an 'X' next to the correct number in each question.
- There are no right or wrong answers. Please mark an 'X' next to the number that best reflects your observations.
- Additional information on the questions may be given at the end of the questionnaire on page 10.
- Please do not write your name on the questionnaire. This is a confidential survey and no one will see the responses except the researcher.
- To complete the questionnaire, you will require approximately half an hour.
- The acronym 'BCMM' refers to Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality.

Section A: Biographical information

A1	Directorate (e.g. Health and Public Safety)	.....
A2	Department (e.g. Traffic Services)	.....
A3	Unit (e.g. Roadworthy Tests)	.....
A4	Level (e.g. Superintendent)	.....

A5	**For how many years have you been working in the BCMM? (Mark an 'X' next to the correct number in the 2nd row)**							
	<1	1 - 5	6 - 10	11 - 15	16 - 20	21 - 25	26 - 30	31+
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

A6	**Type of employment (Mark an 'X' next to the correct number)**			
	Permanent	Temporary	Contract	Other
	1	2	3	4
			Contract duration:	Specify:..... ....

A7	**Age (Mark an 'X' next to the correct number)**					
	Less than 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
	1	2	3	4	5	6

A8	**Highest educational level achieved (Mark an 'X' next to the correct number)**							
	Grade 10 (Std 8) or lower	Grade 12 (Std 10)	Matric + diploma	Matric + 1st Degree	Honours / B.Tech. or equivalent	Masters / M.Tech. or equivalent	Doctorate / D.Tech. or equivalent	Other (e.g. chartered accountant
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
								Specify: .....

A9	**Gender (Mark an 'X' next to the correct number)**	
	Male	Female
	1	2

A10	**Race (Mark an 'X' next to the correct number)**				
	Black	White	Asian	Coloured	Other
	1	2	3	4	5

Section B: BCMM workers' capacity

Question 1

Please answer the following questions using a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents disagree strongly and 5 represents agree strongly.											
		Disagree strongly		Disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Agree		Agree strongly	
B1.1	BCMM capacity development programmes improve workers' job performance	1		2		3		4		5	
B1.2	People who studied in previously White institutions stand a better chance of finding employment in the BCMM	1		2		3		4		5	
B1.3	People with the right educational qualifications, but wrong ethical conduct are employed in the BCMM	1		2		3		4		5	
B1.4	My qualifications are relevant to the kind of work I do on a daily basis	1		2		3		4		5	
B1.5	What is important when working are the results and not how the job is done	1		2		3		4		5	

Question 2

To what extent are people employed in the BCMM because of the following attributes? Please assign a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents 'to a very low extent' and 5 represents 'to a very high extent'.											
		To a very low extent		To a low extent		Neither low nor high extent		To a high extent		To a very high extent	
B2.1	Educational qualifications	1		2		3		4		5	
B2.2	Gender	1		2		3		4		5	
B2.3	Race	1		2		3		4		5	
B2.4	Political affiliation	1		2		3		4		5	
B2.5	Physical appearance	1		2		3		4		5	

Section C: BCMM workers' job behaviour
Question 1

Please answer the following questions using a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents disagree strongly and 5 represents agree strongly. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.											
		Disagree strongly		Disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Agree		Agree strongly	
C1.1	Workers do not seem to care about the moral implications of their actions at work	1		2		3		4		5	
C1.2	Some workers know what is right but still do what is wrong	1		2		3		4		5	
C1.3	I feel discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption because no strong action ever gets taken against such behaviour	1		2		3		4		5	
C1.4	Workers use what does not belong to them without permission from the owners	1		2		3		4		5	
C1.5	Policies and practices in the BCMM are consistent in addressing unethical conduct	1		2		3		4		5	
C1.6	BCMM systems encourage mindless compliance with rules rather than taking of creative initiatives	1		2		3		4		5	
C1.7	In the BCMM, workers do not reveal wrongdoings of colleagues to those in authority	1		2		3		4		5	
C1.8	All BCMM workers can be depended upon to undertake honestly the work assigned to them	1		2		3		4		5	
C1.9	There is a harmonious relationship between workers and management	1		2		3		4		5	
C1.10	The BCMM is the best employer to work for	1		2		3		4		5	
C1.11	I am bored at work	1		2		3		4		5	

Question 2

To what extent do the following forms of job misbehaviour occur in your department? Please assign a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents to a very low extent and 5 represents to a very high extent. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.

		To a very low extent		To a low extent		Neither low nor high extent		To a high extent		To a very high extent	
C2.1	Use of BCMM's vehicles for personal purposes	1		2		3		4		5	
C2.2	Use of BCMM's phones for personal purposes	1		2		3		4		5	
C2.3	Use of BCMM's money for personal purposes	1		2		3		4		5	
C2.4	Use of BCMM's time for personal purposes	1		2		3		4		5	
C2.5	Use of BCMM's equipment for personal purposes	1		2		3		4		5	
C2.6	Use of positional authority in the BCMM to pursue personal interests	1		2		3		4		5	
C2.7	Deceitful use of leave benefits	1		2		3		4		5	
C2.8	Rewards for favours received which are against the BCMM policies	1		2		3		4		5	
C2.9	Bribery of BCMM workers	1		2		3		4		5	
C2.10	Delaying decisions in order to pursue personal interests	1		2		3		4		5	

Question 3

To what extent do the following forms of poor job performance occur in your department? Please assign a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents to a very low extent and 5 represents to a very high extent. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.

		To a very low extent		To a low extent		Neither low nor high extent		To a high extent		To a very high extent	
C3.1	Insubordination / defiance	1		2		3		4		5	
C3.2	Laziness	1		2		3		4		5	
C3.3	Insincerity	1		2		3		4		5	
C3.4	Not taking responsibility for one's mistakes	1		2		3		4		5	
C3.5	Not informing colleagues about information that is important for them to know	1		2		3		4		5	
C3.6	Working slowly in order to delay the job	1		2		3		4		5	
C3.7	Arrogance shown through a 'know-it-all' attitude	1		2		3		4		5	
C3.8	Anti-teamwork spirit shown through an "I can do this better than you" attitude	1		2		3		4		5	
C3.9	Failing to do one's job	1		2		3		4		5	

Question 4

To what extent do the following factors contribute to causing job behaviour that is against BCMM interests? Please assign a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents to a very low extent and 5 represents to a very high extent. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.

		To a very low extent		To a low extent		Neither low nor high extent		To a high extent		To a very high extent	
C4.1	Ignorance	1		2		3		4		5	
C4.2	Greed	1		2		3		4		5	
C4.3.	Unclear job procedures	1		2		3		4		5	
C4.4	Lack of security for BCMM assets	1		2		3		4		5	
C4.5	Protection from relatives, friends etc. for those accused of job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption	1		2		3		4		5	

Question C5
In your view, why are some workers involved in practices at work such as disregard for BCMM policies, bribery, etc although they have appropriate formal education qualifications?
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Section D: BCMM workers' job performance
Question 1

Please answer the following questions using a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents disagree strongly and 5 represents agree strongly. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.											
		Disagree strongly		Disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Agree		Agree strongly	
D1.1	Workers are uncertain about how to perform their respective tasks	1		2		3		4		5	
D1.2	People are held accountable for the quality of work they produce	1		2		3		4		5	
D1.3	Workers are prepared to go an extra mile to ensure that their jobs are done well	1		2		3		4		5	
D1.4	My department responds to crises as they arise, rather than planning appropriately in advance	1		2		3		4		5	
D1.5	BCMM internal procedures negatively affect my job performance	1		2		3		4		5	
D1.6	The quality of service from staff discourages customers from dealing with the BCMM again	1		2		3		4		5	
D1.7	There are too many workers in relation to the responsibilities of my department	1		2		3		4		5	
D1.8	The workers like their jobs	1		2		3		4		5	
D1.9	Managers struggle to exercise control in my department	1		2		3		4		5	
D1.10	Workers are mindful of the impact of their actions on others such as colleagues, clients and service providers	1		2		3		4		5	

Question D2
What in your opinion are the three most important problems affecting municipal workers' job performance in the BCMM?
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Question D3
In your observation, how do factors such as politics, culture, the economy, or any other factor that you think is important, affect the job performance of BCMM workers?
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Section E - BCMM workers' job environment

Question 1

Please answer the following questions using a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents disagree strongly and 5 represents agree strongly. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.											
		Disagree strongly		Disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Agree		Agree strongly	
E1.1	There is enough material for all the workers to use in doing their jobs	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.2	The BCMM provides enough protection for people who disclose corruption	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.3	There is daily monitoring of workers' activities to ensure that tasks are done properly	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.4	There is weekly and/or monthly evaluation and feedback of workers' job performance	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.5	My job has more attractive than unattractive characteristics	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.6	People sometimes blame me for problems over which I have no control	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.7	Management's understanding of how workers should do their jobs is different to how the workers understand the jobs should be done	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.8	My manager manages conflict well	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.9	Many people get employed in the BCMM because of who they know, rather than what they know	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.10	The BCMM has an effective policy to get rid of unproductive workers	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.11	The BCMM views mismanagement of assets like money, vehicles and telephones as a serious offence	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.12	There is regular communication between workers and management about work-related issues	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.13	When my colleagues do their jobs badly, they do not mind if others suffer as a result	1		2		3		4		5	
E1.14	People who have friends in some of the BCMM departments find it easy to get their administrative requirements attended to rapidly	1		2		3		4		5	

Question E2

Which organisational challenges affect municipal workers' job behaviour in the BCMM? (e.g. unclear reporting lines)

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Question E3

What is most likely to prevent the municipality from carrying out the its responsibilities ? (e.g. lack of tools for doing the job)

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Question E4

The BCMM has been rated as the worst metropolitan council by the Auditor General in 2012. Please explain how the BCMM problems that resulted in such rating affect your job performance and behaviour.

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Section F - Additional information on any of the questions answered.

Please indicate the question you are referring to by writing the number of the question (e.g. B1.5....., D2.2.....).

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Appendix F

Interview questions

1. Is the BCMM experiencing any shortage of broad skills (i.e. job-specific capability, ethics, attitudes and values)?
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2. The BCMM has been rated as the worst metropolitan council by the Auditor General in 2012. To what could this be attributed?
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3. In the recruitment process, how does the BCMM verify the applicants' ethics, values and attitudes?
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4. Are BCMM policies used to protect unproductive municipal workers?
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5. To what extent are staffing challenges (e.g. people who are in acting or contract positions for extended periods) affecting the workers' job behaviour and performance?

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6. How is the working environment in the BCMM (e.g. relations among workers, workers-management relations, impact of labour unions, etc)?

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7. What is your assessment of the BCMM's leadership quality?

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8. What is the effect of party politics in the management and administration of the BCMM?

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9. Is there regular communication between the BCMM management and the rest of the workers?

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10. Is there anything else that may be important for this study which you would like us know about the municipality?

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Appendix G: Summary of the quantitative data from the questionnaire
Section A: Biographical information of the respondents

Directorate	Department	No of respondents	Unit	No of respondents	Level	No of respondents	Tenure	Type of employment	Age	Education	Gender	Race
Community Services = 65	Revenue management	2	Administration and committees	4	Unspecified	30	< 1 year = 5	Permanent = 259	≤20 years = 0	≤ Grade 10 (Std 8) = 28	Male = 209	Black = 237
Development Planning = 3	Arts and culture	31	Archives	4	Accountant	2	1 - 5 years = 96	Temporary = 6	20 - 29 years = 17	Grade 12 (Std 10) = 53	Female = 134	White = 90
Engineering Services = 59	Billing	2	Arts and culture	2	Administration (clerk, officer, assistant)	16	6-10 years = 143	Contract = 79	30 - 39 years = 183	Matric + diploma = 147	Unspecified = 1	Asian = 4
Chief Operating Officer = 12	Chief operating officer	2	Billing	2	Artisan	22	11 -15 years = 63		4 0 - 49 years= 105	Matric + 1st Degree = 90		Coloured = 11
Health and Public Safety = 72	City planning	2	Cash Processing	2	Assistant manager	4	16-20 years = 13		50 - 59 years = 31	Honours / B.Tech. or equivalent = 13		Other = 2
Corporate Services = 56	Counter services	6	Chief operating officer	2	Assistant printer	2	21-25 years = 8		≥60 years = 7	Masters / M.Tech. or equivalent =4		
Executive Support Services = 12	Director offices	2	Consolidated Billing	2	Assistant artisan	2	26-30 years = 7		Unspecified = 1	Doctorate / D.Tech. or equivalent = 1		
Finance = 59	Electricity	60	Counter services	4	Cashier	2	≥31 years = 6			Other (e.g. chartered accountant = 8		
Unspecified = 6	Unspecified	2	Customer care	41	Manager	8	Unspecified = 3					
	Health services	26	Director offices	2	Chief Engineering Assistant	2						
	Housing	10	Environmental health	16	Chief environmental health	2						
	Human Resources	6	Human Resources	2	Cleaner	6						
	Integrated Development Plan	2	Inland	6	Compressor operator	2						
	Fire and Emergency Services	2	High Voltage / Low Voltage	2	Day care advisor	2						
	Interment	4	Land use management	2	Draughts person	2						

	Municipal manager office	2	Integrated Development Plan / Performance Management System	2	Environmental Health Educators / practitioner	6						
	Organisational support	36	Library	8	Clerks (Enquiry, Natis, Chief, Admin, Records, Senior)	89						
	Public participation	12	Motor vehicle Registration and licensing	26	Senior healthcare practitioner	4						
	Records and archives	4	Organisational Development	4	General worker	10						
	Registration and licensing	2	Unspecified	143	Handyman special class	10						
	Revenue management	47	Policy and Educational Support	4	Housing Practitioner	4						
	Services	2	Printing	34	Library assistant	4						
	Support services	8	Rent office	8	Meter reading	4						
	Traffic services	28	Services and metering	10	Middle manager	2						
	Water works	2	Social Housing, Policy and Educational Support	2	Organisational Development Practitioner	4						
	Unspecified	42	Special programs	4	Office attendant / administrator	25						
			Substation	2	Official	4						
			Technical services	2	Pest control assistant	6						
			Water	2	Printer	15						
					Programme Manager	2						
					Safety	2						
					Security personnel	4						
					Small plant operator	6						
					Supervisor	27						
					Volunteer	8						
					Workshop attendant	4						

Section B - BCMM workers' capacity

Question 1

Please answer the following questions using a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents disagree strongly and 5 represents agree strongly.											
		Disagree strongly	**Disagree**	**Neither agree nor disagree**	**Agree**	**Agree strongly**	**Valid Responses**	**Mean**	**Standard Deviation**	**Item-Total Correlation**	**Alpha if deleted**
B1.1	BCMM capacity development programmes improve workers' job performance	8.16	27.19	53.47	6.34	4.83	331	2.73	0.88	0.42	0.46
B1.2	People who studied in previously White institutions stand a better chance of finding employment in the BCMM	8.26	28.44	32.11	27.83	3.36	327	2.90	1.01	-0.08	0.71
B1.3	People with the right educational qualifications, but wrong ethical conduct are employed in the BCMM	4.35	27.64	12.11	51.24	4.66	322	3.24	1.05	0.51	0.38
B1.4	My qualifications are relevant to the kind of work I do on a daily basis	2.15	27.30	2.45	57.67	10.43	326	3.47	1.07	0.49	0.39
B1.5	What is important when working are the results and not how the job is done	6.77	32.31	28.31	27.08	5.54	325	2.92	1.04	0.35	0.49
Cronbach alpha: 0.56											
Average inter-item Correlation: 0.22											

Question 2

To what extent are people employed in the BCMM because of the following attributes? Please assign a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents 'to a very low extent' and 5 represents 'to a very high extent'.									
		To a very low extent	**To a low extent**	**Neither low nor high extent**	**To a high extent**	**To a very high extent**	**Valid Responses**	**Mean**	**Standard Deviation**
B2.1	Educational qualifications	3.10	6.19	29.72	30.65	30.34	323	3.79	1.04
B2.2	Gender	5.92	5.30	35.20	51.71	1.87	321	3.38	0.86
B2.3	Race	6.27	27.59	30.09	30.41	5.64	319	3.02	1.03
B2.4	Political affiliation	27.64	3.42	6.52	4.97	57.45	322	3.61	1.77
B2.5	Physical appearance	55.45	29.60	10.59	2.18	2.18	321	1.66	0.91
*** For B2.1 – B2.5, the Cronbach alpha and item correlation were not calculated because the items were not meant to measure the same construct.									

Section C: BCMM workers' job behaviour

Question 1

Please answer the following questions using a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents disagree strongly and 5 represents agree strongly. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.

		Disagree strongly	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Agree strongly	Valid Responses	Mean	Standard Deviation	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if deleted
C1.1	Workers do not seem to care about the moral implications of their actions at work	3.35	29.27	8.84	52.44	6.10	328	3.29	1.06	0.60	0.70
C1.2	Some workers know what is right but still do what is wrong	2.45	4.89	4.89	34.25	53.52	327	4.31	0.95	0.10	0.76
C1.3	I feel discouraged from exposing job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption because no strong action ever gets taken against such behaviour	3.99	29.75	6.13	49.69	10.43	326	3.33	1.13	0.61	0.70
C1.4	Workers use what does not belong to them without permission from the owners	5.81	7.03	51.38	29.36	6.42	327	3.24	0.89	0.56	0.71
C1.5	Policies and practices in the BCMM are consistent in addressing unethical conduct	5.88	7.74	52.32	30.65	3.41	323	3.18	0.85	0.20	0.75
C1.6	BCMM systems encourage mindless compliance with rules rather than taking of creative initiatives	3.75	4.69	52.19	32.50	6.88	320	3.34	0.83	0.55	0.72
C1.7	In the BCMM, workers do not reveal wrongdoings of colleagues to those in authority	2.19	26.02	6.58	34.17	31.03	319	3.66	1.23	0.71	0.68
C1.8	All BCMM workers can be depended upon to undertake honestly the work assigned to them	25.00	6.01	28.16	32.28	8.54	316	2.93	1.31	0.45	0.72
C1.9	There is a harmonious relationship between workers and management	31.68	7.14	5.59	50.00	5.59	322	2.91	1.44	0.68	0.68
C1.10	The BCMM is the best employer to work for	5.54	28.92	29.85	27.08	8.62	325	3.04	1.06	0.61	0.70
C1.11	I am bored at work	11.31	32.11	26.61	25.08	4.89	327	2.80	1.09	-0.55	0.83
Cronbach alpha: 0.22											
Average inter-item Correlation: 0.75											

Question 2

To what extent do the following forms of job misbehaviour occur in your department? Please assign a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents to a very low extent and 5 represents to a very high extent. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.

		To a very low extent	To a low extent	Neither low nor high extent	To a high extent	To a very high extent	Valid Responses	Mean	Standard Deviation	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if deleted
C2.1	Use of BCMM's vehicles for personal purposes	9.84	5.08	27.62	28.25	29.21	315	3.62	1.23	0.81	0.84
C2.2	Use of BCMM's phones for personal purposes	5.77	5.13	52.88	29.81	6.41	312	3.26	0.88	0.32	0.88
C2.3	Use of BCMM's money for personal purposes	5.96	26.49	36.09	26.49	4.97	302	2.98	0.98	0.38	0.87
C2.4	Use of BCMM's time for personal purposes	6.75	4.50	28.94	31.51	28.30	311	3.70	1.13	0.68	0.85
C2.5	Use of BCMM's equipment for personal purposes	7.79	4.22	32.14	28.25	27.60	308	3.64	1.16	0.73	0.85
C2.6	Use of positional authority in the BCMM to pursue personal interests	3.55	27.10	54.19	5.48	9.68	310	2.91	0.92	0.30	0.88
C2.7	Deceitful use of leave benefits	6.47	4.53	33.66	51.46	3.88	309	3.42	0.90	0.57	0.86
C2.8	Rewards for favours received which are against the BCMM policies	5.19	5.19	8.44	50.00	31.17	308	3.97	1.04	0.79	0.84
C2.9	Bribery of BCMM workers	6.49	2.92	32.47	26.95	31.17	308	3.73	1.13	0.67	0.85
C2.10	Delaying decisions in order to pursue personal interests	4.21	3.24	55.66	27.51	9.39	309	3.35	0.86	0.61	0.86
Cronbach alpha: 0.87											
Average inter-item Correlation: 0.43											

Question 3

To what extent do the following forms of poor job performance occur in your department? Please assign a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents to a very low extent and 5 represents to a very high extent. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.

		To a very low extent	To a low extent	Neither low nor high extent	To a high extent	To a very high extent	Valid Responses	Mean	Standard Deviation	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if deleted
C3.1	Insubordination / defiance	7.87	29.18	53.11	5.90	3.93	305	2.69	0.85	0.74	0.84
C3.2	Laziness	7.99	6.39	29.07	50.48	6.07	313	3.40	0.99	0.83	0.83
C3.3	Insincerity	7.19	5.88	32.03	50.98	3.92	306	3.39	0.93	0.72	0.84
C3.4	Not taking responsibility for one's mistakes	5.75	27.48	30.67	29.39	6.71	313	3.04	1.03	0.55	0.85
C3.5	Not informing colleagues about information that is important for them to know	5.11	26.20	29.07	31.63	7.99	313	3.11	1.05	0.52	0.86
C3.6	Working slowly in order to delay the job	8.04	28.62	30.23	27.65	5.47	311	2.94	1.05	0.60	0.85
C3.7	Arrogance shown through a 'know-it-all' attitude	7.01	26.11	55.10	4.14	7.64	314	2.79	0.92	0.41	0.87
C3.8	Anti-teamwork spirit shown through an "I can do this better than you" attitude	7.01	27.07	30.89	26.43	8.60	314	3.03	1.08	0.28	0.88
C3.9	Failing to do one's job	7.35	5.75	54.95	27.16	4.79	313	3.16	0.89	0.82	0.83
Cronbach alpha: 0.86											
Average inter-item Correlation: 0.47											

Question 4

To what extent do the following factors contribute to causing job behaviour that is against BCMM interests? Please assign a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents to a very low extent and 5 represents to a very high extent. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.

		To a very low extent	To a low extent	Neither low nor high extent	To a high extent	To a very high extent	Valid Responses	Mean	Standard Deviation	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if deleted
C4.1	Ignorance	7.67	28.12	52.40	5.43	6.39	313	2.75	0.91	0.37	0.69
C4.2	Greed	5.11	3.19	30.35	51.76	9.58	313	3.58	0.90	0.42	0.67
C4.3.	Unclear job procedures	6.45	4.84	51.94	30.00	6.77	310	3.26	0.90	0.65	0.58
C4.4	Lack of security for BCMM assets	4.58	3.27	28.76	29.41	33.99	306	3.85	1.07	0.43	0.67
C4.5	Protection from relatives, friends etc. for those accused of job misbehaviour such as fraud and corruption	6.27	3.63	32.01	28.05	30.03	303	3.72	1.12	0.46	0.66
Cronbach alpha: 0.70											
Average inter-item Correlation: 0.36											

Section D: BCMM workers' job performance

Question 1

Please answer the following questions using a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents disagree strongly and 5 represents agree strongly. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.

		Disagree strongly	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Agree strongly	Valid Responses	Mean	Standard Deviation	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if deleted
D1.1	Workers are uncertain about how to perform their respective tasks	6.13	33.23	29.68	29.35	1.61	310	2.87	0.96	-0.60	0.76
D1.2	People are held accountable for the quality of work they produce	4.55	30.52	50.97	8.12	5.84	308	2.80	0.87	-0.29	0.71
D1.3	Workers are prepared to go an extra mile to ensure that their jobs are done well	27.74	5.48	29.35	32.90	4.52	310	2.81	1.28	0.74	0.49
D1.4	My department responds to crises as they arise, rather than planning appropriately in advance	5.18	27.51	31.39	29.77	6.15	309	3.04	1.01	0.65	0.54
D1.5	BCMM internal procedures negatively affect my job performance	3.59	52.29	7.52	32.03	4.58	306	2.82	1.07	0.45	0.58
D1.6	The quality of service from staff discourages customers from dealing with the BCMM again	4.87	26.62	31.49	31.82	5.19	308	3.06	0.99	0.63	0.54
D1.7	There are too many workers in relation to the responsibilities of my department	37.99	28.90	7.47	24.35	1.30	308	2.22	1.23	0.24	0.63
D1.8	The workers like their jobs	26.71	3.58	32.25	31.60	5.86	307	2.86	1.28	0.63	0.52
D1.9	Managers struggle to exercise control in my department	4.87	28.25	51.95	9.09	5.84	308	2.83	0.88	0.51	0.58
D1.10	Workers are mindful of the impact of their actions on others such as colleagues, clients and service providers	3.56	5.50	53.07	32.36	5.50	309	3.31	0.81	0.24	0.63
Cronbach alpha: 0.64											
Average inter-item Correlation: 0.14											

Section E - BCMM workers' job environment

Question 1

Please answer the following questions using a rating on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents disagree strongly and 5 represents agree strongly. Mark an 'X' next to the correct number.

		Disagree strongly	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Agree strongly	Valid Responses	Mean	Standard Deviation	Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if deleted
E1.1	There is enough material for all the workers to use in doing their jobs	36.72	32.13	2.30	27.54	1.31	305	2.25	1.25	0.45	0.40
E1.2	The BCMM provides enough protection for people who disclose corruption	9.54	28.95	59.21	1.32	0.99	304	2.55	0.72	0.55	0.42
E1.3	There is daily monitoring of workers' activities to ensure that tasks are done properly	32.13	30.16	28.85	5.57	3.28	305	2.18	1.05	0.56	0.38
E1.4	There is weekly and/or monthly evaluation and feedback of workers' job performance	35.20	30.26	4.93	27.96	1.64	304	2.31	1.26	0.51	0.38
E1.5	My job has more attractive than unattractive characteristics	4.62	26.73	32.67	32.34	3.63	303	3.04	0.96	0.61	0.38
E1.6	People sometimes blame me for problems over which I have no control	3.92	1.96	54.90	32.35	6.86	306	3.36	0.80	-0.31	0.56
E1.7	Management's understanding of how workers should do their jobs is different to how the workers understand the jobs should be done	2.96	26.32	32.24	33.55	4.93	304	3.11	0.95	0.56	0.39
E1.8	My manager manages conflict well	6.27	28.05	29.70	32.34	3.63	303	2.99	1.00	0.51	0.40
E1.9	Many people get employed in the BCMM because of who they know, rather than what they know	3.61	26.56	5.90	29.84	34.10	305	3.64	1.29	-0.60	0.67
E1.10	The BCMM has an effective policy to get rid of unproductive workers	33.88	4.61	33.22	25.33	2.96	304	2.59	1.27	0.61	0.34
E1.11	The BCMM views mismanagement of assets like money, vehicles and telephones as a serious offence	3.30	27.72	31.02	32.67	5.28	303	3.09	0.97	-0.45	0.60
E1.12	There is regular communication between workers and management about work-related issues	9.12	29.97	28.99	29.97	1.95	307	2.86	1.01	0.60	0.38
E1.13	When my colleagues do their jobs badly, they do not mind if others suffer as a result	5.86	29.64	30.29	28.99	5.21	307	2.98	1.02	0.46	0.41
E1.14	People who have friends in some of the BCMM departments find it easy to get their administrative requirements attended to rapidly	2.29	25.49	4.90	33.99	33.33	306	3.71	1.24	-0.62	0.67
Cronbach alpha: 0.50											
Average inter-item Correlation: 0.09											