AN IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS OF THE ZIBAMBELE ROAD MAINTENANCE PROGRAMME IN THE KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT

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2011

DECLARATION

I, Batha Olivia Sindiswa Ngubane declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science (Policy and Development Studies) in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Acknowledgements

Honor and Glory be to God who enables me to be.

I owe my deepest gratitude to my parents Simangele and Malusi Ngubane, for the encouragement throughout my study.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my daughter Ropafadzo Thandiwe Matolino.

Abstract

The primary aim of the research study was to analyse the implementation of the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme within the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport. The Zibambele Programme is one of South African government attempts to respond to social problems of poverty and unemployment. The Zibambele Programme identifies with the principles of Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP).

The research study identifies and discusses the obstacles to and challenges of the implementation of the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme. Programme monitoring or process evaluation is used as an analytical framework of the study. The study employs Rossi and Freemans (1989) approach by examining the admission of the contractors into the programme, their progression and exit strategies.

In order to best accomplish the objectives of the study and to provide an informed and critical analysis on the implementation of the Zibambele Programme, the study used both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies i.e. triangulation.

For the quantitative method data was collected using in depth interview questions (i.e. face-to-face interviews) with the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport officials. The officials that were interviewed fall under the development directorate within the Department and they are directly responsible for the implementation of the Zibambele Programme. Four officials participated in the interviews and purposive sampling was used.

For the quantitative method, the survey data collection method was employed to collect data from the Zibambele contractors. The contractors were randomly collected from the Pietermaritzburg and Empangeni regions. The results of the interviews were not generalised to all Zibambele contractors. However, the findings collected were useful as far as the implementation process of the Zibambele Programme is concerned.

Content analysis was used to analyse qualitative data and descriptive statistics using the SPSS programme was used to analyse the quantitative data.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction to the topic

Poverty is multi-faceted and can manifest in hunger, unemployment, exploitation and lack of access to clean water, sanitation, health-care and education. There is a need to develop and monitor poverty alleviation programmes in South Africa to ensure that the needs of the poor are addressed with the urgency the situation demands, to implement such programmes effectively and to take action where necessary.

The post-apartheid government aims to address poverty and redress inequality. In South Africa the poorest of the poor are to be found in women-headed households; therefore there is a particular need for the empowerment of rural women. It is for this reason that the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Department of Transport established the Zibambele road maintenance programme which specifically aims to financially benefit those households.

The study will analyse the implementation of the Zibambele road maintenance programme within the KZN Department of Transport with the aim of identifying problems and challenges encountered in executing the programme.

1.1 The Zibambele Programme

The Zibambele road maintenance programme is one of the South African government"s attempts to respond to social problems such as poverty and unemployment and is located within the broader Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). The programme is undertaking to provide public works and services across five sectors,

namely; infrastructure, economic, environment, culture and social. The KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport falls under the infrastructure sector.

The EPWP is one of the South African government"s initiatives to bridge the gap between the growing economy and the large numbers of unskilled and unemployed people who have yet to fully enjoy the benefit of economic development. The EPWP often involves creating temporary work opportunities for the unemployed using public sector expenditure. It builds on existing government infrastructure and social programmes either by deepening their labour absorption or extending their ability to absorb labour.

As most of the unemployed are unskilled, the emphasis is on relatively unskilled work opportunities. Work opportunities generated by the EPWP are therefore combined with training, education or skills development, with the aim of increasing the ability of people to earn an income once they leave the programme. The EPWP aims to provide employment opportunities and training to at least one million unemployed people in its first five years. It is a programme that transverses all departments and spheres of government. Under the EPWP, all government bodies and parastatals, but primarily provinces and municipalities, are required to make a systematic effort to target the unskilled and unemployed. They are supported by national government departments responsible for sectoral coordination.

The Zibambele Maintenance Programme is a flagship programme for poverty alleviation initiated by the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport in response to the EPWP"s national directive. Adapted from the Kenyan Lengthman model, it employs contractors to perform road and general roadside maintenance in rural areas using labour-intensive methods. The programme contracts households (especially women-headed households) rather than individuals. The participating communities identify the households they consider in need, thereby providing sustainable employment opportunities. Zibambele, a Zulu word meaning „doing it ourselves", is an innovative road construction and maintenance programme designed to stabilise impoverished

households in rural areas in an attempt to break their poverty cycle (KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme Policy; 2003:1).

The key objectives of the Zibambele road maintenance programme are, firstly to provide ongoing and sustainable work opportunities to destitute households in an effort to break the poverty cycle and, secondly to provide cost-effective, labour-intensive methods of routine maintenance of the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial road network. Through this, the department is fulfilling its core function, which is the construction and maintenance of its road network and other assets, and in so doing it has saved millions of rands for itself and the public. The third and the last key objective is to empower rural women by providing training in road maintenance and other life skills.

The contractors are primarily women who are identified by their community members, thus creating a sense of community participation in the programme and its partnership with government (KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme Policy; 2003:1).

The department has also carried out an audit of the educational qualifications of the contractors, identifying those with the best Matric results especially in mathematics and science. A course is being developed for them and the objective of the training is;

- to establish a number of nationally accepted courses to suit the varying educational qualifications, capabilities and interests of those contractors who wish to complete the programme and further develop their potential.
- to make available suitable training facilities, equipment and trainers at central locations throughout the Province
- to ensure that candidates are being provided with training on a rotational basis at various NQF levels;
- to provide sustainable work opportunities for the candidates on completion of their training (Operations manual for the implementation of the Zibambele maintenance programme; 2008, 3).

1.2 Understanding poverty and poverty alleviation

The most important social and economic problem that the Zibambele road maintenance programme seeks to address is poverty.   Poverty is a relative term that differs within political and geographical contexts. A person considered poor in the United States of America could be considered a middle-class person in South Africa. Poverty can be seen as lack of income or resources. It is most widespread in the rural areas of both developing and non-developing countries (Watkins 1995, cited in Jaggernath 2006:30).

Barker (2002) defines poverty as people"s inability to achieve their full potential but more specifically, according to Wasike (2001), the poor usually lack adequate access to infrastructure services such clean water, sanitation, transportation, and communication which are considered input indicators of poverty. This further limits their access to another set of input indicators, such as health services, education facilities, food and markets, and causes a negative impact on output indicators of poverty, such as life expectancy, literacy, income and nutrition.

Numerous academic sources suggest that poverty is a multi-dimensional social phenomenon. The definition of poverty and its causes differ by gender, age, culture, and other social and economic factors. Poverty alleviation is often perceived to involve government or donor organizations provision of money or goods to affected individuals using a needs-based selection system to ensure that these individuals can survive and participate in society. More often than not, these types of strategies are short term, with little long-term perspective or impact. (Report on poverty alleviation, 2004 cited in www.sarpn.com).   It is evident therefore that there is a need for sustainable programmes of empowerment such as the Zibambele road maintenance programme.

1.3 Contextualising poverty in South Africa

South Africa is regarded as one of the wealthiest and economically most stable countries on the African continent, with a GDP of US$ 280 billion in 2008 (www.statsa.gov.za). According to May (1998), South Africa is characterised by a sound market economy, with a well-developed private sector and the most advanced industrial capacity on the continent. In *per capita* terms, South Africa is an upper-middle-income country. Despite this relative wealth, the experience of most South African households is of outright poverty or of continuing vulnerability to being poor. In addition, the distribution of income and wealth in South Africa is among the most unequal in the world, and many households still have unsatisfactory access to education, health care, energy and clean water (May, 1998).

Poverty and inequality are normally linked and treated as an expression of the same problem while in reality they are different. These differences have important public policy consequences. Inequality is reflected by the Gini coefficient, which measures the distribution of a country"s national income. The Gini coefficient varies between 0 and 1 - the closer to 1, the more unequal a society; the closer to 0, the more equal a society. South Africa scored a Gini coefficient of 0.67 in 2009 which indicates a growing inequality and concentration of wealth (www.un.org).

Poverty is not exclusive to any racial group or area, however, in South Africa the reality is that poverty is racialised with poverty rates amongst population groups as follows - Africans (61%), Coloureds (38%) Indians (5%) and Whites (1%) (May, 1998:4). According to May (1998:5) these statistics reflect the abiding results of the state-sanctioned policies of apartheid.

Poverty is particularly persistent in rural areas with 71% of rural households living below the poverty line of $1 per day. Within these areas, particularly vulnerable groups are elderly, black females and female-headed households (May, 1998:21).

This is the situation that the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme seeks to address through the Zibambele programme. It is important that such programmes are implemented correctly to ensure effective service delivery and provision.

1.4 Literature on the Zibambele road maintenance programme

Very little literature exists on the Zibambele road maintenance programme generally and none on its implementation specifically. The academic literature that exists deals with the effects of the programme, rather than issues of implementation which is the focus of this study.

Jaggernath (2006) in a study entitled *"Labour-Based rural road maintenance for poverty alleviation: a case study of the Zibambele Programme in Umbumbulu, KZN"* looked at the impact of labour-based road maintenance on poverty alleviation. Jaggernath‟s findings indicated that the Zibambele road maintenance programme has generated income, facilitated skill development and improved the social environment of the participants. It concludes that the introduction of the Zibambele road maintenance programme had an immediate positive effect on participating communities; in particular her research shows that the programme reduces the effects of poverty (2006).

A study by Khoza (2006) entitled *"Targeted programmes as a means of sustainable livelihoods for poor people, especially women: a case study of Zibambele Public Works programme in KwaZulu-Natal"*, investigates whether public works programmes are a means to sustainable livelihoods using the Zibambele road maintenance programme as a case study. The study mainly focuses on establishing whether Zibambele has an impact on women‟s control over household resources, decision making, power in the household and securing livelihoods.

Khoza‟s (2006) analysis shows that the Zibambele road maintenance programme has significantly helped many women. The programme promotes livelihood activities of

contractors and in some instances gives the women power to make decisions in their households. She further concludes that the programme enables women to improve their household income, thereby increasing their dignity. However, Khoza also states that although the Zibambele road maintenance programme has positive benefits for short-term unemployment, this may not be applicable in the long-term which can have serious effects on those participating in the programme. In light of this, sustained employment is needed for poverty reduction.

These studies are evaluative studies of the effects of the programme whereas this research project focuses on the implementation of the Zibambele road maintenance programme.

Due to the paucity of research into the implementation of this programme specifically and poverty alleviation programmes generally, it is hoped that this research will modestly contribute to the body of knowledge in this field. This study has focused mainly on the procedural aspects of implementation. These include, *inter alia*, the selection process of beneficiary households, their progression through the programme, the exit strategies and general administrative issues.

The broad research objective of this study is to examine the challenges and issues faced by the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport and other participants in implementing the Zibambele Road Maintenance programme in KwaZulu-Natal.

1.5 Policy technique: Implementation analysis

This research project has applied implementation analysis also known as process evaluation as a policy technique and also described the function and importance of street-level bureaucrats as people who implement policies. According to Wildavsky (1973), implementation is generally referred to as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and the actions geared to achieve them. Specifically, implementation is

"the ability to forge subsequent links in the causal chain [of the policy process] so as to obtain the desired results" (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973: xv).

The study of implementation requires the understanding that apparently simple sequences of events depend on complex chains of reciprocal interaction (Pressman and Wildavasky, 1973). However each part of the policy chain must be built with the others in view. The separation of policy design from implementation is vital. Implementation signals completion of policy design but also has the potential to bring about new policies too. This framework will be further explicated in chapter two.

1.6 Research questions

The objective of this study is to shed light on problems and challenges that are encountered by those executing the Zibambele road maintenance programme. In order to achieve the objectives of this study and to provide an informed implementation analysis, the researcher will particularly examine admission, progression and exit strategies of the contractors within the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme. The research study will investigate three broad issues and associated key questions as detailed below.

1. Admission criteria for the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme
   - How do contractors get admitted to the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme?
   - Do they understand the process of being admitted into the programme?
   - Is there a difference between the stated admission criteria and the actual admission criteria?

2. Progression that has been made by contractors since they were admitted into the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme
   - Since joining the programme, are contractors satisfied with the way the programme is operating?

- How effective is communication with the DOT?
- What challenges are encountered with the programme?
- What are the causes of these challenges?
- What are the expectations of the DOT officials responsible for the programme?
- What training is provided, if any?

3. Exit strategies of the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme.
   - Do contractor anticipate leaving the programme?
   - Are the skills acquired perceived as useful in the labour market by the contractors?
   - What are the exit experiences of the contractors?

1.7 Conclusion and Structure of the Dissertation

To conclude, this chapter has provided a brief background to the Zibambele Road Maintenance programme. It has expanded on the programme as the initiative by government to alleviate poverty particularly in KwaZulu-Natal. It has expanded on the EPWP as the umbrella programme under which the Zibambele programme is covered and rationalised such programmes by discussing the state of poverty in South Africa.

Chapter Two focuses on the theoretical framework; expanding on implementation and implementation analysis that will be applied in this study.

Chapter Three presents a broader examination of the case study and locates it within a legislative framework and elaborates on the research methods utilised in the study.

Lastly, Chapter Four presents the findings and analysis of the study and addresses the research questions.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1   Introduction

This chapter aims to outline the theoretical and analytical approaches that will be used to guide the research and understand the data gathered.   The aim is to introduce the conceptual and analytical framework through which the data will be examined with particular emphasis on implementation and process evaluation as the analytical approach to the study.

To begin, the following section will briefly conceptualise the broader issue of public policy.

2.2   Public Policy

The word „policy‟ is not a tightly defined concept but a flexible one, used in different ways on different occasions.   There are many definitions of policy. Colebatch (2002:99) defines policy as "a structured commitment of important resources and looking for ways to restructure the commitment that maximises greater change of impact of resources available". This understanding of policy sees policy as a decision or a set of decisions affected by resources.

Anderson (1997:9) defines policy as "a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or a set of actors in dealing with a problem or a matter of concern". South Africa faces a high unemployment rate which contributes to the already high poverty levels. In South Africa this problem is a result of many factors; amongst them a lack of skills and training, thus it became a policy issue, hence the directive by the South African government to establish the Expanded Public Works Programme.

From the perspective of government (i.e from policy as a general concept to public policy as specific to the actions of the state), Davis (cited in Colebatch 2002:49) defines policy simply as a "course of action by the government designed to achieve certain

results." This simply shows that government can view policy as a projected programme consisting of desired objectives and means to achieve them. For government, the ideal end of a policy is the distribution, redistribution and the formulation of regulatory policies aimed at societal well-being.

In the light of these definitions we can provisionally define a policy as a set of decisions which are oriented towards a long-term purpose or to a particular problem. Howlet and Ramesh (1995:4) see policy as a result of decisions made by government, noting that decisions by government to do nothing are just as much policy as are decisions to do something. Dye (1982:2) supports this definition by defining policy as "whatever government choose to do or not to do." Non-decision is seen as policy action so long as it leads to the attainment of a desired end. Smith (1976:13) further adds that the concept of policy does not only manifest in the deliberate choice of action by government but also involve inactions (or non-decisions) which influence the policy making process and as a result resist policy endorsement. This is evident when government deliberately refuses to make decisions about a policy issue and by this they determine what should and should not happen in society.

Public policy on the other hand emerges in response to policy demands. Colebatch (2002:84) states "that public policy is different from policy in that public policy is a set of interrelated decisions taken by political actors or groups of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them." Public policy consists of courses of action (activities or duties) by governmental officials rather than their separate discreet decisions. Cloete (1998:126) further supports this by stating that public policy is about people and social order and responds to their needs, circumstances and living conditions. Colebatch (2002:117) also supports this by stating that public policy involves the creation of social processes, which become a shared understanding about how the various participants should act in particular circumstances. In other words public policy justifies and legitimises certain behaviour, actions and practices.

According to the above definitions, public policy is a decision-making process by government to give direction or present guidelines to be followed to achieve certain goals. It can be concluded that public policies are those policies that are specifically developed by governmental actors. These policies are meant to enable government officials to be effective and efficient in implementing and managing public affairs. Public policy is seen as important in establishing the parameters and directions of the action of government, but it tends not to specify the course of implementation.

There are various perspectives that are used to examine policy-making and the following section will provide a brief overview of the policy cycle approach which is the most utilised approach in Policy Sciences. Emphasis is placed on the policy implementation stage as this is pertinent to the study at hand.

2.3   The Policy Cycle.
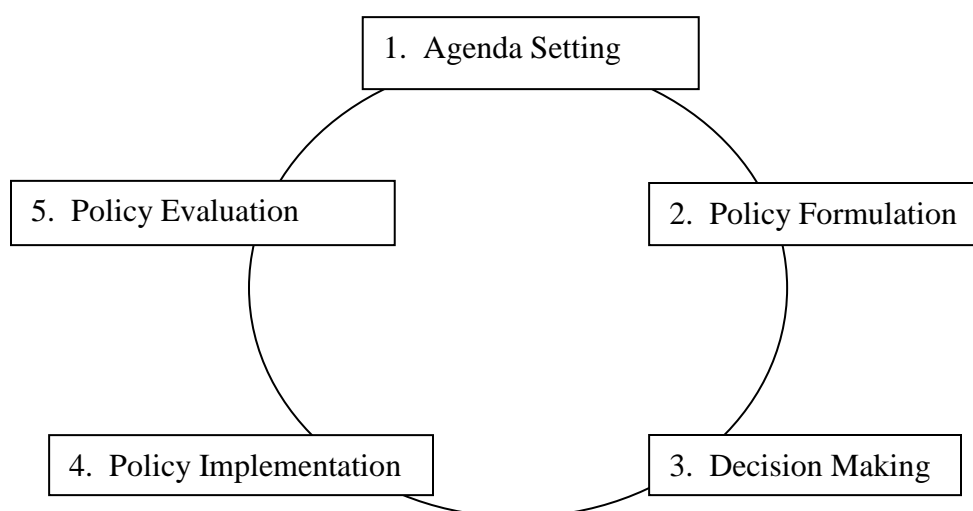
Figure 1.1: The Policymaking Cycle (Adapted from Howlett and Ramesh, 1995:11)

It"s important to understand the policy-making process in order to understand the stages at which policy can be researched or evaluated. Various authors which include Anderson, Dye, and Howlett and Ramesh summarise the policy-making process into a

policy cycle. In an attempt to analyse and understand the complex process in public policy making, the policy cycle provides a simplified model that identifies five distinct phases in policymaking. However it is important to note that the policy cycle is not as definitive and circular as presented. It does not allow for or indicate flexibility to provide corrective action during the policymaking process if necessary. The model also assumes that each phase follows on from the phase preceding it. In reality, the terrain of policy-making is often messy, less structured, punctuated by conflicting interests, contexts and displays political cleavages. According to Parsons (1995:70), the policy cycle:

- Does not provide any causal explanation of how policy moves from one stage to another.
- Cannot be tested on an empirical basis.
- Characterises policy-making as essentially „top-down", and fails to take account of „street-level" and other actors.
- Ignores the real world of policy-making which involves multiple levels of government and interacting cycles.
- Does not provide for an integrated view of the analysis of the policy process and analysis (knowledge, information, research) which is used in the policy process.

That said, there is still value in the use of the policy cycle to analytically distinguish between the stages of policy making. In the following sections, I will briefly discuss each stage of the policy process.

2.3.1 Agenda Setting

The Agenda Setting (Phase 1) of the policy process as outlined by Howlett and Ramesh (1995:11) involves a process by which issues that have been classified as problems come to the attention of government. However, it does not illustrate that not all problems of policy issues make it to the Agenda Setting phase. It also does not show

how a problem gets onto the policy agenda and does not describe the processes which have highlighted the problem through the use of different mechanisms. Bonser (1996:48) argues that in solving a problem there are important questions that need to be addressed which give a full explanation of what the actual problem is. For instance, it is important to look at the background and source of the underlying problem. It is also important to know the causes of the problem and to know who believes that there is a problem.

There are two kinds of agendas within which these problems are placed, namely the governmental agenda and the decision agenda. The governmental agenda is "the list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials and people outside government closely associated with those officials are paying some serious attention to at any given time." Kingdon (1995:13) differentiates a list of subjects from within this list, which are up for an active decision, as the decision agenda.

2.3.2 Policy Formulation

The second phase of the policy cycle is policy formulation. Policy formulation refers to the courses of action whereby different policy alternatives or proposals are formulated and presented as potential solutions to the policy problems identified.

2.3.3 Decision Making

This phase entails the consideration and assessment of a range of possible policy solutions and alternatives. Bonser (1996:50) states that policy analysts need to identify, design and screen different policy alternatives. He further elaborates that policy analysts have to think broadly and creatively about all possible approaches to solving the problem at hand. Further, Bonser (1996) states that policy analysis should predict the consequences of each alternative. This is the point at which the analysts begin to reduce the alternative to manageable, practical sets of options (1996:49). The exploration of alternative solutions to problems is a critical part in the policy decision-

making process, because if suitable alternatives are not chosen the problems are not likely to be solved. Therefore, the decision-making phase is when government considers policy alternatives and proposals, decides on and adopts a particular course of action or non-action.

2.3.4 Policy Implementation

Policy Implementation is the main focus of this research study. This phase refers to the process through which the government effects its policy decision by delegating responsibility for implementation to street-level bureaucrats.

This section discusses policy implementation with a particular focus on process evaluation. In the following sections 2.3.4.1-2.3.4.6, I am going to explain in detail policy implementation with a view of, later on, establishing whether the Zibambele Road Maintenance programme is implemented as intended.

2.3.4.1 Policy Implementation and the policy cycle

Implementation is generally referred to as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and the actions geared to achieve them. Implementation "is the ability to forge subsequent links in the causal chain [of the policy process] so as to obtain the desired results" (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973: xv). When one looks at implementation, one can be tempted to think that it"s simple because it does not involve drafting, choosing, and deciding on proposals. Rather, policy implementation may encounter a number of significant problems such as ambiguity of objectives, lack of control, inadequate resources and lack of information.

Implementation requires the understanding that apparently simple sequences of events depend on complex chains of reciprocal interaction (Pressman and Wildavasky, 1973). Although each part of the policy chain must be built with the others in view, the

separation of policy design from implementation is vital. Implementation signals completion of policy design but also has the potential to bring about new policies as well.

2.3.4.2 Models of Implementation

There are two models that are cited in policy implementation analysis: top – down and bottom – up. The proponents of the top-down see the task of policy makers as making policy goals as clear as possible thereby minimising the role of other participants. This means that implementers are seen only to play the role of carrying out the directions that are set out in the policy statements.

On the other hand the bottom-up model is a response to the weaknesses that are thought to exist in the top-down model. These weaknesses are thought to include the hierarchical nature of this model as well as the authoritarianism that comes with it. The bottom –up model is essentially participatory/ democratic in its approach. This approach does not believe that policy making must be limited to the policy makers. This model is founded on the belief that policy implementation can be understood in depth if looked at from the perspective of the beneficiaries of the policy and those who implement it.

Matland (1995: 148) believes that implementation happens both at micro and macro levels. The macro level refers to the central level that generally formulates policy implementation. The micro, or local, level, on the other hand, develops plans and strategies to turn national policy into actions that are relevant for the local context. If the central level is too strict in regulating how implementation works on the local level – thus failing to allow the local level to exercise its own discretion, it may lead to the derailment of implementation.

Several scholars have attempted to synthesise both these approaches whereas others such as Matland (1995: 152) have argued that such a synthesis is not useful. On the

contrary they argue that policy analysts should work out what model is relevant for each particular context.

This approach of working out the context in which a particular model is relevant is crucial to the development of Matland‟s Ambiguity/Conflict Model. Central to this model are the roles that context, conflict and ambiguity play in the formulation of policy.

Matland holds that policy formulation is characterised by conflict and ambiguity which may lead to bargaining or coercion to ensure compliance. This may in turn lead to focus being lost on intended goals since bargaining only concentrates on agreeing on action.

Ambiguity arises out of two sources: 1) ambiguity of goals that are measurable and have an impact or cause change, 2) ambiguity of means – which refers to a lack of a clear framework on how to achieve the goals.

Policy ambiguity, according to Matland, impacts directly on implementation and there will be varying methods of implementation at different sites. He then develops various policy types with differing levels of ambiguity.

i) Low policy ambiguity and low policy conflict is usually carried out by administrators.

ii) Low policy ambiguity and high policy conflict is common to political models of decision making. Each actor concentrates on his own goals. Naturally all the actors have different goals and will pursue different outcomes. The actor with most is one who actually gets to decide on implementation.

iii) High policy ambiguity and low policy conflict is characterised as experimental implementation. In this instance actors are not certain about preference to choose and the technology to apply. The actual participation of the various actors depends on proximity, interests and availability of the various actors. This policy type is good when the required knowledge for implementation is lacking. However, the real danger that is posed is that uniformity amongst actors can lead to superficial compliance.

iv) High policy ambiguity and high policy conflict deals with symbolic issues which lack clear goals. The implementation will vary from one situation to the other.

Ambiguity must not be seen as a weakness as it can lead to successful implementation. It also provides opportunities to learn new methods, technologies and goals. It is also value neutral as it does not seek to attain a specific outcome. This means that the actions of the various actors will combine to determine the final outcome.

2.3.4.3 Defining Successful Implementation

In the light of the above considerations the question becomes what constitutes successful implementation? According to Matland (1995) the question turns to whether we attend to plans or the outcomes of implementation (1995: 154). The top – down model looks at how faithfulness to plans is maintained while the bottom –up model looks at positive action.

2.3.4.4 Conditions that hinder effective implementation

Turner and Hulme (1997:76-77) identify conditions that preclude successful implementation. These include:

- Political, economic and environmental constraints;
- Institutional realities: the contexts in which development activities take place is a major determinant of project success;
- Technical assistance shortcomings;
- Decentralisation and participation are commonly believed to increase the likelihood of project success, such as service delivery issue. However the lack of political commitment, bureaucratic resistance and inadequate resources have contributed to often disappointing results;
- Delays are detrimental to implementation and can be caused by many problems.

- Differing agendas: when agendas differ, project success and benefit sustainability will rarely achieve success.

It is important to be aware of these conditions when examining implementation.

2.3.4.5 Power and Implementation

Power affects policy-making whether it is top-down or bottom-up and this in turn affects policy implementation strategies. One cannot ignore or deny the existence of power"s influence in policy implementation.

According to Pfeffer, power is the potential ability to influence behaviour, to change the course of events, to overcome resistance and get people to do things that they would not otherwise do. Politics and influence are the processes, the actions, the behaviours through which power is utilised and realised (1992:30).

Pfeffer (1992) proposes that it is important to study power in implementation. Problems of implementation can often be attributed to problems experienced in developing and exercising political will and expertise.

Power is complex and can often be seen as an important determinant of organisational activity. It is exercised differently in certain situations. For example, differences in points of view demand a greater need for understanding of how power and influence work. It is important to know the locations of power, be it personal attributes or structural resources, as this knowledge increases our ability to understand implementation.

As implementers of policy, street-level bureaucrats play an important role in the policy process therefore the next section discusses the roles and problems faced by the street-level bureaucrats. It"s important to look at their role basically because they are the ones who animate policy.

2.3.4.6 Street-level Bureaucrats

Lipsky (1980:3) argues that public service workers currently occupy a critical position in policy implementation. Although they are normally regarded as low-level employees, the actions of most public service workers actually affect policy implementation. Hence, they are key people in delivering services. Lipsky (1980:3) calls these public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work, street-level bureaucrats. Street-level bureaucrats can be teachers, police officers, social workers, judges, public lawyers and other court officers. In other words, all public employees who are granted access to government programs and provide services are regarded by Lipsky as street-level bureaucrats. Seemingly, street-level bureaucrats are the ones who implement public policy the most, as they are co-people of government. One can say street-level bureaucrats are the pillars of service delivery.

It is a common misconception that politicians make policy and public servants (street-level bureaucrats) implement it. Both politicians and street-level bureaucrats are active in maintaining this myth. The reality is different; implementation is a complex process and cannot be seen as a seamless, systematic exercise.

Implementation is a political process where those with an interest in a policy negotiate over the goals and confer over the allocation of resources. "The implementation phase may thus be seen as an arena in which those responsible for allocating resources are engaged in political relationships among themselves and with other actors intent on influencing that allocation" (Turner and Hulme, 1997:77). Grindle (1997) states that decision-makers and implementers in the policy process face opposition in attempting to pursue reformist initiatives.

Street-level bureaucrats are responsible for carrying out the directives of government. The daily interaction of the bureaucrats and the public becomes the interface through which citizens experience government.

Lipsky (1980) sees policy as being made and implemented in a situation of human interaction, rather than as mechanistic. He focuses on the nature of this interaction: "Implementation involves the recognition that organisations have human and organisational limitations and that these must be recognised as a resource" (Lipsky, 1980:15).

Lipsky (1980) discusses how street-level bureaucrats operate in an environment that conditions the way they perceive problems and form solutions to them. Street-level bureaucrats often end up developing their own coping mechanisms to deal with uncertainties and work pressures. These coping mechanisms affect the policies they carry out. Lipsky (1980) states that street-level bureaucrats develop patterns of practice that tend to limit demand, maximise utilisation of available resources and obtain client compliance over and above the procedures developed by the agencies (Lipsky, 1980: 83).

The following section will conclude the discussion of the policy process by looking at the last stage which is policy evaluation.

2.3.4.6 Policy evaluation

Rossi & Freeman (1989:18) define evaluation research as the systematic application of social research procedures for assessing the conceptualization, design, implementation, and utility of social intervention programs.

After public policy has been implemented, it must be determined if the policy has indeed had the effects intended by the policy-maker, and if it has had unintended effects, either of a positive or negative nature. This is, theoretically, the last stage of the policy cycle, where those who affected the policy attempt to find out if it has really worked. Hanekom (1987:88) argues that the evaluation of policy impacts is the concern of both those who made and implemented the policy and those who are interested in public policies.

As a functional activity, policy evaluation can occur throughout the policy process, and not only after a period of implementation. For the purpose of this research, the focus is on policy evaluation applied at the implementation (i.e. implementation evaluation or process evaluation) phase of the Zibambele road maintenance programme in the KZN Department of Transport.

From this, I will now expand on process evaluation as it is the analytical approach of this study.

2.4   Process Evaluation

Rossi and Freeman (1989) argue that the whole exercise of monitoring programmes is directed by three key questions stated as follows: "(1) the extent to which the program is reaching the appropriate target population, (2) whether or not its delivery of services is consistent with program design specifications, and (3) what resources are being or have been expended in the conduct of the program" (1989:167).   The first two questions are particularly pertinent to this research project.   The main purpose of this type of evaluation is not to find out if a programme is effective or not but to find out if its implementation is faulty or incomplete. Without this evaluation, which is known as process evaluation or implementation evaluation, it is very difficult for the evaluators to ascertain if a specific programme or aspects of it are functioning as planned.

Rossi and Freeman (1989) argue that monitoring for implementation is born out of the discrepancy that exists between programme designs and the actual implementation of those programmes. Hence the process of evaluating implementation is to find ways to make programmes identifiable with their designs as well as finding effective ways of communicating the design to those who are responsible for implementing the programmes. "Clearly, astute evaluators must be familiar with contemporary efforts to close the gap between intention and actualization in social programs, efforts that draw upon the concepts and techniques …to these we now add monitoring, which can be

thought of as a set of „quality assurance" activities directed at maximizing a program"s conformity with its design" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989:170).

The design of this study was such that it focused on the implementation phase of the Zibambele road maintenance programme. The implementation process will be judged against what the policy says should be happening in implementing the programme.

2.4.1 Purposes of process evaluation

Firstly Rossi and Freeman (1989) also point out that it is important to carry out this type of evaluation as it is useful for policymakers, stakeholders and sponsors. These groups need to know if a particular programme is working as designed and if it is optimising resources. This then determines whether to continue with the project or not as it provides feedback to what has occurred. The most effective way to find out the above regarding any implementation of any programme is through monitoring which brings us to the next sections which looks at monitoring in detail.

2.4.2 Monitoring

Rossi and Freeman define monitoring "as the systematic attempt by evaluation researchers to examine program coverage and delivery. Assessing program coverage consists of estimating the extent to which a program is reaching its intended target population; evaluating program delivery consists of measuring the degree of congruence between the plan for providing services and treatments (programme elements) and the ways they are actually provided" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989:170). The suggestion is that there is bound to be a clash between the manner in which the programme is planned, designed and intended to be implemented and the actual way in which it is implemented. It is for this reason that they suggest the need for monitoring the way in which a programme is actually delivered.

They also point out that during the process of monitoring a great deal of information will be collected some of which will pertain to the costs involved and the justification for those costs. While other information will pertain to certain legislative requirements (such as affirmative action).

They suggest that the traditional approach has always been one where there was a distinction between process analysis and programme impacts. Process analysis was done at the beginning of the project when it was in its design stage. The process analysis and those responsible for it were seen apart from the project or its staff. They argue that there was a deliberate effort to foster a distance between the evaluators and the staff who were involved in the project. These evaluators would collect their own data and make their own assessments without involving the staff who were running the project. At completion they would make their own independent assessment of the project. This would be made without consulting the staff or management of the project even if the project management was engaged in monitoring of its own, resulting in recommendations made by the evaluators being ignored, even if the information could have been useful. This type of conduct was quite common in large-scale experimental projects where there was often distrust between staff involved in the project and outside evaluators. Rossi and Freeman (1989) claim that the former were always emotionally involved while the latter were more interested in the scientific aspect of the project with the purpose of reporting their findings to their academic peers. Since the difference in motivation was so great between the staff and the monitors it bordered on sabotage. But with time this has changed; "the distinction between monitoring and process evaluation has blurred - indeed, we will be using the terms interchangeably – and collaboration between project staff and evaluators has increased markedly" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989; 172).

They suggest three possible reasons for this development. The first is that evaluation has become more institutionalised leading to the acceptance of evaluators as part of the team. Secondly, it is due to the willingness of the monitors to share their findings with

staff and to seek ways to improve the programmes. The third has been the adoption of the management information system that seeks to provide information on a client by client basis.

Rossi and Freeman (1989) emphasise the need to provide information that will be of service to all the "consumer groups" of the programme monitoring process. While each group may have a different need from the other or the rest, hence they may find that certain information is of no use to them; Rossi and Freeman (1989) emphasise the importance of not neglecting one group in favour of the other. The monitors have a particular obligation to provide information that will be useful to all interest groups. In order to show the different information needs Rossi and Freeman (1989) describe some key groups who can be seen as consumers to programme monitoring. They trace and narrate each group"s own unique perspective.

The first perspective is that of a monitor. Rossi and Freeman (1989) argue that monitors are informed by a number of practical considerations in their need to carry out programme monitoring. Often, the quality of the impact of a project is reduced "because either the appropriate treatment is not delivered, or the intervention is not delivered to the right targets or both" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989: 173). They estimate that most programmes fail as a result of this as opposed to problems with the actual design of the programme itself. They also state that monitoring is important for the evaluator as it informs him of what actually took place. This knowledge will enable the monitor to evaluate what made the programme a success or not. "Ideally, evaluators need information on the extent and ways individual program elements are delivered in order to support claims they make about the utility of particular aspects of the intervention or about the frequency and duration of the treatment required" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989:173).

The second perspective is that of the sponsors or funders of the programme who require monitoring to be undertaken so that they can be accountable for the outcomes of the project. While it may seem that the programme sponsors or funders do not need

to be accountable, Rossi and Freeman (1989) argue that sponsors actually have to account to their boards of directors, and in government there are bodies that supervise the funders. "Ideally, programme sponsors and funding organizations should focus on the effectiveness and efficiency of programs: Do the programmes have noticeable impacts on the problems or conditions to which they are directed? How do costs compare with benefits? In many cases, however, these groups focus on monitoring information. They want answers to such questions as these: Are programmes" funds being expended properly? Are the designated target populations being reached? How much of the intended service is actually being delivered?" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989: 177). Furthermore, programme funders use monitoring to make decisions on whether to cut, increase, stop or renew spending. "Needless to say, the social program sector typically operates with ruthlessness akin to that of the business world. It could hardly be otherwise, given the stakes involved" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989: 177). It is this form of accountability that allows stakeholders to decide to support programmes or not..

Rossi and Freeman (1989) argue that a distinction should be made between monitoring and auditing. They argue that auditing is a normative activity that essentially concerns itself with a comparison of what is there and what should be there. Monitoring, on the other hand is concerned with identifying and measuring what has actually occurred. "For example, an auditor may find that, despite legislation directing community mental health centres to provide 24-hour emergency care centres are open only during daylight hours. Monitoring might reveal that the budgets allocated to the centres fail to provide for the employment of necessary security staff and that it is consequently impossible to recruit staff that are willing to work nights in centres located in high-crime areas. Clearly, there is an interplay between auditing and monitoring, but they are not identical" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989: 178)

The third monitoring perspective is from the management point of view. Unlike policymakers and funders, management is not primarily concerned with making decisions on the viability of the project. Instead they are interested in making decisions incorporate corrective measures. Managers see monitoring as vital at the

implementation of, and pilot testing of new programmes, as problems normally occur at the early implementation stages. "Program designers and managers need to know rapidly and fully about these problems so that changes may be made as soon as possible in the design of the program" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989;178). Rossi and Freeman (1989) are of the opinion that monitoring at an early stage of a programme is an essential part of formative evaluation. Failure to monitor projects at this stage may lead to the failure of the entire project. They claim that at the pilot stage the programme may be successful because of the charisma of management and the drive of the staff and monitoring at this stage may present a different outlook to one that may have been if monitoring had not been in place.

> For programmes that have moved beyond the development stage to the operational stage, programme monitoring serves management needs by providing information on coverage and process, and hence feedback on whether the program is meeting specifications. The programme may need to be re-evaluated should monitoring reveal that targets are not being reached, or costs exceed those initially projected, or if staff workloads are either too heavy or too light. Managers who neglect to monitor a program fully and systematically risk the danger of administering a programme that is markedly different from its mandate (Rossi and Freeman, 1989; 180).

Rossi and Freeman (1989) note that other scholars suggest that the failure of a programme is to be found in the actual conception of the programme as opposed to its implementation. These scholars argue that if a programme is poorly conceived it will not be able to yield any positive results. This means that programme design is responsible for the success or failure of a project and as managers are not responsible for this they cannot be held accountable for any subsequent failure. Rossi and Freeman (1989) agree that a poorly formulated design is not likely to yield a positive outcome but they maintain that many of the project failures encountered are primarily caused by the failure on part of managers to "administer their organisations adequately" (Rossi and

Freeman, 1989:180). They then turn their attention to look at the monitoring of programme coverage as well as delivery system activities.

2.4.3. Monitoring Target Participation

Rossi and Freeman (1989) emphasise the importance of carefully defining the target population when programmes are being designed, planned and implemented. But this is not viable unless there is a procedure to determine the extent to which the target population will actually participate in the project. "Monitoring of target participation is particularly essential for the large number of interventions in which programme acceptance and participation are voluntary" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989: 181).

They say that attracting a target is problematic especially if it involves learning new procedures, taking instructions or changing target"s habits.   "From the viewpoint of program managers and sponsors, target participation is a critical measure of the project"s vitality and effectiveness" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989; 181). Planners seem to assume that the target is always motivated to participate but this is not always the case. There are instances where the target is either reluctant or unwilling to participate even if the benefits are great It is important, therefore, to develop a programme to ensure that the participants remain motivated.

Then there is the issue of coverage and bias. "The issues of target participation consist of problems of coverage and bias. Whereas *coverage* refers to the extent to which participation by the target population achieves the levels specified in the programme, *bias* is the degree to which subgroups of the target population participate differentially. A bias in the coverage of a programme simply means that some subgroups are being covered more thoroughly than others" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989; 182). Bias arises when some subgroups participate more than others or when the staff in the project favour certain subgroups that are more likely to register success than those that are not likely to register success. Bias can pose a threat to the validity of the "impact assessments" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989; 182). This can be avoided if a programme is

able to reach all members of the population but as this is not always possible bias will always be an issue. But Rossi and Freeman (1989) suggest that "staff and sponsors can correct this problem by defining the characteristics of the target population more sharply and by using resources more effectively" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989:182). There could be a failure to meet the target of the required number of participants either due to some bias in the way that participants are chosen or due to a rejection by the prospective participants in taking part in the project. There is also a possibility of over coverage, as opposed to that of underrepresentation. This occurs when an unintended audience is reached at no extra charge or staff deliberately increases participation.

Programme staff and sponsors take into account both under coverage and over coverage. Under coverage is measured by the proportion of the targets in need of a program that actually participate in it. Over coverage is sometimes expressed as the number of program participants who are not in need, compared with the total number not in need in a designated population, and sometimes as the number of participants not in need compared to with the total number of participants in the program. Generally it is the latter figure that is important; efficient use of program resources requires both maximizing the number served who are in need and minimizing the number not in need who are served (Rossi and Freeman, 1989:184) But the problem is actually ascertaining the number of people in need.

2.4.4. Programme Records

All projects are required to keep records but the extensiveness and sophistication of these records will differ from project to project due to various factors including feasibility and availability of resources. It is important to keep records to track expenses and to measure time spent on the project by staff.   Records can also be used to make decisions about the retention of staff. "In measuring target participation, the main concerns are that the data are accurate and reliable. A number of procedures can help ensure reliability. Perhaps the most important is to develop a record system that is

simple enough not to become burdensome to programme staff and yet comprehensive enough to meet evaluation needs" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989; 187).

Records can also be used to do monitor participants in the programme. Sampling of these can be useful to obtain results of a project.

If a programme is not limited to an individual but spread over the whole community the only way of ascertaining if the intended community is being reached is to carry out a community survey. The survey can then be used to target what changes need to be made to attract the under-represented group.

2.4.5. Monitoring and Delivery of Services

Rossi and Freeman argue that monitoring the delivery of services is important to decide if these should be continued or not. "The extent to which program specifications are actually met in the delivery of the intervention obviously must be fully documented for policymaking. Additionally, research on service delivery is valuable in determining staff members" levels of performance" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989; 193). Evaluators of service delivery can determine whether the actual output of the intervention is approximate to the intended outputs.

2.4.6. Why Programs Fail through Delivery System Errors

Rossi and Freeman argue that the large majority of failures encountered are really caused by the failure to deliver the project"s implementation in accordance with the specific way in which they were designed to be delivered. They identify three types of implementation failures: "first, no treatment, or not enough, is delivered, second, the wrong treatment is delivered; and third, the treatment is unstandardised, uncontrolled, or varies across target populations. In each instance, monitoring the actual delivery of services to identify faults and deficiencies is essential" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989: 193).

The first problem occurs when there is an inadequate amount of delivery. Rossi and Freeman (1989) say that this may be caused by the frontline staff"s lack of commitment or it could be a result of what they call "ritual compliance" which leads to a point where the programme does not exist.

The second problem is wrong treatment, which can occur in two ways. The first "is that the mode of delivery negates the treatment" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989; 195). This happens when the people who are supposed to be at the forefront of delivering the service are either ill-equipped or not suitable for that particular function. They give an example of a situation in a prison where hostile prison guards were used as group leaders in group counselling that was offered to the prisoners. This resulted in a situation where there was just pretence of therapy. Secondly, wrong treatment may result from a delivery system that is too sophisticated. They point out that this can result in a huge difference between a pilot project and the actual implementation. While it is possible that the system may work if certain interventions are made in a pilot project, it may fail when administered by staff who are not properly trained or motivated.

The third problem is that of unstandardised treatment, a programme failure that "includes those that result from unstandardised or uncontrolled treatment implementation, in some cases involving "planned variation" in treatments. The problem arises when the design of the program leaves too much discretion in implementation to the delivery system, so that the treatment can vary significantly across sites" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989; 196).

2.4.7. Delivery System Concepts

Rossi and Freeman (1989) argue that some programmes are simple and easy to implement and evaluating them requires minimum use of resources. However some programmes are much more complex and they require a combination of various

evaluation methods. They propose that a review of concepts that are used in assessing programme delivery be carried out. According to Rossi and Freeman (1989), the programmes" delivery system has a number of separate elements and it is advisable to assess all of these elements unless previous experience precludes such an assessment.

2.4.8 Access

Access refers to the structural and organisational arrangements that will enable participation in the programme. In some instances this may simply refer to opening up an office so that people will come in and participate, or in some cases it may involve actively reaching out to people, encouraging them, or even providing transport to ensure that they participate. It may also involve making an effort during intervention to ensure that there are no dropouts or that these are minimised. Rossi and Freeman (1989) say that there are a number of questions that arise in relation to access. Some of these questions will have to do with service delivery and others will relate to the issue of target participation.

Firstly, are the access operations in keeping with the design of the programme? They cite an example where it is necessary to ensure that there is a Spanish translator when servicing a Hispanic population.

Secondly, do participants stay in the programme as planned and, when they leave, do they leave at the planned stage? High termination rates lead to targets not being reached and the costs could become excessive.

Thirdly, access should provide the potential targets with appropriate services. They cite an example where it was noted that at first community members used emergency medical facilities for emergencies, however with time they started using these facilities

for general medical needs. This becomes very costly and could result in those in need of emergency medical care being denied such access.

Fourthly, the access arrangements should encourage different social and cultural groups to use the service.

Finally, assessing satisfaction in respect of access is important. "For example, if a preschool project is viewed with dissatisfaction by the mothers of the participating children, in successive years it may fail to draw other children from these families or from neighbouring families influenced by the mothers" reports; in effect, access is reduced by the clients" dissatisfaction.

2.4.9. Specification of Services

Rossi and Freeman (1989) argue that in planning an implementation it is important that the actual services are specified in measurable terms. Each kind of service has to be defined in terms of activities that take place and the kind of participation by different providers.

> Programme elements may be defined in terms of time, costs, procedures, or a product. In a vocational training project, programme elements may refer to hours of counselling time provided; in an effort to foster housing improvement, they may be defined in terms of amounts of building materials provided; in a cottage industry project, a programme element may refer to an activity, such as training people to operate sewing machines; and in an educational programme, an element may be specific curricular materials used in classrooms. In all these examples what is important is that there is an explicit definition of what constitutes a programme element (Rossi and Freeman, 1989; 199).

They state that wherever possible it is always best to separate the different aspects of the programme into specific elements. For purposes of accountability it is also

necessary to attach monetary value to each element. While simple elements are easy to account for, complex elements will require specific training to attain that accountability.

2.4.10 Collecting Data for Monitoring

Rossi and Freeman state that a number of techniques may be used either on their own or in combination with others to gather data on the implementation of a programme. This process must take into account the actual resources that are available and the expertise that the evaluator has. While highly technical and sophisticated analytical methods are what is normally preferred, at times simple techniques are adequate for the process of monitoring a programme. There are a number of restrictions on data collection and of these have to do with privacy and confidentiality, particularly in areas such as mental health and family planning where data collection depends on one to one delivery methods. Care must be taken that these rights are not violated. While questionnaires may be seen as economical they can be hindered by functional illiteracy or cultural norms. "There are four data sources that should be considered in the design of a monitoring evaluation: direct observation by the evaluator, service records, data from service providers, and information from programme participants or their associates. The approaches used to collect and analyse the data overlap from one data source to the next. A comprehensive monitoring evaluation would include data from all four sources" (Rossi and Freeman, 1989; 205).

The main focus of this study, broadly stated, is to examine whether the Zibambele road maintenance programme in the KZN Department of Transport is being implemented as it should be. Therefore, it is through this analytical framework that data will be collected and analysed.

2.5 Conclusion

Thus far this research project has explored theoretical issues that occur in the policy-making cycle. The main focus was on policy implementation and process evaluation, since the case study which will be presented is on issues arising from the implementation of the Zibambele road maintenance programme by the KZN Department of Transport.   This section also revealed that those responsible for the policy implementation, the street-level bureaucrats, experience a number of challenges. It is also evident that different authors adopt assorted definitions as to public policy. What is evident in all the definitions is the emphasis on government as the fundamental and final decision-maker in the process of policy-making. To understand public policies and their administrative implementation, it is important to be aware of the fundamental concepts, assumptions, and circumstances.

Chapter 3: The Case Study

3.1 Introduction

It is important to understand the policy background to the introduction of the Zibambele maintenance programme policy in KwaZulu-Natal. The aim of this chapter is to explore in detail the legislative framework of Zibambele Road Maintenance and discuss its origins. .Findings and the analysis of the study will also be discussed in detail with a focus being provided to the research methods and sampling strategies that were employed in the study.

3.2 Background

The South African government believes that a key approach to poverty alleviation is to provide employment. The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) is one of an array of governmental strategies aimed at addressing the high level of unemployment in South Africa.

Unemployment is a universal problem with which the political leadership of almost every country has to contend. The problem that South Africa is faced with is that, not only does unemployment exist in South Africa, but it so severe that it is directly responsible for extreme poverty. Unemployment has significant economic and social costs for individuals and households, as well as for the larger society. Unemployment and the inability to earn a regular income results in poverty and the inability to move out of this situation, especially in developing countries which fail to provide a social safety net (State of the Nation Address by former president Mr Thabo Mbeki, 2005, p48). This relationship between poverty and the inability to earn a regular income through employment leads to the conclusion that to alleviate poverty one should promote employment and job creation. In South Africa today, more than a decade after the end

of apartheid and the reopening of the economy, the unemployment rate together with the number of people living in poverty remain at a very high level.

The causes of unemployment in South Africa are manifold and complex. The magnitude of South Africa‟s unemployment can be shown by the fact that between the fourth quarter of 2009 and the first quarter of 2010 the unemployment rate increased to 25.2%, (www.stassa.gov.za). Inadequate economic growth and lack of investment have resulted in unemployment. The South African government believes that the primary cause of poverty in South Africa is lack of income, the main cause of which is the lack of paid work.

3.3 Legislative Framework: Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)

The Zibambele road maintenance programme was initially implemented in 2000 to alleviate poverty and it is now currently guided by the EPWP in a legislative framework. The EPWP has as its main objective poverty alleviation.

Two fundamental long-term strategies underpin the government‟s approach to reducing unemployment. Firstly to increase economic growth so that the number of net new jobs being created exceeds the number of new entrants into the labour market, and, secondly to improve the education system enabling the work force to fill the largely skilled work opportunities which economic growth will generate. Short to medium-term strategies have been put in place to contribute towards these long-term strategies. The EPWP forms one of government‟s short to medium-term strategies (EPWP logical framework, 2004).

Former President Thabo Mbeki formally announced the EPWP in his State of the Nation Address in February 2003. The programme was agreed to at the Growth and Development Summit (GDS) held in June 2003 and the president launched the programme in May 2004. The EPWP is a nationwide programme covering all spheres of government and state-owned enterprises. It aims to draw significant numbers of

unemployed people into productive work, accompanied by training, thereby increasing their capacity to earn an income. The problem statement for EPWP is that the inadequate economic growth and the lack of investment has resulted in unemployment. This combined with the legacy of the past, has resulted in a situation where a large proportion of our population does not yet has the skills or opportunities to participate effectively in the economy and earn a living (EPWP logical framework, 2004).

"The EPWP is an important means of exposure to the world of work in a context where a very high proportion of the unemployed have never worked. Indeed in the 16-34 age groups (which constitutes the youth category in terms of the „youth‟ commission‟s definition) 70% report never having worked, while 59% of all unemployed people have never worked" (EPWP logical framework, 2004).

The EPWP involves re-orientating line function budgets and conditional grants so that government‟s expenditure results in more work opportunities, particularly for unskilled labour. The Growth and Development summit agreed that the EPWP must not displace existing permanent jobs and that all opportunities must be based on real demand for services (EPWP logical framework, 2004).

Pertinent characteristics of the EPWP Programme are as follows:

- It provides temporary work opportunities to largely unskilled people
- It provides relevant training to workers as part of the programme
- Workers are employed under the Code of Good Practice for Special Works Programme or under the Learnership determination for unemployed workers.
- EPWP workers employed as leaners are in learnerships that are NFQ level 4 or below
- Projects or programmes are directly or indirectly government funded
- Projects or programmes provide government services or create government assets. (EPWP logical framework, 2004)

The EPWP aims to provide poverty and income relief through temporary work for the unemployed carrying out socially useful activities. These programmes are designed to equip participants with a modicum of training and work experience, thereby enhancing their ability to earn a living in the future.

The goal of the EPWP is to alleviate unemployment for a minimum of one million people in South Africa. This goal will be achieved through four sectoral programme components. Each sectoral component is driven by a lead department responsible for developing the sector plan and coordinating its implementation.

Firstly, there is the infrastructure sector plan which is being led by the Department of Public Works and it includes, amongst others, the Department of Transport. This plan focuses on job creation through introducing labour-intensive construction methods in civic works under the EPWP. The work is carried out using an appropriate mix of labour and machines.

The second plan is the environmental sector plan and it has the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism as the lead department.

Thirdly, the social sector plan emanates from the Department of Health, Education and Social Development with the Department of Social Development as the lead department.

Lastly, the economic sector plan where the Department of Economic development is the lead department. This sector plan focuses on a micro-enterprise venture learnership project.

While the EPWP provides an important avenue for labour absorption and income transfers to poor households in the short to medium-term, it is not designed to address the structural nature of the unemployment crisis. Moreover, it is merely one element

within a broader government strategy to reduce poverty through the alleviation and reduction of unemployment (EPWP logical framework, 2004).

There are a number of key assumptions underlying delivery in the EPWP. Capacity being the primary assumption. The EPWP is based on the assumption that the public and private sector stakeholders have the management, technical and financial capacity to implement the programme. This includes national, provincial and local EPWP management capacity available to implement the programme, including personnel, systems, budget provision, the delivery of goods and services tied to the EPWP, and / or the ability to develop the necessary plans to put the necessary capacity into place (EPWP logical framework, 2004).

It is also necessary for the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems developed to be implemented by all departments to enable troubleshooting and improvement. There is also a need for the programme to partner with key partners as capacity is also required in the skills development arena. The EPWP assumes that the human resources and management systems are in place to manage service delivery and / or that the plans to build the required capacity will be developed and implemented by the government agencies. Another assumption is the labour market and exit strategies. A number of key assumptions exist as to the participants" functioning after exiting the EPWP. "It is assumed that the market is able to absorb 10% of the new job seekers and that the skills and experience gained by participation in the programme are relevant to labour demand in the economy.

The training environment is another key assumption identified in the logical framework as being crucial to the deliverables of the EPWP. There needs to be a centralised capacity to evaluate the relevance of training in terms of exit opportunities in place.

It"s important at this stage to look at the institutional arrangements of the EPWP. The overall co-ordination of the programme is done by the Department of Public Works (DPW). Each of the four sectoral plans as mentioned earlier is coordinated by a lead

department. The Department of Public Works also co-ordinates the infrastructure sector. The economic, environmental, and social sectors will be coordinated by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) and the Department of Social Development (DSD) respectively.

The DPW carries out its overall coordinating function through a Director-Generals" steering committee, consisting of the other three sectoral coordinating departments, the presidency, National Treasury (NT), Department of Labour, the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG), and the Department of Public Enterprises (DPE). The DGs" steering committee will receive progress reports and address bottlenecks in implementation (EPWP logical framework, 2004). This method was then cascaded down to Provinces. In KwaZulu-Natal is the only different Province where the lead and coordinating role was given to the Department of Transport instead of the Department of Public Works. All provincial departments are coordinated and they report to the Department of Transport which in turn reports to the National DPW. Roles and responsibilities of co-ordination units are as follows:

- Overall monitoring
- Progress reports to Cabinet
- Promoting linkages between sectors (e.g. through learning networks)
- Putting in place common monitoring, evaluation, exit strategy, and training frameworks, and supportive guidelines
- Providing support by facilitating common programmes across sectors (e.g. access to credit for leaner entrepreneurs)
- Assisting other sectoral co-ordinating departments to develop sectoral plans

The sector co-ordinating departments which include the KZN DOT will have the following roles and responsibilities:

- Championing the EPWP in the sector
- Liaison with other departments and stakeholders in the sector

- In consultation with the other public bodies in the sector, producing a sectoral plan to:
- Identify areas for expansion of EPWP approaches
- Set targets for expansion
- Describe how the expansion is going to be achieved
- Facilitating the meeting of common needs in the sector (e.g. sectoral training and qualifications frameworks, sectoral guidelines)
- Monitoring implementation against the sectoral plan
- Producing sectoral progress report for the National DPW
  (EPWP logical framework, 2004).

Monitoring and evaluation of the EPWP is identified as a very important element in the implementation of the programme. Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) provides the information for management to review progress, identify problems, make adjustments and highlight problem areas to be addressed. If it used correctly this system can assist delivery and increase the impact of the programme. Monitoring and evaluation frameworks must be supported by information systems that enable data collection and analysis to be effective. "At the outset there has been recognition that, while common definitions and a monitoring and evaluation framework for the EPWP are needed, monitoring and evaluation needs to be mainstreamed within each Department and must be linked to existing ongoing reporting schedules and systems (EPWP logical framework, 2004)."

3.4 Policy Context: Zibambele Maintenance Programme

The Zibambele Maintenance Programme was initiated by the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport in 1999. Zibambele, which is a Zulu word meaning „doing it ourselves" is an innovative road construction and maintenance programme aimed to stabilise impoverished families in rural areas, in a positive and crucial attempt towards breaking their poverty cycle (Zibambele Policy, 2003). It is a poverty alleviation

programme which contracts destitute women-headed households, mainly in rural areas, to provide essential road maintenance and other labour-intensive activities in return for a monthly payment. Households, rather than individuals, are engaged to carry out maintenance activities. Each contractor is assigned a length of road, varying from 0.5km to 1km, depending on the level of difficulty involved in maintaining the road. Work undertaken typically includes:

- Maintenance of the road drainage system;
- Ensuring good roadside visibility;
- Keeping the road surface in good condition;
- Clearing of the road verges of litter and noxious weeds; and
- Other labour-intensive activities as determined from time to time.

The KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport distinguishes the Zibambele Programme from other poverty relief strategies by clarifying that it creates meaningful and sustainable employment thereby giving the contractors a sense of dignity associated with being gainfully employed. The contractors, mainly women-headed households, are selected by their community according to need. This creates a sense of community ownership of the programme and partnership with Government (Zibambele Policy; 2003).

In addition to the social benefits of providing a financial „safety net" for the poorest of the poor, the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport fulfils its core function; the construction and maintenance of its road network and related assets.

The key objectives of the Zibambele maintenance programme are:

- To provide ongoing and sustainable work opportunities for destitute households in an effort to break the poverty cycle;

- To provide cost effective, labour intensive, methods of routine maintenance of the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial road network.
- To empower rural women by providing training on road maintenance and other life skills programmes.

(KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme Policy; 2003:1).

The aims of the programme are:
- To establish a number of nationally accepted NQF qualification courses to suit the varying educational qualifications, capabilities and interests of those contractors who wish to exit the programme and to further develop their potential;
- To make available suitable training facilities, equipment and trainers at central locations throughout the Province;
- To ensure that candidates are being provided with training on a rotational basis at various NQF levels; and
- To make available sustainable work opportunities for the candidates on completion of their training (KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme Policy; 2003:1).

The learnerships are in line with Government"s Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) learnership programme. Regular on-site practical training of the candidate will be carried out in between their classroom studies on the many departmental construction projects underway (Operations manual for the implementation of the Zibambele maintenance programme; 2008, 3).

The operations manual for the implementation of the Zibambele maintenance programme (2008) further discusses the plans for exit strategies. The manager responsible for the programme shall develop exit strategies in conjunction with other government departments. Potential work opportunities are identified for participants where the contractors will provide maintenance and other services for:

- Multi-purpose community centres, community halls, court houses and other structures;
- Dams, cattle dip tanks, small irrigation schemes and other agricultural projects;
- National youth service opportunities

It is intended that the training provided will allow for opportunities outside of the sphere of maintenance. It is hoped that this will make way for:

- Long term employment;
- Self-employment
- Further education and training

Learners would be able to alleviate the department"s staff shortage by training to become Field Support Officers. The private construction sector also has identified critical shortages and trainees can enter the formal construction sector and take up these opportunities or become contractors themselves (Operations manual for the implementation of the Zibambele maintenance programme, 2008, 3).

At this stage of the case study its important to detail research methods that this study used as well as the findings and analysis of the data that was collected.

3.5 Research Methodology

3.5.1 Research methods

This research project uses both qualitative and quantitative methods of research in order to fully address the research questions. This is called triangulation and is defined by Neuman (2001:141) as "the application and combination of several research methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon". This has the benefit of combining the complementary strengths of the methods and increasing validity. In

order to best accomplish the objectives of the study and to provide a well-versed and critical analysis on the implementation of the Zibambele maintenance programme, the triangulation method was deemed more appropriate. Under the quantitative method, data was collected using survey questionnaires from twenty Zibambele contractors. Under the qualitative method, data was collected using in-depth interviews of Department of Transport staff members namely; two field support officers, the manager of the directorate and the deputy manager assigned for the programme.

3.5.2 Qualitative method

According to Henning (2003), qualitative research is research that utilises interviews, observations and group discussions (amongst others) to explore and understand the attitudes, opinions, feelings and behaviour of individuals. The qualitative approach provides an in-depth analysis of the problem, in order to understand the "what and why" of human behaviour (Smith; 1993: 31).

It is essential in this project to understand the perceptions of the state role-players in the implementation of the Zibambele programme, thus making this approach the most appropriate. Semi-structured interviews using both closed- and open-ended questions were employed to collect primary data from selected Zibambele contractors and Department of Transport managers and officials as mentioned engaged in the implementation of the programme (see „sampling" below).

The use of open-ended questions does not suggest specific answers. According to Neuman 2002) open-ended questions impose few limits on the range of responses that a respondent can give. The advantage of using open-ended questions is that it generates more data because of the flexibility of questions and it allows the researcher to probe deeper into the areas of interest. The data that was gathered through these interviews helped in discovering what people feel about the Zibambele road maintenance programme.

3.5.3 Quantitative Method

Quantitative research is commonly used to obtain a wide breadth of information regarding "how many?" or "how much?" (Maxwell 1998). The survey was employed for gathering quantitative data from respondents. Neuman (2000) describes the survey as research that involves the researcher asking people questions by way of a written questionnaire. Neuman (2000) further mentions that in a survey, the respondents simply answer questions without there being any manipulation of the process by the researcher.

For this research project, 20 respondents were selected from a group of Zibambele contractors. A structured, self-administered questionnaire was used to obtain data from the respondents.

3.6 Sampling Procedures

3.6.1 Sampling

Sampling according to Babbie and Mouton (2201), is the process of selecting respondents who can provide the required information concerning the topic under investigation. There are two types of sampling methods, probability and non-probability sampling. This study employed purposive sampling, a technique that falls under the latter sampling type.

3.6.1.1 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is the process of selecting informants/participants on the basis of the researcher"s knowledge of the population and the nature of the research aims (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:166). Babbie (2004:183) defines purposive (or judgmental) sampling as " a type of non-probabilty sampling in which you select the units to be observed on the basis of your own judgment about which ones will be the most useful or

representative". In other words, purposive sampling is when a sample is selected on the basis of the researcher"s knowledge of a population, its elements, and the purpose of the study.

For the interviews as mentioned purposive sampling was used in this study. The qualitative data respondents that were interviewed comprised of four officials from DOT who are directly involved in the implementation of the Zibambele Programme which comprised of the manager, deputy manager, and two field support officers.

3.6.1.2 Random sampling

According to Babbie (2004) random sampling refers to an element or person having an equal chance of being selected irrespective irrespective of any other event in the selection process.

The Zibambele contractors that were used in this study were randomly selected from the contractors of Pietermaritzburg (Vulindlela) and Empangeni region. The researcher requested to come to the regions when the field officers were meeting the contractors because it"s difficult to make appointments with each one because they are far apart geographically. Ten from each region agreed to participate in the study. The field support officers had no influence on the interviews as they were conducted privately with each contractor.

3.7. Data collection methods.

For qualitative data collection process, face-to-face interviews were conducted. Four officials from DOT participated in the interviews. An informed consent form was read and signed by each participant before the interview. The consent formed helped the interviewer to thoroughly explain the purpose of the study. After the signing of the consent form, the open-ended interviews were conducted and tape-recorded.

The data obtained under the quantitative method was through filling in of a survey with an individual Zibambele contractor.   An informed consent form was read to each participant to check if they are willing to participate in the study.   Then the survey questionnaire was given to the participants.

3.8 Data analysis

The study, as mentioned in 3.5.1, collected both qualitative and quantitative data. Content analysis was used to analyse the qualitative data and the SPSS programme which provides descriptive statistics was used to analyse the quantitative data. Below is the brief description of each analysis;

3.8.1 Content analysis

Brewerton and Millward (2002) define content analysis as systematically collecting and organising information into a standard format that allows analysts to draw a conclusion about the characteristic and meaning of the material. Babbie (2004) defines content analysis as "the study of recorded human communications and to answer questions of communications research; i.e. who says what, to whom, why, how and with what effect".

3.8.2 Descriptive Statistics Using the Software Package for Social Sciences (SPSS)

The data obtained from the quantitative data (questionnaire) as mentioned was analysed using the descriptive statistical methods using an analytical programme called SPSS. The advatanges of using this software is because it is most useful, popular and user friendly statistical analysis package available.

The next stage will be focusing on the findings of the study presenting both the qualitative findings and the quantitative findings.   Therefore it"s important to remind the

reader the objective of the study as mentioned in chapter one. The objective of the study has been to investigate problems and challenges faced by the implementers of the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme. The findings of the study have been categorised according to the objectives mentioned in chapter one with key questions that were asked under each objective. There are three broad objectives that have guided the research and they are as follows;

1. Admission criteria of the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme
2. Progressing of contractors since entering the programme.
3. Exiting strategies of the Programme

3.9 Findings

3.9.1 Contractor survey findings

As mentioned under the section concerning data collection (section 3.7), quantitative methods using a survey was used when interviewing the contractors. Under each broad objective, participants were asked specific key questions as detailed below.

(i) Admission Criteria

When the participants were asked if they understood the criteria of being admitted to the programme (see appendix 2), 14.3% responded by stating that they were not clear, 85.7% which is the majority understood the criteria of being admitted into the programme.

The second question that was asked under the admission criteria was how they got admitted into the Zibambele Road Maintenance programme (see appendix 2). 61.9% stated that the community members nominated them, 14.3% said they were admitted through a contact they knew in the department and 23.8% said they were admitted

through the recommendation from either a neighbour or a social worker by asking the department after seeing the state of poverty they were living in. From these responses it is evident that the department ensures community participation in selecting contractors as intended by the department.

(ii) Progression

The second broad issue that was investigated was the progression of the contractor within the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme.

The first question under this issue was since they have joined the programme, are they satisfied with the way the programme is operating (see appendix 2). The majority of the contractors indicated that they were happy with the way the programme is operating the problem is that they are not getting the tools to do their jobs in time and some have never received the tools since they started the programme.

What was clear is that many based their satisfaction of the programme on them receiving their monies in time. Only 23.8% stated that they were not happy at all with the way the programme was operating, they cited health risks because they have to sometimes pick up used condoms and they don"t have gloves to protect themselves and the lack of sufficient tools to carry out their duties. The second question that was asked to the contractors was, were they satisfied with how the programme was being administered (see appendix 2). 90.5% stated that they were satisfied and they all seem to mention the fact they are receiving their monies all the time. One respondent said:

I am satisfied because I have been receiving my money every month as the department promised when I started the programme and therefore this means their administration is good.

Another participant mentioned as follows:

Yes I am happy because I get all my money every month especially because I have heard people saying that some contractors in other areas were not being paid timeously.

When asked to rate the communication between them (contractors) and the officials in the department (see appendix 2). 28.6% *said* that communication was poor. 33.3% stated that they would rate communication with DOT officials as fair and 38.1% rated communication with DOT officials as good. None of the participants rated communication as very good. One respondent said:

Communication is poor because we hardly see them they only come once in about every three months but when do come they are friendly and listen to us.

A key question under progression issue was if they have received any training since they entered the programme and if so what type of training (see appendix 2). 71.4% of the participants stated that they have not received any training, 23.8% had received brief training and only about 4.8% had received adequate training concerning what they should do when maintaining the roads. It was evident that the ones that received proper training are the ones who started when the programme was just started. One respondent said:

I have never been trained on how to clean the road. Women in the programme have showed me the basics.

Another respondent said:

The department said they will come and train us once we have received tools but till today they have never come and neither have they provided us with those tools.

Participants were then asked about the challenges that they have encountered in the Zibambele Road Maintenance programme (see appendix 2). One respondent mentioned:

The biggest challenge is the lack of tools to carry out our job. Most of us have to use our own tools or borrow from neighbours.

Another respondent answered:

[……] I don't know how they expect us to work when we don't have the tools. No provision of safety equipment and the roads are dangerous to work in. for example if you don't have the safety vest cars won't be able to see that you are working.

These responses indicate that the contractors lack the resources to do their work effectively.

Moreover, when the respondents were asked about their expectations of the departmental officials responsible for the Zibambele Road Maintenance programme (see appendix 2), most of them said they expect the officials to provide contractors with tools, or else explain the delay on the provision of tools. Some mentioned they would appreciate training on disposing of dirt that might pose health risks. Some of the contractors also expect officials to try and see them regularly for effective communication between them.

(iii) Exiting

The first key question that was asked to respondents under the exiting stage of the programme, was do they think they will ever leave the programme (see appendix 2). Most respondents said they will never leave the programme unless they die or if the programme ends. The respondents further mentioned that the reason they feel like this is because they don"t have the skills for the demanding job market out there.
One respondent answered:

The people that have left the programme through death and another member of the family takes over.

Another key question that was asked to the respondents was if they ever leave the programme will they be able to survive the future (see appendix 2). Most participants said no because they don"t see themselves leaving the programme due to a lack of skills and they see themselves as illiterate.

This is interesting because it indicates that the department is not implementing the programme as intended in the Zibambele Road Maintenance Policy. The policy states that one of the objectives of the programme is to empower rural women by providing training on road maintenance and other life skills to be able to find other jobs and eventually exit the programme. The department has not provided such training to the contractors.

3.9.2 Results on the interviews with the DOT officials

As mentioned in Section 3.5.2, the manager in the development directorate with her deputy manager and two field support officers directly dealing with the implementation of the Zibambele Road Maintenance programme participated in the study.

It was interesting to discover that approximately 40 000 contractors are in the programme and more were still being admitted into the programme and none were exiting the programme.

One of the questions that was asked in the interview was do they think the contractors get a fair chance of being admitted into the Zibambele Road Maintenance programme (see appendix 1). All four respondents mentioned that it"s no longer a fair process because the programme has too many contractors and the only time they are replaced is when one resigns or dies and a family member takes over. The officials mentioned that they no longer visit communities to hold community meetings for community members to select the most needy to be admitted into the programme. They further mentioned that there is no system in place to allow them to monitor whether the families that are represented in the programme are still the most poverty stricken families. The field support officers mentioned that some of the community members inform them that certain households no longer need to be in the programme reasons being that their children are working, however it"s difficult to go and confirm that in order to remove that contractor.

When the respondents were asked about the challenges they face in implementing the Zibambele Road Maintenance programme (see appendix 1), all of them responded by saying that the severe shortage of staff members, lack of resources and the non-capacity building of staff members to be able to handle the programme are the biggest challenges they face. The findings on the above challenges are presented and groups as follows:

(i)   Staff shortage

 The policy states that the field support officer is responsible for managing a minimum of 150 contractors, visiting them on a monthly basis and compiling regular reports monitoring the performance and well- being of the contractors. The staff member to contractor ratio is however greatly disproportionate. Both the participants (field support

officers) indicated that they each have more than 700 contractors to supervise. The manager interviewed mentioned that when the contractors were increased to 40000 in the province, the number of staff members remained the same. This has made it extremely difficult in monitoring and implementation of the programme. One responded answered:

It's impossible for us achieve the things set out in the policy because the severe shortage of staff really compromises service delivery. We have knocked on many doors but there is no answer instead we are expected to ensure that the programme keeps running. Sometimes we cut processes and we estimate figures and we write reports without even going to the field because as field support officers the programme is part of our duties it's not the only thing we do.

Another respondent said:

The only thing we do is cover up all these things because our mandate is that the programme has to keep working because it has received many awards national and it bring money to the province. It's amazing because that money ends up somewhere else trying to cover other things in the directorate. It's really difficult but people out there won't be able to see it and we end up compromising procedures and processes in order to look best out there as you know this programme is going to be used as the exemplary for other provinces.

(ii)   Lack of resources

All responses from the participants responsible in implementing the programme indicated that there were lots of challenges with regard to resources. It was evident that the challenges were mainly a lack of human resources and technology to be able to monitor the effects of the programme. Initially when the programme was started it was envisaged that it was going to comprise of three stages, namely admission, progression and exit phases thus allowing people to move in and out of the programme once they

had received the necessary training and qualifications. However the manager stated that there are over 40000 contractors who have entered the programme and the department has only 52 staff members involved in administering the programme. The contractors only see their supervisors every two or three months instead of monthly as initially intended.

It was also evident that there was a great need for improvement of technology. Participants strongly believe that improving technology and installing new systems will improve the present monitoring of the programme. The deputy manager supports this by mentioning that there is no system in place to track the status of the contractor or to provide details of how many contractors exactly are presently on the system. Details have to be obtained from another division. The participants also stressed that there are problems with regard to transportation and availability of tools which are essential to enable people to do their jobs effectively and efficiently.

It is important to have enough resources at the outset to ensure a smooth implementation of the policy.

(iii)   Lack of capacity building

All participants implementing the programme cited that they need extensive training to enable them to handle the scope of the programme. They further mentioned that most field support officers who, are the contractors" immediate supervisors, are based in the regional offices and therefore they report to regional managers. It was felt that most of the regional managers do not give the programme the necessary attention it deserves and this affects the implementation and monitoring of the programme. Field support officers feel that regional managers look down on the programme. It is important for everyone directly or indirectly involved in the programme to receive necessary training emphasising the importance of the programme. The participants (implementers) state that they have never received any training on how to formulate, implement or evaluate the programme. They have only their own respective fields of study and knowledge gained from various workshops. They state, therefore, that they are hindered in

implementing the programme correctly without flaws due to their lack of training, insufficient resources and too few staff members being employed to handle the programme. They get little support from their advisors, and are forced to align the programme to the advisor"s instructions despite being of no use to the programme. They emphasised the need for updated technology systems for the programme, and the necessary training to use these systems.

The respondents were then asked about the communication between them (DOT officials) and the contractors (see appendix 1). All respondents indicated that the communication is little and sometimes non-existing because of the great number of contractors per official and they are scattered all over. One respondent said:

We are supposed to be seeing the contractors every month and report at the head office with monthly reports and it's impossible for me to cover all my contractors it takes more than three months because I have other duties to do and they are too many of them.

During the interview respondents were also asked about the support the department offers to the contractors especially in helping them to gain skills and eventually leave the programme as intended by the policy (see appendix 1). All respondents highlighted that they were aware that the policy states that contractors should be provided with training on road maintenance and other life skills to assist them when they leave the programme. However they all mentioned that there is no system in place to train them in order to enable them to get skills and leave the programme for other jobs. One respondent mentioned that they will only start next year to look at contractors who have matric in hope that they will train them to eventually become supervisors. They further mentioned that it was going to be challenge also because most of them are illiterate.

In conclusion, one may argue that the responses provided by the departmental officials indicate that there is a degree of work being done towards ensuring that the Zibambele

Road Maintenance programme provides all contractors with ongoing and sustainable work opportunities for destitute households in an effort to break the poverty cycle. One of the Zibambele Road Maintenance objective is to empower women, with this in mind it can be seen that the future selection of the one"s who have matriculated in order to train them will help ensure that skills will be acquired for them to be competitive in the job market in an effort to break the poverty cycle.

The lack of the monitoring system of the programme seems to another barrier for effective implementation for both the DOT officials and the contractor. Some contractors also mentioned that the reason for the non-delivery of tools for them to be able to work effectively is because the programme is not monitored if it was monitored they would know that contractors don"t have tools. The departmental officials on the other hand state that without a monitoring system they are finding it impossible to manage the programme effectively. A monitoring system would therefore help improve the working relation between the contractors and the DOT officials. It"s important to note that not having a monitoring system in place has been a loophole on the side of the department. According to Rossi and Freeman (1989) it"s important to monitor a programme because it enables the policymakers, stakeholders or sponsors concerned to see if the programme is working as deigned and it is optimising resources. The respondents from DOT also mentioned that the Zibambele Road Maintenance policy is in the process of being reviewed so as to tighten up the areas where there are flaws.

Chapter Four: Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter concludes the study. As mentioned in chapter two, programme monitoring also known as process evaluation is the main analytical framework that guided the study in order to answer the research question posed in Chapter one of this study. The three questions by Rossi and Freeman (1989) have been employed as the basis of analysis of the findings of the study with regard to the implementation challenges of the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme. Rossi and Freeman"s three questions refer to the following; firstly the extent to which a programme reaches its target population; secondly whether or not the programme"s delivery of service is consistent with the programme"s design specifications and lastly the resources that are being used to carry out the programme.

It is evident from the findings of this study that the first and the main challenge of implementing the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme is that it never had monitoring in place. This was evident after the researcher looked at the three broad issues admission, progression and exit strategies as mentioned in chapter 1 as the questions that will guide the research study. It is therefore safe to conclude that the absence of a monitoring system is fundamentally responsible for the problems that the KZN DOT has faced with regard to the programme. For instance the non-moving of contractors through stages as outlined in the policy instead the programme is only dealing with new admissions but none of the contractors are exiting the programme. This challenge therefore institutes the biggest implementation problem of the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme which is the high number of contractors in the programme and inadequate staff members to deal with the programme effectively.

Anderson (1997:9) defines policy as relatively stable, purposive course or action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern. "Public policy is about people and social order and responds to their needs, circumstances and living conditions (Cloete 1998:126). For example, the Zibambele

Road Maintenance Programme was initiated by the KZN DOT to seek to contribute to the challenge of unemployment. The programme was seen to have the same principles of EPWP and therefore it went under the umbrella of EPWP.

Implementation is generally referred to as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and the actions geared to achieve them. "Implementation is the ability to forge subsequent links in the causal chain [of the policy process] so as to obtain desired results" (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973: xv). However is can be seen from the findings of the study, by looking at the broad and specific questions of admission, progression and exit strategies within the programme that the objectives are not implemented as intended. In other words the goals of the programme are different from what is actually happening on the ground during the implementation of the programme. The Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme was established with the aim of providing ongoing and sustainable work opportunities to destitute households whilst empowering the rural women by providing training in road maintenance and other skills in order to be to access the competitive job market and eventually exit the programme. The Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme was designed to provide support that is necessary for contractors to eventually be able to compete for jobs after acquiring the necessary skills needed in the open job market.

It is important at this stage to note that for policy implementation to be successful, it needs all stakeholders directly or indirectly affected by the policy to be involved (Colebatch 1998:58). After the analysis of the responses from the interviews conducted with the officials from DOT, it is safe to conclude that the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme to some extent practices the bottom-up approach. Lipsky (1980:15) defines the bottom up approach as essentially participatory and democratic as it does not believe that policy making must be limited to policy makers. This model is founded on the belief that policy implementation can be understood in depth if looked at from the perspective of the beneficiaries of the policy and those who implement.

Turner and Hulme (1997:76-77) identify conditions that hinder successful implementation as mentioned in Chapter two. These include the inadequate provision of resources to carry out a programme as a major contributor to the often disappointing results. These inadequate resources as defined by Colebatch (1998:52) include funds, capacity and the power or authority to implement a programme. An example of this with regard to Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme is that currently there is lack of funds to employ new staff members as it has been indicated that there is severe shortage of staff to deal with the programme. This according to the department is due to the present financial recession and its negative effects on the province of KZN.

To answer Rossi and Freeman"s three questions as mentioned in the beginning of the chapter will be done by summarising what has been captured thus far; firstly the programme to a large extent is reaching its target population which is women headed households affected by poverty and this is evident as all participants of the programme are women. Secondly the issue on whether or not the programme"s delivering of services is consistent with the programme"s design specifications, the researcher can conclude that the programme"s intentions as outlined in the policy and with what is actually happening on the ground are not the same. Lastly the issue of resources, the programme has inadequate resources to carry out the programme.

However, this is not to say that the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme has not achieved its objectives, as the department has indeed done an audit of the educational qualifications of contractors as mention in Chapter one to identify those with matric and a course is being developed in order to train them and provide them with skills and they can eventually leave the programme. The questions remains though as to whether the course will indeed provide contractors with skills that they can use in the future and whether it will be enough for them to exit the programme and be ready to face the competitive job market.

It is recommended that the KZN DOT ensures that their course is really a structured training programme to assist contractors and prepare them for the job market. The

question remains, however as to why there have not been any exit in the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme since its inception.

While the Zibambele Road Programme does have some problems and challenges that need to be dealt with, it is generally a good programme as it aims to provide ongoing and sustainable work opportunities to destitute households in an effort to break the poverty cycle. The programme has to some degree achieved its objectives as most contractors have indicated that the programme has brought some relief in their poverty stricken situation. There is still, however a great deal that needs to be done as there are flaws and loopholes within the policy that force staff members to often end up developing their own coping mechanisms to deal with uncertainties and work pressures and these coping mechanisms affect the policies they carry out.

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Khoza, S. (2006). Targeted programmes as a means of sustainable livelihoods for poor people, especially women: a case study of Zibambele Public Works Programme in KwaZulu-Natal (Unpublished MA Thesis submitted at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Master of Social Science Degree)

Maseko, Z .F. (2006) Analysis of Hazardous waste management policy and its implementation in South Africa: a case study of pollution in the South Durban basin (Unpublished MA Thesis submitted at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Master of Social Science

WEBSITES

www.kzntransport.gov.za/ www.epwp.org.za: Report by the KZN Department of Transport chief directorate: strategic planning, accessed 02 February 2009

www.un.org.za

www.sarpn.com

www.gautengonline.co.za: Report on Zivuseni programme prepared by the community development section accessed 15 May 2009

Appendix 1

Qualitative Interview Schedule with Department of Transport Officials

1. Please discuss the admission criteria to Zibambele road maintenance programme?

2. Do you think contractors get a fair chance of being admitted into the Zibambele road maintenance programme? (If so) how is this ensured?

3. What challenges do you face when implementing the programme?

4. How would you describe the communication between the department and the contractors

5. What challenges do contractors face as far as admission is concern what causes these challenges?

6. Please explain a system in place for progression of the contractors?

7. What are the criteria of moving contractors from one stage to the next?

8. What support does the Department of Transport offer to contractors in helping them to move from one stage to the next?

9. What are the criteria of terminating contractors from Zibambele road maintenance programme?

10. What systems are in place to monitor and report on the contractors" performance and progress?

11. What are the challenges or success with this monitoring system?

12. Are there contractors who have exited the Zibambele road maintenance programme?

13. If yes to question 13, does the Department of Transport monitor how these contractors survive in the open market?

Appendix 2

Zibambele contractors' interviews

ADMISSION

1. How did you get admitted to the Zibambele road maintenance programme?

    _____
    _____

2. Did you understand the process of being admitted to the programme?

    [ ] yes

    [ ] no

    Please explain your answer

    _____
    _____

3. Was the criteria of being admitted to the programme made clear to you?

    [ ] yes

    [ ] no

    Please explain your answer

    _____
    _____

PROGRESS

4. Since you have joined the programme, are you happy with the way the programme is operating?

   [ ] yes

   [ ] no

   Please explain your answer

   _____
   _____

5. Do you think the programme is being fairly administered?

   [ ] yes

   [ ] no

   Please explain your answer

   _____
   _____

6 How would you rate the communication with DOT?

   [ ] Very Good

   [ ] Good

   [ ] Fair

   [ ] Poor

   Please elaborate your answer

   _____
   _____

7. What challenges have you encountered within the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme?

   _____
   _____

8. What type of training have you received from the department?

_____
_____

9. What are your expectations of the DOT officials responsible   for the Zibambele road maintenance programme?

_____
_____

10. How has the programme changed your status of life?

_____
_____

EXIT

11 Do you think there will come a time where you leave the programme?

[ ] yes

[ ] no

Please explain your answer

_____
_____

12. Do you know of anyone who has left the programme?

[ ] yes

[ ] no

Please explain your answer

_____
_____

13.   When you leave the programme do you think the skills acquired would have equipped you to survive the future?

[ ] yes

[ ] no

Please explain your answer

_____
_____

Appendix 3

Consent form for individual, in –depth interviews with Department of Transport Officials

Description of the research project and the purpose of this interview

Good day. My name is Batha Ngubane. I am a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal Pietermaritzburg Canopus. I am doing a research study on the implementation of the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme. This programme is an initiative of the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport. It aims address the social problems of poverty and unemployment and at the same time it aims to ensure that women headed households participate in the programme and seeks to empower rural women.

The purpose for this interview is to acquire more about your experiences as a staff member of the Department directly involved in the implementation of the Zibambele Programme. I am also interested in getting more information with regard to your perceptions of the challenges faced by you and other staff members directly involved in the programme as far as the implementation of the programme is concerned.

Procedure

If you agree to participate in the study, I would be occupying an hour of your time to discuss the above mentioned issues. During the interview I will be noting some down some details and at the same I will be recording our discussion on tape. The tape will only be reviewed by my supervisor and I in order to ensure that all information that you will provide will be kept confidential and will be reported without you being personally identified.

Confidentiality

The interviewer will be taking notes and will also record the sessions on tape in order to assist her to remember all the discussions shared during the interview. Only my supervisor and I will review the tape. These tapes will be destroyed after they have been transcribed. All personal identifiers will be removed from the transcript. Your name will not be reported and a nickname will be used. The only place where your name will be recorded is on this informed consent. All the information that you will provide will be kept in a locked file and your name will never be used in the research reports.

Voluntary participation

Your decision to participate in these interviews is completely voluntary. You are not required to answer any question or questions that you do not wish to answer. You can also decide to stop participating at any time. Your choice to participate, to not participate, or to withdraw at any time will not be shared with anyone else in the Zibambele Programme. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions. I am only interested to know your opinion and ideas.

Benefits

There are no direct benefits for you, but your participation will help me in finding out more about peoples" experiences of the Zibambele Programme. you will also be helping me to get in-depth understanding of the admission, progression and exiting strategies of the Zibambele Programme. Your participation in this research project will not involve any risks to you.

Offer to answer questions and freedom to withdraw from the study

If you have any questions about this research project you may ask them now or you can call me anytime. My details are as follows:

Batha Ngubane
Cell no: 0762521584 Email: Batha. Matolino @kzntransport.gov.za
You can also contact Mark Rieker, who is my research project supervisor. His details are as follows:

Phone: +27 (0) 33 260 5619
Email: RiekerM@ukzn.ac.za

If you do not have any questions and agree to participate in this study, we will then move ahead and begin. But first I will ask you to sign this form stating that I, the interview, have informed you of your rights as a participant and that you have agreed to participate in today"s discussion. This is the only place where your name will be entered.

I thank you for your time.

_____

Participant"s signature   Date

_____

Interviewer"s signature   Date

Appendix 4

Consent form for survey questionnaire

Description of the research project and the purpose of this interview

Good day. My name is Batha Ngubane. I am a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal Pietermaritzburg Canopus. I am doing a research study on the implementation of the Zibambele Road Maintenance Programme. This programme is an initiative of the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Transport. It aims address the social problems of poverty and unemployment and at the same time it aims to ensure that women headed households participate in the programme and seeks to empower rural women.

The purpose for this interview is to acquire more about your experiences as a staff member of the Department directly involved in the implementation of the Zibambele Programme. I am also interested in getting more information with regard to your perceptions of the challenges faced by you and other staff members directly involved in the programme as far as the implementation of the programme is concerned.

Procedure

If you agree to participate in the study, I would be occupying an hour of your time to discuss the above mentioned issues. During the interview I will be noting some down some details and at the same I will be recording our discussion on tape. The tape will only be reviewed by my supervisor and I in order to ensure that all information that you will provide will be kept confidential and will be reported without you being personally identified.

Confidentiality

The interviewer will be taking notes and will also record the sessions on tape in order to assist her to remember all the discussions shared during the interview. Only my supervisor and I will review the tape. These tapes will be destroyed after they have been transcribed. All personal identifiers will be removed from the transcript. Your name will not be reported and a nickname will be used. The only place where your name will be recorded is on this informed consent. All the information that you will provide will be kept in a locked file and your name will never be used in the research reports.

Voluntary participation

Your decision to participate in these interviews is completely voluntary. You are not required to answer any question or questions that you do not wish to answer. You can also decide to stop participating at any time. Your choice to participate, to not participate, or to withdraw at any time will not be shared with anyone else in the Zibambele Programme. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions. I am only interested to know your opinion and ideas.

Benefits

There are no direct benefits for you, but your participation will help me in finding out more about peoples" experiences of the Zibambele Programme. you will also be helping me to get in-depth understanding of the admission, progression and exiting strategies of the Zibambele Programme. Your participation in this research project will not involve any risks to you.

Offer to answer questions and freedom to withdraw from the study

If you have any questions about this research project you may ask them now or you can call me anytime. My details are as follows:

Batha Ngubane
Cell no: 0762521584 Email: Batha. Matolino @kzntransport.gov.za
You can also contact Mark Rieker, who is my research project supervisor. His details are as follows:

Phone: +27 (0) 33 260 5619
Email: RiekerM@ukzn.ac.za

If you do not have any questions and agree to participate in this study, we will then move ahead and begin. But first I will ask you to sign this form stating that I, the interview, have informed you of your rights as a participant and that you have agreed to participate in today"s discussion. This is the only place where your name will be entered.

I thank you for your time.

_____   _____
Participant"s signature   Date

_____   _____
Interviewer"s signature   Date