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TITLE: INTERGOVERNMENTAL POLICY INTEGRATION AND POVERTY ERADICATION IN A 'DEVELOPMENTAL STATE': THE CASE OF THE PGDP AND AMATHOLE IDP IN THE EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

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DECLARATION

I Costa Hofisi hereby declare that this thesis is my own work. I have acknowledged all other authors' ideas and referenced direct quotations from their work. I have not allowed anyone else to copy my work. This work has not been submitted anywhere for a degree award.

Signature……………………………

Date…………………………………

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God bless you all

DEDICATION

To my lovely wife, Miriam, and my two boys James and Blessing.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADM	Amathole District Municipality
ADM IDP	Amathole District Municipality Integrated Development Planning
ANC	African National Congress
ASALGP	Australia Local Government Partnership
ASGISA	Accelerated and shared growth initiative of South Africa
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
COPE	Congress of the People
DIMFAO	District Mayor's Forum
DFID	Department for International Development
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GTZ	Germany Agency for Development Cooperation
HDI	Human Development Index
JICA	Japan International Agency for Cooperation
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IPCBI	Indigenous Peoples Capacity Building Initiative
IGR	Intergovernmental Relations Act
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
LED	Local Economic Development
LDO	Land development objectives
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PA	Palestinian Authority
PGDP	Provincial Growth and Development Plan

PLA   Participatory Learning Action

PRA   Participatory Rural Appraisal

PRSPS   Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

RDP   Reconstruction Development Program

SAPS   Structural Adjustment Programmes

SSA   Statistics South Africa

UDF   United Democratic Front

UN   United Nations

UNCTAD   United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

WPTPS   White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service

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ABSTRACT

The post-apartheid South African government inherited an economy characterised by a dichotomy between well developed and affluent whites and the underdeveloped and impoverished African blacks. This dichotomy was manifest in sharp divisions with regard to access to decent housing, health, education and transport just to mention a few, thus reflecting poverty, as a widespread phenomenon. Since 1994, the South African government has made major efforts aimed at addressing poverty, however, that poverty persists, despite the efforts, cannot be contested. One of the major challenges has been the disjuncture between policies at various spheres of government. This study examines the articulation between two spheres of government focusing on the Provincial Growth and Development Programme of the Eastern Cape and the integrated development plan of Amathole District Municipality. Currently not much research has been carried out in this area. This study illuminates various analytical and practical issues and hopefully provides a useful basis for improvement in the government's declared commitment to poverty eradication.

Triangulating qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, the study aimed to investigate the integration of the Provincial Growth and Development Program and the Integrated Development Plan and the contribution of these policy instruments towards poverty eradication in the Eastern Cape. A further aim was to analyse community participation in and knowledge of the PGDP and Amathole IDP and how they have been effective. This was an empirically grounded study, based on the use of a combination of data collection methods, analysis of primary and secondary sources of data including government documents, administering in-depth interviews to a range of informants within government, the community and a questionnaire survey of a sample drawn from members of the community in the Amatole District Municipality and, finally the use of Amatole district as a case study which was the major unit of analysis.

The findings from the study revealed that there is a plethora of challenges confronting policy integration, often resulting in institutional paralysis and inertia. Such challenges vary from lack of capacity in local government, lack of political will,

policy shifts, a plethora of legislation, competing if not conflicting priorities, non-attendance of Intergovernmental forums, lack of cooperation by sector departments, contradictions between legislation, policy inconsistencies, conceptual imprecision and conceptual blurring. Moreover, the neo-liberal ideology informing development planning not only in the province, but in South Africa as a whole as propagated by western main stream economists leaves benefits indeed merely 'trickling down' to the poor and not 'pouring', such that the transition in South Africa has been reduced to an 'elite transition'. The research results confirm, as observed elsewhere, that experiences of several developing countries over the past decades do not appear to support the trickle down hypothesis. On the other hand, community participation is also stifled by lack of participatory spaces, poor participatory methodologies and structures which make participation difficult while the poor remain trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty. Real participation goes beyond 'passive development objects' and 'recipients of development' to ensuring that people are empowered to become 'masters of their own development' within the context of a participatory democratic developmental state. There is need for not only a thorough examination of the political use of the 'local', the 'poor' but even the very conceptualisation of participation and its methodologies for effective community participation to be realised.

CHAPTER ONE

POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW.

1. Introduction

The post-apartheid South African government inherited an economy characterised by a dichotomy between a well developed and affluent white and the underdeveloped and impoverished black section of the population. The general category 'black' denotes sections of the population of African origin who are an overwhelming majority. This dichotomy was manifest in disparities covering housing, health, education and transport just to mention a few, thus reflecting poverty as a widespread phenomenon. Since 1994, the South African government made major efforts designed to address poverty, however, that poverty persists despite the efforts cannot be contested since poverty is widespread in former homelands. The majority of the Eastern Cape population in general and the former homelands (Transkei and Ciskei) in particular remain trapped in poverty if not abject poverty which in certain cases as the South African Nobel peace laureate Tutu lamented as 'gruelling, demeaning' and 'dehumanizing poverty'.

The factors that have contributed to poverty in South Africa are several and complex. It goes without saying that the widespread poverty affecting South Africa is a product of a series of historical events. For the purpose of this study the major processes that are of concern which are highlighted are the following: land dispossession of the Africans in the wake of colonial conquest, forced proletarianisation and a cheap labour system that followed the discovery of minerals and the establishment of new industries and large commercial farms, the creation of labour reserves which in later years became pockets of poverty within the country known as Bantustans or 'black

homelands'. Racial discrimination, political oppression, denial of basic human rights and social amenities such as decent education and health to Africans constitute other important issues that are discussed.

This study examines the articulation between two spheres of government focusing on the Provincial Growth and Development Program (PGDP) of the Eastern Cape and the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) of Amathole District Municipality. The rationale behind the study is to fill the gap in literature in this area of study. Currently not much research has been carried out in this area. This study illuminated various analytical and practical issues and hopefully provides a useful basis for improvement in the government's declared commitment to poverty eradication.

This is an empirically grounded study based on the use of a combination of data collection methods, analysis of primary and secondary sources of data including government documents, administering in-depth interviews to a range of informants within government, the community and a questionnaire survey on a representative sample drawn from members of the community in Amatole district and finally the use of Amatole District as a case study which was the major unit of analysis.

1.1. A Historical Background of Poverty

Commenting on the political economy of South Africa, Wilson and Ramphele (1989:190) observe that:

"For the present is grown out of the past and so if the future is to be different it is essential to understand the way in which the present has been formed in order that we may act to overcome the past and hence reshape the future".

The foregoing observation justifies the rationale behind the following background of this study. While the whites have been one of the most affluent groups in South Africa the African blacks, have been one of the most impoverished. The advent of European colonialism in South Africa saw the systematic, deliberate, and comprehensive exploitation of helpless indigenous people by dominant settler groups. Thus, colonialism, segregation and apartheid resulted in deep-seated inequalities, deprivation and impoverishment of the blacks.

The gross inequalities along racial lines and the abject poverty that continues to haunt the South African government is not a natural phenomenon, neither is it accidental or coincidental. The poverty that is present in South Africa can be traced from centuries ago when colonialism began with the arrival of the Dutch at the tip of Africa (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989:189). Therefore it is virtually necessary to trace the roots of a problem so that one can find, a solution as alluded to by (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989:189) who further observe that " it is important to uncover the roots of a system which continues despite rapid economic growth".

The history of the conquest of the Africans began by the control of the Dutch on the native Khoi. Their first stop towards the annexation of the Khoi people's land was the grabbing of their land. Although Africans resented their settlement they did not have the guns to defend themselves .Wilson and Ramphele (1989:181) wrote that Europeans started marking boundaries of their land and thus began the long saga of conquest as whites moved with their guns (and bibles) while trading where it was useful or profitable and taking over land as they required it (Setai 1998: 42). Some Xhosa speaking people fought the Europeans but however they could not dislodge

the Dutch who were backed by imperial powers and other natives were killed by diseases brought by the Europeans most notably the small pox, therefore the Europeans managed to weaken and penetrate the Khoi.

Setai (1998: 42) echoed the same sentiments that the motive of the Europeans was to grab as much land as possible and this was accomplished through the confiscation of black owned land. The long process of conquest finally culminated in the notorious land act of 1913. Wilson and Rampele (1989) argue that according to this law no African was allowed to purchase land outside the reserves, those scheduled and released areas which eventually added up to a little less than 14% of the total country. Setai (1998:60) highlights the fact that Africans who had been disowned by the British policies were tied to land as servants of the settlers. If the settlers did not need them they would be sending them to the mines as migrant workers. On completion of contract they were shuttled to the reserves. In the rural areas the white farmers were heavily subsidised with irrigation, inputs and the Land bank was instituted to assist white farmers.

Whilst white farmers were subsidized they used forced labour. Leggasick (1977) noted that Africans who had retained their access to rural means of production in the nineteenth century were squeezed off white owned land into territorially restricted and increasingly overcrowded reserves. The blacks were also squeezed off marketing the produce of their own land by pressures of population, segregation, and subsidization of white agriculture until the 1920s when they could not produce enough food for consumption. While white capitalist agriculture produced vast subsidized surpluses and export, the marketing policy kept domestic prices high and in the reserves African malnutrition and starvation increased. The British land

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policies left the Africans in lands which were unproductive and most Africans were forced to work in the mines and industrial districts mainly as migrant workers.

Setai (1988:62) also observes that the settlement policies also had a negative effect on the self-reliance of the Africans and the Boers. By taking away their right to own productive land the British colonial Government either put many of them on the slippery slope to poverty and indigence or turned them into cheap pools of labour for the benefit of others. The British land settlement policies had other negative effects since they entrenched in South African policies, laws and business principles, discrimination and equities based on race, gender and ethnic background. They established the foundation for social injustice and the development of long term serious social problems which trapped the African blacks in a vicious cycle of poverty.

Despite land acquisition, the British had hegemony and sought to control the native blacks for their own profit motive at a low cost. And also to plunder African resources for exportation at the expense of impoverishing the native South Africans the British government through numerous pieces of legislation ensured that African natives were controlled through disempowering them by reaping them of their wealth.

Leggasick (19977:180) wrote that it is possible to regard the Natives land act number 27 of 1913 as being an act of collusion amongst the hirers of farm labour not to give remuneration above a certain level. At the same time as the land legislation was being discussed and passed, mine owners were working out, not for the first time an agreement where by the average wage of blacks on any mine would not exceed a certain maximum and there is a sense in which the land act was for farmers, what the maximum permissible average agreement was for the mining magnates.

The Natives land act number 27 of 1913 was an instrument which the white farmers used to coerce and force blacks to work on their farms. It was initially applied in the Orange Free State where settler farmers wished to convert maize growing and yet could not intensify the exploitation of their workforce so long as more favourable opportunities of occupation were open to available labourers and other white owned land (Leggasick, 1977: 180).The black natives were left with no choice except to join the coercive labour structure. The mining industry and the agriculture sector were the main employers of the blacks although the Khoi and Bantu were not salves (as the Europeans brought slaves from different parts of the world) the Khoi and Bantu people were forced to seek employment.

The Native land act number 27 of 1913, coupled with the kaffir employment act of 1857 and the law of master, servants act gave employers all the power to exploit the blacks. The British also used mission stations where they accommodated the orphaned Namas due to war, as a vehicle for making Africans subservient. While the poor Namas were converted to Christianity they were subjected to forced labour and did not adequately pay them for all their work and services. Moreover they were also subject to restrictions of movement such restrictions like vagrancy law and pass law were meant to maintain control on the blacks since there was abolition of slavery (Setai 1998:4). The Caledon Code replaced coercion of slavery and the travel and pass laws facilitated the development of effective labour units. Leggasick (19977:176) concurs that the pass laws were meant to systematically exclude blacks from the urban areas and at the same time to control labour. Setai (1998:4) writes that the pass was supposed to carry the holder's name destination and among other details the stamp of the employer. This stamp was meant to enforce the payment of

tax to the government through the employer. Failure to produce the pass meant one was subject to pay a fine of ten pounds or face imprisonment or both. This law was applicable to persons aged fourteen and above which meant that it allowed child labour, hence, in a way no child had enough time for education. This implied that blacks were trapped in a vicious cycle of demeaning and gruesome poverty since there was no prospect of better employment.

In the mining sector workers were subjected to inhuman working conditions. They stayed in closed compounds that were secluded from the community apparently to prevent them from stealing diamonds and would usually stay for a year without visiting their families. Leggasick (1977:178) added that such a situation was meant to impede the labour force from desertion, bargaining or going on strike. Setai (1989:4) noted that while the African blacks lived in closed compounds they bought their groceries in shops owned by whites at exorbitant prices for substandard goods such that by the end of the contract there were little savings that one could make thus further impoverishing them. The rest of the family was subjected to hunger and poverty in the compounds, the British sold poor liquor to the blacks and their mortality rate was 40%- 70% this meant that the bread winner of most families faced early deaths thus exposing his family to poverty and exploitation for survival. The blacks resented their conditions of living in their compounds however employers responded with repression of labour movement and also making it illegal to strike whilst they opened up the bargaining table for white employees.

Racism characterised the polices at the work place where they introduced a colour bar system. Wilson and Ramphele (1989:191) noted that the introduction of a colour bar was meant to discriminate black competitors, in other conditions blacks were

allowed to perform skilled work for less money than their white counterparts. In 1922 the apprenticeship act was introduced whose requirements were among others standard six. This was an indirect discrimination to blacks since they was no standard six in black schools as a result blacks could only work in low paying jobs since they were blocked by the qualification requirements. The government also promoted separate development through the institution of reserves where they tried to create employment in the reserves in a bid to block blacks from migrating to white owned urban areas.

In 1910 the Westminster system of government was adopted in South Africa. Its civil service was laden with the English labour force which was imported from Britain. The Boers and other races occupied lesser influential positions whilst some blacks were there but with no power to vote. The decision making process was predominantly white which meant that the policy process was therefore in their favour (Cloet, 2006:94). The exclusion of blacks from the power to influence the course of events had deleterious effects on the socio-economic wellbeing of blacks. Laws that were instituted were repressive and only left blacks as mere prisoners subject to the rule of the whites. Setai (1998:41) noted that the English Government introduced tax laws to further reduce blacks' means of survival. Furthermore the government was a safety net for the poor whites who blamed their poverty on the blacks and the government would use the tax money to help the poor white while only a little was utilised to the benefit of the blacks who paid the bulk of the revenue.

Moreover the government was inefficient and therefore the losses were paid by the blacks through the introduction of the tax. Wilson and Ramphele (1989) noted that black magistrates were employed to enforce the collection of taxes such as the hut

tax which forced people to be overcrowded so as to avoid the burden of payment of tax, followed by the head tax which they could not avoid. Setai (1998:40) also observes that at the end of the harvest the blacks were forced to sell their maize so as to pay tax at 8 shillings or less per bag which was a far cry. At the end of the day people were left with no food such that they were forced to go and seek for a job in the mines.

These conditions only forced the blacks to comply with the British rule and at the same time forcing them into abject poverty. The Africans were forced not to resent white rule through the strict laws so as to stave off rebellion when they complained about the heavy burden of tax, whites responded by instituting martial law and charging their leaders with treason so as to instil fear among the African populace and get rid of the source of influence and rebellion (Berg, 1985:200; Giliomee, 1985:316; Wilson; 1972:83).

The reserves were suppliers of labour for the towns. The Africans were eventually forced into so-called homelands where the international community refused to recognize them. The blacks were also forced to barren lands which were unproductive and overcrowded (Berg, 1985:200; Giliomee, 1985:316; Wilson; 1972:83). Whilst the reserves had an alarming population growth, their quality of life was under severe pressure. This was exacerbated by the fact that public expenditure was concentrated in the urban areas whereas in the rural Ciskei (a former homeland) only clinics were sparsely distributed and hospitals were situated in towns. Such a situation forced people to spill into white owned farmlands and urban areas despite restrictions put by the government in search of employment (Berg, 1985:200; Giliomee, 1985:316; Wilson; 1972:83). Moreover they were denied their civil liberties

and the blacks also lacked representation in the parliament. This gave the whites the liberty to institute laws which left the black rural areas underdeveloped and this doomed the prospect of employment seekers since there was no development that could create opportunities.

Therefore, poverty in South Africa is profoundly not only a structural issue but a political one also. Apartheid served white colonial material interests at the expense of the blacks (Dubow: 1995). The ruthless colonialists' pursuit of self-enrichment and personal aggrandizement was to the detriment of the vulnerable black population. Black South Africans including Coloureds and Indians have been historically disadvantaged by successive white political authorities through deliberate segregationist policies. Particularly, the black population was deprived of its land while diabolical pieces of legislation were promulgated not only for the supply of labour for white farms, mines and factories but as Wilson and Ramphele (1989:5) write, harsh disrespect embedded in every structure of society including migrant labour system and a set of laws that both classified and discriminated against people according to racist criteria. The Gini coefficient of expenditure of 0.56 reflected "sharp inequalities worsened by vast inequalities in education, health and basic infrastructure such as safe water, sanitation and housing" Hoogeveen and Ozler (2006:59).

Wilson and Rampele (1985:204) identified what they termed six major lines of attack describing apartheid's assault on the South African black population these are: a policy shift from incorporation to dispossession and domination; anti-black-urbanization (under pass laws); forced removals (under Group Areas Act and Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923), both urban and rural; Bantu education (under the

philosophy and practices of the Christian National Education); crushing of organization and destabilization. These became the symbols of exploitation which further condemned the peasants to deliberate systematic and systemic exploitation which today are the root causes of grinding poverty.

Bundy (1997:98) sums up the roots of poverty in the Transkei (a former homeland) when he observes that

> Viewed structurally, the workings of the internal economy of the Transkei as well as the subordination of the regional economy to the capitalist economy make it clear that underdevelopment and not progress was the distinctive feature of peasant production….The daily existence of the peasant was increasingly influenced by economic disabilities beyond his control; their effects were cumulative and mutually reinforcing. From the rising cost of a peasant mode of production there stemmed the Transkei's peculiar form of proletarianisation: the creation of proletarians who retained the semblance of access to the means of production, but who had to sell their own labour power in order to subsist.

Bundy (1997) further observes that the commercialization of agriculture coupled with the massive program of subsidies, grants and other assistance restricted the surplus generating capacity of the peasants. Such that once capitalist agriculture has overcome the initial difficulties related to its competitive weakness in the produce, market forces themselves then widen gap between peasant and capitalist agriculture. Production of sorghum and maize in the Transkei, therefore, declined by 25% while the white farmers enjoyed a 40 % rise between 1929 and 1939.

Moreover, peasant agriculture which appeared to be flourishing was devastated by further land conquests and efforts to curb sharecropping (Keegan: 1986, Trapido: 1986).

Political rigidity and other political constraints hampering or preventing adoption of particular policies benefiting the poor led to perpetual poverty. The Bantustan/homeland structures of the apartheid system were symbols of exploitation, segregation, deprivation and subjudication, further relegating the masses to abject poverty. The bias both, racial and geographic pattern of accumulation, central role of gold and diamond (a preserve of the white in the generation of wealth), provision of formal education, technical training were far better quality for and larger proportion went to more whites than blacks. From systemic exploitation to systemic exclusion, the blacks were further victims of inequalities in South Africa of colour-caste and reinforced by those of geographic administration particularly amongst Africans.

Thus poverty in not only the Eastern Cape but also the whole of South Africa derives directly from historical, political, social and economic factors, which produced development and affluence for the whites alongside underdevelopment and poverty for the blacks because of colonialism and apartheid. It is undisputed that land dispossession, defeat and subjudication of political formations including chiefdoms and kingdoms led to subsequent economic and social marginalization.

The general approach pursued by colonial governments was support for white capital and population in general while denying such support to and marginalizing blacks such that the mineral, industrial and agricultural revolution from the 1870s to

the 1920s were intended exclusively for the benefit of the whites and the deliberate exclusion of the blacks. Blacks were not only shunned in the industrial and commercial sectors but also denied and relegated deliberately to Bantustans where their socio-economic conditions deteriorated overtime. This resulted in lack of adequate clean water, proper housing, electricity and adequate health facilities.

In fact, Verwoerd (1960:342) hailed apartheid as the foundation-head not stagnation of the economic prosperity of South Africa, while in diametric opposition to that the then radical Marxists argued that apartheid was a means of domination of the indigenous people by the settlers for capital accumulation (Feinstein, 2005:162).

Bundy (1980) laments the dramatic shift from relative affluence to abject poverty by the South African peasantry. He recalls the relative success of the peasants during mercantile capitalism lasting up to 1980 during which there were tenuous links between the peasants, the colonial structure and the world economy. This period saw production expanding while foodstuffs from autarkic regions were supplied to both black and white. However the last third of the 19th century saw the mineral revolution demanding more land (at the expense of the blacks) for the rising capitalist agriculture and abundant black labour forcing black peasants to be incorporated into colonial and world capitalist economy leading not only to the rapid underdevelopment of the peasants but its dissolution as a class (Bundy:1980).

Poverty in South Africa, therefore, is a creation of inequalities resulting from racial relations of discrimination, domination and exploitation, with land expropriation, native taxation of unequal exchange and proletarianisation inducing the disintegration of the peasantry (Bundy: 1980).

It is on the basis of the foregoing that one can argue that the developed economic, physical, educational communication infrastructure on the part of the white and the underdevelopment of the same on the part of the blacks derive from the legacy of systemic exclusion and systematic exploitation, domination and deprivation of the black by the white.

Those African blacks who were allowed into the urban areas were subjected to pass laws, which restricted their movement as they were expected to serve the white capitalist economy as labourers. Although a small minority succeeded in improving their socio-economic conditions through education in spite of discrimination, the overwhelming majority were confined to misery and poverty.

Bois (1947: 49): laments that

> Luxury and plenty for the few and poverty for the many was looked upon as inevitable in the course of nature. Every effort was made in archaeology, history, and biography, psychology and sociology, to prove the all but universal assumption that the colour line had a scientific basis… that white people of Europe had a right to live upon the labour and property of the colour people….out of this emerged the doctrine of the Superior race: the theory that a minority of the people in Europe are by birth and natural gift the rulers of mankind; rulers of their own suppressed labour classes, and without doubt, heaven sent rulers of yellow, brown and black people.

It is on this basis that the black people of South Africa have been in grinding poverty while the white continue in affluence and aplomb (Terreblanche 2002:6). This was

not by coincidence but a manifestation of systemic and systematic discrimination and deliberate exploitation of the black by the white. Wilson (1996) also lamented that for most white people in South Africa…Africans were merely units of labour whose presence was essential but only tolerable so long as they ministered to the needs of white man hence the white supremacy reinforced by class snobbery.

Terreblanche (2002:6) asserts that South Africa's history over the past 350 years is an unsavoury tale of intergroup conflict violence, warfare, and plunders with each group enriching itself by plundering the other. Colonial powers and white colonists did so in three ways: by creating political and economic power structures that put them in a privileged and entrenched position, depriving indigenous people of land, surface water and cattle; and finally reducing slaves and indigenous people to different forms of unfree and exploitable labour. Thus, South Africa's modern history is shaped by relationship between power, land and labour. While unfree and free labour, power domination (political economic and ideological) and land deprivation enriched the whites the same impoverished the indigenous population.

Moreover, apartheid in South Africa left a legacy of an exceptionally divided society with extensive social and economic inequality (May: 1998; Hirschowitz: 2000). For more than 50 years the rights and economic opportunities of the majority of South Africans were constrained by the national party government as indicated by the enormous gap between whites and blacks Asians and coloureds (Mugerwa: 1999).

When the African National Congress was democratically elected into power, it was faced with the serious challenge of the wide gap of inequality between the blacks and the affluent whites. Social expenditure was diverted now to cater for the needs

of the poor. The features of colonialism were still rampant with the existence of the blacks living in the townships that were characterised by crime and overcrowding. Most of these townships like Mdantsane in East London were like dormitory towns which were on the outskirts of the town and low density suburbs that were white owned. Poor health, sanitation and overcrowding were the characteristics of such areas. Such challenges were the tasks which the newly elected government was supposed to fight and eventually bring equality among all races.

However, despite the fact that political power was in the hands of the blacks economic power was left in the hands of the Europeans who owned most companies thus hampering governmental efforts to fight against inequality. Moreover the civil service was still laden with white civil servants. Therefore, though the government changed the existing policies to those that could also cater for blacks, the white civil servants were reluctant to implement such policies and at the same time the government lacked enough skilled blacks to recruit since it was faced with the challenge of high illiteracy rate among blacks (Hoogeven and Oz'ler, 2006).

The African National Congress led government which took over in 1994 inherited a legacy of underdevelopment and development as former President Mbeki alluded to the phenomenon of the two Nations. In order to tackle the formidable challenge the new government set up policies to improve the socio economic conditions of the people.

However, some 14-15 years down the line the problem of poverty persists such that at this point there is no convincing evidence that it is declining at an acceptable rate. Although it must be acknowledged that in some areas some people have been assisted with water and electricity in many areas there is hardly a change and

Amatole district is not an exception. Informal settlements from 1994 are still there and in some cases, access to basic amenities is still according to pre 1994 standards. In fact, Lam and Leibbrandt (2003), using Statistics South Africa (SSA) and income and Expenditure surveys noted that incomes have declined for most South Africans.

Although social grants are given for the so-called restoration of human dignity, this does not ensure sustainability; in fact, it is survival on a hand-to-mouth basis. It is obvious therefore, that there is an urgent need to address the question of how to ensure that poverty is addressed in an integrated, coherent, effective and sustainable manner. It is against this background that the South African government came up with a plethora of legislation, policies and programmes to combat the poverty scourge.

The South African Constitution Act 108 0f 1996 establishes a governmental system constituting distinctive and autonomous spheres of government which are National, Provincial and Local while the principle of cooperative governance is entrenched. This has resulted in nine provincial governments with their own legislature, executive committees and administrative structures while there are also 284 municipalities with the following categories Local municipalities, District municipalities and Metropolitan municipalities. While provinces are accountable to the provincial legislature, local governments are accountable to councils. Provincial planning therefore constitutes one of the executive functions of government. It is through this system of government that the concept of developmental government emerged to ameliorate the legacy of apartheid bedevilling the majority of South Africans in both Urban and rural areas. It is against this background that in the Eastern Cape Province the

provincial growth and development plan was formulated at provincial level while at district level there are integrated development plans both of which are meant to eradicate poverty.

1.3. Statement of the problem

That poverty in both urban and rural areas persists despite a declared commitment to poverty eradication coupled with major efforts of intergovernmental integration coordination and development planning at national, provincial and local level and allocation of responsibilities for these purposes cannot be contested. This is the problem which the research sought to investigate. The fundamental distribution of power was hailed as the solution to widespread poverty among the black population but 15 years after the advent of democracy poverty persists. At face value it appears that the major factors concern policy formulation, implementation and the conceptualisation of poverty. Poverty is eradicated when the community reaches levels defined by the United Nations as decent livelihoods characterized by better education, health, housing, sanitation and water supply facilities to mention a few.

1.4 Key Questions Pertaining to the Research

- To what extent do the PGDP and the IDP integrate in poverty eradication.

- To what extent do the PGDP and IDP provide a sustainable basis for effective poverty eradication in the Eastern Cape?

- What are the key analytical and conceptual issues that confront the PGDP and IDP implementation process?

- In what way is poverty conceptualised and defined in the PGDP and IDP?

- To what extent do communities (beneficiaries) participate in these programs and what are their views about the impact of these programmes?

This study will comprehensively explore the above.

1.5. Objectives of the study

This study is based on the following objectives:

- Analyzing the extent to which the integrated development plan of Amatole District Municipality and the Eastern Cape's Provincial Growth and Development Program are integrated.

- To what extent do communities (beneficiaries) participate in these programs and what are their views about the impact of these programmes?

1.6 An overview of the Eastern Cape Province.

The Eastern Cape Province of South Africa is not only one of the most rural provinces but it is also one of the poorest provinces of South Africa. The inclusion of the Transkei and Ciskei (former Bantustan's homelands established under apartheid as densely populated suppliers of migrant labour) within its boundaries further compounded the challenges of absolute poverty. The majority of the residents in this province remain trapped in the shackles of poverty.

(Murray, 1987: iii) observes that

the incongruous juxtaposition of sybaritic white 'middle class' suburbs and the black townships typify the general pattern. Exclusive boutiques and luxuriant shopping malls, hushed tree-lined streets, enclosed and well-manicured gardens, and so forth, shape the environment of the affluent white residential areas. The ubiquitous army of peripatetic day-labourers-maids, gardeners, nannies, cleaners and handy-men of all sorts of things – ensure that white middle class residents can avoid distasteful and distracting tasks if they so desire.. Pockets of relative affluence do exist but these are exception rather than rule. It is the persistent repetition of identical images- cheerless dusty streets, barefooted and shabbily dressed children, endless queues of tired travellers, ribbons of exhausted workers trudging home, the sullen stares and probing glances- that create an unforgettable collage of deprivation. In the townships, daily life is an endless grind, a seemingly ceaseless struggle for existence and survival.

The grave circumstances narrated above resulted in the pathetic inequalities manifested in the table one below. While Gauteng and Western Cape are the richest provinces the Eastern Cape and Limpopo are the poorest.

Table 1: Incidence of poverty and unemployment in selected provinces

Province selected	Percentage of poor	Percentage unemployed
Gauteng	42	45

Western Cape	32	17
Limpopo	77	+45
Eastern Cape	72	+45

*57 % of individuals in South Africa live below the poverty line and 95% of the poor are black South Africans people living below the poverty line. Source: HSRC 2004

Moreover, Maxi-Schoeman, 2006:234) writes that

> The richest 10% of the country's population earns 50% of national income, the poorest 20% only 1, 5 per cent. The country developed a dual political economy in which the distribution of wealth is skewed in favour of the white minority. The second duality is one of a typical developing country (the rural/ urban divide). Economic activities are largely restricted to urban areas with areas or islands of economic development concentrated in Gauteng, Durban-Pietermaritzburg area of Kwazulu-natal, the Port Elizabeth area of the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape implying that rural poverty and deprivation is rife.

The table 2 below represents the impoverishment that characterizes the Eastern Cape and mirrors the sad legacy of apartheid manifesting itself in pathetic human development indices.

Eastern Cape Human Development index

Table 2

District Municipality	Human Development Index
Cacadu	0.53
Amatole	0.49
Chris Hani	0.48
Ukhahlamba	0.47
OR Tambo	0.42
Alfred Nzo	0.45
NM Metro	0.64
EC Province	0.49
National	0.58

Source, Buthelezi: 2004

Therefore the history of the political economy of the Eastern Cape is deeply rooted in the country's history of European conquest and colonization. Buthelezi (2007) observes that the Eastern Cape Province is starkly divided between poor, densely populated labour reserves, underserviced townships, informal settlements, well-serviced urban centres, and relatively affluent sparsely populated commercial farming areas. Thus, development in the province is 'spatially distorted 'and 'uneven'.

Buchan (1903:290) former Lord Milner's private secretary once observed:

> Between the most ignorant white man and the black man there is fixed an impassable gulf, not of colour but of mind. The native is often quick of understanding, industrious, curiously logical but he lives and moves in a mental world incredibly distant from ours. The medium of his thought … is so unique … in relation to ourselves. Mentally he is as crude and naive as a child, with a child's curiosity and ingenuity, and a child's practical inconsequence. Morally he has none of the traditions of self-discipline and order, which is implicit, though often degraded in form, in white people. In a

word he cannot be depended upon as an individual save under fairly rigid vigilant restraint; and in the mass he forms an unknown quantity compared with which a Paris mob is a Quaker meeting.

It was on the basis of the foregoing that the black man in the Eastern Cape was exploited, discriminated against and therefore rendered vulnerable. In the long run, the settlers, settled down to live with inhabitants, generally as slaves, or near slaves. It was upon this single but tremendous fact that South African Society, with all its cruelties was founded. South Africa would remain until 1944 a country where racial exploitation and oppression dominated the whole scene. It penetrated the most intimate relations between man and man and man and woman, it invaded the lives of every one, tempted and besieged even the most willing hearts (Davidson, 1952:24-25)

On the phenomenon of Labour of which the Eastern Cape was a reservoir (Hym 1967:297-8) observed:

> The pattern of discrimination and coercion was profoundly shaped by the needs of the mines, and the new phenomenon of migrant labour made great changes in African life-styles and organization, turning states into rural reservoirs of labour. It not only divorced men from their families but also hindered the acquisition by Africans of urban political skills. The recruiting of the labour market, -- provided the pattern for much of the twentieth-century economy, a pattern dominated from the first by unskilled labour, subject to the colour-bar, and in weak bargaining position in industrial relations because the magnates had the support of the law to ensure adequate supplies- taxation pushed Africans into white employment, and land regulations pushed them off their land; and the magnets developed their own monopolistic recruiting system..Rhodes, as the leading mining magnate of his day, played an

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especially dominant role in the evolution of a racially determined labour system.

Terreblanche (2002:6) asserts that South Africa's History over the past 350 years is an unsavoury tale of intergroup conflict, violence, warfare, and plunder with each group enriching itself by plundering the other, which eventually resulted in homelands to which the black were relegated. Transkei and Ciskei, which are the two former homelands in the province established by apartheid policies as suppliers of migrant labour, have manifestations of 'structural poverty'. It is estimated that two thirds of the people in the province live in these former homelands surviving mainly through subsistence agriculture and social grants. Land has been made dead capital because the general legislation and related government strategies regarding traditional authorities imply that the poor will not gain full individual title to land thereby impairing their use of land as repository for savings, surplus generation exchange possibilities (Haines and Robino: 2006)

Thus, poverty manifesting in the Eastern Cape has its roots in the colonial and apartheid eras that culminated initially in the systematic dispossession of the indigenous black South Africans, their inclusion in the orbit of the Cape's mercantile capitalism and the subsequent forced inclusion into the labour market as cheap sources of labour (Trapido: 1980). Moreover, the segregationist macro-policies of the apartheid era entrenched underdevelopment and abject poverty and inequality, with black labour used to effectively subsidise through revenue from mining the prosperity of white farmers.

It was estimated in 1999 that about one million of poor households were living below the poverty datum line in the province. Edwards (2003) observes that there is

widespread absolute poverty in the province while the estimated poverty gap, which is the amount by which the poor's income would approximate the poverty datum line, was approximately 10% of the estimated Gross Domestic Product of the Province. In 1995 the annual average household income was R26 042 nearly 40% below the national average. Moreover, the province has the highest income inequality with a Gini-coefficient which is higher than the national average of 0.57(Ngwane, Yadavalli, Steffens: 2001).

1.7. Towards Developmental Local Government: PGDP and IDP Frameworks.

The blacks have been historically subordinated, marginalized and disadvantaged through a double form of oppression based on race and class in the apartheid era as highlighted in the previous section in this chapter. The 1980s protests and rent boycotts for the black local authorities were some of the focal points for the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. The United Democratic Front (UDF), then, coordinated several militant movements which were spearheading the 'one city one tax base' pushing for affordable service charging and improved service delivery and not discriminatory practices in service delivery.

These struggles coupled with the centralization of the apartheid state and lack of autonomy in local government spheres therefore laid the foundation for the radical reconceptualization and redefinition of the role of local government in post apartheid South Africa hence the drive towards developmental local government (Beall: 2002; Heller: 2001; Mcewan: 2003). Thus the foregoing eventually led to the transformation of local government in post apartheid South Africa through constitutional and legislative commitments.

The Republic of South Africa is a constitutional democracy comprising a three-tier system of government. This three-tier system entails the National, Provincial and Local levels of Government all of which have legislative and executive authority in the areas under their jurisdiction. These three levels of government are not only distinctive and interdependent but they are also interrelated. However a system of cooperative governance is a stated intention in the constitution.

The development facilitation act of 1995 formed the basis for land development objectives (LDO) which eventually gave birth to the integrated developments plans facilitated by the white paper on local government and Municipal System Act of 2000 culminating in what Beall called 'decentralization by stealth' (Beall: 2002). The 1997 White Paper on transforming the public service with a subtitle 'Batho pele' (meaning people first in Sesotho) promulgated a comprehensive policy framework and a practical implementation plan for effective service delivery and improvement (South Africa Human Development Report: 2000). Prior to this, the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service (WPTPS) had emphasized urgency in redressing imbalances of the past in service delivery and therefore recommended affirmative or corrective action principles in service delivery priorities (South Africa Human Development Report: 2000).

These legislative commitments were meant to deal with the apartheid legacy of domination, exploitation, exclusion and socio-economic inequalities. The 1996 constitution also promulgated the framework for developmental local government. Local government was therefore meant to address community basic needs while

promoting socio-economic development for the community all of which were not only overlooked by the apartheid government but frustrated as well. The developmental approach to local government was therefore meant for the promotion of development at the local level thus effectively eradicating symbols of apartheid domination and discrimination in service delivery.

In fact, Heller (2001) concurs that such legislative and constitutional provisions and commitment which were to task local government in service delivery and redistribution were unprecedented. The white paper on local government stresses that developmental local government implies commitment to cooperating with people in the community for sustainable socio-economic development of the community and raising their standard of living (Ministry: 1998).

Section 16 of the Municipal Systems Act actually stresses a system of participatory local governance by implying that the local citizenry must have a say and should effectively influence the governance of their local affairs. Constitutional prohibitions on discrimination in service delivery on the basis of race were all geared towards developmental local government. The apartheid era system of local government was not only racial but undemocratic and lacking representation thereby leading to disenfranchisement of the black majority.

Moreover, Oranje, Huyssteen, Meyer (2000) succinctly posit that planning at the local level after the advent of municipal planning in South Africa in the 1930s was in most cases based on a racially segregated basis and within a top-down apartheid superstructure; concerned with the perceived needs of the privileged groups in

society; sectorally fragmented, with transport, land use and engineering services plans and the budget being prepared in isolation by departments structured in accordance with areas of technical, professional competence; of a master plan-nature, the domain of the technical expert (with the privileged; sectors of society in some cases allowed little more than a once-off input via a questionnaire and/or a view of the plan at the end of the road); silent on issues of environmental sustainability, economic viability, poverty alleviation and social health and welfare; focused on control or on sectorally-structured infrastructural delivery programmes by the public sector and weak on the facilitation of private sector investment.

Developmental local governmental therefore ideally sought to transform local government structures from agents of oppression, domination, discrimination and exclusion to champions of development while promoting racial integration and inclusiveness (Heller: 2001). Mcewan (2003) also agrees that developmental local government must therefore eradicate symbols of racial discrimination, exploitation and domination and a culture of distrust and alienation which was prevalent in the apartheid era to the detriment of the black population.

It is within this context of developmental local government that the Eastern Cape Provincial Government coined the Provincial Growth and Development Program to eradicate poverty in the province while at Municipal level Amathole District Municipality produced their Integrated Development Plan. The white paper emphasizes that integrated development planning provides the framework for participatory and accountable government while promoting cooperation between local government and the citizens at the local level including several stakeholders

and interest groups (Ministry: 1998). Community needs and priorities are to be catered for and the local community must participate in the drafting of the IDP while community duties and rights are to be communicated as well as the procedures, mechanisms for participation, thus leading to participatory developmental local government.

1.8 An introduction to the Provincial Growth and Development Plan and integrated development planning in the Eastern Cape.

1.8.1 The Provincial Growth and Development Plan

The Eastern Cape came up with what they called the Provincial Growth and Development Plan which (as it is implied in the title) is a policy document which ideally is meant to provide the framework or strategy for the promotion of growth and development in the province. On the other hand, it is a legislative requirement that every District comes up with an integrated development plan, which like the PGDP at provincial level is meant to provide a strategy to champion local economic development and eradicate poverty.

The PGDP has been described as a step forward from previous development planning processes in the province, which have tended to be sectorally driven and fragmented, short-term and somewhat reactive (ECPG: 2003). However, the profile and analysis of the Eastern Cape economy by Stephen Hosking in 1998 concluded that there was relatively poor income generation and that development planning in the province was based on 'fuzzy thinking'(Hosking: 1998).

It is also very disturbing to note that the Eastern Cape Provincial Development Plan does not define poverty (Walt: 2004) yet poverty eradication is one of its overall

goals. One wonders what then is the PGDP intended to focus on if it does not conceptualize or unpack the concept of poverty. Governments cannot simply come up with strategies to fight poverty if the same concept of poverty has not been clarified.

Moreover, Haines and Robino (2006:9) further assert that

> While the PGDP reflects a comprehensive policy exercise, there are some significant shortcomings and omissions. While there is admirable emphasis on pro-poor programmes through a range of targeted inputs, an identification of the need for substantive land and tenure reform, community public private partnerships and extensive public works as well as job creation schemes, the conceptual challenges and logistical magnitude of the task are not fully appreciated".

Buthelezi (2008:197) observes that PGDP programs can be grouped into five clusters namely poverty reduction and job creation, improved service delivery, gearing the state to drive economic transformation, projects that can crowd in investment into the rural economy, human resources development and accelerating manufacturing output and employment.

He further argues that these programmes are selected on specific criteria, including their potential to:

- Deepen participation by the province's people in the development process

- Steer government towards using its limited resources to play a bigger and more effective role in facilitating economic growth.

- Use state resources in a way that centralizes the needs of the poor, gradually moving from short term welfare to drawing the poor into the mainstream of the economy.

- Optimise job creation and economic opportunities through targeted procurement and supply management to promote local economic development and black economic empowerment (BEE), and encourage the use of labour intensive technology where appropriate.

- Rapidly open access by the poor to finance and assets such as land plant and machinery. This is what is meant by "increasing the asset base" of the poor.

- Effectively deal with HIV/AIDS through a comprehensive prevention treatment, and care programme that does not place additional pressures on the state's safety net (and funds) in the medium-to-long range.

- Accelerate state transformation to more efficiently deliver social services, and more efficiently honour constitutional obligations to the poorest of the poor.

- Develop and enhance the potential of women and youth and increase their participation in the development process and economic activities.

Bank's Research on the former Eastern Cape homeland areas indicates the continued marginalization of the poor after 1994 (Bank et al: 2003). Moreover, the conversion of the rural poor into subsistence farmers or small scale commercial farmers is a massive long term exercise in which socio-economic and political constraints are strongly embedded in the rural political economy of the Eastern Cape (Haines and Robino, 2006:17).

Haines and Robino 2006:9 also further assert that

> There is clear lack of integration in terms of provincial and national policies. Authors of the strategy seem to work with a simplistic model of a state. The play of patronage and the political conditioning of the development policy process, as in other developing countries (Grindle and Thomas: 1991), impact on the targeting and implementation of projects and new forms of scrutiny and input are required.

On face value it appears like it is lack of precision and integration in policy formulation, implementation bottle necks that the goal of poverty eradication still remains exactly what it was then, a 'mere goal'. This is very disturbing given the expectations of the masses upon the dawn of a new era of democracy in South Africa in 1994.

1.8.2 Integrated Development Planning

The South African Constitution of 1996 provides for a new developmental mandate for local government with the municipal systems act of 2001 requiring municipalities to come up with IDPs for strategic, inclusive, responsive and performance driven municipal governance.

An IDP is a Plan set up for planning and implementation purposes through a participatory and consultative process involving residents within their area of jurisdiction (Mathya: 2002; Harrison: 2001; Pycroft: 1998). Atkinson (2002) postulates that this Plan outlines the development strategies and needs and the

mechanisms for addressing development challenges including poverty. Integrated development planning provides the framework for municipal planning and development while also providing a benchmark against which set goals can be measured, monitored and evaluated (Aliber: 2002).

The South African Forum for Effective Planning and Development defines Integrated Development Planning as a

> participatory approach to integrate economic, sectoral, spatial, social, institutional, environmental and fiscal strategies in order to support the optimal allocation of scarce resources between sectors and geographical areas and across the population in a manner that provides sustainable growth, equity and the empowerment of the poor and the marginalised (DPLG,2000:15)

Chapter five of the municipal systems act require each municipal council to adopt a single , inclusive and strategic plan for the development of the municipality which: Links, integrates and co-ordinates plans and takes into account proposals for the development of the municipality; forms the policy framework and general basis on which annual budgets must be based; aligns the resources and capacity of the municipality with the implementation of the plan; is compatible with national and provincial development plans and planning requirements biding on the municipality in terms of legislation'(Municipal Systems Act, 2000:18).

The Municipal Systems Act states that an IDP should entail: The municipal council's vision for the long term development of the municipality while placing special emphasis on the municipality's most critical development needs; Council's long term development vision and consider the need for social and economic advancement of disadvantaged sections of the community; assessment of the existing level of

development in the municipality, including the identification of communities which do not have access to adequate basic services; describing in detail how the municipal council will realise its development objectives and the time frame within which those objectives will be realised; and the council's spatial development framework, which should guide the way in which the physical area will be developed.

The South African Constitution of 1996 establishes a new developmental mandate for local government and established local government as an autonomous sphere of government. This developmental mandate was further reinforced by the White Paper on Local Government of 1998 and subsequent legislation (see box 1 below) 'which expanded on the mandate of developmental local government and on the political, administrative and institutional systems to fulfil it' (Donk and Pieterse: 2006). The box below indicates some key legislation that affects local government in South Africa.

Box 1

Key Legislation affecting Local Government in South Africa

Among the key Acts that have been passed to give effect to the constitutional directives of local government and the policy framework reflected in the White Paper on Local Government are:

Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act,1998 (Act 27 of 1998), which provided for the establishment of the Municipal Demarcation Board, tasked with the determination of municipal boundaries in a manner that would facilitate integrated development, effective service delivery and participatory local democracy.

Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act 117 of 1998, with three subsequent amendments in 2000, 2002 and 2003), which allowed for the establishment of different types and categories of municipalities in different areas (i.e. single-tier municipalities for metropolitan areas and two-tier municipalities outside metropolitan areas), defined two options for executive systems in metropolitan areas (mayoral executive system or collective executive system), and allowed for the establishment of ward committees to facilitate

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community participation in council matters.

Municipal Electoral Act, 2000 (Act 27 of 2000), which regulated all aspects of the municipal elections, including the requirements on parties and ward candidates to contest elections, voter education and election observers, voting and counting

Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000, with an amendment in 2003), which established a framework for the operation of municipalities, with guidelines for development planning and service provision(including partnership-based approach), staffing matters and performance management systems

Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act, 2003 (Act 56 of 2003), which created a framework for municipalities to borrow money and determined the conditions for short term and long term borrowing.

Local Government: Municipal properties Rates Act, 2004 (Act 6 of 2004), which established a uniform property rating system across South Africa.

Source: (Donk and Pieterse 2006:114)

The constitution of the republic of South Africa states that in pursuit of developmental duties, the municipality must participate in national and provincial development programs and structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community. It is within the context of this constitutional framework that this study examines the articulation of the Eastern Cape provincial development plan and the Amathole District development plan.

1.9 Summary

Having covered the historical processes under several themes as highlighted above and also having highlighted and described the two key policy instruments used by the post apartheid government in its fight against poverty the following questions arise logically: To what extent are these policy instruments integrated for the purpose of ensuring effectiveness in the quest for poverty eradication? To what extent are current efforts of building a developmental state in South Africa underpinned by

stakeholder participation effective in the fight against poverty? Based on empirical findings from the Eastern Cape Province what conclusions can be drawn with regard to the above?

The first chapter has presented the background to the study focusing mainly on the historical background of the study. The Second chapter "Policy Integration and Poverty eradication: Theoretical and Empirical Issues" entails the theoretical underpinnings of the study coupled with the debates and empirical work on the Provincial Growth and Development Plan and Integrated Development Planning. The third Chapter "An Overview of Methodological Issues" focuses on the research procedures including research design, sampling and data collection methods.

The fourth Chapter "Rethinking the Developmental State for Poverty Eradication: Towards Participatory Developmentalism" is a rethinking of the developmental state which is discussed within the context of participatory development for the possible reconstruction of the developmental state to be a participatory democratic developmental state.

The fifth chapter "Integration of the PGDP and IDP for Poverty Eradication" focuses on the examination and analysis of the Integration of the PGDP and Amathole District Municipality in poverty eradication. It also focuses on the impact of the PGDP and IDP as poverty eradication interventions and an analysis of community participation in the interventions. The last chapter presents the final arguments and conclusions on the main research questions.

CHAPTER TWO

POLICY INTEGRATION AND POVERTY ERADICATION: KEY THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL ISSUES.

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents pertinent literature, perspectives, conceptual and theoretical frameworks on intergovernmental relations in general, 'participatory democratic developmental state' and participatory development and how these relate to the study. In addition, an overview of the macro-economic policies pursued by the South African Government is also presented. The notion of poverty eradication through better coordinated and aligned intergovernmental policy and programs requires serious attention hence the focus of the study.

2.1 Poverty in South Africa: Some wider analytical issues

While poverty eradication efforts, however conceptualized and defined, on the African continent have largely been 'whistles in the wind' South Africa, is not an exception. The apartheid era in South Africa did not only see the worst system of economic and social discrimination in world history but it also resulted in uneven development and a dichotomy between the whites and the blacks. While the whites enjoyed significant levels of economic growth, the blacks continue to languish in abject poverty.

That South Africa remains not only poor but unevenly developed not only racially but geographically cannot be contested. This is manifest in the dichotomy between the rural and the urban as well as the 'African blacks' and the 'whites'. While development ideally is supposed to be organized and not disorganized South African

development has always been dominated by capitalism instead of zeroing in on 'development of the underdeveloped'. The majority of the rural populace not only in South Africa but in third world countries in general and African countries in particular remain trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty if not abject poverty which in some cases is demeaning, dehumanizing, and gruelling . The figure 1 below shows development as a good change from ill-being characterized by powerlessness, insecurity and material poverty to well-being characterized by freedom, capabilities and security.

Figure.1 Development as good change
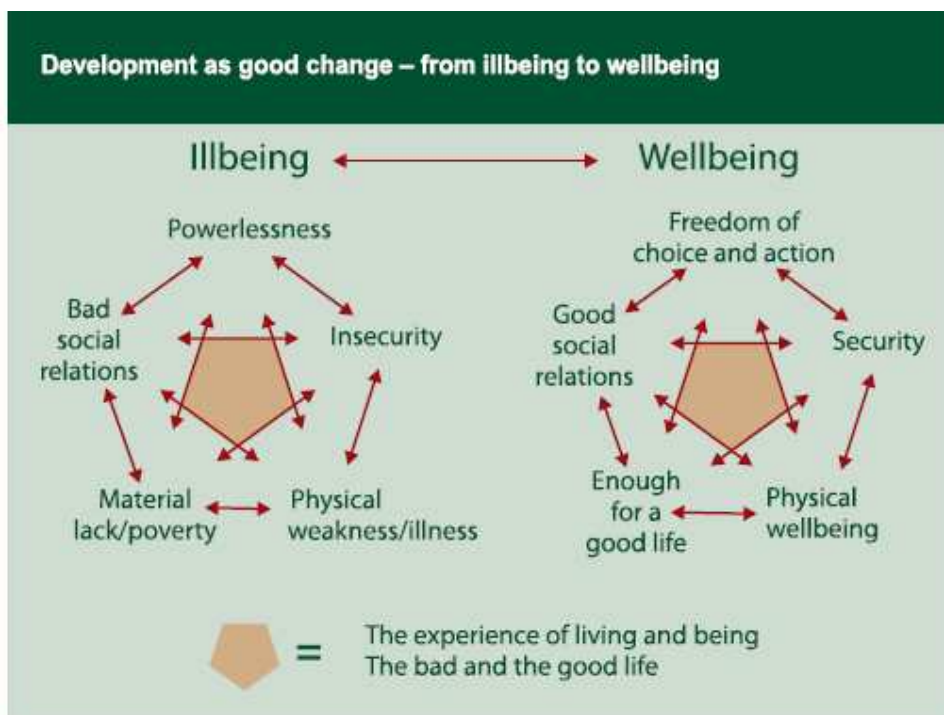
Source: Chambers: 2006

Khan (IMF Working Paper) points out that there are several sources of persistent poverty in most developing countries some of which are the following: Inadequate and poor quality of agricultural land and unfair tenancy practices; unstable

employment opportunities and low return on labour; Inadequate access to and high cost of financial capital to meet the investment; and consumption needs; inadequate and poor quality of physical and social infrastructure particularly low public investment in health, education, sanitation, water supply and roads communications and power; lack of adequate research and extension services for of profitable transfer of agricultural technology and absence of safety nets.

The policy crisis over the last decade has been manifest in a range of Acts, policies, strategies, development planning instruments, integration mechanisms and structures. These policies seemingly had the noble objectives of ensuring that intergovernmental priority setting, resource allocation and implementation takes place in a programmatic, integrated, effective, efficient and sustainable way.

It is a sad reality to note that despite all these efforts intergovernmental integration and coordination has remained a distant ideal, resulting in the desired developmental outcomes only being partially realized. This in turn, has resulted in the continuation of the inequalities, inefficiencies and wastage of the apartheid space economy, seriously compromising the daily liveability and long-term sustainability of our settlements (presidency: 2004).

This has been typical of many postcolonial governments that upon the attainment of independence the majority of people will be longing not only for political freedom but for 'freedom from poverty' as well. However the sad reality that has unfolded remains the same, Post colonial governments have crafted policy after policy, strategy after strategy with no meaningful results on the ground thus poverty eradication still

remains a dream if not a pipe dream thanks to lack of a clear and coherent strategy informed by powerful vision of a democratic developmental state which provides a framework for participatory development. Such a state is discussed at length in the third chapter which is the next chapter.

Carol Lancaster (1999) laments why, after four decades and billions of dollars in foreign aid has Africa in general failed to develop. She questions the reason why Africa has not effectively tackled the poverty pandemic despite the immense natural resources including oil diamonds gold, other base minerals, agricultural and tourism potential, a declared commitment to development and talent of its people.

However, this study's point of departure is why poverty in the Eastern Cape persists even after the post apartheid government's efforts which are the PGDP and the Amathole IDP in this study.

Mkandawire (1999:30) posits that

> … poverty still persists after post colonial governments efforts, major reasons could be that the economic and social progress has been poorly managed, the development objectives aspirations, policies and strategies have been conceived by public sector officials with little or no consultation, with the target groups of development both in rural and urban areas with organizations in the private sectors and NGO a reflection of low capacity macroeconomic management

In addition, one of the militating factors against rural development in Africa entails adoption of inappropriate development paradigms (Rihani: 2002; Ake: 1996; Taylor & Mackenzie: 1992; Mackenzie: 1992; Mabogunje: 1980; Potter: 1971), by African

governments. The situation in South Africa has been compounded by mismanagement, corruption, and lack of capacity in terms of service delivery to the poor (Michael and Padayachee, 1998: 630-1).

Moreover, the viability of the post colonial state in dealing with poverty is questionable given its subservience to the demands of international capital multilateral financial and trade regimes, structural adjustment programmes (SAPS) leading to recompradorisation of the state in Africa (Buthelezi, 2004:4). Ake (1997:429) argues that with the transnationalisation of more and more things especially economic activities, more decision which are important for our lives are made in distant places often anonymously by agents we don't know. Chambua (1994:16) argues that irrespective of the particular paradigm/school of thought that have informed particular polices, strategies pursued by IDCs the end result has been the same leading some social scientists to conclude that development theories are in a crisis or state of bankruptcy hence the urgent call for a paradigmatic shift.

2.1 Conceptualising poverty

Chambers (2006) observes that

> What poverty is taken to mean depends on who asks the question, how it is understood, and who responds. Our common meanings have all been constructed by us, non-poor people. They reflect our power to make definitions according to our perceptions. Whose reality counts? Ours, as we construct it with our mindsets and for our purposes? Or theirs as we enable them to analyse and express it?

The above mentioned observation implies that there are controversies and dilemmas in the conceptualization and/or definition of poverty. However the concept of poverty has been rediscovered several times (Polanyi: 1994, 1957:89-90; Harrington: 1962, 1967:140-141; Gordon, 1972:3; Rees, 1998:16; Cotter, 2002:535) although in the developing countries post war poverty came into the limelight in the cold war (Myrdal, 1971:4-5). Poverty is a contested concept and the complexity of poverty derives from the fact that the conceptualization, definition and measurement of poverty in a society is like a mirror image of that society (Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute 2007:5).The changing concepts of development widening from economic, social and environmental development to human development have further complicated the concept of poverty (Sen: 1999; Streeten: 1994; Todaro: 2001; Wolfenson &Bourguignon: 2004; Srinivasan: 1994).

Chambers succinctly observes that there are 'streams', 'syndromes' or 'paradigms' that can be separated, though interlinked, which are 'methodologies, mindsets, concepts and perceptions' about poverty. He observes that the first which concerns 'income poverty, poverty lines, statistical analysis and questionnaire surveys is standardised, non-contextual and quantitative' and he critiques this approach since its reductionist. The second is not only 'qualitative' and 'contextual' but 'idiosyncratic' as well and defines poverty from an anthropological point of view of cultures and communities and has been criticised for its sustenance of 'particularism'. The third is 'participatory' defining poverty as expressed and analysed by the local people usually facilitated by professionals. This approach has been hailed for its 'pluralism and multidimensionality'.

While the conceptualization is significant in the fight against poverty, the concept of poverty as alluded to earlier on is highly debatable. Poverty has devastating phenomenal effects on a person's total being (Potgieter, 1998: 196), while its psychological scars erode the potential for human emancipation (Slater: 1993) it also impinges on the spectrum of human development as a whole. Minimal levels of investment required to maintain or enhance different assets have also been termed investment poverty (Readon and Vosti: 1995) or economically persistent poverty by Zimmerman and Carter (1995).

Terms like absolute poverty, relative poverty, structural poverty, income poverty, chronic poverty (a state of poverty that exists over time, Chronic Poverty Centre: 2004), transitory poverty have been used to conceptualise poverty. Explanations of the causes of poverty have also been said to be structural, residual and pathological. While residualist notions imply being left out of the growth and development process, (Beinstein et al: 1992) pathological notions emphasize responsibility for one's poverty and structural explanations implying poverty as a product of the growth and development process.

2.1.1 Concepts, Definitions and Measurement of Poverty.

Table. 3 Concepts Definitions and Measurement of poverty

Concept	Definition	Measurement

Absolute- an approach characterized by the absence of a reference group. Sometimes thought of as scientific and unchanging over time. Applies equally to any society	1)Rowntree Primary Poverty 2)Copenhagen Declaration Absolute Poverty 3)US poverty Line (Orshansky,1965) 4)South Africa PDL or HSL	1)Budget standard approaches
Relative-characterized by defining poverty 1)In relation to living standards of a reference group 2) In terms of resources required to participate fully in society. 3) More narrowly by reference to the national income/expenditure distribution.	1)'Low cost but acceptable' Definitions Parker,1998; The Cost of a Child (Oldfield & Yu,1993) 2)Townsend Participation Index (Townsend , 1979; Lack of socially perceived (or consensually defined) necessities (Gordon et al., 2000; Mack & Lansey, 1985; Pantazis, Townsend, & Gordon,1999); Proportional Deprivation Index (Hallerod, Bradshaw & Holmes,1997; Hallerod,1997	1)Budget standards approach 2)Normative judgment (Townsend), survey of socially perceived necessities(Gordon et al.,2000; Mak & Lansey, 1985; Pantazis, Townsend & Gordon,1999) ;Proportional Deprivation Index (Hallerrod, 1994) 3) Income/Expenditure Surveys.
Capabilities and Commodities-framing poverty in terms of human capacity	1)Researcher judgment(Gordon et al.,2000) 2)Consensual Definitions(indicators of poverty and Social	Surveys.

	Exclusion project, Noble et al, ongoing)	
Social exclusion-widening poverty to encompass the capacity to function as a fully participating member of society(has close affinity with Townsend's Relative Deprivation(Townsend,1979).Key elements of social exclusion are multiple deprivation, relativity, agency and dynamics(Atkinson & Hills 1998)	1)Researcher Judgment (Gordon et al.,2000) 2)Consensual Definitions(Indicators of poverty and social exclusion project	1) Survey. 2) Focus groups and survey.

Noble, Ratclife and Wright 2004:3

Sen (1976 and 1983), Foster, Greer and Thorbecke (1984), Cerioli and Zani (1990), Klasen (2000), Cheli and Lemmi (1995) have tremendously unpacked the concept of poverty in a multidimensional perspective (Walt: 1994) as highlighted in the diagram above.

Table. 4 A snapshot of Poverty concepts and indicators

INCOME PERSPECTIVE This is the argument that categorises people as poor if their income falls below a defined income measure.	Welfare payments, wage levels and poverty datum lines are income indicators
BASIC NEEDS This is one of the most influential perspectives on poverty, especially in the context of the South or 'third world' where millions people live without adequate food, shelter or sanitation. Basic needs can include hard infrastructure such as storm water or social infrastructure such as schools or clinics.	There are a number of well known poverty indicators that come out of the basic needs perspective, for example: access to potable water, literacy, life expectancy and nutrition levels.
SOCIAL EXCLUSION Social exclusion refers to the fact that despite welfare and general wealth, there remains a group who are excluded from the mainstream benefits of the society	Indicators of social exclusion emphasize political, social and economic components of poverty and inequality and are thus either multipart or composite indicators. These indicators

and who are prevented in some way from gaining from the general prosperity.	are often qualitative measuring, for example, racism or sexism.
SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS This approach stresses the involvement of individuals and communities in defining and solving their own poverty. The assumption is that everyone is not poor or vulnerable in the same way and that identifying local variations in poverty or deprivation are crucial to effective development strategies.	Community generated indicators focus on vulnerability or the inability to cope with hardship rather than poverty, so crucial issues that emerge may not be the lack of an income or even jobs but rather factors such as disability, the breakdown of the family or such problems like alcoholism.
LOCALITY Space or geography is seen by some to be an independent variable in poverty equation.	Indicators used by poverty analysis interested in locality include segregation indices, transport indicators and other mapping tools. The use of geographical information systems facilities a locational analysis of most other indicators.
ENVIRONMENT JUSTICE Equitable access to a healthy, pollution free environment, resources required to support a healthy life without compromising the opportunities of future generations.	Indicators typically found in the State of Environment reports including air pollution, water quality and environmental health indicators.
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT The emphasis here is on a holistic understanding of poverty, where anti-poverty action enlarges people's life choices. Specifically this refers to enabling individuals to lead a long and healthy life, in which they are educated and have access to a decent standard of living. Included in this notion of poverty alleviation is ensuring that human rights are upheld and that political and social freedoms are secure.	Indicators are varied and complex indicators that reflect the diversity of the poverty condition. The Human Development index and the Gender Development index are well known examples. A more recent measure designed specifically for cities is the City Development Index.

Source, Boraine: 1998.

It is within the context of this theoretical and conceptual framework that this study

shall be undertaken. This researcher acknowledges the fact that the above-

mentioned is not exhaustive but serves to highlight the complexity of the concept of

poverty for pragmatic reasons of the research. We argue that based on the complexity of the concept, measurement and definition of poverty any attempt to eradicate poverty must be equally comprehensive and multifaceted hence the earlier concern raised on the simplicity of poverty suggested in the PGDP and IDP.

The United Nations Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (2001) defines poverty as a human condition characterized by the sustained or chronic deprivation of resources, capabilities choices security and power necessary for the enjoyment of adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, political and social rights. Therefore, a triumph over poverty in and for South Africa is not necessarily a symbol of goodwill nor is it an end in itself. It is a fundamental and monumental act of justice as well as the protection of fundamental and inalienable human rights, including economic, social, political and cultural rights.

The figure 2 below shows a web of the multi-dimensional implications of poverty

Figure. 2 A web of multidimensional implications of poverty

The web of poverty`s disadvantages
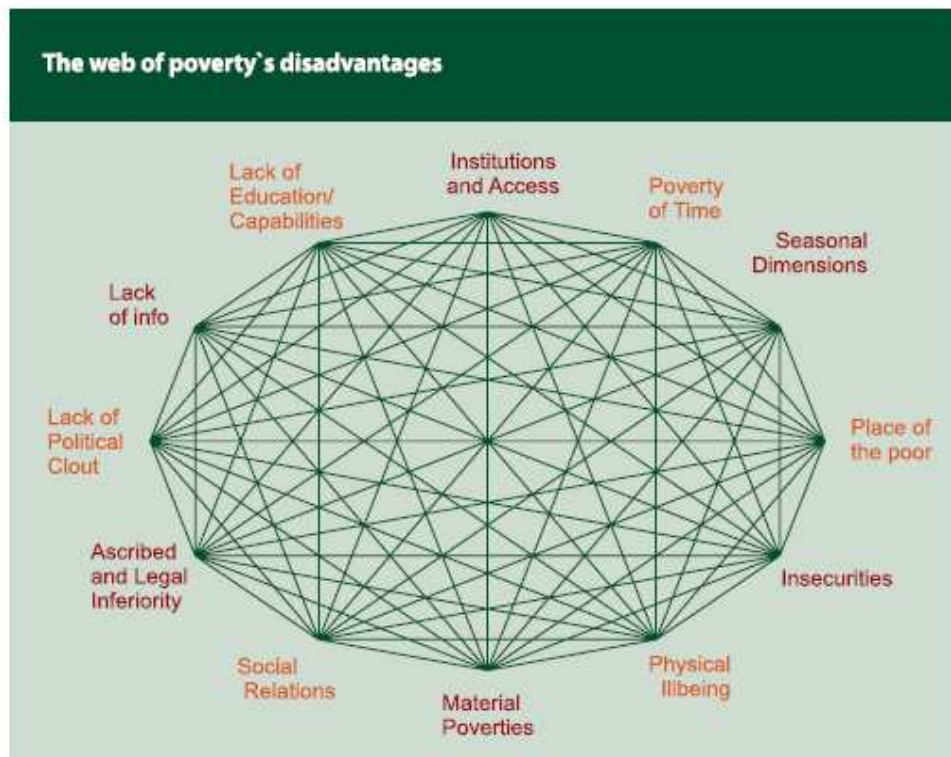
Source: Chambers: 2006

From the figure above one can observe the complex disadvantages of poverty including insecurity, lack of political clout, lack of education and capabilities.

Statistics South Africa (1994) also defines poverty in a broader perspective than merely the extent of low income or low expenditure in the country. It is seen here as the denial of opportunities and choices most basic to human development to lead to a long healthy and creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity and self esteem from and respect from others.

From these definitions one can note that poverty is a multidimensional concept which does not only manifest in lack of basic needs in terms of food ,water ,health, shelter,

education as often presumed but lack of means and opportunities to sustain them. These insights are crucial since they are supposed to be the foundation stones of development policy for successful poverty eradication.

Mkandawire (1999:30) contends that the major reasons postcolonial governments continue to grapple with the poverty crisis could be that the economic and social progress has been poorly managed. Moreover, the development objectives aspirations, policies and strategies have been conceived by public sector officials with little or no consultation, with the target groups of development both in rural and urban areas with organizations in the private sectors and NGO a reflection of low capacity macroeconomic management. Thus, one can argue that the 'policy crisis' has led to a 'poverty crisis', which further entangles the rural poor in the vicious circle of poverty. Having said that one can argue that South Africa still needs a coherent strategy to fight poverty (Aliber: 2002).

The content and context of poverty in South Africa, therefore, must be clearly understood in its totality since the misconstruction of poverty or the negation of one aspect of poverty has phenomenal implications for the interventions meant for the alleviation of poverty. It is important to note that poverty is not only a complex phenomenon but is a contested concept since its definition, measurement and conceptualization is highly debatable.

While poverty is multidimensional and multifaceted, its definitions are not supposed to be simplistic, escapist and myopic. The approach to poverty alleviation must be equally multifaceted and holistic not simplistic and one-dimensional if it has to be effective. Thus if the conception of poverty in its multidimensional form is not

appreciated and misconstrued the development policies formulated for the mitigation of the same cannot be effective. Thus given the complexities entailed in the definition and measurement of poverty certain aspects of poverty must be clearly enunciated for pragmatic reasons. Laderchi, Saith, Stewart and House (2006) write that while poverty definitions have crucial implications for targeting policy clearer definitions are important for poverty centred development.

Wilson and Ramphele (1989:4) argue that poverty in South Africa is profoundly a political issue and there are three interlocking factors justifying the assertion that poverty in South Africa is unique: the width of the gulf between the rich and the poor; the extent to which poverty that exists is a consequence of deliberate policy; the way in which material poverty is reinforced by racist policies that are an assault on people humanity

Wilson and Ramphele (1989:30) outline the rationale for defining poverty: the damage it inflicts upon individuals who must endure it; the sheer inefficiency in economic terms, e.g. hungry children cannot study properly, with millions of rands being wasted on ineffective education; the consequences to society, especially where poverty is the manifestation of great inequality, with the possibility that too great an inequality makes human community impossible; poverty is often caused by a deeper malaise, such as the process that generates wealth in a society and often impoverishes others at the same time.

They further argue that it is through agricultural transformation entailing land redistribution and restructuring of relations between labour and capital that poverty can be uprooted.

Pieterse (2001) also opines that 'the emerging mainstream consensus in the international development community on how best to eradicate poverty' entails the following:

- Civil Society Organisations are recognized as crucial actors facilitating the empowerment of the poor people and communities through context specific, participatory development interventions.

- Community level empowerment is most effective if it unfolds simultaneously with national level policy reforms to create a conducive environment for democratic decentralization, appropriate fiscal reform, and adequate safety nets to support the destitute and improved co-ordination between sectoral interventions, especially in terms of local level impacts.

- These micro and macro-political changes must be buttressed by the entrenchment of human rights that guarantee civil society formations the space to act autonomously and defend the interests of (particularly) the marginal and vulnerable in society.

- The state is again recognized as a central player in the guise of the developmental state that intervenes, regulates and enables as opposed to neo-liberal vision of the minimalist state that withdraws from social service provision.

- There is recognition that broad-based, balanced labour intensive economic growth is crucial to ensuring access to productive opportunities for as many people as possible. This is particularly important, given the tendency to make

large numbers of people economically redundant in a context of uncritical trade liberalization and inequitable process of globalization.

In the definition of poverty, it is also important to note that theory distinguishes between "relative poverty" and "absolute poverty". While relative poverty suggests that People are judged to be poor if they are poor in comparison to those around them-implying that the meaning of poverty changes from time to time and place to place (Mkandawire, 1999:30) absolute poverty implies an objective, even scientific notion (Alcock, 2006:68).

However, a critique of relative poverty is that the notion of relative poverty implies that some people will always be poor since absolute equality may not be possible (Sen: 1983). Moreover, the relative approach may produce anomalous results in a country where the majority would be near starvation since the poverty line may end up being too low (Noble, Ratclife and Wright: 2004). McNamara (1978) argues that absolute poverty is a condition of life that reflects malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, squalid surroundings, high mortality and low life expectancy as to be beneath any reasonable definition of human decency.

On the other hand the 'basic needs approach' emphasizes lack of basic needs such as shelter, food and clothing as manifestations of poverty which however is a negation of the fact that needs could be dynamic changing from time to time and place to place. The 'capabilities approach' conceives poverty being absolute in space of 'capabilities' (nutrition, shelter and capacity to move from point A to B) but relative in space of commodities, resources and income'(Noble, Ratclife and Wright: 2004). Moreover, Chambers contends that poverty is essentially a social phenomenon and only secondarily a material or physical phenomenon. Implied in

these definitions is the fact that poverty is a multidimensional and multifaceted 'social construct' suggesting that any approach to 'pigeonhole' poverty as a concept would be too simplistic and consequently resulting in deleterious effects in poverty eradication hence the earlier concern raised about the PGDP'S failure to conceptualize poverty.

Laderchi, Saith and Stewart (2003) suggest that there are 'four different approaches to defining and measuring poverty'. These entail 'approaches that attempt to measure individual deprivation, based on monetary income or on indicators of capability failure, approaches that are based on concepts of social exclusion and approaches that rely on participatory methods to establish the views of the poor themselves' (Francis, 2006:3).

Noble, Ratclife &Wright (2004:15) emphasize the need for a consensual definition of poverty for South Africa. This, they argue, is against the backdrop of the legacy of apartheid manifesting itself as an exceptionally divided society with extensive and social economic inequality (May: 1998, Hirschowitz: 2000). Moreover, they further argue that for such a context of common aspirations of the people thus transcending the racial and economic divide. Such a definition, they further argue would provide a meaningful basis for pro-poor policy agenda hence providing a useful tool for the achievement of the objective stated in the constitution which is to improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and build a united and democratic South Africa. However they warn that such a definition may not be realized because consensus may not exist, the common core of shared beliefs may not exist and also due to bounded realities.

Hulme and Shepherd, (2003:9) differentiate between the chronically poor from the transient poor, while observing that the causes of their poverty are likely to be different qualitatively. The poverty and inequality report commissioned by the South African Government in 1995 concludes that "the merging consensus sees poverty as generally being characterized by the inability of individual households, or entire communities, to command sufficient resources to satisfy acceptable minimum standard of living (May, 1998:3).

In the South African context the RDP also initiated by the South African Government in 1995 observes recognizing that poverty lines will differ over time and space and that deciding where to draw the poverty line is ultimately something of an arbitrary decision, the practice adopted by the RDP has been followed. 'Poor' has been defined as the poorest 40% of households and the ultra poor as the poorest 20% of households (May, 1998:27).

The Statistics South Africa report (Hirschowitz, 2000:5) noted that

> …poverty... is seen here as the denial of opportunities and choices most basic to human development to lead to a long health creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self esteem and respect from others.

Therefore, Governments cannot simply come up with strategies to fight poverty if the same concept of poverty has not been clarified, it is very disturbing to note that the Eastern Cape Provincial Development Plan does not define poverty (Walt: 2004) yet poverty alleviation is one of its overall goals. One wonders what then is the PGDP intended to focus on if it does not conceptualize or unpack the concept of poverty.

Such a plethora of definitions and concepts of poverty suggest that poverty is too complex to be left undefined.

Thus, it is imperative not only to define poverty but also to conceptualize and contextualize it so that the same conceptualization can inform development polices like the PDGP and the IDP of Amatole District of the Eastern Cape. The following definitions of poverty suggest that it will be naive to pigeonhole the definition of poverty.

Quizilbash (2000) posits that poverty has both horizontal and vertical vagueness. While the former alludes to the fact that some dimensions contribute more to poverty than others depending on time the latter refers to the difficulty in the distinction between the poor and the non-poor. Thus, there is no consensus as to when education is enough and even on nutritional requirements since they differ depending on age, sex, height and even weight Quizilbash (2000). Wilson and Rampele (1989) argue that poverty is like illness showing itself in different ways in different historical situations and has diverse causes with treatment generally requiring 'careful diagnoses. Not only are there several dimensions to material poverty but there is a complex interaction between cause and effect making it difficult to describe the state of poverty without considering those factors, and aspects of poverty causing further misery.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) poverty report (1998:14) defines poverty as the denial of opportunities and choices most basic to human development to lead to a long, healthy, creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-esteem and respect from others. This implies that poverty is not just characterized by low income or just basic needs. Hamburg (1984)

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contends that poverty is partly a matter of income and partly a matter of human dignity. It is one thing to have a very low income but to be treated with respect by your comparisons; it is quite another matter to have a very low income and to be harshly depreciated by compatriots that are more powerful.

McNamara (1978) defines poverty as a condition of life so limited by malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, squalid surroundings, high infant mortality and low life expectancy as to be beneath any reasonable definition of human decency. Thus, insecurity and vulnerability define the situation of poverty. This vulnerability and insecurity often derive from poor health care, education and sanitation. World Summit for Social Development (1995) defines poverty as a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to social services.

On the definition of poverty, one of the celebrated authors on poverty, Chambers (1983) observes that authors are

> So divided by discipline and ideology that to lump them together appears, and is simplistic, but sharpness of disagreements hides a premise which most share: that poverty is to be understood primarily in terms of economic forces, social relations, property rights and power

Chambers (1983) further argues that the authors' views and stance can be illustrated by Kurien (1978) who views poverty as deprivation but not only deprivation, it is deprivation for many and affluence for the few, thus regarding poverty as a 'socio-

economic phenomenon whereby the resources available to society are used to satisfy the wants of the few, while the many do not have even their basic needs'.

The issue of poverty as not only deprivation for many but also affluence for the few is underpinned by the concept of 'wealth accumulation' predicated on the ideology of capitalism hence the debate on poverty alleviation and poverty eradication. While poverty alleviation implies poverty reduction, the concept of poverty eradication on the other hand entails the obliteration or abolition of poverty.

Johnson (1993:146) posits that poverty is a multi dimensional problem with its origins in both the national and international domains and no uniform solution can be found for global application. Given the foregoing, one can observe that poverty is not one-dimensional as is often presumed, but has several dimensions, which in themselves are contested. The figure 3 below illustrates the complexity of the interaction between several dimensions of poverty.

Figure. 3 Dimensions of Poverty

Source: Noble, Ratclife and Wright, 2004:3

While the South African Participatory Poverty Assessment (May, 1998:38-48) observed a difference in perceptions on poverty views of the poor, poverty has also been defined as absence of material wealth (Saunders 1993: 8), suggesting that there is no one best way of defining poverty'. Poverty also entails the inability to attain minimal standard of living measured in terms of basic needs or income to satisfy them (World Development report, 2000:70)

The World Bank (2000) asserts:

Poverty is hunger. Poverty is lack of shelter. Poverty is being sick and not able to see a doctor. Poverty is not being able to see a doctor; Poverty is not being able to go to school and not knowing how to read. Poverty is not having a job, is fear of the future, living one day at a time. Poverty is losing a child to illness brought about by unclean water. Poverty is powerlessness, lack of representation and freedom

Goddard (1892:5-6) observes changes in the definition of poverty over time when he asserts that

Roughly, we may define poverty as "An insufficient of necessaries"; or more fully, as "An insufficient supply of those dependent upon him in health and vigour."And the degree of poverty will obviously be determined by the extent of the insufficiency. Of course, this leads to the further question as to what things are requisite…there is no sharply defined line between necessaries and unnecessaries. However an adequate supply of wholesome food and suitable clothing and a sanitary dwelling, with sufficient sleeping apartments, are among the first requisites. To these must be added the means of obtaining some amount of education. Recreation also—and leisure...freedom…

The plethora of definitions by authors also captures concepts underpinning the typology of poverty namely sufficiency, access and vulnerability while the concept of deprivation is a salient feature cutting across the definitional divide. These concepts could be critical in any analysis of the nature and persistence of poverty.

The multiplicity of these definitions highlighted above imply the fact that poverty as Chambers observes, is a composite phenomenon with multidimensional causes and effects, and varies according to current ethical/ social valuations making it the more complex.

2.2 South Africa's Macroeconomic policies since 1994

South Africa, 13 years after the advent of democracy still needs an effective strategy to address poverty alleviation, this is manifest in wide spread poverty in the former homelands. Policy after policy and strategy after strategy have not only been formulated but also implemented but the majority of the populations still remain languishing and trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty. From the Reconstruction Development Program (RDP), Growth Employment and Redistribution, (GEAR) post GEAR and now Accelerated and shared growth initiative of South Africa (ASGISA).

With the RDP, GEAR and ASGISA poverty eradication within the macroeconomic framework of the South African government has remained a distant ideal still since the neo-liberal perspective underpinning them propagates the trickle down theory. Economic growth cannot be synonymous with poverty eradication and benefits cannot therefore trickle down to the poor even if they do they will be just 'trickling' and not 'pouring'.

South Africa has enjoyed higher levels of economic growth but the benefits have not trickled down to the poor as promulgated by the neo-liberalists. Bank's Research on the former Eastern Cape homeland areas indicates the continued marginalisation of the poor after 1994 (Bank et al: 2003).

2.2.1 Reconstruction Development Program

Bhorat, Ostluizen & Poswell (2005:2), opine that the RDP's underpinning ideology acknowledged the links between development growth, reconstruction and development. Placing government funded infrastructural development at the centre of the RDP brought about stability and moderate economic growth average of between1994-96.

The RDP document lists a lot of targets some of which are:

- Redistributing 30 percent of arable agricultural land to black farmers within five years;

- Creating 2,5 million jobs in ten years;

- Building one million low cost houses by the year 2000

- Providing electricity to 2,5 million homes by the year 2000 thereby number of homes linked to the electricity grid;

- Provide portable water and sewage systems to one million households

- Providing 10 years of compulsory, free education, as well as revising the curriculum, reducing class sizes and instituting basic education and training programmes;

- Democratizing and restructuring state institutions to reflect the racial, class and gender composition of society

- Shifting the health system from curative services to primary health care, with free medical services at state facilities for children under six years and pregnant mothers.

The broad goal of government then as presented by Mandela (1997) was to:

Bring fundamental change to the lives of all South Africans, especially the poor; to recognize the actual contradictions in our society and to state them boldly, the better to search for their resolution; to avoid steps that further worsen conflict, and to build our new nation by continually and consciously exorcising the demon of tribalism and religious intolerance.

It must be noted that the reconstruction and development program to some extent laid a firm foundation for the development of the country with some modest success in the areas of infrastructure, housing, electricity as documented in South African literature. However in the area of poverty eradication little progress was made. One may argue that the RDP laid the foundation for future government endeavours in the fight against poverty.

2.2.2 Growth Employment and Redistribution

GEAR replaced RDP in 1996. Its implementation period was 4 years. It envisaged more central role for private sector and higher growth-policy makers envisaged a sustained growth on a higher plane through increased private sector investments and an outward oriented manufacturing sector.

Through GEAR the government sought to create productive employment opportunities for all citizens at a living wage; alleviate poverty, low wages and

extreme inequality in wages and health; meet basic needs and ensuring that every citizen enjoys a decent living standard and economic security; democratize the economy and empower the historically disadvantaged, oppressed particularly workers and their organizations and removing racial and gender discrimination in the work place. Moreover it sought to develop a balanced and prosperous regional economy in Southern Africa, based on the principle of equity and mutual benefit, 'thus constituting the government's yardstick for socio-economic transformation' (South Africa Human Development report: 2000).

GEAR was also hailed as 'South Africa's growth path and consequently its broader development path' for achieving 'growth and development' with the outcomes of 'human development and reduction in poverty and inequality' (South Africa Human Development report: 2000).

Bhorat etal (2005) GEAR achieved its goals in terms of fiscal and macroeconomic stability creating a platform for growth although welfare challenges remained. Its optimistic GDP growth predictions of 6% never quite materialized. The economy however performed well in an unstable economic environment. Despite the economic growth achieved it failed to eradicate poverty.

The GEAR document outlines its core elements as:

- A renewed focus on budget reform to strengthen the redistributive thrust of expenditure;

- Faster fiscal deficit reduction programme to contain debt service obligations, counter inflation and free resources for investment;

- An exchange rate policy to keep the real effective rate stable at a competitive level;

- Consistent monetary policy to prevent a resurgence in inflation;

- Liberalized financial controls eventually including the complete lifting of exchange controls;

- A privatization programme which would see the complete privatization of non-essential state enterprises and the partial privatization of some state-run utilities;

- A liberalised trade regime which would see most tariffs and other forms of protection drastically reduced (and in several cases, completely removed) by the early part of the next century;

- Tax incentives to stimulate new investment in competitive and labour absorbing projects;

- An expansionary infrastructure programme to address service deficiencies and backlogs and finally

- Wage restraint by organized workers and the introduction of regulated flexibility in the labour market.

These entire core elements were deemed to constitute an integrated approach to sustained economic growth expected to achieve a growth rate of 6 % by the year 2000. An average of 400 000 jobs were to be created as well with redistribution emerging from job creation and more focused on public expenditure.

Job creation was propagated as an outcome of growth in the economy with 270000 jobs predicted between 1996 and 2000 every year. The reality however is that GEAR poorly performed in employment creation and poverty eradication since there was almost a stagnation of formal employment during the later half of the 90s .In some cases it fell.

Moreover, the South African Human development report observes that the critique of GEAR can be separated into two categories. First, its failure to accomplish major objectives namely job creation, economic growth and redistribution, second, technical flows inherent in the plan as well as its assumptions. Nattrass (1996) further argues that there are many 'shift parameters in GEAR's integrated scenario projection that its technical status is severely compromised, while the growth and employment outcomes resulted 'from optimistic guesses'.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (1996:16) observes that

> Adaptation of GEAR was a clear case of policy driven by panic- due to the fall of the rand and pressure from the amorphous market….. there is a concerted effort to impose capital's agenda on society as the only feasible alternative to social and economic transformation.

Moreover, the National Institute of Economic Policy (1996:2) contends that GEAR was a' panic response to the recent exchange rate instability and a lame succumbing to the policy and dictate and ideological pressures of the international financial institutions'. Gear was adopted not because it was the best strategy per se but it was more viable than other proposals on the table whether from the left or right of the political spectrum (Merg: 1993; Labour: 1996). Le Roux (1997:54) also argues that

the strategy of growth through redistribution was very successful in countries where land reform policies gave ownership to a strong peasantry(for example Taiwan, Japan and China), but in South Africa, because of the absence of a significant peasantry, the macro-economic benefits of land reform cannot be expected to be significant.

Bhorat (2005:4) writes that post GEAR saw a shift in policy stance towards government having a more direct role in promoting economic expansion through skills improvement, efficiency and business development. Increased expansion in social and economic infrastructure was seen as crowding in and not crowding out investment. Economic growth linked to employment creation and poverty reduction was advocated.

Habib (2003:10) observes that

> Even on its own terms, the government's macro-economic policies codified in the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme have not done very well. The net achievement of this programme has been the realisation of the State's deficit target, all at the cost of employment poverty and inequality. Massive Job losses have occurred in almost all sectors of the economy and tighter fiscal constraints have compromised the State's poverty alleviation and development programmes.

The post GEAR period has seen the formulation of the accelerated and shared growth initiative for South Africa (ASSGISA) which envisages the importance of public funded infrastructural investments as fundamental in productive capacity and future potential growth of economy (Bhorat, 2005: 24).

The general trajectory reflected above represents the failure of the post apartheid government's efforts in addressing the legacy of the apartheid era. The past discriminatory policies left a large proportion of the population outside the economic mainstream and relatively poor compared to an elite minority regardless of the redistributive policies on labour and capital markets including affirmative action and broad based economic empowerment (University of Cape Town, 1995:2).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

The need for a theoretical framework of a study stems from the fact that no scholarly undertaking can be done outside certain theoretical or conceptual parameters, which are the analytical tools that guide the researcher. The acknowledgement of theoretical issues that underpin one's study is crucial for any serious academic endeavour. Due to the complexity of this study, there is a plethora of theories which could be applicable; however, this research's theoretical review shall be from an applicability and relevance point of view. The importance of theories lie in the fact that theories rationalize policy and practices which may be as often running ahead as falling behind (Gordon 1972:4).

2.3.1 Theoretical Perspectives on Intergovernmental Relations.

Roux et al (1997:172) highlights some approaches to intergovernmental relations. First, democratic approach which holds a separatist view while emphasizing the right to autonomy of every government; second, constitutional approach which advocates a constitution as an instrument for determining intergovernmental relations while achieving harmony; Third, normative operational approach which entails values (spiritual, material, cultural, social, institutional, and political), technical limitations,

geographic factors and resource allocation. While this is the general framework for intergovernmental relations this study is discussed within the context of the developmental state perspective and participatory development which are discussed comprehensively in the next chapter. In this section they are only introduced latter.

2.3.2 Perspectives on Policy Integration

Intergovernmental policy integration is critical for achievement of effectiveness and efficiency in government programs and projects. It is important to note that integration provides a framework for coordinated and collective development programming. The enforcement of coordination is difficult and is poorly conceptualized in literature. The fact that structures for integration may not be taken for granted is evidence of the enforcement for integration since there could be a danger of malicious compliance.

Schwedler (2007) writes that Integration can be across time and sphere it can also be with respect to issues, sectors, organisation space and time. Integration is crucial because it removes contradictions within policy. Policy integration is also useful for the realisation of mutual benefits while ensuring that policies are mutually supportive. Policy integration is most likely to be successful when it leads to win-win situations.

The idea for integration and coordination stems from the complexity of societal problems like poverty eradication which can be better addressed not only through intergovernmental integration but even intragovernmental and extra governmental integration. However, the focus of this study is on intergovernmental integration. It is also within the context of integration that networks become crucial. Networking is

when a number of organizations (in this case provincial and municipal government) are formally linked (Keast et al: 2004; Agranoff & McGuire: 1999).

Underdal (1980) credited for being the first academic writer on policy integration writes that for a policy to be integrated it must meet three criteria namely comprehensiveness, aggregation and consistency. While comprehensiveness implies issues, actors, time and space, aggregation refers to a holistic perspective and consistency implies across different spheres of government and sector departments. Underdal (1980:162) defines integration as a scenario whereby ''all significant consequences of policy decisions are recognised as decision premises, where policy options are evaluated on the basis of their effects on some aggregate measure of utility and where the different policy elements are in accord with each other''.

Moreover Lahanas (online) observes that policy integration entails "the ability to define, reconcile, and manage policy interactions and relationships. This approach ensures that unified goals are not jeopardised by actions delegated to policy 'stovepipes'. Policy integration dramatically reduces the risk of unintended consequences arising from potentially conflicting objectives. Three important questions must be answered in integration which are: integrating what, why and how? Answers to such questions will avoid conceptual imprecision and blurring in intergovernmental integration highlighted earlier on. Policy integration minimises the risk of unintended consequences from politically conflicting objectives.

Moreover, Schwedler (2007) observes that a host of potential benefits for integration can be identified which are:

- Promotion of synergies and win-win endeavors between sectors and between spheres of government;

- Reduction in duplication of the policy process while avoiding wastage of resources (time and finance);

- Promotion of policy consistency between sectors and between spheres of government;

- Enhances goal achievement;

- Ensures government is focused on achievement of overall governmental goals;

- Enhances promotion of innovation in policy development and implementation;

- Financial constraints can be overcome through improved cooperation ,and

- Result in comprehensive knowledge basis while conflicts between administrative and policy fields which compromise effectiveness and efficiency are minimized as well conflicts between administration and citizen (which have been widespread in South Africa).

However, Lippitt and Van Til & Swanepol (1981) identify several impediments to effective integration these include the need for institutions to maintain their own turf for them to survive; the existence of ethos in which competition and independence are expected; the emphasis by society on individual rights and building strong egos; the need for the maintenance of 'fairplay'; lack of political will; negotiations and compromises involved have a 'negative value'; the lack of communication and sectorally and functionally structured government institutions.

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Moreover the 'separateness' of institutions and the departmental 'battles' coupled with 'workplace politics' and 'turf wars' as well as 'intra-institutional' conflicts render integration or coordination difficult (Holdcroft: 1982). Schwedler (2007) observes that the promotion of horizontal and vertical integration requires:

Setting up organisational arrangements, these include interdepartmental committees, commissions, working and steering groups. This provides a platform for different departments and ministries to cooperate. Differences and barriers emanating from 'technical jargon', 'professional views' and 'interests' can be overcome while cooperation between departments and sectors is promoted.

A central steering role, for coordination of outcomes of institutional arrangements and coordination of different departmental policies. Such a steering role should have a monitoring and mediation role rather than be a common denominator.

Inter-sectoral strategies, programmes and policy aims promoting cooperation and coordination between departments, ministries and agencies in development and implementation. There is need for a professional culture in administrative bodies and objectives must cut across departmental boundaries to draw commitment from sector departments.

In addition to the above factors, he further asserts that supportive human resource policies are fundamental for achieving integration some of which include the following:

- Exchange of good and best practices, training workshops for building inter-sectoral capacity and overcoming barriers opening up the organization to 'new methods, ideas and tools'. International exchange could be useful also for exchange of best practice.

- Regular workshops and further training activities for building capacity in good governance and management and fostering 'integrating decision making'. Inclusion of other stakeholders in training workshops could broaden overview of issues 'benchmarking tools and indicator systems for supporting and monitoring interactive decision making is vital.

- Job rotation is also vital for the promotion of vertical and horizontal integration.

Agranoff & Mcguire (2003) succinctly observe some constraints to integration which include approaches to policy making which compromise the environment of programs; local government incapacity as well as the involvement of horizontal and vertical actors in the integration process. In the case of this study these are actors at the provincial and local government level (which is municipal and provincial government level). This implies that there is a multiplicity of factors that have to be taken into consideration for intergovernmental integration to be achieved.

The Brundtland report (1987) observed a tendency by institutions to be inclined towards independence, fragmentation and narrowing mandates and even closed decision making which work to the detriment of integration. Policy integration goes beyond mere policy coordination encompassing horizontal integration (between

different departments) and vertical integration (between different spheres of government).

There must be integration in terms of strategies, plans and instruments. This study focuses mainly on processes and policies and to some extent actual effect and consequences. Integration could be horizontal or vertical. While vertical integration implies being in line with overarching government cascading down to district, horizontal refers to across departments.

Schweller (2007) opines that for integration to be realised there must be an authority easily identifiable and an institution responsible for not only administering but even overseeing the process of integration. Thus anchoring an overarching authority structure is vital for effective integration. This could be a chief executive as was intended in Norway after the Brundtland report, or under a planning agency as in Holland, or in the 'domain' of a legislature such as the commissioner for sustainable development in Canada, or a 'last resort judicial organ' (Schwedler: 2007).

Mulford (1986) basing on the Canadian experience further observes that due to the fact that autonomy is always at stake coupled with the fact that some organizational resources may be required coordination and integration almost always proves to be very difficult to be achieved.

However, Chrislip & Larson (1994) observe several ingredients necessary for the achievement of integration to be realized including the following: achievement of

interim success; resilience in working through scepticism and mistrust; almost radical shift to concerns by stakeholders; transparency and credibility of the process; broad-based stakeholder involvement; efficient and effective stakeholder groups; there must be strong commitment from influential leaders and timing must be good while integration needs must be unambiguous.

The observation by Chrislip & Larson succinctly outlines the necessary conditions for integration to be a success. However, Perri *et al* (2002) cautions that a combination of benign and malign factors can work to the detriment of such a success. These include politicians who may hijack the executive and administration, a combination of professional monopolies and professional capture coupled with the maximization of the span of control by management.

Moreover integration may succeed or fail due to a combination of factors since a consumer oriented government for example may be better achieved by functional and horizontal integration rather than vertical integration (Perri et al:2002). An appreciation of network realities which maximizes benefits must be also preferred rather than traditional working ways.

Swanepol (1998) stresses the need for coordination and integration when he writes that

> ...all the participating organisations, be they governmental or private, have the same goals and objectives which they strive to obtain through an interrelated and integrated program.

Lippitt & Van Til (1981) in Swanepol (1998) identify six vital steps for coordination and integration to be realised. They are the following:

- Establishing the preconditions for collaboration. There must be a common vision or idea to be realized by the potential departments (which could be poverty eradication)

- Initiating the idea of collaboration. The interested parties must see it as a necessity for problem solving for them to be committed to integration.

- Defining the collaborative venture. There must be clarification of roles and responsibilities for the avoidance of role conflict and duplication and a clearly identifiable collaborative team leading to a social contract binding the parties involved.

- Invigorating the collaborative process – there must be complementarities of the functions for coordinated action and

- Evaluating the collaborative experience – The whole process of coordination must be evaluated to plug loopholes. Moreover there must be renewal and continuous review of the common vision binding the collaborating parties for integration to be sustainable.

2.3.1 Lessons on Integration from International Experience

Theron et al (2002) observe that internationally, sometimes complex and bureaucratic coordination and integration mechanisms with the exception of flexible top-down bottom up planning rarely succeed (with Malaysia being an example).

Although planning maybe devolved to the local levels an overarching national framework clarifying national goals and priorities for local government authorities remains crucial for the success of integration.

German's *counter current–principle* has proved that for successful planning to be achieved bottom up input is required even where there are relatively hierarchical systems.

New Jersey's system of *cross acceptance* has shown that a successful system of planning avoiding relationships which are hierarchical while protecting the integrity of various spheres of government is indispensible.

The DFID writes that policy consistency is vital for poverty eradication otherwise it may in fact undermine development and perpetuate the suffering of the poor. Thus policy coherence is crucial for effective poverty eradication.

The aspiration towards integovernmental integration in general in South Africa suggests the need for holistic governance which approximates that of the United Kingdom. Perri *et al* (2002) highlights possible relationship in holistic governance which are summarised in the figure 4 below.

Figure. 4

Category of relationship	Type of relationship between entities	Definition
Coordination	Taking into account	Strategy development considers the impact of/on others
	Dialogue	Exchange of information
	Joint planning	Temporary joint planning or joint working
Integration	Joint working	Temporary collaboration
	Joint venture	Long-term joint planning and joint working on major project core to the mission of at least one participating entity
	Satellite	Separate entity, jointly owned, created to serve as integrative mechanism
	Strategic alliance	Long-term joint planning and working on issues core to the mission of at least one participating entity
	Union	Formal administrative unification, maintaining some distinct identities
	Merger	Fusion to create a new structure with a single new identity

Source,Gibbens:2008

What is evident from the figure above is that while coordination takes into account dialogue and joint planning, integration entails joint working, joint ventures, strategic alliance unions and mergers .
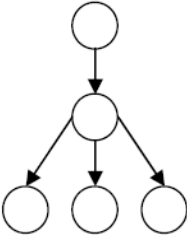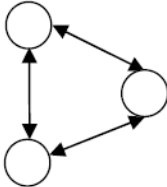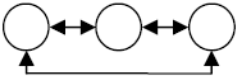
Integration must be informed by the following principles for it to be a success (Mulford: 1986)

- respect the principle of co-operative governance;

- provide for the skilful marriage of national priorities, provincial objectives and local preferences;

- as far as possible, make use of existing procedures (such as the provisions in the Municipal Systems Bill, 2000 which could improve levels of inter-governmental integration and co-ordination) and structures rather than creating costly parallel systems;

- avoid the creation of a "super-agency" for coordinating state planning;

- avoid overly elaborate systems and mechanisms of 'inter-spherical' co-ordination;

- encourage both more autonomy at lower levels of government and clearer overall direction from the national sphere;

- allow for differentiation through flexibility, yet ensure some minimum degree of uniformity;

- cater for more responsiveness to local needs, but not to the detriment of efficiency and economy;

- remain within the capacity-constraints of all spheres of government;

- avoid unnecessary complexity;

- recognize the principle of *subsidiary*, whereby national and/or provincial Government should only take action if local government is unable to do so;

- recognize and respect the value of the IDP in representing the interests and programmes of municipal government;

- avoid "unfunded mandates", and promote maximum possible fiscal decentralization;

- make innovative and cost-effective use of available technology, including the Internet; and ensure that the system is operated and managed in all three spheres by senior officials and politicians who should be held accountable for its success and not be delegated to junior officials with limited (decision-making) powers.

Mulford (1986) describes several models for coordination which are listed in the figure 5 below.

Figure. 5 Models of coordination

	Corporate	Alliance	Mutual adjustment
Social power	*Authority*	*Negotiation*	*Influence*
Formalisation	Central authority develops written expectations	Participating organisations develop written expectations	Informal unwritten expectations
Sanctions	High	Some	Almost none
Example	Agency	Co-ordinating Council	Informal Committee

Source: Gibenns: 2008

The foregoing discussion provides a general framework with which possible policy integration can take place. In this study focus, is on the integration of two different plans, one at Provincial level while the other is at District level. The rationale for integration is basically to improve efficiency and effectiveness in the implementation of government programs. Integration and coordination also eliminate waste, avoid inordinate delays while avoiding possible conflict and duplication of roles and

responsibilities. However, as highlighted earlier on, intergovernmental integration is fraught with several challenges which make it difficult if not impossible. Lack of interdependencies, coupled with not only diversity of interests but even divisible benefits can also militate against integration. In South Africa, integration in different spheres of government is also highlighted by (ASALGP: 2003). This has been confirmed by the South African Presidency (2004) which observes that

> that one of the major challenges that has frustrated government in its quest to provide basic services to all its people, progressively improve the quality of life and life chances of all South Africans and eradicate the dualistic nature of the South African economy, has been the effective integration, coordination and alignment of the actions of its three constituting spheres.

2.3.2 The Developmental State: A theoretical overview

In light of the 'aspiration of (the then President) Thabo Mbeki's government for South Africa to become a development state and also given the assertion that the phrase 'developmental state' has been a buzzword in South Africa it is imperative to analyse the model of developmental government from a developmental state perspective (Southall: 2007). Moreover due to the historical legacy of apartheid of racially based if not biased local government structures the South African government adopted a developmental and participatory approach to local government. The government of South Africa in the Mbeki era sought to position itself as a developmental state for the successful transformation of local government hence the phrase 'developmental local government'.

The very phrase 'developmental government' is largely informed by the concept of the developmental state. It is within this framework that developmental local government had to transform structures of local government from forces of oppression to development agents (Heller: 2001) for the overhaul of the undemocratic and unrepresentative apartheid local government structures.

Since the seminal work on developmental states by Johnson (1981; 1982) there have been credible 'interpretations' on developmental states (Johnson: 1987; White and Wade: 1985; Deyo: 1987; Evans: 1985; Leftwich: 1995) while efforts have been made to develop the theory further (Haws and Liu: 1993; Charlton & Donald: 1992; Burmeister; Evans: 1989).

The arguments against the developmental state in Africa are 'not firmly founded either in African historical experience or in the trajectories of the more successful developmental states' (Mkandawire, 2001:2) hence the argument for a developmental orientation of the African State which inevitably capacitates the State not only to formulate policies but implement them in an effective and efficient manner.

Authors distinguish between ideological and structural components of developmental states. While the former implies a 'developmentalist' state pursuing economic development the latter emphasizes institutional, technical, administrative and political capacity for efficient and effective policy implementation. A developmental state may be simply defined as a state whose primary goal and commitment is the accomplishment of developmental goals, while development is defined as a far

reaching transformation of society's economic, social and political structure, of the dominant organization of production, distribution and consumption (Baran, 1957:3).

While the developmental orientation of a state is dynamic and not static such a state envisions development as its ultimate goal. Mkandawire (2001:2) succinctly posits that the definition of a developmental state however runs the 'risk of being tautological since it is deductively drawn from the performance of an economy'.

A state is also said to be developmental when it establishes as its principle of legitimacy its ability to promote sustained development, understanding by development the steady high rates of economic growth and structural change in the productive system, both domestically and its relationship to the international economy (Catsells, 1992:55). Such a state has a developing economy and equates economic success to state strength while measuring the latter by the presumed outcomes of its policies (Mkandawire 2001:2). A state is developmental when it has established as its principle of legitimacy its ability to promote and sustain development and a far reaching transformation of society's economic, social, political and cultural structure (Buthelezi, 2007:3).

Moreover, a developmental State implies a State whose vision, leadership and capacity result in a positive transformation of a society within a 'condensed' period of time (Johnson: 1982; Deyo: 1987 and Evans: 1995).These definitions of a developmental state portray it as a State with a leadership genuinely committed to the accomplishment of developmental goals. While the developmental state theory can be hailed for its developmental orientation of the state it has had a history of

authoritarianism which may not augur well for participatory development hence the need for the rethinking of the developmental state in the next chapter.

Moreover post-development writers challenge the development oriented definitions of poverty. Agustino, (2005:86) argues that their arguments have to do with revaluing diversity, promoting the idea of sufficiency instead of scarcity as a guiding principle, valuing localized practices, questioning the centrality of the economy in human life, promoting the sustainability of life not of development, relinking production and consumption, among others.

The post-development discourse is a challenge to policy-makers calling for a paradigm shift from economic growth to thinking in 'terms of communities, their lifestyles, their own abilities and knowledge, their autonomy and capacity to implement' thereby discussing, designing and implementing social policy within a different framework (Augustino: 2005).

2.3.3 The Participatory Approach: Selected Theoretical Reflections

The participatory approach represents a paradigm shift from conventional top-down models of development to bottom up, endogenous and locally initiated and community owned approaches. This paradigm shift is premised on the trilogy of empowerment, capacity building and accountability, thus constituting interdependent building blocks of participatory governance with three pronged roles. First, ensuring commitment by policy makers and their administration; second, making informed policy decisions; third, ensuring efficiency and effectiveness in policy implementation (Schneider: 1999).

As much as poverty in South Africa derives directly from deliberate systemic and systematic exploitation and segregation of the blacks, such a state would advocate deliberate pro-poor policies targeting 'poverty pockets'. Thus the notion of just 'growth with equity' coupled with the' trickle down' approach is out of question. The definition of a developmental state entails the wholesale transformation of society. Poverty eradication cannot be an after thought in development planning but it must be at the centre of development planning for poverty eradication.

Post-modern and post-development research undertaken shows that western policy makers acknowledge that measures focusing development on structural macro-economic strategies are moribund as far as development thinking is concerned (Binns & Nel: 1999, Simon: 1999, Piteterse: 1998, Stiglitz: 1998). In fact Binns & Nel posit that people-centred development and associated with locality is crucial in poverty eradication. Thus development should be endogenous, influenced by the dominant aspirations of the people, bottom-up while people centred emphasizing self-reliance where the community, locality and individuals own development (Stock: 1985, Pieterse: 1998, Stohr: 1981, Simon: 1998). Macro-economists theorise financial and monetary matters while overlooking implications of macro-economic policy for the poorest of the poor (Wilson & Ramphele: 1989).

Table.5 Participation as a means and/or end

Participation as a means	Participation as an end
Implies the use of participation to achieve some predetermined goal or objective.	Attempts to empower people to participate in their own development

	more meaningfully
Attempts to utilize existing resources in order to achieve the objective of programmes/projects.	Attempts to ensure the increased role of people in development initiatives
Emphasizes achieving the objective rather than the act of participation itself	Focuses on improving the ability of the people to participate rather than just achieving the predetermined objectives of the project.
More common in government programmes, where the main concern is to mobilize the community and involve them in improving the efficiency of the delivery system	Finds relatively less favour with government agencies. NGOs in principle agree with this view point.
Participation is generally short-term	Participation is a long term process
Participation as a means, therefore, appears to be a passive form of participation	Participation as an end is relatively more active and dynamic than participation as a means.

Kumar: 2002

The table 5 above implies that while participation can be an end itself it is also means to an end while the table 6 below indicates the various typologies of participation.

Typologies of participation

Passive participation: people participate by being told what is going to happen or what has already happened .Participation relates to a unilateral top-down announcement by the authority or project manager. Information being shared belongs to outsiders and/or professionals.

Participation in information giving: People participate by answering questions posed in questionnaires or telephone interviews or similar public participation strategies. The public do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings as the findings of the research are neither shared nor evaluated for accuracy.

Participation by consultation: People participate by being consulted as professionals, consultants and planners listen to their views. The professional define both problems and solutions and may modify these in the light of the people's responses. This process does not include any share in decision making by the public, nor are the professionals under any obligation to consider the public views.

Participation for material incentives: People participate by providing resources, such as labour, in return for food and cash. This typology typically takes place in rural environments, where for example, farmers provide the fields but are not involved in the experiment or learning process. The people have no stake in prolonging the activities when the incentives end.

Functional participation: people participate in a group context to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which may involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organizations. This type of involvement

tends not to occur at the early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather once the important decisions have already been made.

Interactive participation: People participate in a joint analysis, the development of action plans and capacity building. Participation is seen as a right, not just a means to achieve project goals.

Self-mobilisation: People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. This bottom-up approach allows people to develop contacts with external institutions for resources and the technical advice they need, but they themselves retain control over how resources are used. Such self-initiated mobilization and collective actions may or may not challenge an existing inequitable distribution of wealth and power.

Source, Theron: 2005

The box above shows that there are various typologies of participation 'however genuine participatory development' advocates achievement of longer term sustainability unlike the one-size-fits-all thus allowing voices from below not only to be heard but headed thereby deriving leverage from the interests, strengths and values of the locals (Lundy, Patricia, McGovern, Mark 2008).

Given the preceding arguments for participation, Brynard (1996) also argues for participation planning by observing that:

- Participation is informative about local priorities, conditions, needs, desires and attitudes while this information is also crucial for the implementation of programs and projects.

- Participation educates and involves the public, moreover citizens are most likely to be committed to development plans if they actively participate in the formulation and implementation of such plans.

- Participation democratizes the planning process since it is the democratic right of citizens to participate.

- A creative potential resulting from divergence in thinking implies that the planning process is most likely to be enhanced.

- The notion of equality is fostered through participation in the planning process since real participation implies equality in opportunities to influence the planning process.

The bottom-up approach implies characteristically appreciating and incorporating local people, their knowledge, skills, needs and experiences National Capital Development Commission (1977), Hickey and Mohan (2004), Tsing et al (2005).However, Julia (2008) cautions that one should not fall in the danger of 'romanticizing and essentialising the grassroots approach'. Critiques of this approach allude to tokenism (McIvor: 2000), myths of communities as coherent and cohesive Nicolson and Schreiner (1973) and 'elite capture of local power' (Crook: 2003) as pitfalls that may compromise the effectiveness of the approach. As highlighted earlier on the concept of participatory development is discussed in the next chapter.

Novak (1998: vii) opines that State intervention in the problem of poverty has never been intended to eradicate poverty. Therefore political power and ability to participate actively in decisions affecting their life constitute necessary conditions for the poor to get to grips with poverty (Wilson and Ramphele: 1989).

2.4 PGDP and Poverty Eradication in the Eastern Cape.

The PGDP is informed by the Neo-liberal perspective, Neo-liberals are 'free marketers' and adherents to the 'Washington consensus', which advocate for the rolling back of the frontiers of state for the invisible hand of demand and supply to take its course in the market. This is refuted by the Keynesians, socialist and social democrats who contend that inherent in capitalism are a tendency to create and aggravate inequality Graaf (2001). This inequality could be manifest in the tables below. While the government claims success in provision of water, electricity, telephony and sanitation studies by McDonald and Pape (2003:19) reveal that:

> Approximately ten million cut-offs in the water, electricity, sectors have occurred because people have been unable to pay their bills. About two million people have been victims of rates and rent-related evictions from their houses for the non-payment of rents and rates.

In 2002 the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG 2002, 30-1) reported that more than 296000 homes had electricity disconnected, 133 000 had water disconnected also (McDonald, 2002).

Desai (2003:21) also observes that

The neo-liberal transition has not only squeezed and spewed out the poor but galvanised them at the same time. The 'poors' as they have come to be known in South Africa in the vernacular, have opposed the water and electricity cut-offs and evictions and have begun making connections between their situations and that of people, first in Soweto and Tafelsig, but then also in Bolivia, South Korea ......

The PGDP of the Eastern Cape was implemented against the background of increasing levels of poverty as manifested by the table below. The table 7 below also reveals the human development index of the province which measures literacy income and life expectancy.

Table.7 Eastern Cape Human Development Index

Human Development Index		
Year	1996	2004
Eastern Cape	0,49	0,52
ADM	0,50	0,52
Mbhashe	0,37	0,41
Mnquma	0,46	0,49
Great Kei	0,42	0,43
Amahlathi	0.46	0,49
Buffalo City	0,56	0,57

Ngqushwa	0,41	0,44
Nkonkobe	0,45	0,48
Nxuba	0,46	0,48

Source, Global insight: 2006

These indicators tabled above point to the fact underdevelopment is still rampant in the Eastern Cape while the table preceding provides the evidence that poverty is still widespread and still persists. Therefore, as much as South Africa has been transformed politically there seems to be no change economically, thus underdevelopment in general and poverty in particular still persist especially in the Eastern Cape. The structure of the society defined by racial exclusivity lives on. Undoing the socio-economic vestiges of this racial exclusivity seems to be the major challenge confronting the PGDP and IDP. It is evident in table 7 that both poverty and unemployment have been increasing instead.

The statistics aforementioned also seem to confirm what Bond refers to as an 'elite transition from racial apartheid to class apartheid' and 'from apartheid to neo-liberalism' highlighting the transition's development failure and exposing how progressive policy making has always been compromised by petit bourgeoisie and the South African ruling elite (Bond 2004).

Moreover, Mbeki (2004) once observed that "the new God of our World the market is not informed by a tablet of commandments on which it is inscribed: thou shalt not banish poverty in the world". This succinct observation laments the failure of the market in eradicating poverty. Terreblanche (2002) laments South Africa as a system

of African elite democracy cum capitalist enclavity thus creating a divide such that the only interaction between rich and poor will be at the level of crime, violence and contagious disease.

The table below is a clear indication that the 'systematic eradication of poverty is one of the major objectives to be achieved by the PGDP through the implementation of the various municipalities IDPs. However as for whether the PGDP and the Amathole IDP are on track as far as the implementation of the objective is concerned, the jury is still out hence the focus of this study. The figure 6 below shows the objectives of the PGDP.

Figure 6. Objectives of the PGDP

Eastern Cape Provincial Growth and Development Plan					
Systematic poverty eradication	**Agrarian transformation and food security**	**Manufacturing Diversification and Tourism**	**Infrastructure Development**	**Human Resource Development**	**Public Sector and Institutional Transformation**
Expanded Public Works	Massive Food Production	Automotive Industry Development	Transport infrastructure plan	Scarce Skills for the Public Sector	Improved Service Delivery in DoH, DoE, DSD, DPW
Water and Sanitation	Siyazondla homestead food production	Industrial Support	Strategic rail infrastructure	FET Transformation	Local Government Capacity Development
Housing	Comprehensive Nutrition	Enterprise Development Finance	Strategic road infrastructure	ABET Program	Strengthening the centre of government
Comprehensive HIV, AIDS and TB	Integrated Agricultural Infrastructure	Agro-processing Support	Spatial development initiatives Umzimvubu Development Zone	Early Childhood Development	
Victim empowerment		Tourism Development		Comprehensive Human resource development strategy	
		Timber Industries Development			
		2010 Cultural Industries			

source, Ecssec:2008

From the figure above it is clear that the PGDP has identified systematic poverty eradication as one of its objectives. Under the objective of systematic poverty eradication several interventions have been identified which include expanded public works, water and sanitation, housing comprehensvie HIV, AIDS and TB treatment and victim empowerment. While these are the objective of the PGDP one would note that the IDP would follow up on the targted intervention at district and municpality level so that there is integration of the two to avoid duplication, conflict of roles and overlapping structures.

Essec (2008) found that the 'PGDP provided an analysis of poverty in the Eastern Cape and set out seven broad policy initiatives which include promoting access to high-quality employment and economic opportunities; boosting the physical asset base of the poor; supporting access to basic services; strengthening community management and organisation of own initiatives and external programmes; deepening democratic participation and assuring access to legal entitlements and security.

Essec (2008) further observes that despite efforts in these areas poverty declined only marginally in the Eastern Cape since 2004, with nearly seven out of 10 people still living in poverty, for every 6 273 people there is only one state doctor, the HIV infection rate is rising, while life expectancy in the province is only 48 years. The table below shows the trend performance of the PGDP in its targets with the target in poverty eradication proving to be difficult to accomplish.

Moreover Hains and Robino (2006) observe the following about the PGDP:

There is lack of analysis of the role of traditional authorities in the social economy of the former Transkei and Ciskei regions. Research conducted in the 1980s and 1990s has revealed that traditional authorities in the rural economy have inhibited economic development and pro-poor strategies, moreover they have contributed to perpetual patriarchal practices in their areas which when coupled with gender imbalances constitute a major structural impediments to social mobility and social entrepreneurship

On face value it appears like it is lack of precision and integration in policy formulation, implementation bottle necks that the goal of poverty eradication still remains exactly what it was then a 'mere goal'. This is very disturbing given the expectations of the masses upon the dawn of a new era of democracy in South Africa in 1994.

The Eastern Cape Development Corporation (2008) identifies the following stumbling blocks to the PGDP in its PGDP assessment report:

Policy environment – The absence of an overarching, integrated medium-to-long range national development strategy has severely impeded the implementation of the PGDP. The PGDP has been expected to align with a myriad of national policies, and this has affected the efficacy of intergovernmental coordination and undermined centralisation.

Resources – Lack of adequate funding and inadequate technical resources have acted to retard development progress. The absence of a national development policy has also affected the extent to which fiscal transfers and budgets have followed policy priorities.

Implementation – The weakness of the PGDP lies not in its underlying strategy, but in its implementation. Lack of adequate capacity in the public sector is a key concern.

Leadership – The PGDP is not seen as the central enabling framework to which all initiatives must align. At the level of political leadership, the PGDP has no champion.

The ECDC report also identified the following challenges with regard to land reform which also constitutes one of the key pillars in addressing structural poverty in the Eastern Cape Province where the majority of the poor are resident in the former homelands where poverty is rampant:

- *Inadequate resources* – Lack of funding has hindered primary initiatives, such as land redistribution for the agricultural development programme.

- *Tenure issues* – On some tenure issues, such as those concerning community property associations, the key foundation issues of membership, rights, benefits and securing equitable access to land and other resources are not adequately addressed.

- *Poor data* – Lack of information on land under claim and the complexities of the claim settlement process have made it difficult to accurately assess the number of claims (especially community claims), the amount of land involved, and number of people potentially requiring resettlement and enterprise support. Similarly, lack of accurate baseline information on the socio-economic status of programme beneficiaries make reliable post-settlement impact assessment difficult to undertake. Most of the land in the former homelands has not been surveyed.

- *Poor intergovernmental relations* – Poor coordination and ineffective alignment of budgets and programmes of different line departments and municipalities contribute to the failure to provide effective post-settlement support for restitution and redistribution projects.

- *Administrative problems* – Delays in the issuance of title deeds registration, in processing of farms made available to the department for redistribution, in legal entity formation, and in communication with other departments all slow down the process.

- *Absence of effective settlement and implementation support* – Without a significant investment in settlement and implementation support that begins in the planning and pre-settlement phase, existing post-settlement support services will be overwhelmed.

- *Lack of synergy with local programmes* – There is no linkage between land use planning and management at local level. Productive agricultural land is sometimes mistakenly used for housing. Most district and local municipalities have not conducted land needs assessments, and their IDPs do not contain information on outstanding redistribution applications.

2.5 Integrated development planning as a poverty eradication strategy in the Eastern Cape

Donk, Pieterse (2006) write that the IDP has been the centrepiece of planning in South Africa since 1996.However the IDP is bedevilled with a host of challenges. The period between 1996 and 2000 which was the first round of the IDP unearthed controversies and dilemmas in the formulation and implementations of the IDPs

(Donk, Pieterse: 2006; Harrison: 2001; Ministerial Advisory Committee: 2001). During this period IDPs were found to be mere shopping lists instead of being a framework for and a strategic and a long-term vision for the development of municipalities. (Ministerial Advisory Committee: 2001; Donk, Pieterse: 2006). Harrison (2001) alluded this to lack of experience in planning as well as limited resources and capacities and a multiplicity of demands from national and provincial government.

The second round of IDPs which is the post-2000s phase was not without challenges as well. Harrison again refers to preparation, operationalization and implementation challenges as stumbling blocks to the success of municipal IDPs. An evaluation of IDPs within six districts by (Harrison: 2003) 'identified 16 key areas of concern ranging from lack of strategic planning and analysis to weak linkages between IDP, budgets and intergovernmental alignment'(Donk, Pieterse: 2006). A Germany agency for development cooperation (GTZ) funded study revealed IDPs and budget processes are viewed as separate by municipalities (Donk, Pieterse: 2006), thereby posing serious challenges to the successful implementation of IDPs. While the aforementioned studies on IDPs were focusing on IDPs exclusively this study is focused on the articulation of the IDP with the PGDP.

Pillay, Tomlinson, Du Toit (2006: 15) wrote that IDP constitutes the 'centrepiece of developmental local government' and they also 'give effect to the constitutionally prescribed role of local governments of promoting economic and social development in South Africa'. Harrison (2006) describes IDP in South Africa's post apartheid municipal planning system's focus as the cornerstone of 'intergovernmental planning

and coordination'. Given the forgoing definitions one can argue that IDP ideally provides a framework for developmental local government.

The Australia Local Governance Partnership (ASALGP) defines the IDP as not only a cooperative but also continuous process pursued by municipalities which is reviewed annually due to prevailing and changing circumstances (ASALGP: 2003). The South African Local Government association defines an IDP as a process of participatory planning intended for the integration of sectoral strategies for optimal allocation of scarce resources in a manner promoting empowerment of the poor and disadvantaged, equity and sustainable growth (SALGA:2002).

The IDP nerve centre classifies Integrated Development Planning as an intervention meant for the promotion of intergovernmental planning through coordination of local government with National , Provincial Legislation, programmes, plans and policies (IDP Nerve Centre: 2004). The South African Department of Provincial and Local Government also defines IDP as a principal strategic management intervention tool superseding all other development plans at the local government level while legislated by the Municipal systems act (Act 32, 2000).

According to Oranje, Harrison, Huyssteen, Meyer (2000) there are several requirements for Integrated Development Planning in South Africa including the following:

- link the many sectoral planning requirements placed on local governments by national legislation;
- overcome line-function divisions within government agencies;

- link and balance environmental, equity and economic growth requirements within the planning processes;

- co-ordinate the delivery of infrastructure and services in specific localities; link visioning, planning, budgeting and the management functions of local authorities (and other government agencies);

- bring together rural and urban areas within the context of re-demarcated local authorities;

- co-ordinate developmental actions between local authorities and between local and district councils;

- link government's funding programmes with the priorities of local communities;

- restore the distorted, dysfunctional apartheid landscape; and

- promote spatial integration of urban and rural settlements.

However, Theron (2005) observes that the question of success or failure of the IDP largely derives from the management of the reciprocal relationship between municipalities and the grassroots. He further succinctly posits that thirteen strategic shifts in conceptualization present a major challenge to policy makers and development practitioners regarding strategies of participation. They are the following:

- From a top down to a bottom up

- From a blue print to a release style

- From system maintaining to system transformation approach

- From a control style to a release style

- From a person as subject to a participant as actor focus

- From a hard/hardware scientific approach to a soft/ware scientific approach (interdisciplinary approach)

- From a closed system to an open systems approach

- From a mechanical to a dynamic approach

- From a representative democracy to a participative democracy approach

- From a closed communication style to an open style

- From a formalized style to an incremental style

- From a fast-slow sequence in project planning and management to a slow-fast sequence.

These 13 strategic shifts imply that the public (beneficiaries) have the most important role to play in development planning (De Beer & Swanepol 1998; Chambers 1983) and not the development planners. There is therefore a need for a 'reversal in learning' or 'the reversal of roles' (Chambers 1983).

Oranje, Harrison, Huyssteen and Meyer (2000) observe that poverty alleviation could be achieved by the holistic, integrated and participatory nature of IDPs through prioritising projects that address the basic needs of the poor; supporting the creation of livelihood-opportunities through Local Economic Development (LED) programmes;

preparing spatial frameworks that allow for the spatial integration of the poor into the urban fabric, and generally ensuring that every component of the IDP is focused on the issue of poverty alleviation.

Moreover, they further argue that municipalities stand to accrue major benefits through a properly constructed IDP which include the following: it assists a municipality in allocating its scarce resources in a focused and sustainable way; it provides a municipality with a tool to access funds for development projects; it provides a basis for co-coordinating policies and actions within the municipality, and between other agents and spheres of government; and it provides a public arena for the discussion and making of trade-offs and for the building of partnerships around development (Oranje, Harrison, Huyssteen and Meyer : 2000).

The municipal systems act requires that Municipalities undertake an IDP review process so that municipalities can realign the implementation programmes with the targets which IDP seek to achieve. The figure 7 below shows the IDP review process by the Amatole District Municipality.
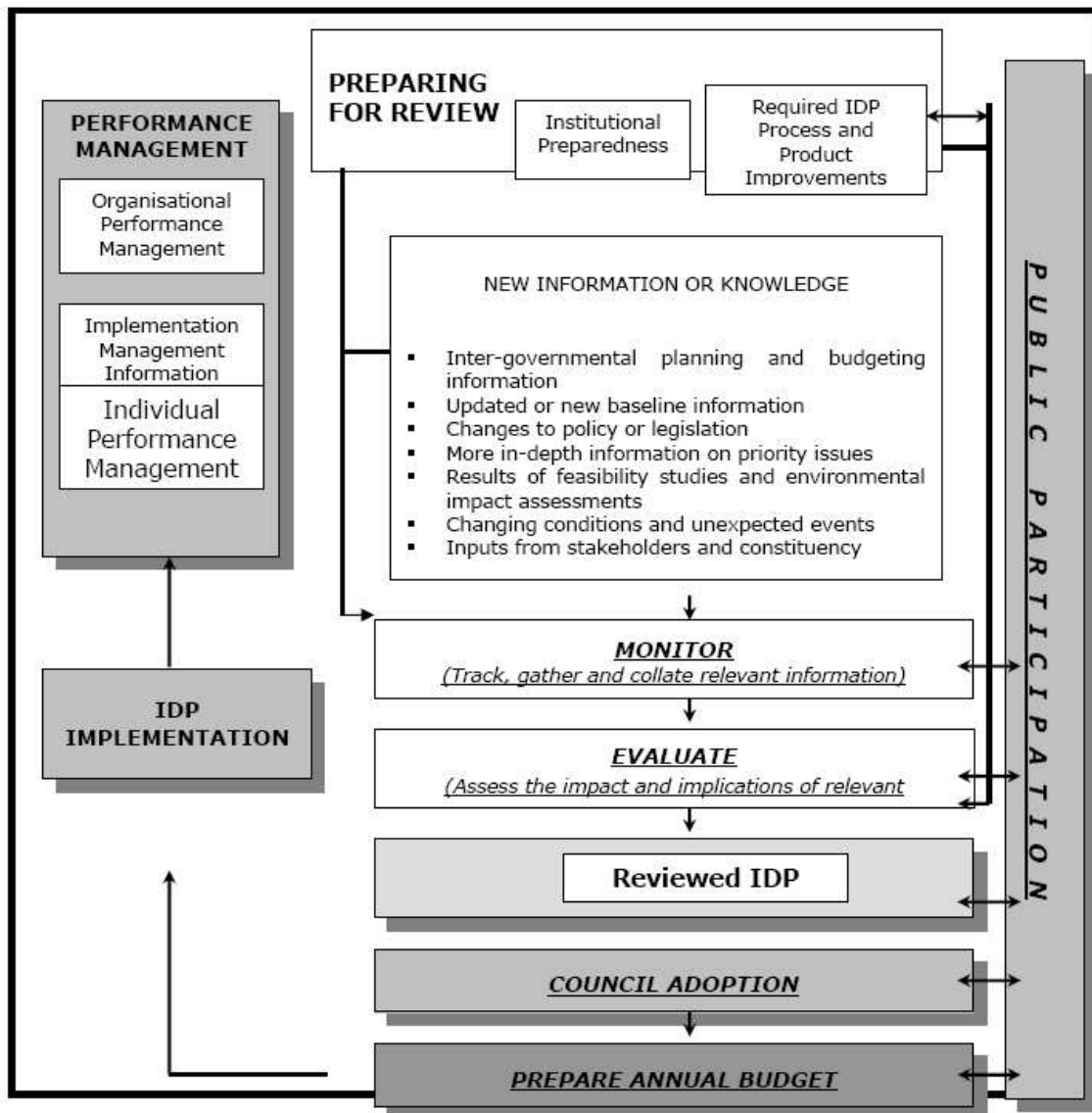
Source: Amathole Revised IDP (2003)

The figure shows the various stages through which the IDP goes from institutional preparedness, sharing of new information and knowledge, monitoring and evaluation and finally the reviewed IDP is adopted by council for implementation. It is evident that the PGDP does not come into the picture of the review process raising critical questions with regards to integration issues with the Amathole District Municipality Integrated Development Plan.

Theron (2005) warns that the incorporation of public participation in development planning is confronted by several theoretical, strategic, philosophical and managerial challenges, some of which are the following:

- Clarifying however relevant the definition of what a community means (Chipkin: 1996; Liebenberg & Theron: 1997);

- Clarification of the confusion around the concept of public participation (Theron: 2003);

- Identification of the so-called stakeholders, clients, concerned individuals, interested and affected parties, beneficiaries, role players, lead authorities and proponents in the public participation process;

- Deciding at what levels public participation engagement and intervention will be consolidated;

- Identification of the role of the IDP office as change agents and pinpointing officials in charge of participation;

- Compilation of an interdisciplinary public participation team of local change agents and stakeholders in the community who possess indigenous knowledge and people skills;

- Reorientation of the public after more than decades of a top down, system maintaining, rigid culture of non-participation to the opportunity of owning the development planning process (thus shifting from the 'do to', 'do for' phases to the 'do with' phase) and

- Reorientation and retraining of local government officials to be change agents at grassroots engaging the public as planning and implementing partners.

However the idea of participation presents an excellent avenue to 'rectify inequality of top down, prescriptive approaches' thereby enhancing sustainable development (Theron2005). The figure 8 below shows the Amathole municipal governance system incorporates participation at various levels.

Figure 8 Community Participation in Amathole IDP
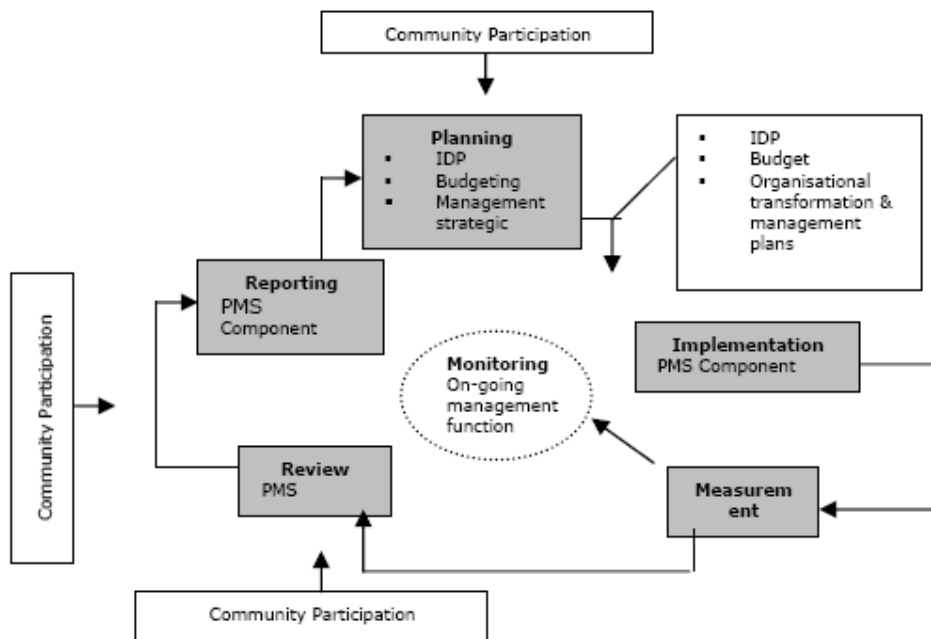
Source, IDP: 2003

However, this study will seek to establish whether this community participation reflected above is incorporated in the system for the sake of it or not. Participation as highlighted earlier on has several challenges it encounters hence the need to interrogate it on the ground.

Oranje, Harrison, Huyssteen, Meyer (2000) observe that there are certain principles of participation which are the following:

- the need to consider the special concerns of people with physical disabilities and other disadvantages when devising community participation procedures and mechanisms;
- the need to take note of gender issues and concerns in participatory processes as highlighted in the *Framework for Transforming Gender Relations in South Africa* released in August 2000;
- the importance of taking into account language preferences within a municipality; and
- the need to ensure that the participatory processes are in line with the financial and administrative capacity of the municipality.

They further observe that in ensuring 'good participation' the municipalities must consider that mass meetings are not always the best way to get people to talk; there are many different, creative techniques of participation (e.g. focus groups and participatory rural appraisal) that can be used at various stages in the process; the Internet may be of use as one of a number of ways of interacting with communities and stakeholders, although it should be noted that many individuals and communities are still without access to electronic forms of communication; and participation needs to be carefully and efficiently structured as it may become a very time-consuming and costly process, particularly in newly demarcated districts that are of a large physical size or have a large and highly differentiated population.

Box 2. A Snapshot of evaluations of the IDP

Evaluations of the IDPs (Adam & Oranje 2002; Rauch; Harrison 2003) point to modest success for IDPs while many problems and challenges remain. They suggest that increasingly local authorities are beginning to shape the way they operate around the IDP and this may be leading towards more effective developmental local government.

Todes (2004) evaluated the IDP in terms of its contribution to sustainability. Using the case of Ugu District Municipality (in Kwazulu-Natal) Todes found some mixed outcomes. She concluded that while the emphasis on integration and the multi-sectoral approach to development are strengths, greater attention needs to be adapted to the context, and its social, economic and political dynamics.

Donk, Pieterse (2006) found out that as an **instrument of joined up government** the IDP has been limited by its inability to involve and bind the many other agents, apart from municipal government that operate at the local level, although the emerging system of intergovernmental planning may address this issue. However the IDP has contributed to the development of networks and linkages both formal and informal within municipal structures and to a lesser extent between municipal structures and other agencies.

As an **instrument of participatory governance** the IDP has mixed results. Although it has achieved higher levels of participation within municipal planning than ever before in South African history (Adam & Oranje: 2002) there have been wide variations in the extent and success of this participation. Also the participatory element of the IDP mixes easily with a performance management culture, driven by targets and time frames that are not really amenable to the often 'messy' unpredictable and time consuming processes of public participation. The IDP attempt to marry inclusiveness and participation with a largely technocratic managerialism and top-down control with bottom up processes. In the end it may not prove satisfactory in relation to any particular objective, although if may justifiably be regarded as offering a reasonable balance or trade-off between objectives

As an **instrument of modernised, efficient administration** the IDP has also had ambiguous outcomes. In fact South Africa's new system of government has been full of paradoxes and unexpected outcomes. The need to increase flexibility and independence of senior managers has seen performance management contracts giving politicians far greater control over senior officials and the civil service has become increasingly politicised (Gregory & Christensen 2004; Hood; Peters 2004).There has been intense politicisation of the civil service.

As an instrument of developmental local government there has been wide agreement in assessment reports that IDPs have contributed significantly to the shift in expenditure towards historically disadvantaged communities. However it is not clear whether this more equitable expenditure pattern is having much impact on deeply entrenched social and spatial patterns of inequality. Mabin (2002) suggest that IDPs are not addressing the thorniest issues; they are steering well clear of radical interventions that would be needed to alter deeply entrenched patterns. For Pieterse (2003:136) our conceptions of integration fail to address the legacy and systems of power that reproduce the apartheid city. Pieterse would wish for far more radical reform of planned intervention than a third way would follow.

The evaluation of IDPs in the box above shows that while IDPs to some extent improve effectiveness in tackling developmental challenges through integrated development planning, development of networks and linkages, participation in IDPs, however, participation has often been messy due to technocratic managerialism often associated with IDPs. However IDPs generally have contributed to expenditure shifts towards historically disadvantaged communities although doubts remain on whether such shift in expenditure has translated to the development of such areas.

Samson (2007) observes that the model of the South African developmental local government with regards to participation is problematic in the following ways:

- The participatory process is still firmly controlled by the local council and not the community
- Absence of real decision making and democratic structures in the legislation. The legislated local government structures do not provide for such that members of the community participate individually.
- The mechanisms for the incorporation of community inputs are not clearly spelt out such that the prerogative of how and when to include them still lies with the council.
- The lack of gender expertise and sensitivity among the IDP officials implies omission of gender issues in the final plan.
- IDPSs can be reduced to mere wish lists if there is no genuine political will

- The liberal framework model of participation whereby individuals avail themselves for participation on voluntary basis is problematic since there is no obligation for the state to build capacity for meaningful and effective participation.
- The conceptualization of community participation in the model of developmental local government is problematic.

According to Harrison (2006) the Mbeki era has seen a subtle shift in IDPs which have become increasingly annexed to a system of intergovernmental coordination and have been spoken of 'in technical and managerialist terms' which further alienate the poor and effectively stifling their meaningful participation.

Moreover, Harisson furthers writes that

> Planning instruments such as the IDP was caught up in a growing crisis within local government by 2005. The doctrine of decentralization was being challenge by the failure of many municipalities to deliver on their mandates, whilst systems of support and coordination across the three spheres of government were shown to be inadequate. For planning, the key question is whether the requirement to produce an IDP was one of the burdens on municipalities that detracted from their ability to deliver basic services, or whether the situation would even be worse without IDPs.

Moreover, the influence and consequences of power in the planning process as illustrated in the findings of several studies must not be underestimated (Flyvbreg: 1998, 2001, 2002; Forester: 2001, 2004; Healy: 1996).

However, the constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996) provides for a democratic and open form of governance. Technical expertise for policy and planning in integrated development planning coupled with the neo-liberal and globalization impetus inhibit community participation. Section 57 (1) of the constitution (RSA, 1996) provides for the making of rules and orders regarding representative and participatory democracy, transparency, accountability and public involvement.

Research by the centre for policy studies on housing and other social amenities revealed a big difference between grassroots citizens and elite assumptions. (Friedman: 2001). One study also showed that only six percent of citizens had direct contact with government officials, thus implying that democracy is remote from the citizens. Ward committees though legislated for, play only consultative and advisory roles and not functionary ones.

The bill of rights (RSA, 1996: 26 (2) and 27 (2)) provides for socio-economic rights including right of access to adequate food and water, housing, health care services and social security. Graham (2002:92) argues that poverty and inequality exclude and undermine the contribution of large sectors of the South African population to debate about government policy.

The box 3 below shows the socio-economic status of the overall district of Amathole in 2003. However, six years down the line as Harrison (2006) posits, the jury is still out on the IDPs hence the focus of this study which is to examine not only the IDP

but also how the same implements the PGDP in poverty alleviation. While the aforementioned insights are useful evaluations of the IDP, they do not analyse how the IDP and PGDP articulate. This study explored the gap manifest in them which is evaluating whether the IDP and the PGDP integrate particularly in poverty eradication which is a goal which both seek to achieve as highlighted earlier on in this study.

Box 3. Socio-economic Analysis of Amathole District Municipality

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Socio Economic Analysis Overview

The Amathole District Municipality is one of seven district municipalities in the Eastern Cape. The district contains 26% of the Province's population and covers an area of 23 700 km sq. The total population of the district in mid 2002 was approximately 1.9 million, with an overall population density of 80 persons per km².

Poverty in the Eastern Cape is widespread. Recent statistics show that 67% of the Province lives below the poverty data line. In the Amathole district alone it is estimated that more than half the population live below the poverty line (R9 600 per annum per household in 1999). The levels of poverty in the area are also mirrored in low levels of service provision, which reflect that 65% of the Amatole population has no access to water on-site, that 30% of the population have no flush sanitation or pit latrines, and that 70% of the population are without on-site electricity.

The growth of real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the Eastern Cape has kept pace with the national average of 0, 6% per annum. However, the economically active population in the Province has risen much faster in the Eastern Cape (by about 10% a year) than in South Africa (about 6% per annum as a whole). This suggests that in the Eastern Cape, people are, now more than ever, desperately looking for work. In the period 1995 to 2001, it is estimated that less than a third of the new job entrants into the job market were finding formal sector jobs in the Eastern Cape. This was more than 10% below the national average. In this context it is hardly surprising that unemployment and poverty continue to rise in the Eastern Cape and in the Amathole district.

In terms of the economic profile of the Amathole district in particular, it should be noted that this area combines elements of a sophisticated and globalised automotive industrial economy with an under-developed agricultural sector, where household production levels are reportedly declining and where the majority of the population now depend on state pensions and welfare grants as primary sources of

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subsistence. The district is consequently characterized by huge discrepancies in wealth and skills.

In considering land reform and settlement in the Amathole district, it is also necessary to reflect on the Provincial profile of the HIV/Aids pandemic. According to the Dorrington report 2002; nationally, the epidemic can be said to be entering the mature phase; that in 2002, an estimated 6,5 million people are infected with HIV and that life expectancy at birth is now 52,5 years compared with over 61 years in 1990. The prevalence of HIV/Aids amongst the economically active population of the Eastern Cape is estimated by the Dorrington report to be just over 11% compared with 14% for South Africa as a whole.

Source: Amathole Revised IDP: 2003

The socio-economic profile of Amathole District Municipality shows that poverty in 2003 was a widespread phenomenon as reflected in the Amathole revised IDP of 2003. Six years down the line (2009) after the implementation of the PGDP and the IDP both of which seek to eradicate poverty, there is need to evaluate the impact of the two policies against the background of perceived persistent poverty not only in the municipality but across the whole province.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a framework of analysis for the discussion and analysis of findings from the field work. This framework of analysis entails theoretical and empirical issues. It has been argued that poverty is a multifaceted concept hence any attempt to eradicate it must be equally comprehensive, whether the PGDP and IDP do that remains to be seen from the next chapters. However, the literature reviewed to some extent shows that the role of the two in poverty eradication remains questionable. This chapter has also discussed the theoretical framework of the study with a critique to the same theories raised which prompted the rethinking of

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the state discussed in the next chapter. Policy integration has been discussed at length also with the preliminary observations showing that integration will always be difficult due to autonomy issues, the fight for turf and a host of other factors. These are critical issues in the discussion on the integration of the PGDP and Amathole IDP.

CHAPTER THREE

Rethinking the Developmental State: Towards participatory developmentalism for poverty eradication

3.0 Introduction

'The demise of the development project/theory' (McMichael: 1996), the 'failure of the development industry in Africa' (Rihan: 2002) and 'the myth of development' (Reveiro: 2001) comprise a litany of adjectives in literature coined to describe the development trajectory of Africa (Germandze: 2006). Marx, Weber, Keynes, Habermas, Gramsci and Ofe have all made contributions to the conception of the role of the state in socio-economic development (Roux: 1996).

However it must be reiterated that the role of the state has been heavily contested with the liberalists arguing that the state has no role and, its hands are too dirty to interfere. They argue for the free market principle where the invisible hand of the market reigns supreme with the neo-liberists arguing for the minimalistic role of the state. Roux (1996) argues that whether the state has a meaningful role to play in development hinges on the nature and power of the bureaucracy, the validity of the economic and political insights of those who govern, the quality of the political leadership and the ability of the economy to support state expenditures.

Africa has been described as the 'most crisis and debt ridden', 'most distressed' and 'most poverty-stricken' in the world (Ihonvbere,1995:5).The failure of the post colonial African State in the development project has been highlighted by several scholars in extensive literature (Doornbos: 1990; Rapley: 1996; Leftwich: 1999, Amundsen: 2000, Rihan: 2002, Riveiro: 2001, McMichel: 1996, Ake: 1996). The

failure to implement development objectives and efficient policies by the African State has also been reflected by Amundsen (1999:459). This development impasse has been highlighted from both theoretical and empirical dimensions (Sen & Grown: 1986); Asante: 1981; Schuurman: 1993; Belsha & Livingstone: 2002; Chang & Gabriel: 2004; Sklair: 1988; Ake: 1996; Riveiro: 2001 in Germandze: 2006).This has led some authors to argue for the 'renewal of development' in Sub Saharan Africa (Belshaw and Livingstone: 2002) and 'alternative development' and even rethinking development theory itself (Schuurman: 1993).

Gemandze (2006) argues that given that background the 'developmental state' (Huff: 1995; Johnson: 1999; Woo-Commings: 1999), specifically the 'democratic developmental state' (White & Wade: 1985; Leftwich: 1996; 1998; 2000; Robinson & White: 1998) seems to be the appropriate model for the developmental and transformational process for the eradication of poverty which most post colonial African States are grappling with.

3.1 What is a developmental state?

The developmental state concept is derived from a discourse examining phenomenal examples by East Asian countries by Johnson (1982), Wade (1990) and Amsden (1989).These countries include South Korea and Japan. Mkandawire (2002:289) asserts that "neither Africa's post-colonial history nor the actual practice engaged in by successful developmental states capable of playing a more dynamic role than hitherto" imply that it cannot be replicated in Africa.

The developmental state model has two components (Johnson: 1987; Evans: 1995; Kohli: 2004). These are: developmental structure, which implies a stable, centralized government - a cohesive bureaucracy and effective coercive institutions. The second component of the model entails technical capacity and commitment of political leadership to execute developmental roles. These developmental structures and roles dovetail and complement for developmentalism to be realized.

Ghani (2005) opines that a developmental state has two critical characteristics which are the following: first, capability and capacity for the control of the vast territory and possession of capacity for not only designing policy but also implementing them as well. Second, the involvement of a certain degree of reach and inclusion with institutional long-term perspectives transcending political leaders.

Leftwich's defining features of a developmental state include the following: politics which is developmentally driven, developmental objectives which are politically driven, rich country and strong army, external threat significant for political and economic nationalism and elite coherence, internal elite political coherence (will) concentration of power democratic or not (Botswana and Singapore), imposition of developmentally driven rules and rule governing economy and polity.

It has been argued that the arguments against the developmental state in Africa are 'not firmly founded either in African historical experience or in the trajectories of the more successful developmental states' (Mkandawire, 2001:2). The developmental orientation of such a State inevitably capacitates the State not only to formulate policies but implement them in an effective and efficient manner. While the

developmental orientation of a state is dynamic and not static such a state envisions development as its ultimate goal. Mkandawire (2001:2) succinctly posits that the definition of a developmental state however runs the 'risk of being tautological since it is deductively drawn from the performance of an economy'.

Amsden (1989), Haggard (1990) and Evans (1995) attributed developmentalism to the creation of industrial groups in key sectors, formulation and effective implementation of industrial policies, subsidizing inputs, promotion of exports, performance measurement and management by setting performance benchmarks for the industries which were receiving state support. Johnson (1987) & Doner et al. al (2005) observe that some social programs for redistribution which ranged from investment in education to land reform also contributed to developmentalism.

Moreover, Evans (1995) also concurs that state policies providing a conducive framework for developmental roles such as demiurge, custodian, midwife and shepherd in the economy also characterised most developmental states in south East Asia.

Leftwich in Mbabazi & Taylor (2005) has what he calls 'defining characteristics of a developmental state' which include a determined developmental elite, relative autonomy, a powerful competent and insulated bureaucracy, a weak and subordinated civil society, the effective management of non state economic interests as well as performance and legitimacy.

Thus, a developmental state does not sacrifice policies, programs and projects on the alter of political expediency rather it is informed and inspired by patriotism and nationalism and powered by a sublime vision of championing development. Ideally, implied in the notion of a developmental state, therefore, is prioritizing or putting national development first and personal aggrandizement last.

Evans & Johnson in Martinussen (1997) opine that while a developmental state has a developed, coherent bureaucracy and technocracy it is also efficient, effective and has the capacity to promote development. The structure-ideology nexus dynamics and dialectics of a developmental state separate it from others. Evans (1995) avers that

> A successful developmental state needs to be both close to and distant from the business it seeks to influence and nurture (and) embedded in society so that it is capable of implementing its goals by acting through social infrastructure, but not so close to business that risks capture by particular interests. Prescriptively, the developmental state is expected to be embedded in a concrete set of ties that binds the state to society and provides institutionalised channels for the continual negotiation and renegotiation of policies.

The developmental state is a crucial stimulant and organiser of social and economic progress while it is also a vehicle for social and economic transformation (White: 1984). On the other hand a developmental state acts as an "executer of national economic interest" while encouraging vibrancy in micro-economies operating in competitive market contexts while autonomy from outside social forces enables the

developmental state bureaucracy to plan long-term economic policies while immune from private interests (White: 1984).

Hobson (1997) also observes that developmental states harmonise international liberal laissez-faire and domestic interventionist Keynesian principles while establishing legitimacy in the promotion and sustenance of development through growth of the economy and structural change in the system of production domestically and in relation to international political economy (Castels: 1998).

Thus a developmental state is not only transformative but it also reconfigures its dynamism thereby avoiding redundancy and remaining relevant and responding to challenges of globalisation, information communication technology and regulation. Chalmers (1987) observes that the developmental elite creates political stability over the long term, maintains sufficient equality and distribution to prevent class or sectoral exploitation, sets national goals and standards that are internationally oriented and based on non ideological external referents, creates a bureaucratic elite capable and administering the system and insulates its bureaucrats from direct political influences so that they can manage technocratically.

He further goes on to argue that the first and most obvious reason is to achieve political stability and long term predictability of the system. The continuity of the government may be achieved by explicit authoritarianism or by rigged system that nonetheless achieves a monopolization of political power.

Moreover, Leftiwich (2000: 167-8) avows that an ideal type of a developmental state must " demonstrate the determination and ability to stimulate, direct, shape and cooperate with the domestic private sector and arrange or supervise mutually acceptable deals with foreign interests''. Ghani (2005) also identifies ten functions for a state to be developmental in orientation namely: investment in human capital, creation of citizenship rights and duties, maintenance of the rule of law, effective management of public finances, legitimate monopoly over the use of violence, administrative control, provision of infrastructure, management of the assets of the state and market information and effective public borrowing.

Leftwhich argues that it seems unlikely that it is possible in the modern world for any society to make a speedy and successful transition from poverty without a state that in some respects corresponds to this model of a developmental state. Developmental states have been characterised by a tradition of national social cohesion and identity as a powerful force of legitimation helping to mobilise the population around a national developmental project. Critical at this juncture in the era of globalisation is the capacity of the state to act efficiently and effectively in an era not only of pervasive regulatory processes but even competition as well especially in developing countries where development has been conspicuously elusive.

Mbabazi & Taylor (2005) opine that

> Recognition of episodes and possibilities leads us to a definition of a
> developmental state as one whose ideological underpinnings are

developmental and one that seriously attempts to deploy its administrative and political resources to the task of economic development

What is emphasized in the definitions of developmental states is a developmental orientation coupled with political will for deployment of resources for the pursuit of development. Johnson (in Mbabazi & Taylor, 2005) credited for being the first to have a major study on developmental states came up with four constituents of a model of what he calls a developmental state which include the presence of a small but professional and elite bureaucracy; a political milieu where this bureaucracy has enough space to operate and take policy initiatives independent of overly intrusive interventions by vested interests; the crafting of methods of state intervention in the economy without sabotaging the market principle (market conforming); a pilot organisation such as the one founded by Chalmers in MITI.

Leftwich (1995) also asserts that Developmental states

> May be defined as states whose policies have concentrated sufficient power, autonomy and capacity at the centre to shape, pursue and encourage the achievement of explicit developmental objectives, whether by establishing and promoting the conditions and directions for economic growth, or by organising it directly, or a varying combination of both.

Botswana and Mauritius have been considered to be developmental states by some authors (Meisenhelder: 1997; Mbabazi & Taylor: 2005); Nyamnjoh & Jimu: 2005).

Moreover, Chang (1999) opines that successful developmental states have pursued policies that co-ordinate investment plans, a national development vision meaning that the state is an entrepreneurial agent, embarks on institutional building for the promotion of not only growth but development as well, an effective role in conflict management arising out of counteractions and reactions to the development trajectory.

Uganda has also been cited as an encouraging case. The latter's Poverty Eradication Action Plan was centred on four pillars which were the creation of a framework for transformation and growth, ensuring good governance and security, directly increasing the ability of the poor to raise their income and directly increasing the poor's quality of life (UNCTAD, 2000:148). Mkandawire observes that the first few examples of developmental states were authoritarian. The new ones will have to be democratic, and it is encouraging that two most cited examples of such 'democratic developmental states are both African- Botswana and Mauritius'.

Leftwich (1995) notes that the political purposes and institutional structures of developmental states have been developmentally driven while the developmental objectives have been politically driven. Thus, the developmental commitment of a developmental state must be matched with the institutional capacity to demonstrate and operationalize the commitment: The Botswana 1970-1975 National Development Plan pointed out that

The government wishes to stress its belief in the necessity of planning the social and economic development of the nation. Available resources are

limited and the problems of governmental policy. However, a balance must be struck where private initiative has ample scope within the general confines laid down by government. It is government's duty to set forth clearly its objectives accordingly, and to assist the private sector in every way consistent with the attainment of these goals.

This declaration to some extent is a demonstration of the commitment the Botswana government had, then for development hence the observation alluded to earlier on that Botswana is a developmental state by some scholars. Thus political commitment to planning as well as support for development through institutional frameworks to some extent epitomise a developmental state.

The president of Botswana then asserted that 'my government is aware, too, that planning by itself is not enough, that efficient implementation of the plan is even more important and... energies of the nation must now be devoted to the economic and social development of the country'. Thus, further reinforcing Leftwich's assertion that all developmental states have been led by determined and committed elites who were relatively incorruptible (1996).

Johnson (1987); Mkandawire (1998); Evans (1995); Chalmers (1987); Leftwich (1995) & Mbabazi & Taylor (2005) have identified some central features of the developmental state which include the crafting of methods of state intervention in the economy without sabotaging the market principle, social anchoring that prevents the state from using its autonomy in a predatory manner and enables it to gain adhesion of key social actors, a bureaucracy with integrity and the capacity to make decisions

for the benefit of society as a whole rather than favouring a specific group and a political milieu where this bureaucracy has enough space to operate and take policy initiatives independent of overly intrusive interventions by some vested interests.

There are some Institutional features characterising developmental states some of which are the following: characterised by Weberian bureaucracy; recruitment is by competitive meritocracy; remuneration is competitive with private sector; sanctions for corruption are very clear and effective and leadership is by pilot agency standing outside stride; tenure of office is long for continuity purposes and meritocratic promotion and competitive selection.

3.2 The Chinese experience: lessons for South Africa

Without being 'pessimistic in diagnosis' and 'optimistic in the prescription' of the South African state and poverty eradication one can still argue that the South African state has failed to eradicate poverty at least for the past decades. This is despite its declared commitment and preoccupation with development and its constitutional obligation which is to improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and build a united and democratic South Africa. The goal of poverty eradication has been an elusive one for South Africa and the prospects of meeting the millennium development goals get dim as the year 2015 draws near. In fact South Africa committed itself to do so by the year 2014.While there year 2014 is fast approaching the prospects of achieving the goal of halving country poverty by that year are in fact getting dim.

The United Nations has since called for an emergency summit in the light of the inevitable failure by the African continent to meet the millennium development goals one of which is poverty alleviation. The World Bank (2006: x) argues that reducing poverty in Africa might appear to be an exclusive, 'even quixotic goal', by all measures poverty in Africa as a whole has increased and deepened and the prospect of meeting the millennium development goals seem to be receding. In fact the number of poor in sub Saharan Africa is expected to rise from 314 million in 2001 to 366 million in 2015 (World Bank: 2006).

It is against that background that South Africa can draw lessons from China which has managed to raise 120 million people out of poverty, an achievement which has been acknowledged by the World Bank. After the death of Mao Tse Tung, Den Xiaoping came up with what he termed 'four modernizations' introduced first by Zhou Enlai in 1975. These were the modernization of science, technology, agriculture and defence. These modernizations coupled with the 'help-the-poor program' were the foundation stones upon which the unprecedented development which China enjoyed was built.

Thanks to the aid-the-poor program 200 million people had food and clothing problems solved while the impoverishment rate tumbled from 30.7 % to close to three percent. The white paper on rural China's poverty reduction program observed that by the end of 2000, 95.5 percent of administrative villages had electricity in poverty stricken areas while 89 percent were accessible by road,69 percent had postal services , 67,7 percent could be reached by telephone and at least 77.25 million had drinking water.

The Chinese government came up with what they called the 'Help the Poor Program' which largely underwent three phases namely: 'structural reform promotes poverty relief' (1978-1985), 'large scale development-oriented poverty relief drive' (1986-1993) and 'tackling key problems of poverty relief' (1994-2000).

At the beginning of the first stage the number of the poverty stricken population according to the poverty standard designated by the Chinese government was 250 million thus constituting 30.7 percent of the rural population. This phase had a three pronged approach which saw reforms which led to a rise in the price of agricultural products (source of income for the rural poor), transformation of the land management system from a collective one to the house contract responsibility system thereby raising productivity, and creation of employment in non-agricultural sectors (thus generating income for the rural poor).

All of these measures in the first phase saw grain output per capita increase by 14 percent, cotton by 73, 9%, meat by 87%, net income by over 3005, oil bearing crops by 174, 6%, the rural poor with food and clothes problems decreased from 250 million to 125 million thus 14.8 % of the rural poor while on average the number of the rural poor shrunk annually by 17.86 million (white paper on rural China's poverty reduction program).

The second phase saw uneven development between poverty stricken areas and coastal advanced areas due to geographical, economic, social, historical and natural causes such that disparities became marked. It was against this background that the

Chinese government sought to reinforce poverty relief through the reformation of the 'traditional relief type approach' and the advancement of the developmental orientation to the poverty relief policy. This comprehensive transformation program saw allocation of special funds, formulation of special policies and the setting up of help the poor work units (White paper on rural China's poverty reduction program).

Thanks to this historical period of transformation only 8.75 % down from 14.8% was the proportion of the poverty stricken rural poor, thus the number of the poverty-stricken dropped from 125 million to 80 million with an annual decrease of 6.4 million, while the net income per peasant in 'poverty stricken counties' leaped from 206 yuan in 1986 to 483, 7 yuan in 1993 (White paper on rural China's poverty reduction program).

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A seven year 'priority poverty alleviation program' was promulgated and implemented under the third phase which sought to tackle key problems of poverty relief from 1994 to the year 2000.The white paper on rural China's poverty reduction program dubbed it 'the first action program for development-oriented poverty reduction with clear and definite objectives, targets, measures and a time limit'. This program emphasized concentration on human, material and financial resources and mobilization of all walks of life for the solution to clothing and food problems for the rural needy. While for three consecutive years, from 1997-1999, food and clothing needs for eighty million a year were met while the basic objectives of the seven year priority poverty alleviation program had been met (White paper on rural China's poverty reduction program).

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China's celebrated success in rural poverty alleviation was premised on a powerful vision of a developmental State. Ideally a developmental state has a vision to transform the economy and society at large and emphasizes on deployment of resources for development which is not the case with many African States.

World Bank (2001: 8) observes that China is widely recognized for its achievements in reducing absolute poverty since the adoption of broad program of rural economic reforms beginning in 1978,rural poverty declined from roughly 260 million poor people to 42 million in 1998 thus from 1/3 to 1/20 of the total rural poor. This was all attributable to broad participation in subsequent reform to drive economic growth and a well funded national poverty reduction program.

The state council's leading group for poverty reduction was established 1986 to provide coherence to many poverty reduction initiatives and expedite economic development. Coordinating more than US$2 billion in annual funding to poverty reduction the funding is organized under China's 8-7 poverty reduction plan established by the LGPP in 1994 to overcome poverty (absolute) in nationally designated 592 poor counties.

There is need for strong fiscal commitment to poverty reduction which provides crucial lessons for South Africa. Some strategies used by china include provision of subsidized loans by ABC, food for work programs, provision of grants administered by the Ministry of Finance.

The Chinese experience demonstrates the need for the South African Government to do less harm to the poor by reducing the explicit and implicit taxes they face by setting the procurement price closer to the market price. This has got the effects of boosting disposable income to the poor while increasing productivity from the same.

The pattern of growth for the Chinese carries a lesson that since so much of poverty in developing countries is found in rural areas agricultural growth plays a pivotal role in poverty reduction. Since the majority of Africans derive their livelihoods from agriculture the promotion of agricultural growth in particular and rural development in general is vital for pro-poor growth for Africa. The concept of pro-poor development areas and identification of poverty pockets carries (China's poor area development programs) a crucial lesson for South Africa. Macroeconomic stability (avoidance of inflationary shocks) is crucial for poverty reduction from the Chinese experience. Macroeconomic instability coupled with inflationary shocks erodes the value of real incomes that accrue to the poor.

China's poverty reduction program reflects a comprehensive, planned, responsive flexible program deliberately targeting the poor. It demonstrates a high level of political will and commitment to pro-poor growth; these are critical lessons for South Africa in its quest to alleviate poverty. The establishment of poverty counties/pockets was a manifestation of a deliberate policy action meant to deal with a properly diagnosed policy problem.

The geographic and sectoral pattern and poverty pockets specific and favourable policies from the Chinese experience reflect critical lessons to be learnt in the pursuit of pro-poor growth. Many programs are pursued in the name of pro-poor growth yet in reality they are meant to gain cheap political mileage.

Implied in China's experience is the fact that poverty is a multidimensional and a multifaceted 'social construct' suggesting that any approach to 'pigeonhole' poverty as a concept would be too simplistic and consequently resulting in deleterious effects in poverty alleviation .Therefore the strategies to fight poverty by South African government must be equally multifaceted and multidimensional. Poverty is not just lack of income but it implies vulnerability, lack of capabilities, denial of rights, lack of access to opportunities and a host of other factors.

The issue of poverty as not only deprivation for many but affluence for the few is underpinned by the concept of 'wealth accumulation' predicated on the ideology of capitalism hence the debate on poverty alleviation and poverty eradication. While poverty alleviation implies poverty reduction, the concept of poverty eradication on the other hand entails the obliteration or abolition of poverty.

However there are wrong lessons to be learnt from the Chinese experience since

aggregate economic growth is emanating more from sources that accrue more benefit to the rich and less to the poor, moreover the Chinese experience has been labelled 'the even progress against poverty'. It is therefore important for

Uneven progress
The percentage of the population in China living below the poverty line fell more in some periods than others during 1981-2001.

(percent below poverty line)

Source: Ravallion and Chen, 2004.
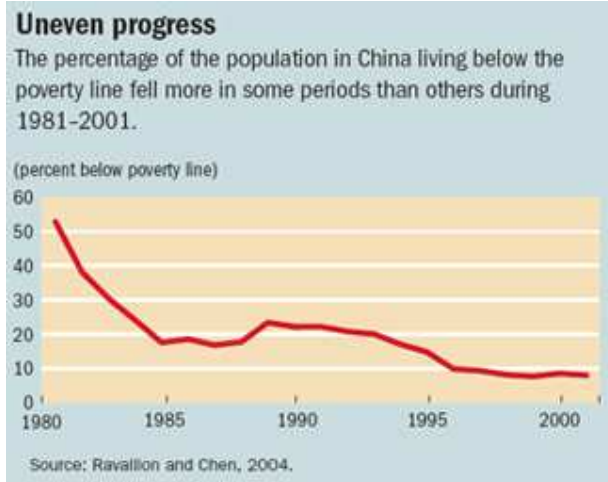
Africa to pursue pro-poor growth that does not necessarily 'equalize poverty' nor widen the income gap between the rich and the poor as reflected by the Chinese experience to some extent.

Rising inequality
The gap between rich and poor has risen in China, although more in urban areas than rural areas.

(Gini index[1]; percent)

Source: Ravallion and Chen, 2004.
[1]The Gini index is a measure of income inequality within a population.

Figure 9, here, shows that China's progress was not smooth. Half the reduction occurred in the first half of the 1980s, and the decline was not continual thereafter, with the late 1980s and late 1990s periods seeing some set-backs for China's poor.

China's experience also suggests that poverty reduction occurs only when it is a high priority for decision makers and when they focus on institutional, technical, economic and social changes as pre-requisites. Thus political will and commitment, leadership and political support coupled with institutional, technical, administrative and political capacity for efficient and effective policy implementation tend to be pivotal in successful poverty alleviation.

The World Bank, (2005: ix) also observes that development is not something that professionals dream up and deliver to poor people and must not define and confine poor people as objects of our charity or our development practices, these people are the asset and we must help them become active participants in moving out of poverty. The Bank further observes that in scaling up we must engage the community of people who are poor and who are searching for a better life in the quest to solutions to their problems since they know more about poverty than we do.

The Chinese experience demonstrates that the trickle down theory is a myth in South Africa propagated by mainstream western economists since even in the United States of America only 1% of the population own 50 % of the wealth of the country .Therefore South Africa needs pro-poor policies deliberately and directly targeting the poor. One can learn from the Chinese experience that poor area development programs based on the identification of poverty pockets is crucial for pro-poor growth.

Since the majority of the poor are located in rural areas in South Africa a crucial lesson to be learnt from the Chinese is that the promotion of agricultural growth in particular and rural development in general as critical for poverty eradication. The Chinese experience also demonstrates that a declared commitment to poverty eradication is not an end itself rather it must be a means to an end coupled with the promotion and sustenance of development and a far reaching transformation of society's economic, social, political and cultural structure thus typical of a developmental state.

3.3 A Developmental State for South Africa?

There can never be a more noble call than a call for South Africa to be strategically positioned in the fight against poverty and there can never be a more opportune time than now. The fact that South Africa is unlikely to meet any of the 'poverty-busting goals' - nor the benchmarks on education, health, and women's empowerment is the rationale behind such a call. What South Africa needs is not a rhetoric of development but the practice of development. South Africa does not need some delusional epistemological or ontological revolution of paradigms but South Africa needs a new cause that suggests practical and pragmatic approaches to both economics and politics.

It is against this background that this study argues that what South Africa needs today as it seeks to fight against poverty is not just a developmental state but a 'participatory Democratic Developmental State'. While this study does not necessarily advocate a look east policy, it, however, acknowledges the stunning developmental progress in general and the fight against poverty in particular realized by the East in the past decades and asserts that South Africa can draw lessons from the East.

While endemic, pervasive and persistent poverty continues to disfigure the face of South Africa and compromise the dignity of our South African people the Eastern Countries particularly the Asian Tigers and China have seen decades of tremendous economic growth that have catapulted their masses from the doldrums of poverty.

Most African economies have been shrinking and regressing despite a declared commitment to do the opposite and decades of preoccupation with development.

As highlighted earlier on, a state is developmental when it is has established as its principle of legitimacy its ability not only to promote but also sustain development and a far reaching transformation of society's economic, social, political and cultural structure. China has set an example internationally for reducing poverty, raising hundreds of millions of people out of poverty in 20 years. China's celebrated success in rural poverty alleviation was premised on a powerful vision of a developmental State. After carrying out a well thought out, comprehensive and coherent poverty alleviation strategy the number of persons living in poverty in China was reduced from 250 million at the start of its reform process in 1978, to 80 million by the end of 1993 and to 29.27 million in 2001.

While China has achieved such a feat, the efficient and effective alignment, integration, and coordination of policy actions has been and continues to be one of the major challenges. That has frustrated the South Africa government in their quest to eradicate poverty and provide basic services to its entire people as well as progressively advance the quality of life and opportunities for all citizens.

The 'policy crisis', therefore, over the last decade has been manifest in a range of Acts, policies, strategies, development planning instruments, integration mechanisms and structures which did not necessarily yield meaningful results on the ground. Ideally a plethora of these policies coupled with their noble objectives would have been foundation stones in the fight against poverty if they were premised on efficiency, effectiveness, equitability and sustainability of governmental resource allocation.

In effective poverty eradication, it is important to note that the South African policy on poverty eradication is not supposed to and cannot be a ruling political party slogan rather it must be a meaningful and purposeful statement of intent with a coherent, consistent and commensurate set of well thought out and achievable objectives and instruments deliberately seeking to ameliorate a properly diagnosed policy problem. A policy document does not emanate from a 'black box' and neither does the policy process have to be sacrificed on the altar of political expediency as is often the case with many policies in Africa nor is it a journalistic or newspaper story.

It is against this background that a poverty eradication policy for South Africa must be predicated on a vision to transform the economy and society at large and emphasize on deployment of resources for poverty eradication. The Chinese government has carried out a full-scale fight against poverty in an organized and planned manner over the past two decades, having amassed human, material and financial strength and mobilized all sectors of society for this purpose. While increasing investment to improve production and living conditions in poverty-stricken areas, China has also paid more attention to ecological and environmental protection and for sustainable development. This was all attributable to broad participation in subsequent reform driven economic growth and a well funded national poverty reduction program.

It is against this background that we argue that in order to fight poverty in South Africa the vitality of the need for a comprehensive, all encompassing and multifaceted national strategy powered by a political will and commitment can never be overemphasized otherwise the fight against poverty will not only fizzle into thin air but will be reduced to moribund efforts and 'paper tigers'.

Currently, endemic, pervasive and persistent poverty continues to disfigure the face of former Transkei and Ciskei and compromise the dignity of residents in these areas. South Africa is a country not only of great potential but of great promise and hope as well due to the abundance of capital and natural resources. However, the socio-economic and political conditions on the ground portray post apartheid South Africa as a country battling to eradicate poverty.

Therefore, a triumph over poverty in and for South Africa is not necessarily a symbol of goodwill nor is it an end in itself rather it is a fundamental and monumental act of justice as well as the protection of fundamental and inalienable human rights, including the right to self esteem, the right to a decent life and dignity. Thus for South Africa, the dignity of its people cannot be said to be fully restored and it will always be a negation of fundamental human rights as long as the African masses remain trapped in the vicious circle of poverty .It is against the backdrop of such observations that this research reflects on the Chinese model to glean for opportunities for replication in the South African context.

It is against this background that South Africa came up with a plethora of policies and strategies Including the (Reconstruction Development Program (RDP), GEAR, ASGISA) to address the poverty pandemic however there appears to be lack of policy clarity, coherence, and alignment prompting some authors to assert that South Africa still needs a strategy to combat poverty as if nothing has been done as yet (Aliber: 2001).

3.4 A Democratic Developmental State for South Africa?

The fact that there is no theoretical linkage between development and authoritarianism implies that a developmental state can be democratic and therefore allow for participatory development which entails giving political voice to the marginalised and disadvantaged. The argument that developmental states cannot democratise is therefore a myth which is theoretically and empirically unfounded. Democratisation through participation and empowerment with inclusivity and prioritising the disadvantaged, vulnerable and intended beneficiaries is crucial.

Since development is multi-dimensional and multifaceted there can be no one best model for development. Power redistribution is crucial for egalitarian development (White: 1984). Ake goes on even further to argue that development should be a process of democratisation thus collapsing sustainable development and democracy together (Ake: 1996). Solomon (2006) argues for simultaneity of democracy, development and poverty eradication.

Huntington (1980) opines that a democratic system is such that through fair, honest and periodic elections its most powerful collective decision makers are selected and the candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote.

There are some basic tenets of a liberal democracy which entail citizen participation,

economic freedom, human rights, regular free and fair elections, a bill of rights, rule of law, political tolerance, transparency, accountability, multipartyism acceptance of free and fair elections results and separation of the powers of the judiciary, legislature and the executive and equality.

Inckman & White observe that

> it can be quickly seen that according to rule and rights based definition, democracies can vary widely in quality. A weak or shallow democracy need only comply with the basic definitional characteristics... a strong, or deep democracy would see extensive exercise of all of these... from this perspective, democracy is not an 'end state' but can always be deepened or strengthened. Political authoritarianism prevents the crystallization of the state or even of a political class. Rather it tends to constitute a plurality of informal primary systems that are largely the repositories of loyalties. It unleashes powerful centrifugal forces that render the polity incoherent and unable to establish a common purpose including a developmental project and to pursue it effectively. In short political authoritarianism is the reason why the development project in Africa has not been able to take off (Ake, 1996:126-129)

Rapley (1996:140) concurs that there is evidence which suggests that authoritarianism in Africa has been very poor in managing development in general and implementing reform and economic austerity measures. However, as Boyte (2004) puts it across, when politics becomes the property of professional elites, bureaucrats and consultants, the majority of people are marginalized in the serious

work of public affairs. Citizens are therefore reduced to at most secondary roles demanding consumers or altruistic volunteers. It is in the same vein that political, socio-economic empowerments become mutually exclusive for sustainable development.

The notion of citizen participation therefore becomes a necessary condition for development of the marginalised, disempowered and disadvantaged. For distribution and reduction of inequalities to occur participatory democracy becomes the key to unlocking participatory development. Democratisation should then entail popular participation for the inclusion of not only the people but popular organisations in the development agenda.

Hirst (1990) asserts that democratisation entails advocacy in strengthening active participation while social and political rights of citizens are extended. The emergence of the poverty reduction strategy papers and millennium development goals in the 2000s have an implication for the role of state in the development of most developing countries hence the need for the rethinking of the role of the state in development.

Having said that, a democratic developmental state for South Africa, therefore, goes beyond a 'parasitical state', 'kleptocratic state' 'overextended state,' 'crony state', 'overextended state', 'patrimonial state', 'predatory state' (Mkandawire, 2001:1) and neither is it supposed to be a dependent state . It must be one that has established as its principle of legitimacy its ability not only to promote but also sustain development and a far reaching transformation of society's economic, social, political and cultural structure while embracing participatory development.

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Direct citizen involvement in the governance process leads to better governance and better decision making (Mansbridge: 1999, Cohen & Sabel: 1997, Avristzer: 2002, Gaventer: 2004). State actors' committed involvement is critical for the success of participatory development (Abers: 2001, Fox: 1996; Heller: 2001).State support and recognition as pointed out by Mahmud is critical for the success of participatory development.

Therefore the democratic developmental state concept overlaps with the concept of good governance although the former emphasizes the effectiveness of the state while the latter emphasizes the need for the control of the state. The good governance agenda gained currency in policy circles, among academics and donors in the 1990s.

Culpeper (2001:38) asserts that

> Ngo institutions or more general civil society, play a crucial role in bringing about and maintaining good governance. But if civil society is to play such a role, new processes of engagement will be required at the local, national and international levels... there is an urgent need for governments and intergovernmental organisations to examine and define the rules of engagement with civil society in coming years

UNDP (2000:19) concurs that

> effective governance is often the missing link between national anti-poverty efforts and poverty reduction. For many countries it is improving governance

that external assistance is needed- but not with a new set of poverty related

conditionality imposed on top of existing economic conditionalities

The figure 10 below outlines the relationship between a developmental state, good

governance and good enough governance agenda.

Figure 10 Developmental State, Good governance, Good enough Governance

	Developmental state (Evans and others)	Good governance (World Bank and others)	Good enough governance (Grindle)
Core aspect	Emphasis on state capacity and 'embedded autonomy'.	Emphasis on transparency and accountability	Emphasis on *minimal* conditions of governance necessary to allow political and economic development.
Political regime	No normative commitment to any particular type of political regime, though many examples of 'successful' developmental states are authoritarian.	Normative commitment to democracy. Strengthening democratic rule is a key concern.	No normative commitment to any particular political regime. Elements of different regimes may work for different reasons; those aspects that work should be encouraged.
State legitimacy	Derived from state achievements and performance.	Derived from democratic representation of interests of the majority and the protection of the rights of the minority based on rules and procedures.	Different states enjoy different levels of legitimacy, depending on how institutionalised and capable they are. Legitimacy should not be seen in absolute terms and varies considerably even within a given state.
Political will	Concern for national goals; commitment of core leadership is essential.	Concern for effective constraints, normative orientation (legitimacy, human rights, democracy, macroeconomic balance).	Concern for incremental, progressive change and for how reformers can institute change – what alliances need to be built, and what trade-offs need to be made.
Role of the state	State should (actively) foster economic development but avoid capture by particular groups.	No clear agreement among various proponents; state should set a framework (rule of law) for markets/private actors.	State should intervene to produce core public goods, and where it can perform well, but should not tackle a wide range of issues, reforms, etc. at once. Priorities for state intervention/involvement are important. Some level of state capture may need to be tolerated to achieve other goals.
Model of social representation	Exclusionary, based primarily on close relations between the state and selected business groups. Labour is controlled.	Inclusionary, emphasising broad social participation in the decision-making process (e.g. PRSPs).	Likely to be patchy and uneven. Some areas may be more inclusionary whereas others significantly less so. Again, there are no moral absolutes.
What to do on Monday morning?	Create meritocratic civil service in key areas, imbued by a strong *esprit de corps* and concern for national goals.	Broad and ambitious agenda emphasising multiple goals that need to be achieved in order to enable development: fight corruption, deepen democracy, improve judicial systems and PFM.	Be explicit about trade-offs and priorities in a world in which all good things cannot be pursued at once; understand what is working rather than focusing mainly on governance gaps; ground action in the contextual realities of each country.

Source:Fritz & Monacal: 2006

Kjaer (2004) observes that at the core of the good governance agenda are issues concerning practices and rules of choosing government as well as the exercise of

state power and authority. The World Bank & International Monetary Fund (2006) observe that the good governance agenda comprise three broad categories: first, state/ bureaucratic capability which entails management issues and public administration. Second, accountability and oversight institutions for the provision of checks and balances including accountability and voice issues, transparency, role of the media and civil society, rule of law, executive constraints and democratic representation and participation. Third, overall performance which entails curbing vies like corruption, effective and efficient service delivery and policy outcomes.

However, Khan (2005) critiques the good governance agenda of espousing idealistic politics while imposing unrealistic demands for quality governance. This critique of good governance led to the proposal for the good enough governance agenda by Gringle (2004) (as highlighted in the table above) for the promotion of realistic governance reforms for quality governance to achieve the elusive goal of development.

Although the Japanese colonisation, the invasion of Taiwan by the Kuomitang, the US-Vietnam war, the Chinese revolution and other shocks facilitated the emergence of developmental states in these countries the replication of he same has been suggested by the possibility thesis of Mkandawire.

While authoritarianism characterized most developmental states in East Asia it does not necessarily follow that developmentalism is associated with authoritarianism neither does it imply that authoritarianism is a necessary condition for states to be developmental. Moreover the diversity of experience of developmental states defies

the logic of a single model of developmental states hence the tautology characterizing developmental states.

The Lack of a sustained developmental orientation, lack of political will and commitment to development on the part of the leadership, patron clientele relationship, empire building and neopatrimonialism have led to the development of underdevelopment and a vicious cycle of poverty as illustrated in figure 11below.

Figure 11. The cycle of underdevelopment
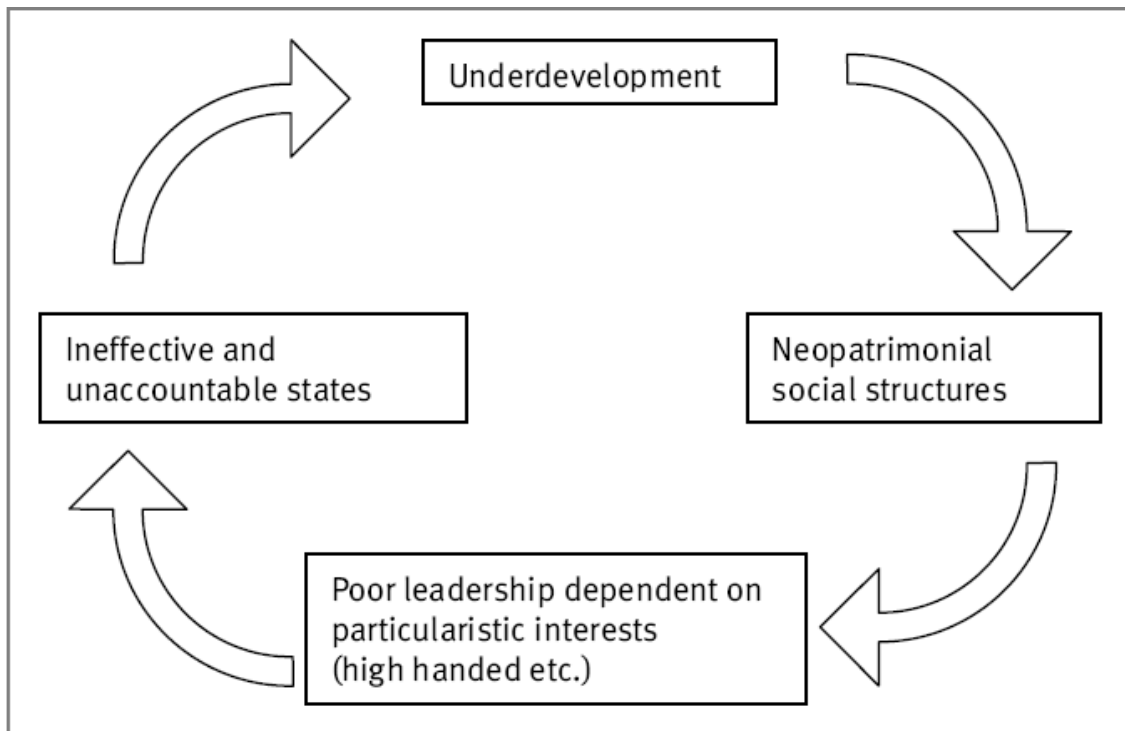
Source:Fritz & Monacal: 2006

Mbabazi & Taylor (2005) observe that "the construction of a democratic developmental state in Africa must be seen as one of the most urgent tasks facing the continent in the new millennium especially if Africa has to meet the millennium developmental goals of eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal

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primary education; promoting gender equality and empower women; reduce child

mortality; improve maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases

; ensuring environmental sustainability and developing a global partnership for

development.

The progress in the achievement of these goals by 2008 is illustrated in figure 12 below.

Figure12.

Goals and Targets	Africa		Asia				Oceania	Latin America & Caribbean	Commonwealth of Independent States	
	Northern	Sub-Saharan	Eastern	South-Eastern	Southern	Western			Europe	Asia
**GOAL 1	Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger**										
Reduce extreme poverty by half	low poverty	very high poverty	moderate poverty	moderate poverty	very high poverty	low poverty	---	moderate poverty	low poverty	low poverty
Productive and decent employment	large deficit in decent work (youth and women), moderate productivity	very large deficit in decent work (women), very low productivity	large deficit in decent work (youth), moderate productivity	large deficit in decent work (women), low productivity	very large deficit in decent work (women), low productivity	very large deficit in decent work (youth and women), moderate productivity	very large deficit in decent work (youth), very low productivity	small deficit in decent work (women), moderate productivity	small deficit in decent work, moderate productivity	small deficit in decent work (youth), moderate productivity
Reduce hunger by half	very low hunger	very high hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	high hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	very low hunger	high hunger
**GOAL 2	Achieve universal primary education**										
Universal primary schooling	high enrolment	low enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	moderate enrolment	---	high enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment
**GOAL 3	Promote gender equality and empower women**										
Equal girls' enrolment in primary school	close to parity	almost close to parity	parity	parity	parity	close to parity	almost close to parity	parity	parity	parity
Women's share of paid employment	low share	medium share	high share	medium share	low share	low share	medium share	high share	high share	high share
Women's equal representation in national parliaments	very low representation	low representation	moderate representation	low representation	low representation	very low representation	very low representation	moderate representation	low representation	low representation
**GOAL 4	Reduce child mortality**										
Reduce mortality of under-five-year-olds by two thirds	low mortality	very high mortality	low mortality	low mortality	high mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality
Measles immunization	high coverage	moderate coverage	high coverage	moderate coverage	low coverage	moderate coverage	moderate coverage	high coverage	high coverage	high coverage
**GOAL 5	Improve maternal health**										
Reduce maternal mortality by three quarters*	moderate mortality	very high mortality	low mortality	high mortality	high mortality	moderate mortality	high mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	low mortality
Access to reproductive health	moderate access	low access	high access	moderate access	moderate access	moderate access	low access	high access	high access	moderate access
**GOAL 6	Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases**										
Halt and reverse spread of HIV/AIDS	low prevalence	high prevalence	low prevalence	low prevalence	low prevalence	low prevalence	moderate prevalence	moderate prevalence	moderate prevalence	low prevalence
Halt and reverse spread of tuberculosis	low mortality	high mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality
**GOAL 7	Ensure environmental sustainability**										
Reverse loss of forests	low forest cover	medium forest cover	medium forest cover	high forest cover	medium forest cover	low forest cover	high forest cover	high forest cover	high forest cover	low forest cover
Halve proportion without improved drinking water	high coverage	low coverage	moderate coverage	moderate coverage	moderate coverage	high coverage	low coverage	high coverage	high coverage	moderate coverage
Halve proportion without sanitation	moderate coverage	very low coverage	low coverage	low coverage	very low coverage	moderate coverage	low coverage	moderate coverage	moderate coverage	high coverage
Improve the lives of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	very high proportion of slum-dwellers	high proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	high proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	low proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers
**GOAL 8	Develop a global partnership for development**										
Internet users	moderate usage	very low usage	moderate usage	low usage	low usage	moderate usage	low usage	high usage	high usage	low usage

Source: www.unstats.un.org

3.5 An overview of Participatory Development

The concept of participatory development has seen some buzzwords emerging like

Development is for the people (Coetzee: 1989), *Putting People First* (Cernea: 1991),

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People First (Burkey: 1993), *People Centred Development* (Korten & Klaus: 1984), *Development by People* (Gran: 1983), *Putting the Last First*, *Whose reality counts* (Chambers: 1983, 1997) P*opular participation* (Huntington: 1980).

Peet & Watts (1996) argue that disempowering and alienating biases of top- 'downism', 'positivism', 'eurocentrism' and 'statism' characterise 'normal development' (Chambers, 1997; Escober, 1995) relegating non expert local people to objects of grandiose and national schemes. Development had become synonymous with modernity of western societies with experts in rational planning expected to 'copy and paste' development from developed countries. The World Bank's basic needs and women centred approaches targeting the marginalised locals coupled with Academics like Chambers (1983) saw the wide spread acceptance of participation.

Migdley (1986) distinguishes between two schools of thought in the participatory debate namely liberal and humanistic views of participatory development on one hand and radical participatory development on the other hand. The radical school advocates for direct and allowance for communities to ultimately spearhead and decide on their own initiatives thereby making way for new knowledge production mapping out of new frontiers of development as well as the design of new organisational methods (Oakley & Marsden, 1984:13). According to the radical participatory development school of thought issues of power, decision making and empowerment are crucial in teething participation. Participation by communities therefore promotes responsiveness, creativity and empowerment when poor people

become actors and not mere subjects of change which can be easily manipulated by the elite in the definition and solution of problems.

Wisner (1998:14) also distinguishes between strong and weak interpretations of participation. While the strong interpretation advocates

> a new style of development which was radically participatory and in which land reform, asset redistribution and other necessary preconditions set the stage for the poor to take control of their own development, usually through grassroots organisations the weak interpretation of participatory development, promoted mostly by the bilateral and multi-lateral agencies saw participation as a limited, formalized process, stripped of the political volatility of direct popular involvement.

The argument for participatory development is that previous development theories and approaches were not only euro-centric but also positivist and top down thereby excluding and disempowering (Martinussen: 1997 & Mohan: 2002). World Bank (1992) observes participatory development as when stakeholders equally determine by influencing and controlling not only the direction but the form of development affecting them.

Therefore participatory development is the refocusing of the development agenda to embrace the primacy of the people or beneficiaries in development endeavours. This is against the background of the demise of previous project led development (ODA: 1995). The 'blueprint approaches' versus the 'learning approaches' and the 'new

professionalism' versus 'normal professionalism' by Chambers are instrumental in institutionalizing participatory development.

In making participation real the pre 1990s era of participation in projects is contrasted with the genuine and real participatory development of the post 90s. Weaving & Piccitto (1994) go on further to suggest the reformulation of the traditional project cycle for the poor to actively influence project identification, designing, implementation and evaluation of the projects. Moreover, Lane (1995) avers that 'rather than being a choice at the level of inputs to discrete and well defined development projects, participation becomes a fundamental right and a basic need of individuals and hence of society as a whole'.

Poverty eradication in the context of participatory development becomes an act of empowerment of the poor. Slocum & Thomas-Slayter (1995) conceptualize empowerment as 'the ability to organize and influence change of the basis of access to knowledge, political processes, social, financial and natural resources'. In participatory development access to decision making therefore implies actively influencing policies, programs and projects which are relevant to the needs and aspirations of intended beneficiaries thereby bringing about the desired change.

Moser & Kellerman in Swanepol & De Beers (1998: 20) opine that participation is mostly interlinked with community, groups and individual actions 'related to development, improvement or change of an existing situation'. Theron & Banard (1997) observe that participation is one of the essential conditions for true development and planning as well as human growth entailing development of self-

confidence, self-reliance, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility and cooperation. Burkey (1993) in Theron & Banard (1997) contend that a development planning process should entail participation, social learning, self-reliance, empowerment and sustainability.

Moreover, the Department for International Development (2000) asserts that

> Participation in decision-making is central to enabling people to claim their rights. Effective participation requires that the voices and interests of the poor are taken into account when decisions are made and that poor people are empowered to hold policy makers accountable'

German Agency, GTZ (1991) defines participation as co-determination and power sharing throughout program cycles. Rahnema (1992) in Mohan write that participatory development has the following characteristics:

- Cognitive-for the generation of different modes of understanding the realities to be addressed.
- Political- for the sake of empowering the voiceless
- Instrumental- so as to propose new alternatives.

The UNDP (1993) subdivides participation into overlapping and interacting forms namely: social-cultural, political, economic and household. Participation is often conflictual and sometimes a violent process with the powerless struggling for increased influence and control over their lives, a political struggle in which the powerful fight for the maintenance of the status qou. Therefore participation is fundamentally about the poor (Nelson & Wright: 1995; May & Craig: 1995; Mohan:

2009). Participatory development allows for realisation of the plurality of developmental goals and community self-determination. State structures must be flexible, unbureaucratic, unbiased and accountable for participatory development to be real.

With 'normal development' recipients of development who were obstructive, conservative and passive with participatory development, interventions must be informed and shaped by those whom it directly affects. Therefore, participatory development fosters ownership and empowerment.

Dialogue with intended beneficiaries and not experts in isolation should define development problems (Mikkelson: 1995; Osman: 1997). Effective and full participation at all levels and at all times is the hallmark to authentic participation. Participation should therefore entail equity, social justice and democracy and empowerment.

Ugubomeh (2001:291) opine that empowerment is "when the person grow in the subjective sense of feeling able to do things hitherto out of reach, when a person develops the ability to do things which were not previously within the person's competence and when doors of opportunities which were hitherto closed , swing open to allow access to information, influence and opportunity.

Chambers succinctly asserts that in participatory development the institutional challenge for development institutions is becoming learning organisations- to flatten

softening hierarchy; developing a culture of participatory management; recruiting gender and disciplinary mix of staff committed to people; adopting and promoting of procedures and norms and rewards permitting and encouraging open and ended participation at all levels

He further argues that 'participation, ownership and empowerment' by and for the poor requires institutional change by us. Participation by them will not be sustainable and strong unless we too are participatory. While ownership by them implies non-ownership by us empowerment for the vulnerable poor people must mean disempowerment for the 'professionals'.

Swanepol (1997); Chambers (1997); De Beer & Swanepol (1998); Korten (1997); Kotze & Kellermine concur that participation is vital for the following reasons:

- The capacity of people to actively influence, direct and shape their own development is enhanced through participation.
- Participation implies the incorporation of different knowledge, insights as well as perspectives and expertise to tackle identified problems in a given situation.
- Applicable and relevant, political, cultural and institutional realities of a given scenario can be obtained through real participation
- The emphasis on the intended beneficiaries ensures results oriented development planning and programming for the desired change by beneficiaries to be realised.
- Through the process of participation intended beneficiaries are empowered resulting in power reversal control and initiative by and from the beneficiaries.

- Active involvement in decision making results in innovation and creativity which may lead to effective design implementation and evaluation of development projects.

Therefore we argue that participatory development is crucial for the realisation of the millennium development goals. Moreover, it is through participation that the voice of the poor can be expressed heard and acted upon in program and project identification, design implementation and evaluation.

In the 1998 annual general meetings speech the World Bank president, Wolfenson asserted that

> Participation matters not only as a means of improving development effectiveness, as we know from our recent studies but as the key to long-term sustainability and leverage. We must never stop reminding ourselves that it is up to the government and its people to decide what their priorities should be. We must never stop reminding ourselves that we cannot and we should not impose development by fiat from above- or abroad (Aycrigg 1998).

World Bank defines participation as a "process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and decisions and resources which affect them".

The vitality of participation in poverty eradication has been emphasized by the World Bank also. The World Bank has widely mainstreamed participation in its Country Assisted Strategy (CAS). CAS is a World Bank program meant to promote sustainable development for a member country within the context of its specific

needs and conditions. Box 4 below illustrates how participation and consultation have contributed to the World Bank CAS program.

Box 4. How Participation and Consultation Contribute to a CAS

• *The Kenya* CAS changed from viewing participation as an instrumental process confined to the preparation of the CAS, to seeing participation as a long-term strategy to articulate the goals and achieve the objectives of public-sector reform.

• *The Guatemala* CAS deals with the inclusion of the country's indigenous people in the process of economic growth and development as its central issue. Bank staff have worked with stakeholders to design operational mechanisms for the implementation of key elements of the Peace Accords signed by the former combatants to ensure indigenous participation in the development process.

• *The Bolivia* CAS addresses the process of inclusion for the poor and indigenous people through its focus on themes of opportunity, institutional development, and equity.

• *The Tajikistan* CAS addresses issues of social accord and peace-building in a post conflict context through equitable growth and targeted poverty reduction in areas controlled both by the government and the former opposition.

• *The Mongolia* CAS addresses inclusion of women as a major theme.

• *The Papua New Guinea* CAS recognizes explicitly the distinctive social and cultural nature of PNG, particularly the existence of a fragmented social terrain, the "big man" complex, and the implications of these factors for the structure of the

modern nation state.

• *Th**e CAS for Yemen*** draws on extensive dialogue with prominent Yemeni social scientists to design a reform process that will be socially sustainable.

• ***The Vietnam*** *CAS* is being prepared based on sector strategy notes that have been discussed with NGOs who were invited to share their perspective on poverty.

• ***The Bangladesh*** *CAS* focuses on institutional aspects of economic growth and poverty reduction, with a specific focus on the role of civil society and private-sector institutions in the delivery of basic services and infrastructure development.

• ***The Nepal*** *CAS* focuses on institutional weaknesses that contribute to exclusion (gender, caste, and ethnicity) and is anchoring its approach in successful examples of decentralization of decision making and resource allocation.

Source, Aycrigg: 1998

Due to participation and consultation development programs and projects will not only be more inclusive while involving more and key stakeholders but the traditionally disadvantaged, the poor and the marginalised. Moreover sustainability and effectiveness can be achieved due to institutionalised ownership of such programs (Aycrigg: 1998).

Participatory development has also been internationally successfully embraced as demonstrated in a number of countries including Jamaica, El Salvador, Lesotho, Venezuela, India and Brazil as summarised in Box 5 below.

Box 5. Country Experiences in Participation

Jamaica: Demand-Side Management Project. When NGOs questioned the project design, participatory methods were used to facilitate problem-solving and determine actions acceptable to all parties. Mechanisms were put in place to ensure that the problems identified did not resurface, and stakeholders agreed to restructure their work program.

El Salvador: Education Projects. Through several participatory mechanisms, children and young adults have been collaborating in the design of education projects in El Salvador. As a result, a fund managed by children was created (Fondo Alegria) to finance activities chosen and managed by students, such as choirs, reading clubs, reforestation campaigns, science fairs, leadership workshops, and art festivals.

Lesotho: Highlands Water Project. As a result of working closely with civil society groups, project authorities and donors have improved resettlement packages, enhanced the scope of rural development for the project area to include host communities, and begun to restructure the use of project royalties to ensure that they are used more equitably for development across the Kingdom of Lesotho.

Venezuela: Slum Upgrading Project. During preparation a team of social scientists conducted extensive consultation with community groups, local NGOs, and residents

in Caracas slums about their values regarding their city, neighbourhood, and homes. Results were consolidated into project design. Implementation will be undertaken jointly by community groups, the private sector, and government.

India: Irrigation Rehabilitation Project. A series of state-level loans for irrigation rehabilitation have integrated participatory irrigation management (PIM) into the project. The state government has consolidated many of the diverse water-related agencies under a single Water Resources Department, while at the same time divesting much of the irrigation management functions to user organizations.

Brazil: AIDS and STD Projects. Unprecedented civil society-government-Bank relations have turned previously conflictual relationships into productive partnerships. In Curitiba, for example, this was achieved after civil society organizations were brought into the process through an invitation to serve on the Parana State AIDS Commission. With adequate information and frank dialogue, civil society organizations learned more about the complexities of governing, and assumed greater responsibility for AIDS policy in the state.

Kazakhstan: Irrigation and Drainage Improvement Project. A social assessment for the project documented that workers on former collectives and state farms knew very little about their rights and responsibilities in the farm privatization process. To ensure that beneficiaries had a role in making decisions regarding irrigation investments and organization, a five-step process was developed that engages all member of the farms in key decisions in the design and tendering process. This participatory process has given some farm workers the courage to leave the old farm structure and to start their own private farms.

Lithuania: Energy Efficiency Housing Project. After independence in Lithuania, individuals were given ownership of their apartments, but few buildings developed institutional mechanisms to manage common areas. Subsequently, energy costs skyrocketed. Based on a participatory pilot activity, the project will create and strengthen homeowners' associations and make funds available to them to improve energy efficiency.

Indonesia: Kecamatan Development Project. This project uses block grants, bottom-up planning procedures, open menus, and pervasive transparency to revitalize community development in Indonesia. The project relies heavily on civil society oversight, and includes innovations such as monitoring contracts for independent newspapers, website listings of all participating sub districts, and one-day provincial socialization courses for local journalists, researchers, and NGOs wishing to track the project.

Palestinian NGO Project. Recognizing the embryonic stage of the Palestinian Authority (PA) and the need to rely on NGOs to deliver essential social services, the project has established a trust fund to: (a) deliver social services to the poor and marginalized, using NGOs as the delivery mechanism;

(b) Improve the institutional capacity of NGO grantees; and (c) strengthen the working relationship between the PA and the Palestinian NGO sector. Consultations with local and international NGOs and donors were an essential part of project preparation. A service-delivery survey is being carried out to identify community needs and NGO capabilities and achieve more effective outreach.

Latin America: Indigenous Peoples Capacity Building Initiative (IPCBI).

Responding to what indigenous peoples' organizations reported as the top priority of many of their communities—capacity building—the Bank developed an "Indigenous Peoples Capacity Building Initiative" consisting of a series of individual proposals drafted jointly by Bank staff, national indigenous organizations, and cognizant government institutions for grants from the Bank's Institutional Development Fund. From these beginnings, the Bank was able to identify a number of potential investment projects, and, more importantly, the places where ownership, capability, willingness, and resources were in place to put together the World Bank's first indigenous development investments. Ongoing indigenous development loans that grew out of the Capacity Building Initiative now exist in Ecuador, Mexico, and Argentina.

Source, Aycrigg: 1998

This widespread adoption of participatory development is a confirmation of the vitality of participatory development in sustainable development in general and poverty eradication in particular hence the need to rethink the role of the State from this perspective. To some extent participation can engender good governance, transparency and accountability while also paving the way for not only equity and viability but sustainable development and effective poverty eradication.

Aycrigg (1998) refers to one World Bank official observed that "if the ground is not fertile for participation to be taken seriously in a country, the Bank's participatory projects will be part of the transformation. If the ground is not fertile, individual participatory projects will not be sufficient to tip the balance". Therefore if a country

which is the ground in this case lacks political will to embrace participation that could be a stumbling block to participatory development.

Moreover, participation implies a broader definition of poverty and informed development policies targeted at poverty eradication and more responsive to the needs of the poor. What gives real meaning to participation is the collective effort by those people concerned in an organised framework to pool their efforts and other resources they decide to pool together, to attain objectives they set themselves. In this regard participation is viewed as an active process in which the participants take initiatives and take actions that are stimulated by their own thinking and deliberation and on which they can exert control (Rahman, 1993:150).

Thus participation entails taking initiative and action stimulated by own thinking and deliberation on which one has control (Rahman: 1993). This is different from participation without representation identified by Mamoodan where so-called participants have no power in decision making but only rubber stamp or endorse decisions which are made elsewhere.

3.5.1 Pitfalls of participation

Marsden (1991) warns that there is a cloud of rhetoric that surrounds the concept of participation. There is a danger in viewing participatory development as the new magic pill that will cure all the present development ills. Participation could be reduced to just a 'window dressing ritual' where power holders mask elite

participation as community participation thus reducing participation to a mickey-mouse game for the poor.

While communities could be hailed for their knowledge of constraints, be they social, economic, environmental, cultural and local conditions, communities themselves could be dominated by patronage based relations or be ethnically fragmented. The high sounding rhetoric of grassroots participation can be subject to deep-seated exasperation and hostilities of the community elites towards the community poor. When the people's bargaining power is weak participation could also be a nightmare.

Chambers (1983) observes that the elite if left unchecked could actually become not only the champions of development but the only real beneficiaries of development meant for the ordinary members of the community for whom interventions are initially intended. In fact, Chambers further succinctly writes that the elite may articulate the 'village interest and wishes' with their concerns emerging as the 'village's priorities' for the development of the community. Moreover the new focus on ordinary people and local community could be turning a blind eye to structural inequalities, class contradictions and local conflicts (Kothari: 2001, Cleaver: 2001).

Moreover, Nelson and Wright (2001) also opine that community as a concept is more often than not abused by the state as well as other organisations and not the locals themselves since it has connotations of consensus on needs and priorities often determined by parameters set by outsiders. Scenarios where village elites do not invite the very poor such that the decisions which are made are tilted in favour of the village elites must be avoided.

The local as the site of empowerment and knowledge has been challenged 'when the reversal becomes complete' with the individual agent becoming the key political site. Thus in the politicisation of the local most aid receiving government have just paid lip service to participation in the name of good government for the sake of further loans (Ghana has been sited as an example in this case).

Government agents and NGOs may also 'hijack' the needs and priorities by deciding on their behalf in the name of desired change. Thus participation is not without controversies and dilemmas. The challenge is to make participation genuine and real. Participatory development in this case will be reduced to incorporating communities into top-down pre-determined programs and projects. Participation efforts have been viewed with suspicion as they are often undertaken in a top-down manner (De Beer & Swanepol: 1998).

In addition, communities are neither monolithic nor homogeneous entities due to the existence of various socio-economic and political groups as well as interest groups implying that priorities, needs and power bases of such groups are not identical. Thus their involvement and interest in and benefit from projects may vary hence the need for a distinction between direct beneficiaries and indirect and the losers from the implementation of the project (Kotze and Kellerman: 1997).

Moreover, even the southern NGOs that have been hailed as responsive, pro-poor and therefore good enough to be the vehicles of participatory development have been criticised for being too bureaucratic, politicised and staffed by indigenous elites.

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hence the need for NGOs to strengthen and capacitate the state in the quest for participatory development. Political will has always been vital for any development initiative to succeed after all. Zimbabwe is a case in point where the government banned the activities of NGOs for sometime.

Brokensha & Hodge in De Beer & Swanepol (1998) warn that there are false assumptions and fallacies in participation:

- Communities have a unity, and shared interests; cooperation is natural for communities, even if it is not present now;

- Where there is a strong sense of community, community development will be easier and will have more immediate results than in areas which are disorganised or divided;

- Tradition generally inhibits progress and development; community development can free people from the traditional restraints and limitations of small community life;

- Communities are an ineffable way, good, and enshrine sacred values;

- The felt needs of community exist, and can be discovered by examination and manipulation. What the people really think is a meaningful phrase;

- Each community has a clearly defined leadership or power structure to use that unsatisfactory but popular term. If no community leader appears immediately, then a stranger must show the way and

- Everyone desires a higher level of living and welcomes change.

De Beer & Swanepol (1998) then observe that such fallacies about communities show the confusion if not contradiction in thoughts on communities as well as their

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strengths and aspirations can be. Moreover communities may neither be monolithic nor homogenous entities but heterogeneous with sometimes competing and conflicting interests which require to be managed carefully.

Participation could also just be confined to the ribbon cutting ceremony or a mere public relations vehicle or both. Cooption and placation of the poor into rubberstamping advisory committees cannot be ruled out. It must also be noted that neither have-nots nor power holders are homogenous entities, there could be a representation not only of different groups but divergent and sometimes conflicting views and interests. The concept of participation can also lead to the creation of new political actors and political subjectivities (Baochi: 2001; Heller: 2001, Avritzer: 2002).

According to Mohan (2001) participation is not without challenges and demerits since:

- It is time consuming and can be cumbersome implying that it may be difficult to implement it if it is to make a significant difference
- Although it may be empowering to the intended beneficiaries the perceived losers of power and privileges may be hostile to the whole process thereby frustrating the purpose for which it is intended.
- It may not be easily comprehended and accepted by those for whom it is intended and may therefore lack credibility to them.
- Power and role reversals in favour of the previously marginalised may be a bitter pill to swallow.

- The whole process may be frustrated and hijacked by local elites such that the real beneficiaries and the marginalised will not realise their potential and therefore remain the same.

- Operationalizing participation and making participation real may be a challenge to both the beneficiaries and the facilitator.

The challenge of the institutionalisation of participation and the reality of the exclusion of the poor and marginalised citizens as well as challenges of inclusion and representation could be stumbling blocks if they are not properly addressed. There is a danger of participation arenas becoming just 'therapeutic and rubberstamping' structures (Mohan: 2001).

The bias of communities as 'consensual and harmonious' and the 'assumed homogeneity' in communities could be to the detriment of participatory development. While tokenism and manipulation could be rampant in communities, devolved power and citizen control could be useful. Participation could also be 'phoney' as observed by the Commission on poverty participation and power in the United Kingdom where power relations may not shift and rhetoric may not be a reflection of the reality on the ground (Gaventer and Cornwell: 2001). Power manifestations and configuration at the local level and the elite capture of the locals may militate against participatory development.

However critiques of participation argue that emphasis and focus on the local euphemizes not only power relations and the local inequalities but even the broader national and translational economic and political forces. Thus the politics of the local

of the local matters since the politics in the use of the local by hegemonic and counter-hegemonic interests cannot be underestimated.

Oakley & Marsden (1984:23) concur that participation can be 'confined to the task at hand' and there may be little evidence showing that the rural poor could have indeed 'tackled their own problems' thus leading to the maintenance of the system and the status quo to the detriment of the poverty stricken.

Kotze & Kellerman (1997) avow that technocratic approaches to development do not only devalue indigenous knowledge and experience but also sidetrack the emotions and feelings of people in development thereby further alienating them from development meant for them. Moreover, participation can be reduced to co-opted involvement of the people where they have no space for their empowerment and own initiatives.

Major obstacles to genuine and authentic participation include political will. Politicians, government officials, experts and elites must embrace participation and institutionalise participation in interventions targeting the poor. Centralised decision making and implementation does not favour participation. Lack of skilled staff for effectively institutionalising participation could be a hindrance also.

'Paradoxical consensus over the role of local participation in a globalising world is fraught with dangers' since it can be utilised for various reasons and purposes by different ideological stakeholders. What is fundamental therefore is not only a

thorough examination of the political use of the local but even the very conceptualisation of a political imaginary as an antithesis (Mohan: 2000).

It has been argued that the very use of local as discreet places defies the logic of contemporary geography which argues that places are not only constituted by socio-economic, cultural and political relations but even flows of information, commodities and people go beyond localities. Therefore the conceptualisation of local as a discreet place defies 'a global sense of place'. Participatory development therefore should overcome the binary opposites of local as well as global for pragmatic reasons and for it to be real and meaningful not only in poverty eradication but for sustainable development.

3.5.2 Making participation real.

Real participation goes beyond 'passive development objects' and 'recipients of development' to ensuring that people become 'masters of their own development' (De Beer: 1997).Huntington writes that local people should be regarded as the world's leading authorities on circumstances in their locality thereby exercising their own choice while having the capability to influence shape and manage their own future' (Gow & Vansant: 1985).

Burkey (1993:59) postulates that

> It is becoming more and more apparent that the first step in achieving genuine participation is a process in which the rural poor themselves become more and more aware of their own situation, of the socio-economic reality around

them, of their real problems, the causes of these problems, and what measures they themselves can take to begin changing their situation. This process of awakening, rising of levels of consciousness, or conscientization, constitutes a process of self-transformation through which people grow and mature as human beings. In this sense participation is a basic human need.

This implies that participation can have a lasting impact on policy and practice. There is need for participatory spheres to be genuinely inclusive and have teeth. Coelho suggests a conjunction of three factors for participation to be made real. They are as follows: involving a wide spectrum of civil associations and popular movement; committed bureaucrats and inclusive institutional designs which address exclusionary practices and embedded bias.

Moreover with post structuralists also questioning the whole notion of truth and even authority while the universalist and western observations on truth revealing their inherently power laden and silencing effects the corollary then becomes genuine participation revealing and revaluing alternative knowledge (Mohan & Stokke: 2000). When beneficiaries actively and not passively influence the design, formulation, implementation and evaluation of programs and projects then authentic participation can be realised. Participation entails local capacities and local decision making.

It is imperative that trade-offs between exclusiveness and effectiveness guard against old ways and forms of domination and exclusion (Cornwall: 2002). Moreover, Kellerman (1997) identifies empowerment, communication and gender as key issues

which are imperative if participation is to be made real from mere rhetoric into reality; and transforming phoney participation to effective participation:

Empowerment

Participation should not be a spontaneous exercise, rather appropriate local and institutional processes and structures are key issues to be addressed. Moreover, there is need to sustain participation and for this to happen there must be accountability and responsiveness on the part of local organisations to their members who must be the poor themselves. There is also need for skills transfer even hard skills enabling the local to participate meaningfully in the development process as well as perform some specialised tasks.

Communication

A two-way communication process is crucial in enabling the community to communicate views, interests, wishes and priorities in the development process. Thus communication is vital in the process of planning, designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluation thereby ensuring informed planning and decision making for effective implementation of development projects in the community.

Gender

Since it is widely recognised that the majority of the poor are women it is critical that not just poor voices be heard but women voices need to be heard in the planning

design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development projects. There may actually be need for gender mainstreaming but of course without compromising the quality and quantity of the development outcomes to the satisfaction of communities.

Making participation real has several merits (Kellerman: 1997)

- It can make way for effective implementation of programs and projects meant for the poor through the involvement of the poor themselves in decision making, designing, implementation and evaluation of projects for feedback thereby overcoming rigidity dilemmas of projects coordinated from the centre

- The local have informational advantage which can not only improve the effectiveness of projects but even the efficiency in development programs and projects implementation.

- Better penetration in policy application can be achieved through participation especially in remote areas 'unknown' to government officials.

- Participation can also achieve not only more representation in development decision making of various tribal ethnic and minority groups but also equality and equity in resource allocation.

- The empowerment of the locals through participation can also enhance development of both managerial and technical skills for the benefit of the community.

- Participation does not only provide a channel for local needs and problems of the poverty stricken to be identified and addressed but can also promote political stability in volatile areas which is a condition or pre-requisite for development to take place.

- Sustainable development can be achieved when the rural poor actively influence the definition and solution of problem which they face in their communities.

Korten (1997) in De Beer (1997) identifies generic principles for the promotion of participatory community based development which include: particular situations of communities based on careful study of existing practices; technical capacities, resource availability and power structures; emphasis on community control and management of resources; full knowledge of needs and preferences of the community; capacity building and empowerment of the community and safe-guarding real needs and priorities of the rural poor by minimising 'elite capture' thereby ensuring broad-based participation.

Chambers observes that in making participation real 'we' should participate in 'their' project and not 'they' in ours. Hence his definition that sees participation as an empowering process enabling local people to make their own decisions. Paul (1988:2) also defines participation as an active process by which beneficiary groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their wellbeing in terms of income, personal self reliance and other values they cherish. Cohen & Uphoff (1980:214) contend that participation is not a single phenomenon rather it "denotes involvement of a significant number of persons in situations or actions which influence their well being, e.g. their income security or self esteem".

Thomas (1992) also argues that unless locals effectively influence the planning, design, implementation and evaluation of development projects there is probably going to be difficulty in coming up with successful development outcomes. Thus participation through empowerment should 'amplify' voices which are traditionally silent these include the poor and women.

Empowerment implies people are able to organise and influence change (Slocum & Thomas-Slayter, 1995:4). The incorporation of local people knowledge in development planning is key in participatory development (Chambers: 1997). Participation must be made to generate a sense of commitment from the beneficiaries for it to be successful (Cook: 2001).

Village elites can hijack participation by the poor. Jackson and Kassam (1998) concur that participation can only be made real if the powerful elites are willing to transfer power to the poor and the marginalised so that their wishes aspirations and interests are taken care of. Kothari (2001) maintains that power inequalities in society and interest and needs of the poor and marginalised must be revealed by the normalisation of the articulation of power. Moreover, studies by Mahmud, Mohanty & Williams have revealed that societal spaces which go beyond participation arenas are pivotal in capacitating the marginalised groups to participate (Kohn: 2000).

Participation must result in real shifts and practice. Institutionalists argue that the key in making participation real lies in conducive institutional designs which entail decision making processes and rules enabling intended beneficiaries to participate (Fung: 2003; Immergut: 1992). On the other hand social movement theorists argue

for social mobilization for fairer distribution of available resources (Alvarez, Dagnino & Escober: 1998; Tarrow: 1994).

The conjunction of the involvement by wide spectrum of population movements and civil associations, committed bureaucrats and inclusive institutional design is crucial for achieving meaningful participation (Coelho: 2000).Participation could also be a rendition of the culture of the organisation defining it resulting in a plethora of pedagogies, methodologies, matrices, context specific and adhoc approaches to development like participatory rural appraisal, rapid rural appraisal and open space approaches .

Therefore participation should promote efficiency, effectiveness and empowerment while effectively improving the standard of living of the vulnerable or beneficiaries. Complex conflict of interests between those involved in both 'top down' and 'bottom up' must be well taken care of and can only be ignored to one's own peril (Cook: 2001).

Participatory development is therefore vital for re-ordering political space and revitalising the local as far as accountability, transparency and responsiveness issues are concerned. The danger with participatory development is that it can be a fluid and a flexible discourse thus rendering it vulnerable to manipulation by hegemonic representation and the local elites hence the need to make it real.

Forms of participation run across a spectrum, from tokenism and manipulation to devolved power and citizen control. As the uses of invited participation to rubber

stamp and provide legitimacy for preconceived interventions grows, citizens are becoming increasingly sceptical. A recent report by the Commission on Poverty, Participation and Power in the UK for instance warns of 'phoney' participation, in which power relations do not shift, and in which rhetoric is not reflected in reality. In this context, making participation real raises a set of complex challenges. A key challenge is building confidence in the willingness of agencies to hear rather than simply to listen, nod and do what they were going to do in the first place.

Kotze (1997) observes that participatory development is characterised by

- Establishing an adaptive and responsive administration within which both officials and participating groups may learn and adapt;

- Taking human and individual values into consideration in the decision making process;

- Integrated not functional and fragmented development practice

- Optimal use of human resource;

- Recognising that social groups could bring support and stability to development action;

- Acceptance of the responsibility for the social support of those members of society who may need it;

- Spread of ownership of productive assets and

- Conservation of environmental and natural resources (Kotze and Kellerman: 1997)

Participatory development implies a shift in the development process from 'objects and production' to people and 'enhancement of their capacity in the development process' while the bureaucracy shifts from management and service delivery to

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capacity building and support (Kotze and Kellerman, 1997: 36). Participatory development hinges on the notion that unless local people are effectively involved and influence the planning, design, implementation and evaluation of the development projects there will not be any meaningful impact or outcomes from the development process.

Kotze and Kellerman (1997) observe that the concept and content of participation is debatable however it may imply that:

- Participation implies involvement.

- Communication must be established.

- A new attitude on the part of government officials is required.

- Participation must lead to reciprocal influence between development agencies and the people.

- People's empowerment.

- Facilitating the release and development of local capacities and resources

- Partnership between development agencies and people.

- Supporting local communities to take rational decisions in the context of their own environment and field of experience.

- Projects should be initiated by community itself and therefore demand driven.

- Benefiting communities must be able to sustain and maintain development projects.

Participation must be established in various phases as follows, planning and decision making; phase of implementation; evaluation phase and finally a phase in which benefits are derived.

Participation enables the community to identify needs, priorities, decide development goals, policies, strategies as well as assuming responsibility and accountability thereby enhancing project efficiency, cost sharing and project effectiveness while beneficiaries control and manage the development process (Kotze and Kellerman: 1997).

The concept of participation also implies that the beneficiaries become makers and shapers and owners and not just being reduced to users and choosers. While their opinion must matter their experience as locals must also count. Thus people participation in development is seen as a sine qua non for sustainable and successful development.

The social capital theory whereby features of social organization such as networks, norms and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit is also an armoury of concepts around which participatory development can be achieved. Since social capital engenders reciprocity, accentuates information communication for mutual benefit and trust which may be carried in successive generations it can prove to be vehicle for democratic, transparent, accountable and sustainable governance.

Moreover it can be the 'socio-cultural glue' that can be a solution to conflict of interests which can otherwise be detrimental to participatory development. The World Bank also asserts that social capital underpins a plethora of development initiatives although there could be difficulty in evaluating social capital impact on

development interventions while it may also reduce ''causality' to 'mere rigid determinism'

The democratic developmentalism system is opined to be suitable for the institutionalisation of pro-poor policies hence the good governance –participatory development nexus resulting in participatory governance (Leftwhich: 2000). Poverty could be a manifestation of the exclusion of the poor's lack of voice in the development programs meant for poverty eradication hence the need for inclusion advocated in the discourse of participatory development.

The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) (1995) observes that good governance is the foundation of participatory development in as much as it provides the government functions needed to promote participation and create the environment in which participatory processes take place. Thus 'participatory governance' (Schneider: 1999) is instrumental for participatory development with the tenets of the rule of law, accountability, transparency, legitimacy, and openness good governance becoming the cornerstone in institutionalising participation.

Good governance therefore becomes instrumental in empowering the poor and the voiceless to actively participate in development. It is through participatory governance that the people are informed resulting in active participation and in effective decision making and efficiency in resource allocation (Schneider: 1999). The figure 13 below reflects the relationship between participatory development and good governance.

Figure 13. Participation and Good Governance
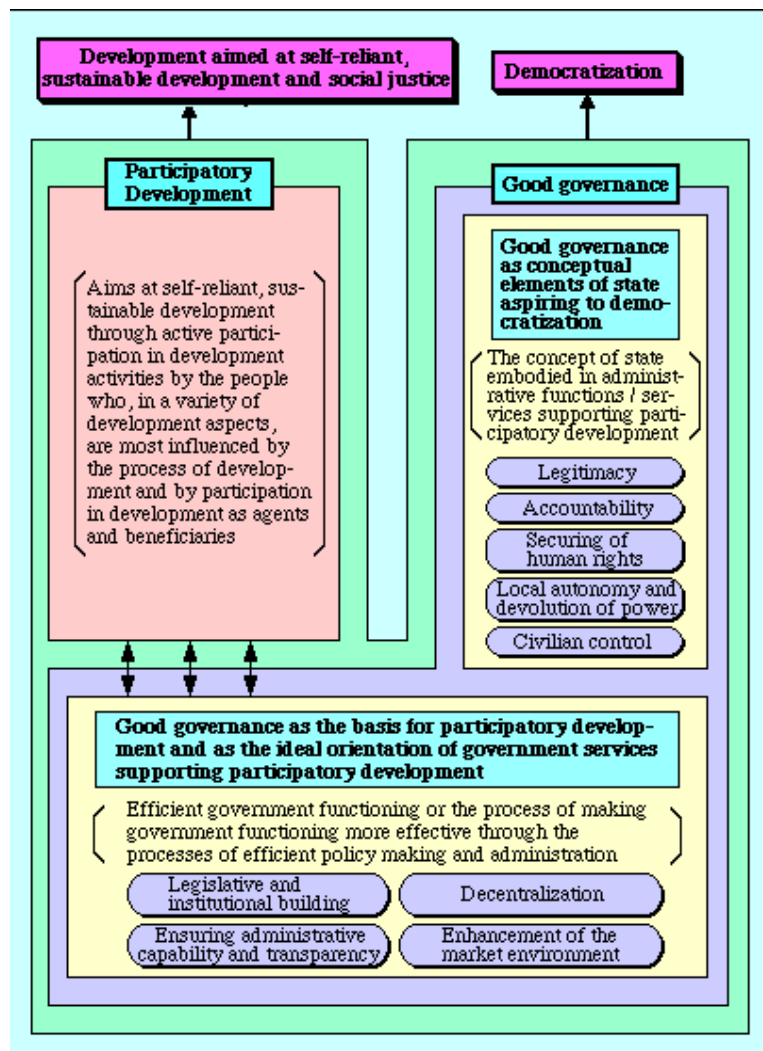
Source, JICA: 1995

Participation is crucial for needs assessment, project design, implementation and evaluation of the program and projects meant for the poor. It is instrumental not only in adaptation of development priorities, design and implementation strategies to specific contexts but also in the communication of local priorities needs and constraints to the development planners. In addition to that, participation is also vital for ensuring consonance of public programs and policies with local realities

The impact and sustainability of new programs is enhanced by community level involvement. Thus community involvement enhances project efficiency and effectiveness.

In making participation real Korten (1984:301) asserts that

> Decision making must truly be returned to the people, who have both the capacity and the right to inject into the process the richness including the subjectivity of their values and needs. Decision processes should be fully informed by whatever analysis available experts can provide, but only as one of several data inputs available to the many participants

Korten (1984) opines that genuine participation therefore implies:

- Facilitating release and development of local capacities and resources;
- Partnership between development agencies and local people;
- learning from mistakes ;
- people's empowerment promoting local communities to take rational decisions in the context of their own environment and filed of experience;
- reciprocal influence between development agencies and the locals and
- active and not passive participation in goodwill and influencing behaviour and output of development agencies.

Participatory development is associated with concepts such as participatory rural appraisal (PRA) and participatory learning action (PLA) (Chambers: 1994 Mohan: 1999).While PRA emphasizes people as focal point with outsiders acting as

facilitators, advisors and trainers PLA goes beyond appraisal by emphasizing development action and mutual learning. Box 6 below shows some elements of PLA.

Box 6. Elements of Participatory Learning Action.

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Some elements of PLA

- Rapid, progressive open learning is required which is also flexible, exploratory, interactive and inventive.

- The professional should reverse learning, that is to say learning from, by and with rural people, using their categories and criteria being open and sensitive to their judgement.

- Appropriate imprecision should be the norm thus not finding out more than is needed, bypassing unnecessary and accurate procedures and not trying to measure what does not need to be measured. Good judgement is needed as well as the ranking of information needs.

- The professional should be critically aware of his or her behaviour.

- Decision making power rests with the people.

- Different methods, sources and disciplines are needed as well as a range of information at the right time and place, which should be cross-checked to get closer to the truth.

</td></tr>
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Source, Chambers: 1994

The post Marxist conceptualisation of power in relational and conflictual terms, socio-economic and political structural transformation becomes a vehicle for effective empowerment. Then, if participation and empowerment have to be conceptualised on a model of power then transformation in power relations becomes a necessary condition for making participation and empowerment real. The 'new right'' and 'new left' conceptualisation of development therefore both recognise locals, local knowledge, participation and empowerment as vehicles of sustainable localised and relevant development suiting local realities.

Local social relations of power and inequalities are not to be overlooked hence the need for participatory development to pay more attention not only to the politics of the local and its hegemonic production and representation but also the use of the local in counter-hegemonic collective mobilisation which may not be confined to the local but national and transnational economic and political forces (Mohan: 2000).

3.6 Towards a Participatory Democratic Developmental State for Poverty Eradication.

A 'litany if not a plethora of adjectives' have been coined vilifying the state in Africa for 'its weakness', 'its extension', 'its repressive character', 'its ubiquity', 'its absence' etcetera (Mkandawire: 1998).The 90s to some extent saw the ascendancy of a new orthodoxy asserting democracy and development as mutually reinforcing (Robinson & White: 1998). A fusion of a democratic developmental state and participatory development is vital for the promotion of broad based and equitable development within the context of legitimized and inclusive democracy.

Therefore a new form of a democratic developmental state defined within the framework of participatory development becomes a product of such a fusion. A fusion of the two is an acknowledgement of the limitations and weaknesses of the two hence the need for the two to complement each other for poverty eradication. While developmentalism is crucial for political will which prompts resource allocation the argument for pro-poor growth for participatory development is well documented in extensive literature (Chambers: 1983, 1994, 1996; Mohan: 2000; Korten: 1984; Nelson and Right: 2001; Marsden: 1991; Word Bank: 2001; JICA: 1995: Scneider: 1999; Kotze: 1997 & Cook: 2001).

While the 'dirigiste state' or 'interventionist state' in early development economics was hailed as a vehicle for macro-economic stability, social development theory has seen a paradigm shift with neo-liberalists championing the invisible hand of the market for effective and efficient socio-economic development in a globalised market system. Neoliberals perceive civil society as key in engendering participation in development and promoting empowerment for the poor and the marginalised target people. The World Bank's participatory poverty assessments acknowledge the vitality of participation as a vehicle for poverty eradication.

It is against the aforementioned background that the rethinking of the state, institutional reform ,understanding macro and micro political processes become apparent for effective poverty eradication in particular and development in general to be realized. The participatory democratic developmental state therefore goes beyond the old developmental state emphasizing top down managerialism and technocracy,

performance, technical and bureaucratic efficiency and effectiveness and institutional transformation and rationalisation to the new developmental state which is not only participatory but also creates voices for the marginalised disadvantaged poor. Ake sums up the development dilemma in Africa when he observes that

> Because the development agenda largely ignored the specificity and historicity of African countries, it put them in a position in which everything was relevant to them and nothing was uniquely significant for understanding them. Hence, the mounting anarchy of development studies and development practice in Africa. Bits and pieces borrowed from theories and paradigms constructed for other purposes and other kinds of experience meaningless for being incomplete and out of context, were applied in ways and for purposes that are not always clear and to realities that defy comparability (Ake: 1996).

Therefore such a state, argued for above, inculcates participatory decision making, inclusivity, responsiveness, diversity, accountability, transparency while promoting inclusiveness of the poor and marginalised by streamlining participatory processes in poverty eradication. This is vital in the South African context where participation is a legislative requirement in integrated development planning for effective and sustainable poverty eradication.

The state's macro approach to development is both politically and financially unsustainable (Clark: 1991; Hayes: 1996) hence the need for participatory development with NGOs attributes of small scale operation, cost effectiveness, flexibility, innovation, advocacy, popular participation, responsiveness to the needs

of the poor and voluntarism come in handy (Clark: 1991; Hayes: 1996; Tendler: 1982).This development discourse largely informs the poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPS).

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2000:143) asserts that

> The PRSP is intended to be a country owned document prepared through a participatory process which elicits the involvement of civil society, other national stakeholders and elected institutions. 'Ownership' in this context refers to the Government taking the lead in the preparation of PRSP, including animation of the participatory process and the drafting of the action plan

On the other hand Mohan & Stokke (2000) succinctly observe that

> Recent discussion in development have moved away from holistic theorisation towards more localised, empirical and inductive approaches" hence the paradigm shift in development efforts towards participation and empowerment, decentralised service delivery, participatory development, social capital formation, local development and developmental local government in the (context of South Africa).

They further assert that

It is precisely the groundswell of anti-development thinking, oppositional discourses that have as their starting point the rejection of development, of rationality and the western modernist project at the moment of a purported Washington consensus and free market triumphalism that represent striking paradoxes of the 1990s. Ironically, however, both of these discourses- World Bank line or its radical alternative- look to civil society, participation and ordinary people for the development vision for the next millennium

Such discourses have seen the emergence of revisionist neo-liberalism and post Marxism. The more radical post Marxists perceive empowerment for the marginalised as not only a vehicle for their development but also for collective mobilisation of the marginalised groups. The state and the market are perceived to be responsible for activities which disempower the marginalised and disadvantaged. This has led to a critique in theory of the reductionist treatment of politics in more structuralist Marxist accounts with Laclau & Mouffe questioning the static explanation and over simplification of the state.

This form of a developmental state is characterised by twin principles of 'developmentalism' by the democratic developmental state and participatory development. While developmental states can be hailed for their vision and commitment to development their authoritarian stigma must give way for the democratic one within the context of participatory development for pro-poor development and not pro-poor growth per se.

The need for political will for development (characteristic of developmental states) to be achieved by developing countries can never be overemphasized. Many development policies and the emanating programs and projects are sacrificed on the altar of political expediency. The vision for and commitment to development are therefore indispensable given such a background. In fact Ake (1996) argues that development has not been on the agenda of many African countries. Participatory development also requires political will for it to be embraced.

Moreover, Developmental states do not necessarily owe their existence to selflessness and patriotism of political leaders it is due to political leadership and the recognition that under conditions of systemic vulnerability only coherent bureaucracies and broad public-private sector linkages could be the resources necessary to sustain coalitions, secure state survival and therefore maximise their won time in office.

Evans (1995:77) succinctly argues that structures that create the potential for action playing out roles translate the potential into real effects. The developmentalism theory has been dismissed in the case of Japan while attributing the Japanese miracle to years of colonisation of Korea since Japan enjoyed phenomenal and sustained economic growth, cohesive bureaucratic institutions and centralised coercive institutions during the time it was colonising Korea. On the other hand the 'late development' experienced by Korea has also been attributed to the development path or 'gliding along the Japanese groove' thus simply copying and pasting Japanese development (Yu: 2007).

The Asian developmental state model has been under threat and appears dismantling not only due to the East Asian financial crisis but also due to external forces like globalisation including neoliberal models, new democracy, and social movement coupled with civil society pressures.

The evolution of the international regulatory architecture coupled with the prevalence of neo-liberalism has created a less hospitable environment for developmental states. However the state's role remains relevant especially in the determination of the position of not only the national economic space but even the labour forces in the globalised economy. On the other hand the countries lacking the capacity and leadership consistent with especially democratic developmental state will find it difficult to break out of subordinate positions in the global economy.

7. Conclusion

This Chapter has argued for a rethinking of the developmental state in light of many developing countries' failure to eradicate poverty. We argue that this rethinking must be informed by the theory of participatory development for the reconfiguration of the state to be meaningful in the fight against poverty. Literature reviewed has demonstrated that internationally, participatory development has been embraced by the World Bank, DFID and other development agencies with success being reported in a number of programs. While it has been acknowledged that a developmental state has the necessary political will vital for poverty eradication its authoritarian stigma must give way to democratisation and create participatory spaces for the poor. This results in a reconstruction of such a state to become a participatory and democratic developmental state. This framework of analysis provides a fundamental

thinking tool in the examination of the South African State as a developmental state. However we argue that South Africa could be having some ingredients of such a state but it has not really come into fruition. The next chapters will further test such a hypothesis in field research by examining the integration of the PGDP and ADM IDP and the impact of such on poverty eradication.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. An Overview of Methodological issues

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the techniques and procedures adopted in the gathering of data for interpreting and explaining the research (Cohen: 1989).The research design, population, sample, data collection instruments for this study and their justification for use in this study are outlined in this chapter.

This was an empirically grounded study based on the use of a combination of data collection methods, analysis of primary and secondary sources of data including government documents, administering in-depth interviews to a range of informants within government, the community and administering a questionnaire survey on a sample drawn from members of community in Amatole district and finally the use of Amatole district as a case study which was the major unit of analysis.

This study examined the articulation between the Provincial Growth and Development Program and the Integrated Development Plan of Amatole District Municipality (ADM) of the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. This was a case study based research with the Amathole District Municipality being the major focus of this study. The in depth interviews were held with provincial and local governmental officials directly involved in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of the Eastern cape PGDP and ADM IDP. The poor in both rural and urban settings were also interviewed.

The Amathole District Municipality's 1, 7 million people account for 25, 9% of the Eastern Cape population. 53 % of the populations are women while 47 % are men while a third of the population is below the age of 15, 60 % ranges between 15 and 64 and 5, 6% only 65 and above (Global insight: 2005). The box 7 below presents an overview of the Amathole District's Socio-economic profile.

Box 7. Amathole Socio-economic profile

Socio Economic Analysis Overview

The Amatole District Municipality is one of seven district municipalities in the Eastern Cape. The district contains 26% of the Province's population and covers an area of 23 700 km sq. The total population of the district in mid 2002 was approximately 1.9 million, with an overall population density of 80 persons per km².

Poverty in the Eastern Cape is widespread. Recent statistics show that 67% of the Province lives below the poverty datum line. In the Amatole district alone it is estimated that more than half the population live below the poverty line (R9 600 per annum per household in 1999). The levels of poverty in the area are also mirrored in low levels of service provision, which reflect that 65% of the Amatole population has no access to water on-site, that 30% of the population have no flush sanitation or pit latrines, and that 70% of the population are without on-site electricity.

The growth of real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the Eastern Cape has kept pace with the national average of 0, 6% per annum. However, the economically active population in the Province has risen much faster in the Eastern Cape (by about 10% a year) than in South Africa (about 6% per annum as a whole). This suggests that in the Eastern Cape, people are, now more than ever, desperately looking for work. In the period 1995 to 2001, it is estimated that less than a third of the new job entrants into the job market were finding formal sector jobs in the Eastern Cape. This was more than 10% below the national average. In this context it is hardly surprising that unemployment and poverty continue to rise in the Eastern Cape and in the Amatole district.

In terms of the economic profile of the Amatole district in particular, it should be noted that this area combines elements of a sophisticated and globalised automotive industrial economy with an under-developed agricultural sector, where household production levels are reportedly declining and where the majority of the population now depend on state pensions and welfare grants as primary sources of subsistence. The district is consequently characterized by huge discrepancies in

wealth and skills.

In considering land reform and settlement in the Amatole district, it is also necessary to reflect on the Provincial profile of the HIV/Aids pandemic. According to the Dorrington report 2002; nationally, the epidemic can be said to be entering the mature phase; that in 2002, an estimated 6,5 million people were infected with HIV and that life expectancy at birth is now 52,5 years compared with over 61 years in 1990. The prevalence of HIV/Aids amongst the economically active population of the Eastern Cape is estimated by the Dorrington report to be just over 11% compared with 14% for South Africa as a whole.

Source: Amathole Revised IDP: 2003

4.1 The Research Paradigms

The research methods used entailed triangulation of both qualitative and quantitative methods. While qualitative research focuses on analysis of information to generate qualitative explanation of social phenomena and participant accounts of meaning and experience. Quantitative research zeroes in on social or human problems based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers and analysed with statistical procedures to test the predictive generalizations of a theory (Creswell: 1994).

Babbie (2001) observes that a qualitative research can be distinguished from quantitative research in the following ways: the research is conducted in a natural setting of social actors; a focus on process rather than outcome; the actor (insider or epic view) is emphasized; in-depth description and understanding of actions and events is the primary aim; concerns social action in terms of its specific context (idiographic) and not generalizing to some theoretical population; research process is inductive in approach thereby resulting in generation of theories and new

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hypothesis and the main instrument in the research process is the qualitative researcher.

Triangulation of both quantitative and qualitative methods or mixed method is very useful and can make vital contributions to effective policy and knowledge creation hence the need for triangulation in this study (Hulme: 2007, Carvalho & White: 1997, White: 2002, Kanbur: 2003; Hulme & Toye: 2006; Kanbur & Shaffer: 2006).

However, Marshall and Rossman (1999:46) identify guidelines on situations whereby the qualitative approach is preferred: research seeking to explore where and why policy, folk wisdom and practice do not work and delving in depth into some complexities and processes; research that cannot be done experimentally for practical or ethical reasons and research on unknown societies or innovative systems; research for which relevant variables have yet to be identified and on informal and structured linkages and processes in organizations and research attempting to gaining first-hand holistic understanding of phenomena through a strategy of problem identification and data collection.

Table 3 below is a presentation of the qualitative and quantitative continuum.

Table 3. The qualitative quantitative continuum

Dimension	Qualitative to Quantitative continuum
Type of information on population	Non-numerical--------only numerical
Type of population coverage	Location specific---statistically representative
Type of population involvement	Active-----------passive
Type of inference methodology	Inductive-----deductive
Type of data	Subjective-----objective
Type of data collection	Interviews-----sample survey, questionnaire
Type of analytical	Narrative-----formal statistics, modelling
Framework	Interpretive---elling positivist
Primary analytical focus	Processes-----outcomes
Major unit of analysis	Collective----individuals

Source, Kanbur: 2003 & Hulme: 2007

Therefore, qualitative research entails involving the researcher in generation and the use of qualitative data coupled with the use of structured research, inductive research while focusing on meanings. It is clear from the above mentioned scenarios that the qualitative approach used in this study was ideal for the study because the study sought to examine the articulation of the PGDP and Amathole IDP and evaluate their impact on poverty eradication in the Eastern Cape. This involved the generation of qualitative data from in-depth interviews with provincial and district officials while the quantitative approach was vital in analyzing data obtained from a survey carried out on the members of the community which are the beneficiaries of the programmes identified for poverty eradication.

4.2 Research Design

A research design can be defined as "the plan or blueprint according to which data are collected to investigate the research hypothesis or question in the most economical manner" (Huysmen, 1993:10). A research design is a 'plan or blue print' of how one intends to conduct the research (Babbie, 2001:74). The research design for this study is by case study approach that outlines the strategies that the researcher employs to develop accurate, objective and interpretable information.

A case study is whereby a single unit is intensively investigated (Babbie: 1998). A case study could be an object of study (Stake: 1995) or a methodology (Merriam:

1998), however, in this study a case study is defined as an exploration of a "bounded system'' (bounded by time and place) or a case over through some detailed in-depth collection of data from several sources of information (Creswell: 1998). Case studies can be descriptive or issue oriented (Stake: 1995). A case study has a long and distinguished history in qualitative research across several disciplines (Creswell: 1998; Merriam: 1998; Stake: 1995 & Yin: 1989). Both qualitative and quantitative approaches to case studies can be used (Yin: 1989) hence the use of the case study as a research design for this study.

A case study approach is important because it may not be practically impossible to embark on a country wide study. The choice of Amathole District Municipality in this study stems from the fact that poverty in this area is widespread because of its location in the former homelands to which black people were relegated and discriminated against namely Transkei and Ciskei which are found within this district. Amathole District municipality is representative also because there is a city of significant size exhibiting poverty as well as rural areas which also exhibit absolute poverty.

The Eastern Cape PGDP and the Amathole District Municipality IDP are the focus of this study. The articulation of these two policies as well as their impact on poverty eradication in the case of Amathole District was under examination. The Eastern Cape province of South Africa is chosen in this case not only because it mirrors the development trajectory of South Africa but also because it is one of the most rural and poverty stricken provinces in the country. The legacy of apartheid in the former homelands of Transkei and Ciskei which were symbols of colonial domination and

exploitation is also more pronounced in this area than in any other province of South Africa hence the choice of this area as a case study.

4.3 Population and Sampling

4.3.1 Population

Welman (2005) defines population as the study object consisting individuals, groups households, organizations (companies, schools government departments churches), human products (houses, articles) and events (elections court cases).While a population may imply total units of analysis out of which a study can be done to make certain conclusions it may also mean a full set of cases from which a sample could be drawn or a group of potential participants in a given study.

The population of this study includes provincial government employees directly involved in the formulation and implementation of the PGDP, Amathole Municipality IDP officials, and the poor in the community who are meant to be the beneficiaries of the government interventions identified in this study for the eradication of poverty in the province and the district.

4.3.2 The Sample

Once a population is identified a sample is drawn from the population. A sample can be defined as a small proportion of a total set of objects, persons or events comprising the subject of the study (De Vos: 2002). Arkava & Lane (1993) also observe that a sample entails population elements considered for actual inclusion in the study. The justification for sampling is predicated on issues of cost effectiveness

(time, finance and other resources), feasibility, easy analysis and interpretation of data. Thus without sampling the whole study could not only be complex but tedious and time consuming and practically almost impossible as well. Probability sampling on randomization basis in which a given sampling unit has an equal chance of being included in the sample was used for the purpose of this study.

Stratified sampling was also used for the purpose of this study. The primary reason for stratified sampling was for ensuring adequate representation of the various and different groups within the people (Nachmias & Nachmias: 1981). Stratified sampling also entails dividing the population into mutually exclusive strata whose members are to a greater extent homogeneous in specific characteristics.

The strata involved in the study included provincial government employees involved in the Provincial Growth and Development Plan, Amathole District Municipalities involved in the Amathole District Integrated Development Plan, and ordinary members of the community in the Amathole District Municipality. The sample used for the study numbered 270 including the survey respondents and the key informants drawn from provincial government and district officials. The sample size was reasonable in light of other studies of a similar nature. In depth interviews were held with the key informants who comprised the provincial level and municipal level officials. The justification for the use of stratified sampling in this study is that since this study is focused on the examination of two policies at different levels of government there was need to come up with different strata from the different levels of government.

4.4 Data Collection

This research used a representative sample chosen by purposive sampling for targeting key informants including government officials involved in the PGDP and IDP implementation. A questionnaire (attached and appendix 1) survey on a representative and stratified sample drawn from members of community involving the poor (on social grants), middle income and rich peasants in Amatole district was carried out. A sample from a population was chosen in this case because large groups of people (population) would not only be impractical but prohibitively expensive and time consuming as well (Vaus, 1990:60). Therefore, the purpose of sampling was not only for serving time and effort but costs involved in large populations and to enhance the feasibility of the study (Sapsford and Jupp: 1996).

In-depth interviews (interview schedule attached as appendix 2) were administered to a range of informants within government. In-depth interviews are typical qualitative research interviews (Lincold & Guba: 1985; Taylor & Bogdan: 1984). An interview can be defined as a purposeful conversation (Berg: 1989, Dexter: 1970; Guba: 1985).

Mishler (1986) on qualitative research interviews observes that:

> At its heart it is a process that an interview is a form of discourse. Its particular features reflect the distinctive structure and aims of interviewing, namely, that it is a discourse shaped and organized by asking and answering questions. An interview is a joint product of what interviews and interviewers talk about together and how they talk with each other. The record of an interview

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that we researchers make and then use in our work of analysis and interpretation is a representation of that talk.

As argued earlier on, the use of interviews is predicated on the assumption that social reality is subjective and therefore requires the researcher to engage with the units of analysis (individuals) and one way of doing that is through administering questionnaires and carrying out in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews are crucial for data collection on personal experiences and perspectives.

In-depth interviews have several merits. Because of their greater flexibility, they minimize errors of misinterpretation and misrepresentation due to the possibility of repeating, rephrasing and emphasizing. In-depth interviews are also ideal for complex and sometimes emotionally laden issues while probing for sentiments underlying expressed opinion is also made easier with interviews.

Babbie (1998) observes that open-ended questions (respondent provides own answer to the question) or closed-ended questions (where a list of possible questions is provided for the respondent by the researcher) may be used. While closed-ended questions are popular for their uniformity of responses which can be easily processed, their major drawback lies in the structuring of the responses since the researcher may overlook important questions. However, exhaustive response categories which were mutually exclusive were employed to counter the above-mentioned weakness.

Open-ended questions on the other hand can ensure that respondents do not leave out important issues which they have to mention although there is a danger in that respondents may convey irrelevant information to the researcher while the chances of researcher bias and misunderstanding cannot be ruled out. However, in this study an effort was made to report accurately to counter the possibility of bias.

The use of questionnaires has several merits. They require less skill in their administration unlike interviews, the interviewer, in the case of closed questionnaires can simply hand out the questionnaire for interviewees to fill them without much explanation like in interviews. Questionnaires are also very useful in that they can be simultaneously administered to large numbers of respondents and funds permitting, a wider area can be covered from which a lot of information can be obtained from more people.

Questionnaires were preferred because when using questionnaires it is most likely possible to ensure some measure of uniformity from one respondent to another due to standardized wording, order of questions and instructions for answering of questions. Moreover, there is also greater confidence from respondents resulting from anonymity thereby making respondents more comfortable in expression of views.

4.5 Secondary Information

Several sources of information proved to be very useful for data collection for the purpose of this study. These included journal articles, unpublished dissertations from universities, published books and unpublished articles, official government

documents. Data was also collected from the internet. The expansion of the Internet over the past decade provides the researcher with opportunities for networking, conducting research, and disseminating research results, the internet was used on the basis of the aforementioned observations and to search for 'classics', current thinking and debates.

4.6 Objectivity and Validity in Qualitative Research

For the purpose of ensuring validity and reliability in the research undertaken the following principles were observed. Enhancing validity and reliability in qualitative research entails triangulation, writing extensive field notes, member checks, peer review, reasoned consensus, audit trial (Babbie: 1998). Respondents were also allowed a great degree of freedom when responding to interviews thereby avoiding distortion of information. Lincold and Guba (1985) opine that trustworthiness and neutrality in findings and decisions are key in ensuring issues of objectivity and validity. Munchhausen objectivity developed by Smaling in which justice is done to the subject under study was also crucial in ensuring objectivity in the research Smaling (1989).

4.7 Data Analysis

The data was analyzed in a descriptive, deductive and inductive mode because of the method of triangulation highlighted earlier on. The analysis of data was also premised on descriptive analysis, which methodologically is ideal for a qualitative research. The Statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) was employed for the

analysis of data gathered from the field survey in the Amathole district municipality. The SPSS package was crucial in coming up with frequency distributions as well as descriptive statistics for the data gathered from the survey. For interviews, deduction was done logically from trends and patterns from different sets of responses.

4.8 Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance for this study was sought from the University of Fort Hare before the research was conducted. The research was also conducted under ethical principles of voluntary participation, no harm to participants, no deception of subjects, informed consent from respondents, privacy of respondents and assurance of confidentiality of information gleaned from the research (Babbie: 1998). The permission of the Local authorities of the area under the jurisdiction of the research was also sought and granted before fieldwork was carried out.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTEGRATION OF THE PGDP AND AMATOLE IDP FOR POVERTY ERADICATION: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS.

5.0 Introduction

This Section focuses on the findings on the integration and analysis of the impact of the PGDP and Amathole District Municipality on poverty eradication. In the analysis of findings the framework of analysis discussed in the preceding chapter is applied. It also focused on the impact of projects on poverty emanating from the two policies. The key research question of the study was to examine the integration of the PGDP and Amathole IDP in poverty eradication. Therefore this chapter presents and analyses key findings from the in-depth interviews held with key government officials at Provincial and District level regarding their views on the articulation of the PGDP and IDP. The study also sought to establish perceptions on the PGDP and IDP as poverty intervention measures and whether they provide a sustainable basis for poverty eradication. Key findings from a survey of beneficiaries on their participation in and knowledge of PGDP and IDP and how they have been effective are also presented and analysed

5.1 Integration of the PGDP and Amathole IDP.

5.1.1 Provincial Elite Interviews

It was widely acknowledged during the interviews that Chapter three of the constitution and the IGR Act no 13 of 2005, provides for the legislative framework of integration of the provincial departments and ADM programmes and projects in the province. However ADM was proactive with IGR because even before the IGR Act

was promulgated they were busy with their own framework while being guided by the constitution.

There are three major coordinating departments which include the Office of the Premier, Department of Local Government and the Provincial Treasury. There are also clusters which have been formed which ideally are critical in ensuring cooperative governance in general as well as integration and coherence of programs. However, it must be noted here that in-depth interviews held with key informants revealed that such clusters do not have 'teeth' and the report by ECSECC reveals that they are ineffective in making sure that the 'PGDP thread' runs through sector departments implying that departments cannot translate the PGDP into deliverables and plans into operational outcomes at the district level (ECSECC: 2009).

It was established that the major challenge confronting integration is that IGR is not understood by some sector departments as in what it is all about. There are also issues of autonomy and observation of protocol at ADM one respondent observed that 'we cannot force anybody to attend IGR forums, some municipalities do not even hold IGR forums'. There is also a challenge of non consistency in attendance since some different people from the same department attend IGR forums leading to lack of continuity. There is also non cooperation by sector departments which stifles coordination and integration of the PGDP and IDP.

It was also highlighted that the IGR structures (which provide a platform for intergovernmental integration and coordination) meet four times a year to discuss

IGR issues. These IGR structures which are supposed to address integration issues so that the province and the municipality can 'sing the same song'. IGR structures are for integration, coordination and issues of commonality. However it was established that alignment is more apparent at formulation than at implementation making poverty eradication a pipe dream.

It was also established that national departments and provincial departments must participate in the IDP processes (such as the IDP yearly reviews) so that they will be able to address financial, human resources and capacity problems confronting municipalities. It was also emphasized that Municipalities lack financial resources so if the Provincial and national departments participate they will realise the need for fiscal and financial support.

It was also emphasized that the slogan in Integrated Development Planning is 'IDP for all government' meaning that also spheres of government are responsible for the success of the IDP. However, it was reflected through some key informants that such slogans are not being translated into actions by the different spheres of government. There is a disjuncture in the budgeting cycle and planning cycle which must be integrated and planning must be done jointly with the people.

One of the major stumbling blocks was emphasized by one of the respondents in the social development department who observed that the PGDP and IDP issues are not the priority areas for the departments. They do not constitute key performance areas for the department upon which their performance measurement is based hence the seemingly lack of commitment to integration of PGDP and IDP issues. This confirms

the observation by Lippitt & Van Tii (1981) that successful integration requires a common vision hence the need for the process to be evaluated to plug the loopholes.

One of the respondents interviewed in the policy and planning unit in the premier's office lamented that too many priorities constitute one of the stumbling blocks in the integration between PDGDP and IDPs. Integration is only real at formulation but fizzles out at the implementation level due to some competing if not conflicting priorities.

The respondents further revealed that the PGDP was not formulated on the basis of the IDP because it is driven and championed by the government. Municipal IDPs on the other hand are reviewed on the basis of the five year strategic plan which is their main mandate. This implies that there are competing mandates and priorities which make the process of integration difficult. This concurs with Holdocroft (1982) who lamented the separateness of institutions as stumbling blocks in the process as well.

It was also established that there are also sector engagement problems and lack of prioritisation since each department has got its own priorities and key performance areas as well as score cards which are their priority number one, anything else comes secondary. There also operational challenges, since some service providers which are contracted do not perform. Such a scenario requires an authority which is easily identifiable and an institution responsible such as the one in Holland which is in the domain of the legislature.

It was also revealed that Departments are sector focused rendering integration very difficult if not impossible. It was emphasized that such sectoral focus by departments defies the logic of integration. The five year Local Government strategic agenda mainly informs IDP reviews (attached as appendix 3) mainly and not PGDP.

5.1.2 District Municipality Elite Interviews

There are also IGR forums which are technical structures which are chaired by the Amathole District Municipal Manager at district level where sector department attend while district managers also sit in the forum to discuss issues of commonality and align ADM programmes and projects with Provincial Sector departments. In the IGR forums sector departments present their projects which are meant for implementation in the communities if ADM is working in that area, the projects are then aligned to avoid duplication and wastage of resources.

The IGR forum structure in turn informs the District Mayor's Forum (DIMFAO) which is a political structure attended by mayors, full time councillors other municipal managers, portfolio heads and heads of department in the sector departments. The DIMFO structure is presented in box 2.Parastatals also attend IGR forums and DIMFO and present their projects for possible alignment coordination and integration with sector other departments. There are also Chief Financial Officers forums for possible integration of financial activities. The Box 8 below shows the DIMFO.

Box 8. District Mayor's Forum

The DIMAFO is the institutional structure to monitor alignment and

integration of the IDP process between ADM, its local municipalities, sector departments and parastatal bodies.

Chairperson:

The Executive Mayor of Amathole District Municipality
Secretariat:

The secretariat for this function is provided by the IGR Unit
Members:

Chairpersons of the IDP Representative Forums from the:
• Eight local Municipalities;
• Chairpersons of the IDP Steering Committees, (Municipal/Strategic

Managers) from the eight Local Municipalities.
• Representatives from sector departments and parastatals.
The DIMAFO is responsible for co-ordinating roles regarding District Municipality and Local Municipalities by:
• Ensuring horizontal alignment of the IDPs of the Local Municipalities in the District Council area;
• Ensuring vertical alignment between District and Local planning;
• Facilitation of vertical alignment of IDPs with other spheres of government; and
• Preparation of joint strategy workshops with Local Municipalities, Provincial and National role-players.
DIMAFO meetings are always preceded by IGR technical committee meetings.

Source: ADM IDP: 2010

It is against that background that the researcher noted there is no integration, instead, there is a disjuncture in the planning cycles of province and the district municipalities coupled with lack of common understanding and capacity for research and development. Such challenges have been highlighted as key stumbling blocks in poverty eradication.

Moreover, the Local government protests testify to the disjuncture between the two. In addition to that there are also capacity challenges in terms of planning, monitoring and evaluation which were highlighted. As highlighted elsewhere Agranoff & Mcguire (2003) also confirm that local government incapacity is a serious hindrance to any process of integration.

One of the key findings was that the PGDP was the previous administration's top priority area but now due to the change of government/administration the PGDP has taken a back seat because it is now associated with Congress of the People (COPE), a party formed by people who broke away from the ruling African National Congress (ANC). What is taking centre stage, instead, is the provincial strategic framework which is about to be launched by the present administration. 'Government priorities have since changed' lamented one of official. This finding confirms the observation by DFID which highlighted earlier on that policy consistency is a necessary ingredient for successful policy integration. All these factors have rendered integration of the PGDP and IDPs difficult if not impossible due to lack of political will and commitment while the poor remain trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty.

A respondent interviewed at the ADM narrated that an IDP has phases that it goes through during the review process (attached as appendix) in which issues of consideration entail availability of resources, other sphere of government backlogs socio-economic data from statistics South Africa, community survey and the existing level of development. However it was noted that the provincial departments are

conspicuous by their absence during the review process which implies that ultimately it will be a tall order for the IDP to implement the PGDP.

On integration, it was observed that the major problem is that 'we are not singing the same tune with other sector departments' and non- attendance by provincial departments to Intergovernmental forums militates against successful integration of provincial and district policies. Moreover, 'sectoral fragmentation' is a critical challenge confronting effective integration and coordination as observed elsewhere (Oranje, Huyssteen, Meyer: 2000).

In fact it was noted that some sector departments 'look down upon' the Amathole District Municipality. They feel that they have no obligation to work with them since they have got their own priorities. However it was emphasized that to some extent the PGDP provides a general framework for planning of programmes and projects to be implemented at district level although that was disputed by some respondents. Moreover, the IGR act, as highlighted earlier on, also has a key role to play although its enforcement has been a major challenge confronting intergovernmental integration and alignment.

Financial constraints also hinder effective integration of the PGDP and the District Municipality, because sometimes planning is done at the level of the district but without the accompanying resources it becomes difficult for the district and province to cooperate effectively and ultimately for the IDP to implement the PGDP. Moreover, One of the interviewees lamented that the PGDP has never been reviewed, it is just a 'static document' but the IDPs are reviewed annually implying

that the PGDP risks being irrelevant because it is not catching up with changing circumstances in fact it was observed that the Amathole IDP is slowly moving away from the PGDP because of that.

It was also revealed that the province is only giving the ADM financial support but that support is not accompanied by technical support. One of the respondents at the ADM observed that "they just throw money at us without giving us support especially at the end of their financial year so that they are seen to be spending money''. This suggests that they will be under pressure to just spending money for the sake of it without being seriously committed to the development of the province. This has very serious implications on poverty eradication efforts.

It was also noted that ADM is not getting support that they need in terms of research and development for effective planning. It was also observed that both financial and technical assistance is required through out the phases of the IDP review processes undertaken by ADM.

Generally, it was observed that there is lack of integration in planning. The current scenario is whereby the province 'just goes to the district with their projects' for implementation. This implies that the province is not being informed by the needs of the district what is happening actually is 'financial dumping' and 'project dumping' without the necessary technical, and institutional support.

It was also established that there are gaps in the planning cycle of the province and the district and these need to be integrated. The same applies to financial years of

the district and the province which are different. While the financial year of the district commences on the first of July and ends on the 30th of June the financial year for provincial departments starts on the 1st of April and ends on the 31st of March and this poses serious problems for effective planning by the districts. This implies that planning at the district level is not informing that of the province because by the time the districts plans the province would have already set aside funds for the district.

Sometimes the Province just goes straight to the communities without consulting the District Municipality but when things go wrong villagers just go straight to municipalities and complain yet the municipality will not be in a position to know what happened.

'We are still far from integration may be one day we will get there' lamented one respondent. It was emphasized that the IGR act which provides the legislative framework for integration is not working, the official further observed that 'it is a toothless act, it can bark but it can not bite'. The Act is not being enforced. This is so because attendance to IGR forums by sector departments is not mandatory but voluntary. One official pointed out that 'there are very few departments which tell us their stories'. There are just four departments out of more than twenty in the province as a whole which plan with the district.

There is also lack of commitment from sector departments coupled with interdepartmental rivalry, attitudinal problems and a 'big brother syndrome'. It must have been against such a background that Sweddler (2007) highlighted the need for a professional culture and exchange of best practices among departments for

integration to be successful. 'They do not like to plan with us but they like dumping money to us' lamented one of the interviewees. Moreover, it was highlighted that Provincial sector departments just set aside funds to be spent by the district but they are no where to be found unless where they are implementers themselves. Sometimes sector departments just go straight to the communities without working together with the district suggesting that there are capacity and technical issues that is why they do not consult the district resulting in 'turf wars' as highlighted by Holdcroft (1982).

'Political infighting sometimes is a problem as we speak councillors in one municipality, all councillors have been suspended' lamented one respondent. However, the same official went to acknowledge that in Amathole District political squabbles are limited because most of the councillors belong to the same party. However the respondent went on to observe that the IGR act provides a useful framework for integration, sharing of information, best practices because before the act was promulgated there was no platform for interaction for sector departments.

However, one official lamented that to talk about poverty eradication is to be too ambitious because there is a serious backlog. One official said 'whatever we can achieve could be by 2080' and we are no where near. Major constraints include funding; sometimes budgeting at the provincial level does not speak to planning at the district level. The budget and the backlog in service delivery do not talk to each other. This was confirmed by Harrison (2001) who observes that there are difficulties in linking planning and budgeting processes with varying time horizons.

It was also emphasized that funding is not in sync with plans. However, the IGR forums which are held quarterly are useful since they provide a channel for communication but powers and functions hinder integration. Functions are also dispersed they are not integrated. Although the IGR forums provide an opportunity for information sharing and the frame work and systems for integration are there but the problem is in the implementation since non attendance to forums was said to be rampant.

IGR forums are partly political due to internal political power struggles coupled with credibility and acceptability issues. Some spheres of government do not speak to each other because 'turf' is protected and empire building is rampant, some officials are viewed with suspicion. Generally there is lack of cooperation, bottlenecks and a lot of gaps and loopholes which need to be plugged for effective integration to be realised.

Moreover, integration is about attitudes and togetherness. If attitudes are negative and cooperation lacks then integration can be a tall order. 'The province is a bit too far' said respondent, there is need for cooperation, engagement and communication, opportunities for interaction to know each and develop positive attitudes towards one another, there are just too many barriers for effective integration to be realised. This concurs with the observation made by Friedman (2005) that Institutional weakness to perform basic functions of management and service delivery implies that due to the sophisticated levels of integration and coordinated planning, integration remains a long way off.

There is also tension between political office bearers and bureaucrats however in ADM there are concise efforts to bridge the gap between politicians and technocrats. Harrison (2001) also concurs in literature that Institutional conflicts around planning issues involve officials resistant to change and newly elected and inexperienced councillors all of which stifle integration.

5.1.3 Some Wider Integration Analytical Issues

Since the findings reveal that some government officials do not comprehend what integration is all about it shows that conceptual imprecision can lead analysis astray while 'turf wars' highlighted earlier on also hinder integration. Conceptual blurring must be avoided and there is need for greater precision and analytical rigour while planning shifts currently happening which make integration difficult must be avoided. For successful integration there is need for inter-ministerial and sectoral integration. Policy integration in the province suffers from conceptual diffuseness even in policy integration literature. The political and administrative context within which the concept must be comprehended requires clarity.

An assessment report of PGDP by ECSSEC (2009) reveals that the lack of an overarching and integrated development strategy leaving the PGDP to align with a plethora of national policies has impeded intergovernmental policy coordination. The lack of financial, budgetary and technical resources is some of the major stumbling blocks which were also identified. Implementation bottlenecks due to lack of capacity is another serious hindrance not only to policy integration and coordination but even implementation as well. The PGDP has no political champion implying that there is

no political will as observed earlier on due to the change of government which resulted in policy shifts.

Poverty in the Eastern Cape Province is a structural issue an attempt to eradicate it requires not only political will but must address the structural constraints to poverty eradication implying that there is need for transformative approaches and not piecemeal approaches to poverty eradication.

Therefore, overcoming barriers to integration requires legal frameworks for administrative and political practice; moreover public participation is vital since it leads to acceptability and cooperation. Moreover it introduces cross sectoral working groups coupled with promotion and incentive systems such as cross-sectoral budgeting aided by 'professional thinking and a shift in traditional administrative cultures of inefficiency and ineffectiveness' as highlighted in literature elsewhere. The challenge in policy integration in South Africa is bridging the gap between rhetoric and reality while 'creating conceptual and political space for intended beneficiaries is crucial.

There are misconceptions confronting the theoretical and practical side of intergovernmental relations in South Africa rendering policy integration problematic. It is against that background that the need for conceptual precision and analytical rigour can never be overemphasized not only for policy integration but even for effective poverty eradication. The lack of integration also implies that legislating for IGR does not automatically translate to integration rather it is the enforcement of the

legislation that matters this was confirmed by one respondent who lamented that IGR legislation does not have teeth implying that it can only 'bark but it cannot bite'.

It is against that background that one can argue that the South African system of governance suffers from not only conceptual and analytical imprecision but also from a complex backlog. This is not just a backlog in the delivery of service but a serious backlog that is shacking the foundation of local government is a backlog of incompetence on the part of local government officials manifesting in a plethora of symptoms some of which are inefficiency and ineffectiveness. Atkinson (2002) also critically questions the capacity of municipalities to implement their IDPs.

The symptoms diagnosed here permeate every facet of governance resulting in institutional paralysis and such a paralysis requires serious research and development rigor to unearth the root causes. Therefore one cannot hesitate to lament that there is a local government crisis in South Africa not necessarily a crisis in service delivery but a 'crises of incompetency and incapacity'.

While one must acknowledge that such a crisis is deeply embedded in the apartheid legacy and its real symptoms are yet to unfold, the poor remain trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty such that, honestly, to talk of poverty eradication in the current dispensation of local governance would be 'pessimistic optimism'. This been also confirmed by ECSECC (2009) which revealed that in a survey carried out of 10 households only one rated their municipality service delivery as "very good" or "good" while seven out of ten rated them as "bad" with more than five out of 10 also rating them "very bad".

It has been highlighted in this section that Integration also suffers from policy shifts, a plethora of legislation, competing if not conflicting priorities, non-attendance to IGR forums, lack of cooperation by sector departments, contradictions between legislation, policy inconsistency, conceptual imprecision and conceptual blurring, empire building and political infighting. All of these factors have led to the persistence of poverty. In fact Ecsecc (2009) concurs that despite the efforts to eradicate poverty in the province at large the rate of poverty has actually been increasing since 2004 with almost seven people out of 10 classified as poor while the doctor to patient ratio stands at 1:6273 and life expectancy at only 48 years.

5. 2 PGDP and IDP as poverty eradication interventions.

The PGDP neither defines poverty (Van De Walt: 2002) nor poverty eradication while it identifies interventions for the eradication of poverty and that has serious implications on the conceptualization of the poverty eradication efforts. In fact Laderchi, Saith, Stewart and House (2006) write that while poverty definitions have crucial implications for targeting policy, clearer definitions are important for poverty centred development. One can argue that it assumes that there is consensus on the definition of poverty. However, as argued earlier on in chapter on conceptualising poverty, the definition of poverty is contested. Such a contestation manifests not only in economic terms but in socio-cultural political realms also.

However, implied in the PGDP are 'classical statistical approaches' which were used for poverty analysis confining poverty to indicators of income, health and education while poverty itself was assigned a monetary value (poverty line) while negating a

plethora of dimensions of poverty such as vulnerability and a host of others. In fact, Chambers succinctly observes that the concept of participatory poverty assessments is crucial for effective poverty reduction. Chambers (1997) points out that the PPA approach "stresses changes in the behaviour and attitudes of outsiders to become facilitators not teachers, not lecturers but listeners and learners''.

5.2.1 Incidence of Poverty

The figure 14 below shows the incidence of poverty and the rate of unemployment in the Eastern Cape Province in a period of eleven years from 1996 to 2007. It is clear from the figure below that despite the implementation of the PGDP and the IDPs poverty on the ground and lack employment pose serious challenges. This suggests that there is a disjuncture in not only the formulation but also even the implementation of these programmes.

Figure 14. Incidence of Poverty
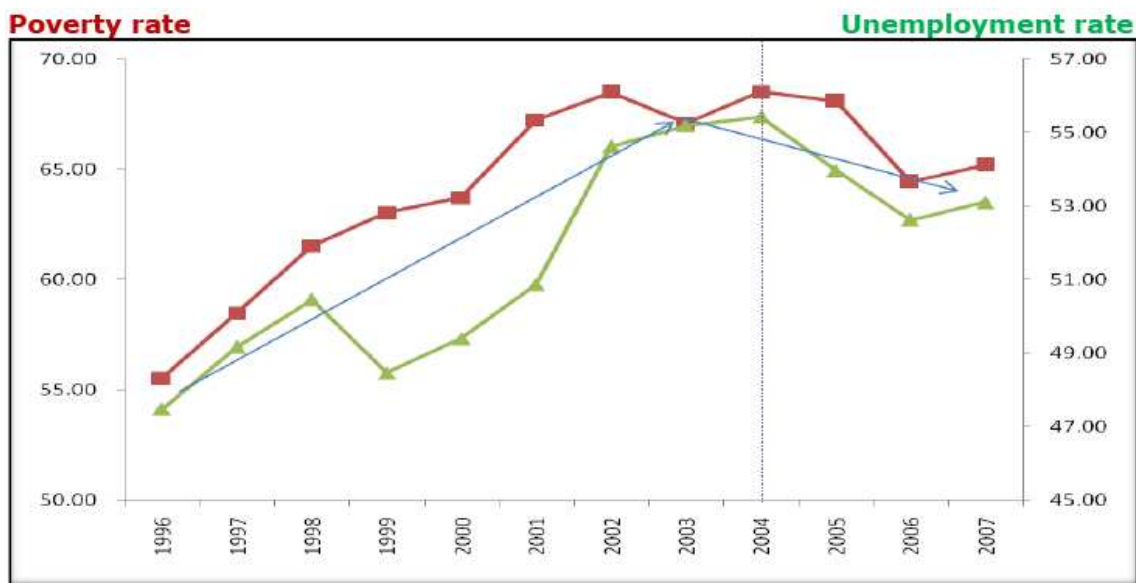
Source,Ecssec: 2009

Although a significant number of jobs were created under the expanded public works programme identified as a poverty eradication measure, the program lacks sustainability and a long term impact. The figure 15 below is a reflection on the status of the respondents who were asked to classify themselves as poor or not poor in the closed ended questionnaires. It is clear from the figure that only 20 % of the respondents (coded as 2) classified themselves as not poor while the majority of them (about 80 %) (coded 1) classified themselves as poor. It was quite evident from the houses most of which were shacks and mud that there is hardly any impact that the programmes have had on the lives of the respondents.

Figure 15. Incidence of Poverty.
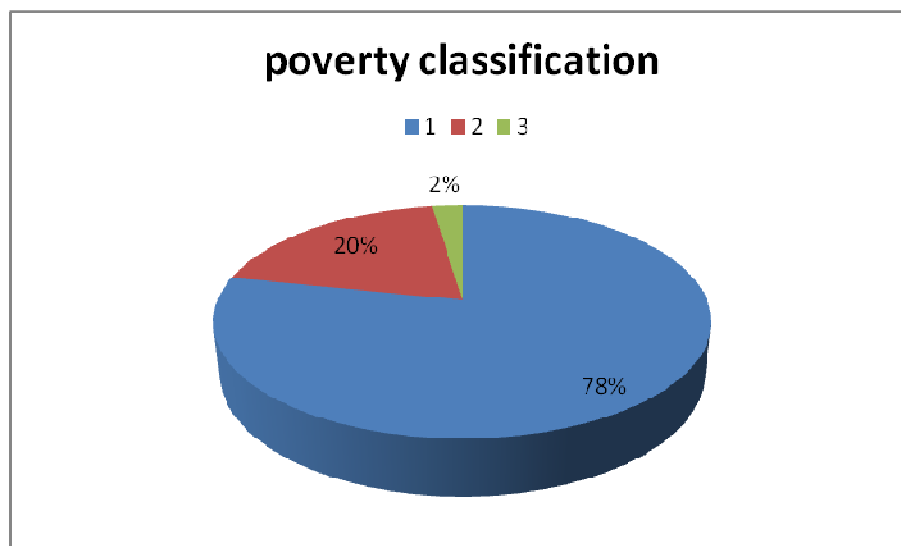
source: fieldwork research: Amathole District

5.2.2 Standard of Living

The standard of living among beneficiaries in the survey was unimpressive.The fugure 16 below also shows that among the surveyed beneficiaries their standard of living has not improved despite the implementation of the PGDP.In the survey carried about 60% of the respondents under the no category observed that their standard of living has not improved despite the efforts by the provincial government. Only 40% of the respondents reflected that their standard of living has improved.

Figure 16. Standard of Living
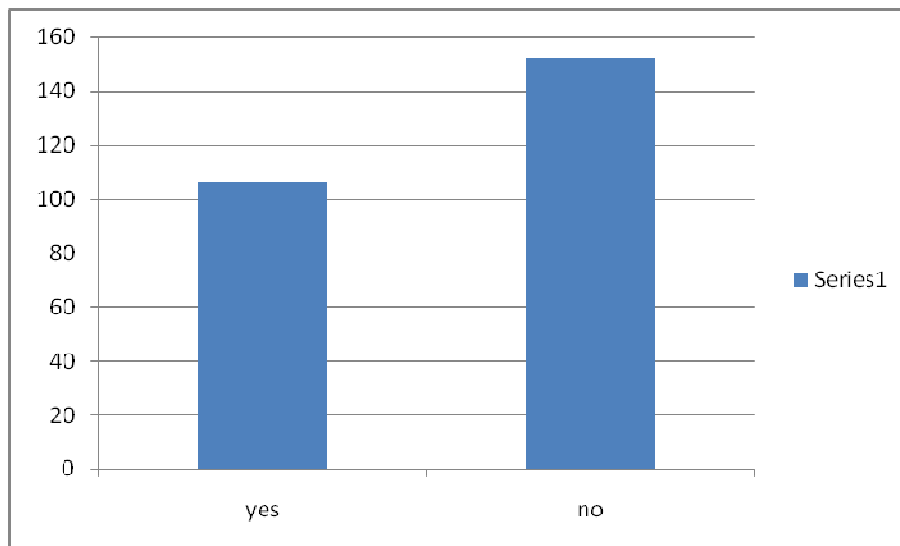
source: fieldwork research: Amathole District

This concurs with the findings by the Statistics South Africa (2001) which in some cases discovered that about 35% of the population in the district has no income while about 32 % have annual income which is below R10000 (ADM IDP : 2009).It aslo confirms why household grant dependence is higher in Amathole District (66 %) in the province as a whole than in any other district in the province as a whole (ADM IDP).

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5.2.3 The PGDP growth gap per Indicator

The PGDP indicators identified by Ecsec also show very slow progress in poverty eradication.The figure 17 below also shows the growth gap per PGDP indicator in the province. The figure shows that while there have been modest improvements in the provision of sanitation, maternal mortality and education, poverty still remains a serious challenge that the province has to battle against, the rate of unemployment requires serious attention while child mortality and proviosn of water indicators indicate very slow progress. The Gender indicator also potrays the fact that women are still vulnerable not only to poverty but abuse and exploitation.

Figure 17. PGDP Growth Gap per Indicator.
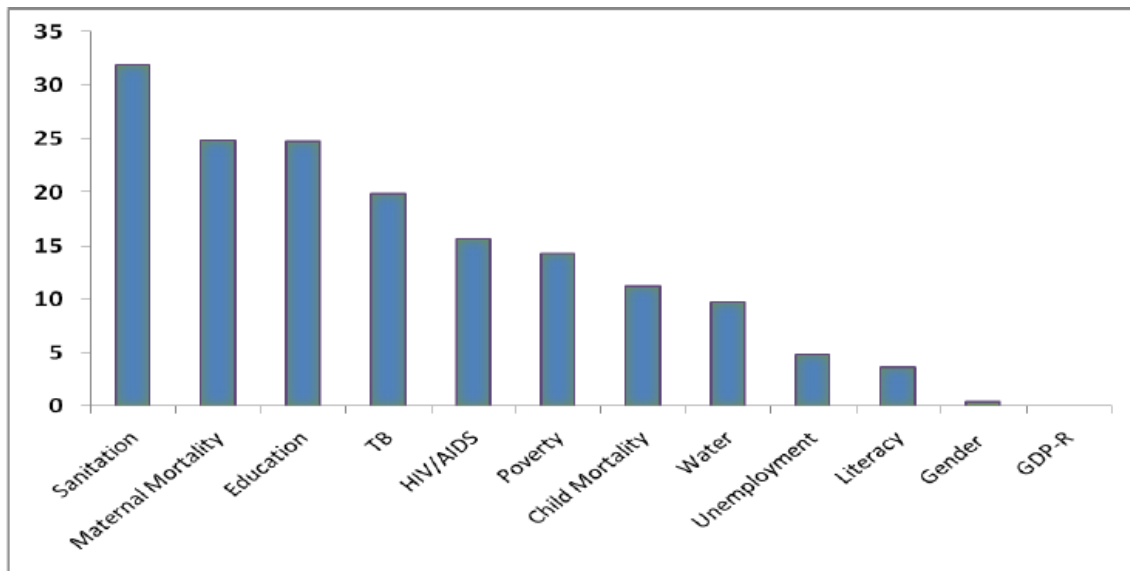
Source, Ecssec:2009

5.2.4 Access to basic services

The figure 18 below which indicates the level of access to basic services such as on site sanitation, provision of water, and hospital again demonstrates lack of progress in areas identified. These indicators suggest that there is a lot of ground to be covered for poverty eradication to be realized. It must be noted that the PGDP has highlighted poverty eradication and not alleviation as its objective. Given such indicators and others highlighted earlier on, one can argue that poverty eradication remains a pipe dream.

Figure 18. Access Basic Services
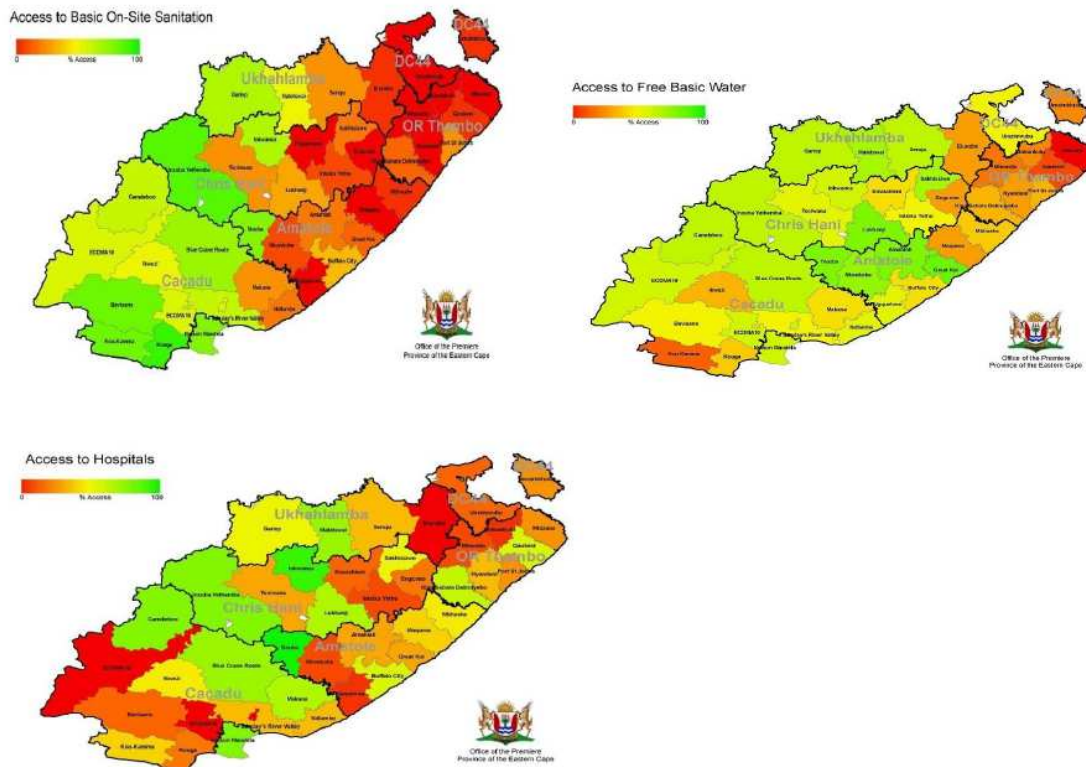
Source, Ecsecc: 2009

5.2.5 Social grants

The provision of social grants has been identified as one of the poverty alleviation measures in South Africa. The figure below clearly shows that there are far inadequate since the number of people on social grants is far less than those who do not have access to social grants. In fact, while the provision of social grants constitutes short-term relief measure, it however, does not provide a sustainable basis for systematic poverty eradication which is one of the PGDP objectives. As highlighted earlier on poverty eradication requires transformative approaches and the enhancement of capabilities as Sen argues.

Figure 19. Social Grants

	Alfred Nzo	Cacadu	Amathole	Chris Hani	OR Tambo	Metro	Ukhahlamba
No of grant beneficiaries #	123 116	79 998	364 440	218 722	420 956	199 159	86 951
Number of people in poverty (Global Insight, 2007) #	407 626	182 815	1 134 137	627 676	1 329 442	416 488	250 897
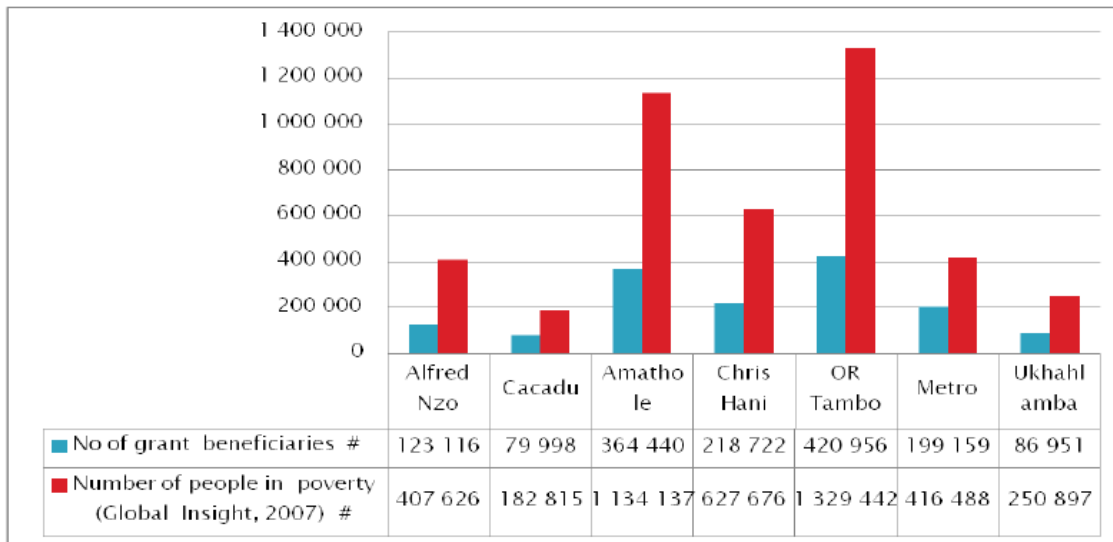
Source, Ecsecc:2009

5.2.6 Access to health

Since ensuring access to health is one of the poverty eradication efforts it is therefore evident in the figure below that poverty eradication in the province is still a

long way off. The following infant mortality rates shown on the figure 20 below imply that a lot of ground needs to be covered in the health sector. However it must be acknowledged that major efforts have been made in the health sector as shown by the decline in infant mortality rate in the graph.

Figure 20. Access to Health
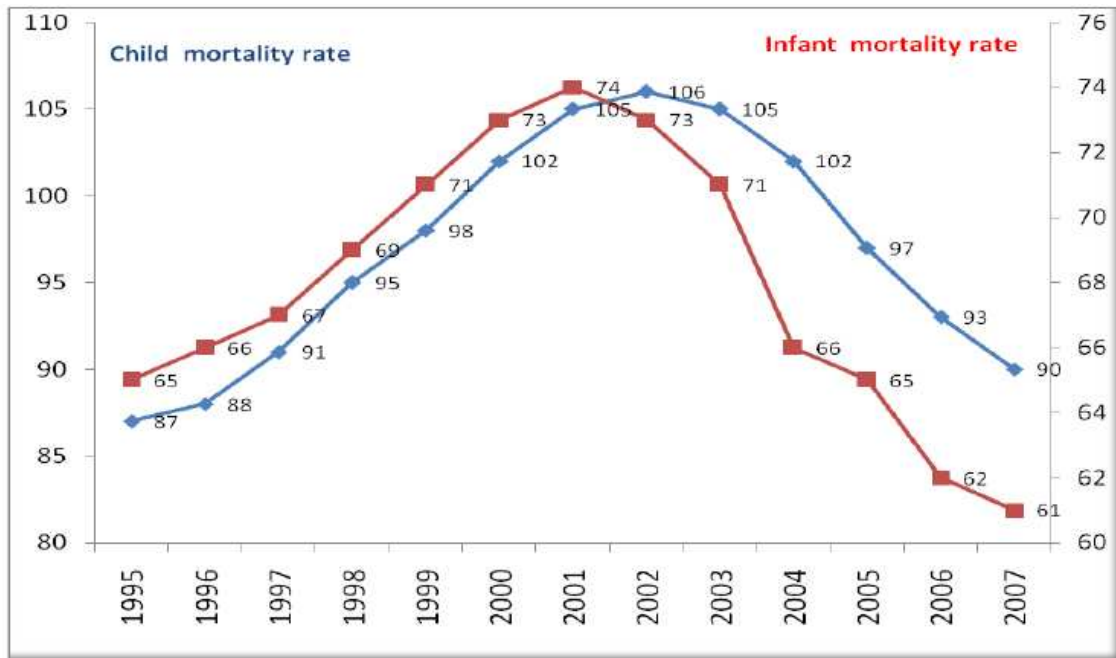
Source, Ecsecc:2009

On HIV/AIDS, interventions identified include conducting awareness campaigns and provisiong of counselling. Under the HIV/AIDS and TB programme 3237 orphans have been taken care of while some 670 children have been placed under foster care. Moreover seven support centres have been established and maintained while in community programs on HIV/ADIS education have been implemented. As for victim empowerment some key constraints have been identified which incude staffing issues, funding, lack of social workers and other infratsructure.

5.2.7 Affordability of Amenities

While the government has been hailed for the provision of houses, water, sanitation and electricity to most communities the figure below shows that at least from the survey carried out these facilities are still beyond the reach of many hence the dissconnection of water and electricity highlighted in literature elsewhere. The figure 21 below also shows the responses from the survey on the affordability of basic services which are available to them.

Figure 21. Affordability of Amenities.
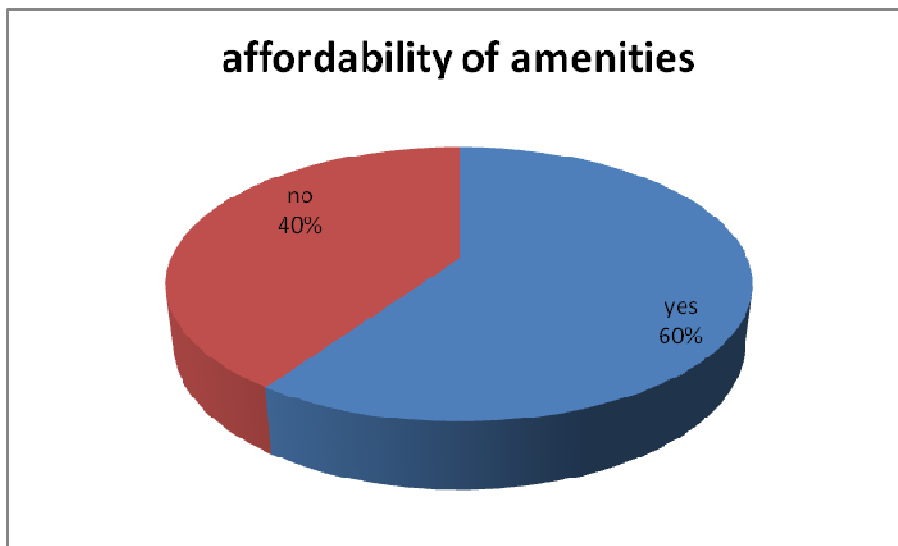
source: fieldwork research: Amathole District

However it must be acknowledged that the government has at least managed to supply some basic services to the people since 79% of the respondents had electricity in their houses, about 60 % have access to transport while 49 % have access to water although in some cases the water is out of the houses in form of communal taps.

5.2.8 Satisfaction with Amenities

Moreover, the figure 22 below also shows that the satisfication among surveyed respondents with basic amenities is high (59 %). This was largely attributed to electricity which has been provided to many households in the survey although some of these connections were done prior to the implementation of the PGDP and IDPs.However about 40 % are not satisfied implying that the government still has a long way to go in the provision of such services.

Figure 22. Satisfaction with Amenities
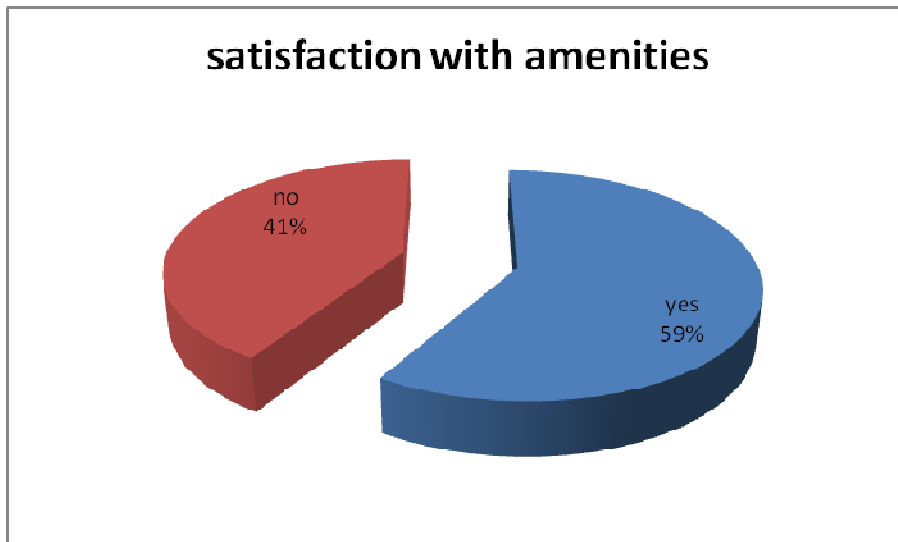
source: fieldwork research: Amathole District

On housing the Amathole IDP review observes that there are 82350 informal dwellings. 20 067 backyard shacks, 128861 traditional dwellings and that the total number of the people in need is 231 278. This implies that there has been slow progress in the provision of housing. The table below shows the backlog in housing needs.

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Table 9. Housing Needs.

Municipality	IDEA 2000 Urban Needs	Expressed Needs	IDEA 2000 Rural Needs	Expressed Needs	IDEA 2000 Total Needs	Expressed Needs	Average Needs	Approved Houses	% Short fall
Amahlathi	1 865	9 000	18 862	9 000	20 727	18 000	19 364	5 880	70%
Great Kei	679	7 000	4 833	10 000	5 512	17 000	11 256	1 509	87%
Mbashe	879	7 500	39 572	14 400	40 451	21 900	31 176	8 457	73%
Mnquma	4 613	8 500	34 379	16 200	38 992	24 700	31 846	6 554	79%
Ngqushwa	1 578	7 500	6 578	13 800	8 156	21 300	14 728	1 920	87%
Nkonkobe	2 023	9 500	10 184	14 200	12 207	23 700	17 954	10 636	41%
Nxuba	630	3 000	574	0	1 204	3 000	2 102	2 462	-17%
Total	12 267	52 000	114 982	77 600	127 249	129 600	128 425	37 418	70%

Amathole IDP: 2009

5.3 Some wider analytical issues

The findings above seem to confirm earlier observations in literature that the PGDP and IDP are informed by GEAR which is export led and addresses social policy through structural adjustment and the market. The macro-economic approach does not work. The massive projects advocated by the PGDP miss the point. The interventions and projects identified in the plans do not speak to the nature of poverty in the Eastern Cape.

Against that background, it is important to note that post-modern and post-development research undertaken shows that western policy makers acknowledge that measures focusing development on structural macro-economic strategies are moribund as far as development thinking is concerned (Binns & Nel: 1999, Simon: 1999, Piteterse: 1998, Stiglitz: 1998). In fact Binns & Nel posit that people-centred development and associated with locality is crucial in poverty eradication. Thus development should be endogenous, influenced by the dominant aspirations of the people, bottom-up while people centred emphasizing self-reliance where the

community, locality and individuals own development (Stock: 1985, Pieterse: 1998, Stohr: 1981, Simon: 1998. Macro-economists theorise financial and monetary matters while overlooking implications of macro-economic policy for the poorest of the poor (Wilson & Ramphele: 1989).

Moreover, post-development writers challenge the development oriented definitions of poverty. Agustino (2005:86) argues that their arguments have to do with revaluing diversity, promoting the idea of sufficiency instead of scarcity as a guiding principle, valuing localized practices, questioning the centrality of the economy in human life, promoting the sustainability of life not of development, relinking production and consumption, among others.

The post-development discourse is a challenge to policy-makers calling for a paradigm shift from economic growth to thinking in 'terms of communities, their lifestyles, their own abilities and knowledge, their autonomy and capacity to implement' thereby discussing, designing and implementing social policy within a different framework (Augustino: 2005).

The articulation of the PGDP and ADM IDP was supposed to speak to the nature of poverty which is structural in nature emanating from the legacy of apartheid as outlined in chapter one. The export oriented growth and traditional commodities advocated have not brought about development. The PGDP was supposed to speak to the socio-economic reality of the province which is a labour camp for Gauteng and the Western Cape rendering it a dependent province.

Moreover, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights notes that in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his economic, social, and cultural rights, as well as civil and political rights (Agostino: 2003).

Therefore, the creation of those conditions may be an effective poverty eradication strategy (Agostino: 2005:69). Effective poverty eradication strategies go beyond simplistic and myopic definitions of poverty merely reducing it to material or income factors and relegating citizens to consumers to focus on poverty as a 'systematic denial of social , economic and political rights'(Agostino: 2005)

The neo-liberal ideology informing development planning not only in the province but in South Africa as a whole is a myth propagated by western main stream economists which leaves benefits merely 'trickling down' to the poor and not 'pouring'. Abalu observes that "experiences of many African countries over the past decades do not appear to support the trickle down process hypothesis. Available evidence suggests that the standard of living in most African countries has at best remained constant over the past decades". Bond (2007) has also lamented the transition in South Africa as an elite transition from apartheid to neo-liberalism. Implying that the poor remain trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty regardless of the transition.

A report by ECSECC confirms that the PGDP is lagging behind in its targets. While the PGDP target for poverty eradication is to reduce the number of people living in poverty to 20% the report shows that in 2007 about 62 % of the population was still languishing in poverty (ECSECC: 2009). The target for reducing infant mortality rate

was 34% but in 2007 it was still very high at 90% implying that it is still a very long way to be reached.

Moreover, the human development index which is a measurement of life expectancy, income and literacy shows some modest improvements but it is also apparent that a lot still needs to be done. The table 10 below shows that overall, while there has been an improvement in the HDI of the district. A lot still needs to be done to address the rate of literacy, life expectancy and income of the population in the district.

Table 10. Amathole Human Development Index

	1996	2005
Mbhashe	0.37	0.42
Mnquma	0.46	0.50
Great kei	0.42	0.44
Amahlathi	0.46	0.50
Buffalo city	0.56	0.59
Nqushwa	0.41	0.46
Nxuba	0.45	0.49
Nkonkobe	0.46	0.50

Source, Amathole IDP: 2009

As much as poverty in the Eastern Cape Province and South Africa at large derives directly from deliberate systemic and systematic exploitation and segregation of the blacks, (a participatory and democratic developmental state argued for in chapter three) would advocate deliberate pro-poor policies targeting 'poverty pockets'. Thus the notion of just 'growth with equity' coupled with the' trickle down' approach is out

of question. The definition of a developmental state itself entails the wholesale transformation of society. Poverty eradication cannot be an after thought in development planning but it must be at the centre of development planning for effective poverty eradication (Mayende: 2007).

The PGDP and IDP must therefore address the historical reality of the province instead of reinforcing the status quo. Ward committees though legislated for, play only consultative and advisory roles and not functionary ones. There is need for courage, innovation and reflexivity in intergovernmental coordination for poverty to be eradicated successfully. Unfortunately for the poor, massive bureaucratic and institutional inertia coupled with 'elite capture' and corruption, 'the poorest of the poor' remain trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty.

The challenge then, as observed by Chambers, is the transformation of corridors and citadels of power and bureaucrats and municipal officials. Such transformation will liberate them from learning disabilities while opening up avenues for innovation adventuring and learning for professionals to understand better and be not only realistic but relevant in eradicating poverty. While the poor will stand a better chance of being catapulted from the doldrums of poverty, bureaucrats themselves will be better informed in poverty eradication. It is against this background that the state must be fundamentally reconfigured as argued in chapter three for it to be an agent of development especially given the vagaries of globalization which has confined the South to the periphery. Such reconfiguration of the state must be within the context of participatory development to ensure pro-poor programming.

5.4 Community Participation

The constitution of South Africa (RSA: 1996) provides for a democratic and open form of governance. However technical expertise for policy and planning coupled with the neo-liberal globalisation impetus inhibit community participation. Section 57 (1) of the constitution (RSA: 1996) provides for the making of rules and orders regarding representative and participatory democracy, transparency, accountability and public involvement.

Moreover, as highlighted elsewhere, research by the centre for policy studies on housing and other social amenities revealed a big difference between grassroots citizens and elite assumptions in South Africa (Friedman: 2001). One study also showed that only six percent of citizens had direct contact with government officials, thus implying that democracy is remote from the citizens. Ward committees which constitute participatory structures in IDPs, though legislated for, play only consultative and advisory roles and not functionary ones and the same was reflected in the survey carried out.

In the case of Amathole District, regular representative forum meetings for drafting IDPs are held by the Amathole District Municipality. The planning cycle begins by placing advertisements informing interested parties to contact the ADM for drafting of the IDP and the budget. The draft IDP is taken to the community by road show events to which they are mobilised by their ward councillors and ward committees. It is at these road show events that the summary of the IDP is presented to the communities in English and the local language (isiXhosa) for them to discuss and comment with records being kept for discussion at intergovernmental forum

meetings for the amendment of the IDP. It is apparent that this process is largely flawed since it is only those who have access to newspapers and roads who can participate and the literate who can read newspapers. The poor who are illiterate and mostly live in very remote areas are therefore shut out of such participatory spaces.

This process will be followed by a Council open day on which members of the community and the ward committees will be presented with the amended IDP before the final submission to council for adoption (Amathole District Municipality Integrated Development Plan Review, 2008/2009: 43).

Moreover, there is ward based planning done within the community for members of the community to raise issues that they want to be included in the plan. However there seems to be conflict between traditional leaders and elected councillors due to the contest for 'turf'. Government must therefore bridge the between traditional leaders and councillors for traditional leaders to participate meaningfully in municipal governance.

The survey on randomly selected villages established that some members of the community were interested in participating but others were tired of some people from government asking their personal information, views and give promises that were never fulfilled without even coming back to them to give them feedback of their information. It was also observed that respondents are loyal to the government and councillors that they do not expose them. This reflects the idea of 'comdradeship' which makes incompetency, inefficiency and ineffectiveness difficult to unearth, which is to the detriment of those who will be 'covering up'.

In some cases, instead of responding direct to the question asked, the respondents would narrate their internal problems such as favouritism and corruption from the councillors and ward committees. This meant that while there are consultations of the communities in the form of meetings to ask their demands and their priorities these are not effective not only because the are 'mere consultations which do not constitute participation as earlier on observed by (Theron:1996) but also due to favouritism alluded to'. This to some extent confirms the findings by Cooke & Kothari (2001) that participatory development can be "naive, flawed, a new form of tyranny and abuse of power by the elite and the better placed in the community".

It was also revealed that participation takes place before budgeting (IDP budget) then after the budget, people no longer participate in terms of changes in their priorities but they do get reports in the meetings. This shows that the government officials are only preoccupied with spending money for the sake of it instead of 'empowering' the communities to participate meaningfully in the formulation and implementation of decisions affecting their communities (Theron: 1996).This implies that participation is reduced to a 'mick-mouse game' for the poor or a 'mere window dressing ritual' which confine participation to a 'ribbon cutting ceremony' Marsden (1991).

The survey also showed that people also consider forums for participation as forums for grievance handling and problem solving and lodging complaints. This to some extent implies that the structures for participation are 'poorly designed' such that

even the communities which are meant to participate have a misconception of such structures (Harrison: 2001).

At first, one could observe that the respondents were suspicious that the researcher was campaigning for the up coming municipal elections to elect municipal councillors. The suspicion that the researcher was campaigning for the up coming elections to some extent shows that probably, government officials only go to communities for consultation when elections are looming. This can be taken as a demonstration of lack of commitment on the part of the government to eradicate poverty. This was confirmed when one respondent lamented that they are tired about promises made before elections that are not fulfilled by government after the elections. This concurs with Cornwall (2002) who observed that participation requires committed bureaucrats and inclusive institutional designs which address exclusionary practices and embedded bias.

The figure 24 below, which is a reflection on the views of the respondents on their participation in projects, implies that there was hardly any participation. While 64 % of respondents confirmed that participation matters in poverty eradication, the majority of respondents (81 %), upon probing by the interviewer, revealed that they had not participated and neither were they consulted nor involved although neither involvement nor consultation imply participation but empowerment as observed by Mohan earlier on. A paltry 19 % implied that they had in some way participated in the projects although upon further scrutiny one can conclude that there was hardly any participation.

Figure 24. Participation by beneficiaries
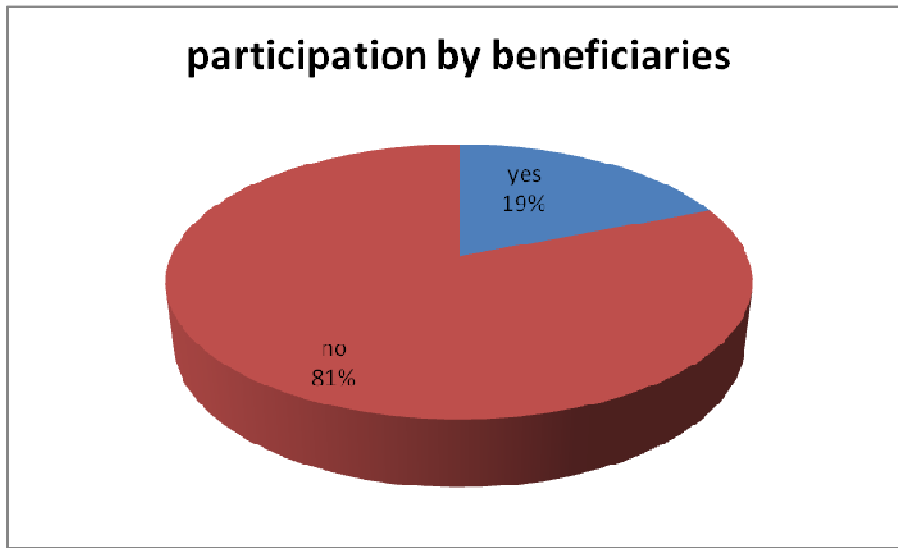
source: fieldwork research: Amathole District

Some of the respondents claimed that they just 'saw' water and sanitations projects being implemented in their village without having knowledge about how they came about. Meaning that according to them, community members are not participating in the formulation and implementation of projects implying that government officials are just imposing such projects upon the communities.

The demographics of this community were mainly comprised of the respondents that are old aged and mostly illiterate women staying with their grant children. This confirms observations in literature that the Eastern Cape Province is a labour reservoir for other province mainly the Western Cape and Gauteng provinces. This factor coupled with the level of literacy of the respondents meant that they could not tell whether they once heard about IDP and PGDP or not because of their level of education. It had to take some probing to get valid responses from them.

Most of the respondents (90%) in the survey showed a lot of ignorance of the IDP and PGDP and they had problems in identifying some of the projects that fall under these two plans. This, to a greater extent, concurs with the observation made by Harrison (2001) in literature, that the IDP is too technicist for most of the villagers to not only know what it entails, but even make useful contributions to its conceptualisation. This problem, coupled with poor participatory structures and methodologies, implies that ordinary villagers are literally shut out of the policy decisions that affect their lives, meaning that they remain trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty.

Very few respondents indicated that they had an idea of the PGDP and that they normally hold meetings with the Municipal authorities as highlighted in the chart below. As shown in the figure 25 below, about 96 % of the respondents, which is an overwhelming number of respondents, indicated that they had neither heard about the PGDP nor could they understand what it meant. This was despite the fact that there are some water, housing and public works projects that have been implemented in the communities which implies that they were not aware of what was being done for them.

Figure 25. Knowledge of PGDP.
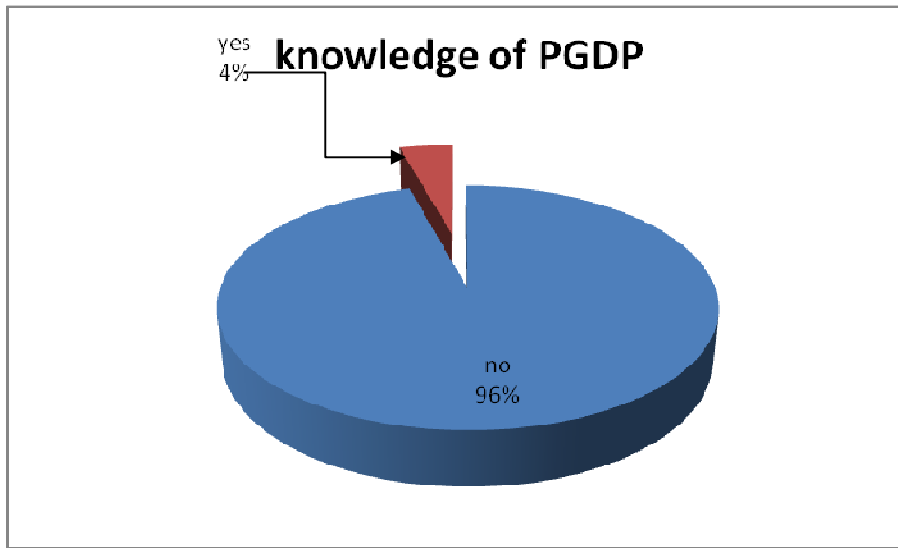
source: fieldwork research: Amathole District

In these meetings it has been observed that the Municipal authorities (Councillors) meet the community members and present to them a budget for the area. It is then the community's responsibility to come out with projects that may be covered or fit for the budget available for them. The presentation of the budget prior to the making of decisions on development projects by the community implies that they only have limited options hence their influence diminishes.

A substantial number of the houses for these communities were mainly one roomed or double roomed mud houses with 'cow dung flooring' which depicts a symptom of absolute poverty in the rural areas. In one village, the researcher was introduced as a government official writing down the names of the people that are in need of help and the researcher had to clarify this immediately. The researcher viewed this action as a sign of desperately expecting to get assistance from the government. One

respondent in this community was saying that the benefits of development were being enjoyed by the village elites who share among themselves. This confirms the observation that communities are not cohesive and homogeneous entities and this has serious implications in their participatory processes.

It was also observed that there was a common view on what the government can do to eradicate poverty especially in the communities like Dimbaza, Madakeni and Mngqesha. The main reason behind was the fact that these communities are closely located to Industrial firms that are no longer functional but initially they used to create a lot of employment for the local people. People have a common feeling that the government must open up these firms in order to create more employment for the people around this area. The opening up of these firms will go a long way in reducing the impact of poverty and would even reduce the level of crime as the respondents could rightfully note it.

The impact of the closure of these factories even went on to affect some of the people in communities like in Mfiki (a village) which is far away from their location. The researcher interviewed one respondent who was saying that she managed to build a house because of working at those firms but now she can hardly afford to take care of her old mother and was also calling for an increment of the social grant from the government.

One respondent emphasized that the social grants must be increased because they are failing to meet the basic needs that one may need for his / her upkeep. The respondent upon further probing opined that one cannot buy food, clothing and be

able to sent a kid to school out of R320 (which is the social grant from government) since it is too little. One respondent even further lamented that "they are peanuts".

There was no sign of any government involvement in some communities in terms of projects even under the IDP despite the fact that they were showing signs of being seriously poverty stricken. However the researchers met the cars for the Amathole District Municipality coming out of it but could not establish what they are actually doing.

In one of the villages where the survey was carried out, when the researcher arrived in this village, the villagers could not wait to be interviewed in their homes, instead, they thronged to one place with the high hope that the researcher was an official from the government who had come to hear their problems in order to help them. This was considered as a sign of high levels of desperation implying the extent to which the respondents are vulnerable, deprived and poor. This may also imply that Government is very far from the people while it also shows the dependency syndrome on the part of the villagers.

The researcher also encountered some contradictions in one community. This confusion pertained to the authority responsible for the projects of water provision and toilet construction in Ngqele village. The researcher managed to interview one respondent who addressed himself as the one who was the chairperson in the construction of these toilets. The respondent highlighted that the toilets and the water projects were not done by the Amathole District Municipality, but were projects funded by a private organization. The organization responsible was Mvula Trust a

Non Governmental Organization based in East London (one of the cities in the Eastern Cape). The respondent further claimed that the organization gave them all the material that was needed and they are satisfied with them despite the fact that they are incomplete because they were built in a rush. However another respondent in the same village had earlier on indicated that it was the ADM which was responsible for the implementation of such projects. The confusion and contradiction imply that the respondents are not adequately informed about what goes on around them meaning that the question of participation in such a scenario is out.

Most of the respondents in the survey did not have an idea of what the IDP and PGDP are all about. In cases where projects have been implemented, the people do not know where they emanated from. However, in some isolated cases it was noted that participation in IDPs was not effective but because of the training of ward committees and community development workers participation is now improving. It was a mystery to communities and the mystery was demystified by the training that was done which enlightened the communities.

Moreover, IDPs to some extent have made redistribution possible while some participatory spaces have also been opened up and resources have been made allocated to formerly black areas which was impossible in the apartheid era (Harrison, Atkinson :2002).

However, one can observe that the government is to some extent not only lacks commitment to poverty eradication but it is also out of touch with its people on the ground. Most of the respondents said that they are tired of empty promises hence

some of them ended up refusing to participate in the survey. There are other communities that do not bear any sign of government's involvement especially Upper Mngqesha that is opposite Dimbaza.

In some cases not even one respondent demonstrated the knowledge of the existence of projects such as public works, victim empowerment, HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Housing in all the communities that the researcher visited yet they have been identified as poverty eradication interventions in the PGDP.In terms of housing, people are living in different types of houses ranging from well built bricks houses to mud houses and shacks which are near to collapse.

In one of the cases highlighted where toilets were constructed for the villagers, they were left unhappy because they are unable to maintain the toilets since they require chemicals (which they cannot afford) in order for them not to produce bad odour, and also water taps are out of their houses and they are very few. One respondent lamented that "Soon after the provision of these services the official concerned came back only once with chemicals for toilets and never came back again".

This is one of the villages in which the researcher recorded a high rate of illiteracy and ignorance of government programs. The figure below confirms that a substantial number of people in ADM have no schooling at all seemingly, most people in this village do not know what is happening around them and even development plans which are meant to eradicate their poverty. A lot of ignorance was revealed since they did not even know that they can be a forum that can be set up for participation in policy implementation in government programmes. This finding concurs with

Harrison (2001) who observes that knowledge about the existence of ward committees is poor in most instances thereby stifling participation.

Figure 26. Literacy levels in ADM
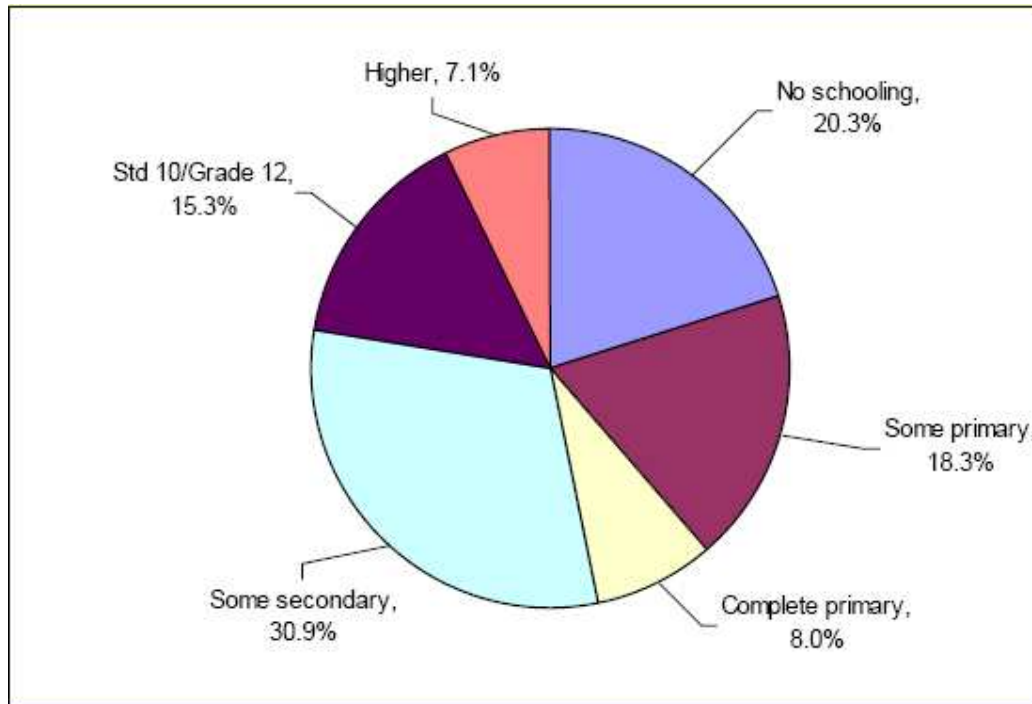
Source: ADM IDP: 2009

In another case, some responds only knew about the IDP from the newspaper, one respondent went on to say "they only preach about it but practically doing nothing, they should do exactly what they are promising the people". He also emphasised on '100% participation' by the community members, saying that it is the only way our communities can be developed. This finding concurs with Mthye (2002) ; Van de Wlat & Knipe (1998), Coetzee et al (2000) who observe that community participation is vital for effective poverty alleviation in South Africa.

Another shocking revelation was that this village is not involved in AIDS campaign awareness and there is no healthy service support centre. The emphasis on 100% participation implies that currently participation is problematic as noted earlier on. The method of advertising for participation in newspapers or holding road shows implies that it is only those who have access to newspapers and the literates and close to the road who have the opportunity to participate in the IDP process. This effectively shuts out avenues for participation by the poor who are not only illiterate but also live in remote areas which are hardly accessible.

In one encounter in the villages there was a threat from a man who wanted to beat up the researcher because he did not trust the researcher thinking that he was a conman. From that encounter the researcher presumed the level of vulnerability and prevalence of criminal activities in these communities which result in people not trusting any person whom they do not know.

Everyone had something to say on what the government should do to eradicate poverty implying that these people know what they want such if they are involved in policy implementation, those policies would be effective. There was a mixed feeling concerning the commitment of government on eradicating poverty. Some were saying the government is good at preaching about development but practically doing nothing.

Another villager said "the problem with the politicians is that they just talk to impress and also they confuse us at the end of the day we don't know which one to listen to". Some of the respondents lamented the lack of political will on the government

officials to eradicate poverty raising questions on South Africa being a developmental state. As highlighted in chapter three, such a state does not only have political will but it is also committed to the wholesale transformation of society. An example of China is given in chapter three, which managed to raise about one hundred and twenty million out of poverty in only twenty years.

In some cases it was very informing to learn that some respondents were highlighting the need for a bottom up approach in the making of decision affecting their lives. This suggests that government is supposed to come to the people and hear their views on how these communities must be developed. It was also observed that there is need for monitoring and evaluation tools to unearth vices like corruption so that development will reach the people. In some cases, some respondents were even highlighting the issue of positions, that some people occupy these top positions for their interest sake not to help people which is a factor militating against the poverty eradication efforts by the government. From the research it's clear that there is no much participation that is being done by communities before government implements its projects.

IDPs are highly controlled while they are also paralyzed by rigid, 'blueprint-style' legislative framework effectively at variance with participatory development as observed by Theron (2002). Moreover, knowledge about existence of ward committees is poor and consultative meetings on IDP reviews are unknown to community members. There is mere compliance instead of constructive engagement on IDP reviews and ward committee meetings. The figure 27 below shows that the

knowledge of IDP among the respondents is very low with only 18% in the know while an overwhelming majority of about 82 % is acutely unaware.

Figure 27. Knowledge of IDP
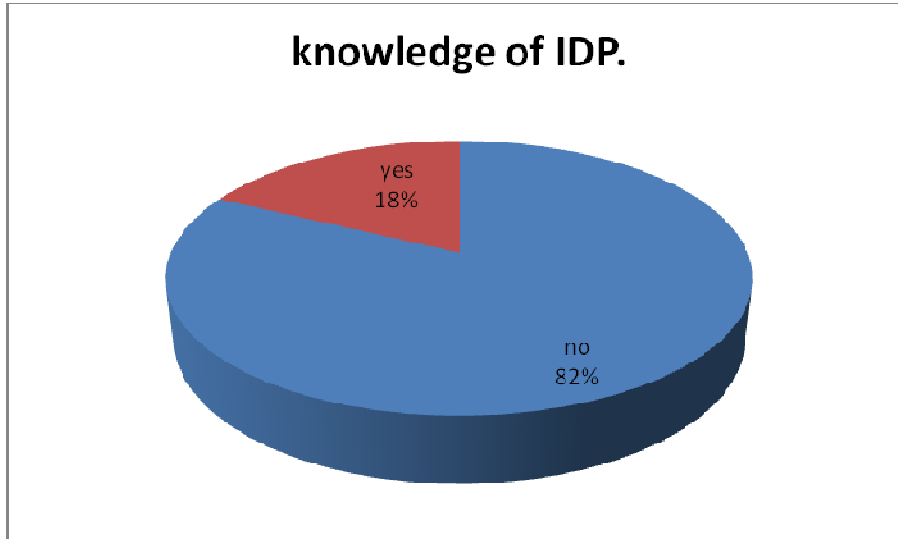
source: fieldwork research: Amathole District

Municipal offices are inaccessible to the people. Communities have a challenge when it comes to understanding local government work while municipal perceptions differ from those of the community. It is against this background that (Theron *et al: online)* observe that participation must be authentic and empowering and not 'soft and easy-fix, window dressing for business as usual' while ensuring active citizenry. The degree to which people have a 'say' and the degree of their 'influence are negligible if not non-existent', while neither 'informing' them nor 'consulting' them does not entitle them to the 'ownership' of the 'planning process and its outcomes' (Theron *et al:* online*).*

The concept of participation is controversial because legislation has its own definition, officials have their own definition while communities have their own definition .There is a fallacy that communities are illiterate therefore they cannot articulate their own issues. In a study of nine municipalities, one out of nine was commended for its full application of public participation principles. The local government structures like ward committees; IDP forums are not effective because of 'comradeship' which implies that 'comrades' cannot expose one another as highlighted earlier on.

It is apparent that some councillors are accountable to the political parties they represent and not necessarily to the communities they represent while red tape and bureaucracy are serious stumbling blocks in service delivery. It has also been observed that Municipal managers feel that communities become ungovernable once they are aware of their right to participation such that they end up concealing information.

There is a gap in communication between municipalities and their communities. Internal politics and local politics coupled with poorly designed participatory processes are serious impediments to poverty eradication efforts by local government. It has also been observed in literature that context specific issues prevailing on the South Africa socio-economic political landscape including wide spread illiteracy, language barriers, extensive municipal areas coupled with patriarchal social structures and poor public transport services impede participatory development.

There is consensus on the idea of 'participatory development decision making' however, in practice merits for participation breed cynicism because of implementation dilemmas although participatory development has been the 'watchword in local government circles' as observed by Theron.

The current local government sphere is plugged by a legacy of apartheid manifesting in ineffective change agents coupled with inefficiency prevailing in governmental institutions. Theron *et al* (on line) concur that the dilemmas of participatory development raise key questions: What is the meaning of participation? What is people centred development? Who are the people? How should participation be reflected in policy and practice? What is the difference between participation and engagement, involvement and consultation? Who controls, owns and is responsible for the participation process in the IDP? Whose responsibility and authority for making participation real. It is the lack of clarity and consensus on such issues which stifle the impact of integrated development planning on poverty eradication. Such succinct observations reflect the need for further research in those areas given that even major financing institutions such as the World Bank and International monetary fund emphasize participation in development.

CHAPTER SIX

6. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

6.1 Conclusions

Three important conclusions can be drawn from the presentation and analysis of findings in the previous chapter. These include conclusions on the integration of the PGDP and IDP, PGDP and IDP as poverty eradication strategies and community participation. The three are discussed below while appropriate recommendations are suggested.

Given the findings presented in the previous chapter, one can argue that intergovernmental policy integration in South Africa at least in the context of the study is almost nonexistent at the implementation level. While the framework for cooperative governance is there, the challenge confronting intergovernmental policy integration in South Africa is bridging the gap between rhetoric and reality while creating conceptual and political space for intended beneficiaries is crucial as argued elsewhere.

Moreover, Integration also suffers from policy shifts, a plethora of legislation, competing if not conflicting priorities, non-attendance to IGR forums, lack of cooperation by sector departments, contradictions between legislation, policy inconsistency, conceptual imprecision and conceptual blurring, empire building and political infighting.

Therefore, there must be transparency in IGR forums for integration to be realised. There must also be real participation by all sector departments to the IGR forums and engagement by all stakeholders must improve. There must be meeting time and again and not just meeting each other once in a blue moon.

In addition to that, there are also misconceptions which confront the practical and theoretical sides of intergovernmental policy integration in South Africa which militate against integration. Therefore, the need for conceptual precision and analytical rigour can never be overemphasised not only for policy integration but even for effective poverty eradication. The lack of integration also implies that legislating for IGR does not automatically translate to integration rather it is the enforcement of the legislation that matters. This was confirmed by one respondent who lamented that IGR legislation does not have teeth.

6.2 Recommendations

Given the findings and conclusions reached on integration one can argue that Integration requires political will, willingness to integrate even if integration is going against the tide. Policy integration under such circumstances aforementioned is better achieved under conditions supporting joint accountability while the financial allocation system must grant incentives for joint policy making and there must be inter-sectoral budgets for joint policy implementation as argued elsewhere. Moreover, there must be common analytical indicators and parameters for standardising performance for integration to be a success. Intergovernmental integration requires not only intergovernmental prioritisation but resource allocation

as well to avoid 'unfunded mandates'. The integration of the PGDP and IDP is crucial because it improves focus and decisiveness while the implementation of consistent programmes and strategies and a shared vision may be accomplished.

It is against that background that one can argue that policy integration demands 'commitment, patience and strategic alliances' which are the lifeblood of integration, while binding obligations stimulate integration through commitment as much as political will does. Institutional capacity, effectiveness and communication are crucial since communication is the 'lifeblood of organisations'.

There is a plethora of acts, some of which clash, moreover powers and functions of both the province and district are derived from such acts which makes the situation chaotic in some instances due to competing priorities. Therefore, there is need for an integrated approach in legislating such powers and functions. Integration in some cases has been made difficult if not impossible due to the fight for turf and insistence on autonomy by different spheres of government while a big brother approach by one sphere of government to another has made cooperation difficult.

Planning cycles by the Government departments and the District Municipalities need to be revisited. Since it was observed in the findings that in most cases the District plans for the implementation of projects when a decision on allocation of financial resources would already have been made by the province, it is important that the planning cycles are integrated for the sake of effectiveness and efficiency at the District level.

ADM must inform the province and not the other way round. There should be a bottom up approach to planning and not the current scenario which is a top down approach. In-depth interviews held with officials at the district level revealed that there is a top down approach to decision making where financial resources are just dumped to them. It is against this background that one can recommend a bottom up approach instead.

Moreover, for integration to be realised the IGR act must be amended and also become enforceable so that non-attendance by sector department is dealt with. Currently the IGR Act though legislated for cannot be enforced hence the no-attendance by the sector departments. Non-attendance implies that there is lack of cooperation without which integration can be a nightmare.

It is against that background, that one can recommend the need for improved cooperation between the province and the district. It is through cooperation that best practice on integration can be shared and duplication of roles and responsibilities can be avoided while conflicts are minimised or ironed out. For Pieterse (2003:136) the conceptions of integration fail to address the legacy and systems of power that reproduce the 'apartheid city'. It is against that background that a far more radical reform of planned intervention is needed for policy integration to be successful in poverty eradication.

It is also very important for sector departments to have IGR units and practitioners to ensure accountability and commitment to integration of programmes and projects by sector departments. When such practitioners are appointed they will not only

facilitate intergovernmental relations but even intergovernmental policy integration as well.

IGR must be on the scorecard and constitute key performance areas for sector departments and local municipalities for them to be committed and dedicated to integration. It was observed that integration is not taken seriously because other spheres of government do not only have other priorities but also because they are not committed to it since it does not necessarily constitute key performance areas and does not appear on the scorecard.

The findings revealed that there is lack of research and impact evaluation of projects which are implemented for poverty eradication. Therefore there is need for effective monitoring and evaluation tools to be put in place to improve efficiency and effectiveness in the implementation of projects otherwise efforts meant for poverty eradication will fizzle into thin air.

At the District level it was established that some Local Economic Development (LED) forums are not functional and that is a serious problem which is leading to duplication of activities. It is against this background that it can be recommended that these forums must not only be activated but they must be active and influential all the time to provide a ready platform for cooperation and coordination and sharing of information and ideas and best practices.

There are financial constraints; while interdepartmental rivalry- sometimes when there is a new official they are viewed with suspicion since they could be having an

agenda. There is a 'big brother approach' from the province since they have the funds. 'Some sector department only get involved only when it suits them especially if they want to achieve something through the forum but it does not help' lamented the respondent.

There must be policy consistency instead of policy shifts which have been unearthed during the in-depth interviews with key provincial and local government officials. The variation in the financial years of the District and the Province is also problematic since it was highlighted as a source of financial constraints there is therefore need for the two to be harmonised so as to ameliorate that problem.

On participation, the need for participation to be made real and not 'phoney' can never be over-emphasised. It is evident that the structures for participation are not only poorly structured as noted in literature but they are unknown to the communities for which they are meant. The very existence of ward committees for community participation in some cases is unknown there is therefore need for not only making communities aware of such structures but also empowering them so that they can participate meaningfully and influentially.

There is need for effective and efficient participatory methodologies to enhance participation by communities and making it real. Communities need to be empowered also for them to participate meaningfully. Road shows and advertisement are not effective in ensuring participation by the poorest of the poor since they are either illiterate or lack access to such methodologies or both.

There is also need to ensure participation by ordinary villagers and not village elites. In fact, critiques of the participatory approach allude to tokenism, McIvor (2000), myths of communities as coherent and cohesive Nicolson and Schreiner (1973) and 'elite capture of local power' (Crook: 2003) as pitfalls that may compromise the effectiveness of the approach. All of these factors need careful consideration so that capacity is built and competency enhanced in the design of participatory methodologies ideal for real participation. It has been noted that in most cases the poor are rendered powerless by their poverty and they tend to perceive themselves as 'unqualified' for participation in the making of decisions affecting their lives. Such myths need to be demystified through empowerment of the poor for effective participation.

Real participation can have a lasting impact on policy and practice. It is against that background that there is need for participatory spheres to be genuinely inclusive and have teeth. Coelho suggests a conjunction of three factors for participation to be made real. These include: involving a wide spectrum of civil associations and popular movement; committed bureaucrats and inclusive institutional designs which address exclusionary practices and embedded bias.Moreover it is imperative that trade-offs between exclusiveness and effectiveness guard against old ways and forms of domination and exclusion (Cornwall: 2002). Moreover, Kellerman (1997) also identifies empowerment, communication and gender as key issues which are imperative if participation is to be made real from mere rhetoric into reality; phoney participation to effective participation.

Jackson and Kassam (1998) also argue that participation can only be made real if the powerful elites are willing to transfer power to the poor and the marginalised so that their wishes aspirations and interests are taken care of. Kothari (2001) maintains that power inequalities in society and interest and needs of the poor and marginalised must be revealed by the normalisation of the articulation of power.

In fact as observed earlier on participation should promote efficiency, effectiveness and empowerment while effectively improving the standard of living of the vulnerable or beneficiaries. Complex conflict of interests between those involved in both 'top down' and 'bottom up' must be well taken care of and can only be ignored to one's own peril (Cook: 2001). Moreover the concept of participation also implies that the beneficiaries become makers and shapers and owners and not just being reduced to users and choosers. While their opinion must matter their experience as locals must also count. Thus, people participation in development must be considered to be a *sine qua non* for sustainable and successful development.

In making participation real it must also be observed that communities are neither monolithic nor homogeneous entities due to the existence of various socio-economic and political groups as well as interest groups implying that priorities, needs and power bases of such groups are not identical. This implies that their involvement and interest in and benefit from projects may vary hence the need for a distinction between direct beneficiaries and indirect and the losers from the implementation of the project (Kotze and Kellerman: 1997). Participation must result in real shifts and practice. Moreover Institutionalists argue that the key in making participation real lies in conducive institutional designs which entail decision making processes and rules

enabling intended beneficiaries to participate .On the other hand social movement theorists argue for social mobilization for fairer distribution of available resources.

In participatory planning it must be born in mind that while communities could be hailed for their knowledge of constraints, which include social, economic, environmental and cultural and local conditions, communities themselves could be dominated by patronage based relations or be ethnically fragmented. As argued elsewhere, the high sounding rhetoric of grassroots participation can be subject to deep-seated exasperation and hostilities of the community elites towards the community poor. In addition to that the concept of participation can also lead to the creation of new political actors and political subjectivities (Baochi: 2001, Heller: 2001, Avritzer: 2002).

Therefore such complexities confronting community participation need to be taken care of in making participation real and poverty eradication a reality. What is fundamental, therefore, is not only a thorough examination of the political use of the local but even the very conceptualisation of participation and its methodologies. Real participation goes beyond 'passive development objects' and 'recipients of development' to ensuring that people are empowered to become 'masters of their own development'.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

The foregoing observations portray the fact that the South African system of governance suffers from not only conceptual and analytical imprecision but also from

a complex backlog. This is not just a backlog in the delivery of service but a serious backlog that is bedevilling local government is a backlog of incompetence on the part of local government officials manifesting in a plethora of symptoms some of which are inefficiency and ineffectiveness. Atkinson (2002) also critically questions the capacity of municipalities to implement their IDPs as observed elsewhere hence the need for capacity building for institutional development which is necessary for sustainable poverty eradication. She also stresses that a development-oriented government would design its internal dynamics to meet specific development goals. The lack of project management capacity skills have has been also highlighted as one of the major stumbling blocks in the implementation of the PGDP and IDP (Harrison: 2002; Attiknson: 2002).In fact, Harrison concurs that local governments in South Africa are still weak institutionally even to perform some basic functions of service delivery such that sophisticated levels of integration and coordination remain a long way off.

As argued elsewhere, there has been wide agreement in assessment reports that IDPs as instruments of developmental local government have contributed significantly to the shift in expenditure towards historically disadvantaged communities. However it is not clear whether this more equitable expenditure pattern is having much impact on deeply entrenched social and spatial patterns of inequality. Mabin (2002) suggests that IDPs are not addressing the thorniest issues; they are steering well clear of radical interventions that would be needed to alter deeply entrenched patterns.

The neo-liberal ideology informing development planning not only in the province but in South Africa as a whole is a myth propagated by western main stream economists which leaves benefits indeed merely 'trickling down' to the poor and not 'pouring'. As observed elsewhere experiences of in many developing countries over the past decades do not appear to support the trickle down process hypothesis. Evidence which is available implies that in most African countries the standard of living has almost remained constant during the past decades.

As much as poverty in the Eastern Cape Province and South Africa at large derives directly from deliberate systemic and systematic exploitation and segregation of the blacks, a participatory democratic developmental state would advocate deliberate pro-poor policies targeting 'poverty pockets'. Thus the notion of just 'growth with equity' coupled with the' trickle down' approach is out of question. As a matter of fact, the very definition of a developmental state entails the wholesale transformation of society. The Chinese experience highlighted in chapter three emphatically demonstrates that poverty eradication cannot be an after thought in development planning but it must be at the centre of development planning for effective poverty eradication. Thus, the developmental commitment of a developmental state must be matched with the institutional capacity to demonstrate and operationalize the commitment. In the case of China, 'the first action program for development-oriented poverty reduction with clear and definite objectives, targets, measures and a time limit' demonstrated this.

Moreover, the fact that the PGDP and IDP do not comprehensively define poverty is disturbing. The content and context of poverty in rural South Africa, therefore, must

be clearly understood since the misconstruction of poverty or the negation of one aspect of poverty has phenomenal implications on the interventions coined for the alleviation of the same. It is important to note that poverty is not only a complex phenomenon but is a contested concept since its definition, measurement and conceptualization are highly contentious. The approach to poverty eradication must be equally multifaceted and holistic not simplistic and one-dimensional as implied in the PGDP and ADM IDP if it has to be effective. Thus if the conception of poverty in rural South Africa is not misconstrued the interventions for the mitigation of the same can be effective.

Given the foregoing arguments, one can observe that South Africa is not yet a full fledged participatory and democratic developmental state. The challenge then as observed by Chambers is the transformation of corridors and citadels of power and bureaucrats and municipal officials, liberating them from learning disabilities while opening up avenues for innovation, adventuring and learning for professionals to understand better and be not only realistic but relevant in eradicating poverty while the poor will stand a better chance of being catapulted from the doldrums of poverty. It is against this background that the state must be fundamentally reconfigured for it to be an agent of development especially given the vagaries of globalisation. The Human rights based approach to poverty eradication (attached as appendix 4) further illustrates the need for such a reconfiguration within the context of participatory development. In the context of this study one can argue that policy integration remains at the level of rhetoric. Therefore political will and commitment, leadership and political support coupled with institutional, technical, administrative and political capacity for efficient and effective policy implementation tend to be

pivotal in successful poverty eradication. It is against this background that we argue that in order to fight poverty in South Africa the vitality of the need for a comprehensive, all encompassing and multifaceted national strategy powered by political will and commitment can never be overemphasized.

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Appendix 1

HOUSEHOLD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

The major objective of this study is to assess community participation in and the impact of the Provincial Growth and Development Plan and the Amathole Integrated Development Plan on poverty eradication. Responses to items in this questionnaire will be treated as **STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.** There is no right or wrong answers and **YOUR NAME WILL NOT BE WRITTEN** on the questionnaire. The information obtained will be used for **ACADEMIC PURPOSES** only. Please circle the appropriate response to all questions.

Name of the village: …………………………..

Name of researcher ………………………….

1. Gender of the respondent
   1) Male
   2) Female

2. How old are you
   1) Over 65 years
   2) 51-65 years
   3) 31-50 years
   4) 20-30 years
   5) Below 20 years

3. Who is the head of the household?
   1) Father
   2) Mother
   3) Son
   4) Daughter
   5) Other, specify…………………………………………………………………………… ……………………………………………………………………………………….

4. What is the number of members of the household? ……………………………………………………………………………………… ………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Indicate the gender of the following age groups in the family

Age group	Female	Male
Over 70 years		

50 – 70 years		
30 – 49 years		
20 – 30 years		
13 – 19 years		
Less than 13 years		

6. What is the household monthly income
   1) R1 – 2000
   2) 2001 – 5000
   3) 5001 – 10000
   4) 10001 – 15000
   5) Other, specify……………………………………………………………………………
      …………………………………………………………………………………………

7. What is the source of your income
   1) Agricultural production
   2) Salary
   3) Social grant
   4) Remittances from relatives
   5) Other, specify

8. Do you receive food parcels?
   1) Yes
   2) No

9. If yes how often?
   …………………………………………………………………………………………….
   ……………………………………………………………..
   ....

10. What is the highest level of Education you have attained?
    1) Primary
    2) Matric
    3) Diploma
    4) Degree
    5) Other, specify……………………………………………………………………………
       …………………………………………………………………………………………

11. What is your employment status?
    1) Unemployed
    2) Employed
    3) Self-employed
    4) Other,
       specify…………………………………………………………………………
       …………………………………………………………………………

12. How do you define poverty?
    ………………………………………………………………………………………
    ………………………………………………………………………………………
    ………………………………………………………………………………………
    ………………………………………………………………………………………
    ………………………………………………………………………………………
    ………………………………………………………………………………………
    ………………………………………………………………………………………

13. Would you say you are poor?
    1) Yes
    2) No

14. Do you own a House?
    1) Yes
    2) No

15. What type is it?
    1) Shack?
    2) Mud?
    3) RDP?
    4) Other,
       specify……………………………………………………………………………
       …………………………………………………………………………………

16. Do you have access to (circle where applicable)
    1) Running water
    2) Electricity
    3) Transport
    4) Other amenities, please specify
    ………………………………………………………………………………………………
    ………………………………………………………………………………………………

17. Do you think they are affordable?
    1) Yes

2) No

18. Are you satisfied with them?
    1) Yes
    2) No

19. What assets do you own?
    1) Land
    2) Car
    3) Cattle
    4) Bicycle
    5) Other, please specify

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………
    ……………………………………………………………………………………………
    ……………………………………………………………………………………………
    ……………………………………………………………………………………………

20. Have you ever heard about IDP ,if yes what do you understand it to be

    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

21. Have you ever heard about PGDP what do you understand it to be?

    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

22. Have the following projects been implemented in your area?

program	yes	no
Public works		
Water and sanitation		
housing		

23. Have you participated in the formulation and implementation of these projects?
    1) Yes
    2) No

24. Please explain your answer

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

25. Have the officials concerned come back to assess the impact of these projects on your livelihood?
1) Yes
2) No

26. Would you say your standard of living has improved due to the implementation of these projects?
1) Yes
2) No

27. Please explain your answer

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

28. Do you think your participation in government programs matters?
1) Yes
2) No

29. Please explain your answer

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

30. What do you think can be done for government to improve your participation in poverty eradication measures

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

31. Would you say the government is committed to poverty eradication?
1) Yes

2) No

32. If yes, in your view how has it demonstrated its commitment?

…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………

33. What do you think the government can do to effectively eradicate poverty in your area?

…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………

THANK YOU

Appendix 2

The questionnaire concerns the Eastern Cape PGDP and Amathole IDP integration and poverty eradication in the Eastern Cape Province. Information obtained will be treated as strictly confidential. There are no right or wrong answers and your name will not be quoted without your permission. Please note that Information obtained will be for academic purposes only.

It has been argued that South Africa is a developmental state; do you think that this is being reflected in the poverty eradication efforts by the Provincial government?

What can you say about political will for poverty eradication in the province?

Since the PGDP was formed when the municipality was already in existence, was it informed by the Amathole IDP in its formulation?

Would you say that there was coordination in the formulation and implementation of the PGDP and the IDP? Please explain your answer.

To what extent is the Amathole IDP review informed by the PGDP?

How does the PGDP define poverty and to what extent is that reflected at the implementation level by municipalities?

Would you say that the PGDP coupled with Amathole IDP provide a sustainable basis for poverty eradication?

The PGDP identifies programs under the poverty eradication pillar for systematic poverty eradication; to what extent do you think these are implemented by the IDP?

To what extent do you think the Amathole IDP implements the PGDP in general for poverty eradication?

To what extent can you say there is real community participation in the formulation and implementation of the Amathole IDP and PGDP?

What do you think can be done for community participation to be real and effective?

What has been the impact of local politics and corruption in the implementation of the PGDP and the Amathole IDP?

What do you think can be done to improve integration of the PGDP and Amathole IDP in poverty eradication?

Thank you

Appendix 3

THE PLANNING PROCESS

1.0 The IDP Review Process
On 29 August 2008, the Amathole District Municipality adopted a Framework Plan for the IDP throughout its area of jurisdiction, followed by a Process Plan. These plans were adopted in accordance with the relevant legal prescripts and have dictated the process to be followed for developing the IDP.

Organisational arrangements were put in place as per the Process Plan and all legislative prescripts were adhered to. Of particular note have been the effective and efficient operations of structures such as the Intergovernmental Relations Forum (IGR), District Mayors' Forum (DIMAFO), IDP Representative Forum and the IDP Steering Committee. These have executed their mandates in terms of the adopted Process Plan and ensured the achievement of key milestones and deliverables.

In this review, particular attention was paid to Institutional issues, IDP-budget link and an updated list of projects. An analysis was conducted in respect of various sector plans attached to the ADM's IDP and some were found to be still relevant, others required a review whilst new ones were developed.

Strict compliance with Regulation 3(5) has been ensured through an ongoing process of consultation between the ADM and all local municipalities through the operations of the said structures as well as through the activities of the Municipal Support Unit.

1.1 Organizational Arrangements
Prior to the commencement of the IDP, ADM prepared and adopted a District IDP Framework Plan as well as an ADM Process Plan that served as a guide to the overall process.

 District Framework Plan
A District Framework Plan was formulated and adopted on 29 August 2008 to serve as a guide to all of the local municipalities within the ADM area of jurisdiction, in the preparation of their respective Process Plans. In brief, the District Framework Plan outlines the time frames of scheduled events/activities, structures involved and their respective roles and responsibilities.

ADM Process Plan
The IDP Process Plan was also formulated and adopted together with the Budget Process Plan on 29 August 2008.The IDP Process Plan outlines in detail, the way in which the ADM embarked on its own IDP Process from its commencement in August 2008 to its completion in June 2009. In brief, the Process Plan outlines the time frames of scheduled events, structures involved and their respective roles and responsibilities.

ADM IDP Structures

Five structures guided the IDP Process within the ADM:
- IDP Representative Forum
- IDP Steering Committee
- IDP Cluster Teams
- IGR
- DIMAFO

Roles and Responsibilities

A number of role-players participated in the IDP Review Process. The role-players together with their respective roles and responsibilities are outlined in the table below.

PERSON/STRUCTURE ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES
Executive Mayor

- Manage the drafting of the IDP;
- Assign responsibilities in this regard to the Municipal Manager;
- Submit the draft Framework Plan and Process Plan to the Council for adoption;
- Submit the draft IDP to the Council for adoption and approval;
  The responsibility for managing the drafting of the IDP was assigned to the Municipal Manager assisted by the Strategic Manager.

Municipal Manager / Strategic Manager

The Municipal Manager had the following responsibilities, assigned to the Strategic manager:
- Preparation of Framework Plan;
- Preparation of the Process Plan;
- Day-to-day management and coordination of the IDP process in terms of time, resources and people, and ensuring:
- The involvement of all relevant role-players, especially officials;
- That the timeframes are being adhered to;
- That the planning process is horizontally and vertically aligned and complies with national and provincial requirements;
- That conditions for participation are provided; and
- That the outcomes are documented.
- Chairing the IDP Steering Committee;

DIMAFO (District Mayor's Forum)

The DIMAFO is the institutional structure to monitor alignment and integration of the IDP process between ADM, its local municipalities, sector departments and parastatal bodies.

Chairperson:

The Executive Mayor of Amathole District Municipality
Secretariat:

The secretariat for this function is provided by the IGR Unit
Members:

Chairpersons of the IDP Representative Forums from the:
• Eight local Municipalities;
• Chairpersons of the IDP Steering Committees, (Municipal/Strategic

Managers) from the eight Local Municipalities.
• Representatives from sector departments and parastatals.
The DIMAFO is responsible for co-ordinating roles regarding District
Municipality and Local Municipalities by:
• Ensuring horizontal alignment of the IDPs of the Local
Municipalities in the District Council area;
• Ensuring vertical alignment between District and Local planning;
• Facilitation of vertical alignment of IDPs with other spheres of
government; and
• Preparation of joint strategy workshops with Local Municipalities,
Provincial and National role-players.
DIMAFO meetings are always preceded by IGR technical committee
meetings.

IDP Steering Committee

The IDP Steering Committee comprised of a technical working team of
dedicated officials who supported the Strategic Manager to ensure a
smooth planning process. The Municipal Manager was responsible for the
process but often delegated functions to the officials that formed part of
the Steering Committee.

Chairperson:

Municipal Manager (or Strategic Manager)

Secretariat:

The secretariat for this function is provided by the IDP/PMS Unit

Members:

Heads of Departments (HODs)
Spatial Co-ordination Unit (sector plan champs)
Municipal Support Unit (MSU)
Cluster technical champs
Project Managers

Chief HR Officer (Training)
Internal audit
Communication
Budget pilot champ

The IDP Steering Committee is responsible for the following:
- Commission research studies;
- Consider and comment on:
- Inputs from subcommittee(s), cluster teams;
- Inputs from provincial sector departments and support providers.
- Process, summarise and draft outputs;
- Make recommendations to the Representative Forum;
- Prepare, facilitate and minute meetings
- Prepare and submit reports to the IDP Representative Forum

IDP Representative Forum

District-wide participation took place through a number of related structures. The IDP Rep Forum which was used in the initial IDP was resuscitated. The IDP Representative Forum comprised of ADM and its local municipalities, representatives from sector departments, parastatal bodies, NGOs, business People, traditional leaders, and other interested organized bodies.

Chairperson:

The Executive Mayor or a nominee

Secretariat:

The secretariat for this function is provided by the IDP/PMS Unit

Membership:

Invitations were submitted to the same members as the previous year, including the representatives of the consultative fora.

Cluster Teams

A task team was established for each cluster to develop objectives and strategies and identify projects and a set of programs based on the development priorities and the preferred district-wide strategies. Each team was headed by a political and a technical Champion and consisted of senior officials. The 4 clusters are aligned to the 5 local government key priority areas.

Service Providers

Service providers were not utilised for this IDP, instead, the IDP/PMS unit provided support for the following:

- Methodological / technical support on the development of objectives, strategies, projects and programmes.
- Budget alignment and other ad hoc support as required;
- Facilitation of planning workshops as required.
  In addition to the structures reflected in the Table above, the following structures were also involved:
- Budget Planning Team
- Spatial Co-ordination Unit
- Special Programmes Unit
- Project Task Team
- Multi Disciplinary Task Team

1.2 **Schedule of Meetings**

The outline of the public participation process with specific reference to meetings and workshop dates of the various role players are reflected in the table below. The latter provides a brief summary of transparency and public involvement methodology followed in preparation of the IDP.

ADM ACTION PLAN

PARTICIPATION STRUCTURES & MEETING DATES

PRE-PLANNING (July 01– August 08)

IDP Managers' workshop (ADM/LMs – prepare for the review) 24 July 2008
IDP Steering Committee (pre-planning and review implementation) 15 September 2008
IDP Representative Forum [District-wide launch] 29 September 2008
Council workshop on IDP/Budget process 14 October 2008

ANALYSIS (September 01 – November 30)

IDP Managers' workshop (Prioritization of local needs and issues) 6-7 October 2008
IDP Steering Committee 05 November 2008
IDP Representative Forum [District-wide development priorities] 20 November 2008

OBJECTIVES; STRATEGIES and PROGRAMMES (December 01 – March 30)

IDP Managers' workshop 26, 27 & 28 January 2009
IDP Steering Committee (Refine objectives, strategies and draft projects) 19 January 2009
IDP Steering Committee (Refine objectives, strategies and draft projects) 16 February 2009
Strategic Planning session (Mid-year term review) 05 – 06 February 2009

IDP Representative Forum (Present draft objectives and strategies) 23 February 2009
District Mayors' Forum (DIMAFO) 09 March 2009
IDP Steering Committee (Draft project list with budget envelopes) 16 March 2009
Council workshop on draft IDP 12 – 13 March 2009
Council approval of the draft IDP 27 March 2009

APPROVAL (April 01 – May 30)

IDP Representative Forum 02 April 2009
IDP Managers' workshop April 2009
District Wide Integration Workshop (with LMs, Sector Departments,
Parastatal bodies and Non-Governmental Organizations)
April 2009
IDP/ BUDGET ROAD-SHOWS (public presentation hearings) 06 April – 15 May 2009
IGR Forum meeting 07 May 2009
IDP Steering Committee (Implementation & Operational Plan) 11 May 2009
Council Open Day (Present final draft) 15 May 2009
DIMAFO 20 May 2009
IDP/budget Representative forum meeting 21 May 2009
Council Meeting (Final Adoption) 29 May 2009

1.3 **Relevant Documents**

The following documentation should be read with the IDP:
- Municipal Systems Act and relevant regulations
- IDP Guide Pack, with specific reference to Guide 3 and Guide 6
- District IDP Framework Plan
- ADM IDP Process Plan
- ADM Budget Process Plan
- ADM IDP (2007 - 2012) and 2008/2009 Reviewed IDP
- Various Sector Plans and Programmes
- Category B IDP's (2007 - 2012) and 2008/2009 Reviewed IDPs
- Performance Management Framework (2006)
- Provincial Growth and Development Plan (2004-2014)
    Source: accessed from http://www.amathole.gov.za.

Appendix 4

Human Rights-Based Approaches to Poverty Eradication and Development

Introduction

The human rights-based or rights-based approach to poverty eradication and development lies at the very heart of ActionAid's work. This short paper aims to explain how we interpret these terms, and how we use and define them in the context of our work. The paper goes on to outline our specific approach to poverty eradication, explaining poverty as a direct consequence of the denial or violation of human rights and the result of unequal power dynamics in the process of claiming and/or realising one's rights. The paper explains that our approach places as much emphasis on how we go about our work – the process we follow, as what we aim to achieve – the outcome. The content of rights (the what) needs to work with the process of securing these rights (the how) and most importantly, needs to relate to the specific rights holders (with whom or whose rights).The paper concludes with examples of non rights-based approaches, and provides suggestions on how to implement a rights-based approach.

ActionAid's rights-based approach

ActionAid's approach to poverty eradication starts with the connection between poverty and human rights, from the perspective of people living in poverty. We believe that people who live in poverty should understand their experiences of want, fear, discrimination and exclusion in terms of human rights abuses, violations and exploitation, and not in terms of natural phenomena, as the consequence of their own failings, or as situations they have brought upon themselves. We believe that opposing patriarchy is an integral part of a human rights-based approach. Women's rights are central in our analysis and practice of human rights and must be central to all our work. We believe that the rich and powerful, at all levels, structurally deny the rights of the poor and excluded in order to appropriate and accumulate wealth and control over productive resources. Rich and powerful elites tend to capture the state structure and apparatus to deny or violate rights for all, and to maintain the conditions that allow oppression and injustice to continue. States (executive governments, judiciary and legislative parliaments) tend to be dominated by such elites. ActionAid believes that this domination must be challenged as the fundamental role and responsibility of the state is to respect, protect, promote and fulfill the rights of all people, not simply the elite. Holding governments accountable for the fulfillment of human rights is therefore a central part of our rights-based approach. We believe that the most effective way for people living in poverty to claim, secure and enjoy their human rights is to organise and mobilise with others, have a voice and develop their power to negotiate. We subscribe to and support the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent covenants, conventions and treaties.

The "What": The content of rights
Our interpretation of human rights, their scope and the duties required to protect them, is primarily derived from international and national human rights instruments.

Defining Human Rights

The notion of human rights and the broader concept of human dignity have been formulated over centuries by political philosophers and moral thinkers to express the deep-rooted belief that everyone has a moral claim to be treated equally and justly by others. Human rights set out what it means to be a human being. They guide and instruct governments how to act, what their function is, what they are responsible for and how their authority is limited.

Human rights can be classified into three categories:

- *Civil and political rights,* or so-called 'negative rights'; these focus on what the state should not do to interfere with people's freedoms, such as freedom of speech, association and belief. These are, in effect, 'keep-out' notices; for instance, that the state should not prevent the freedom of speech or the freedom of association.

- *Social, economic and cultural rights* or 'positive rights'; these focus on what the state should do to promote people's rights. They are concerned with 'equality' of condition and treatment; for instance that the state should offer education for all or that it should guarantee the right to food.

- *Collective rights* or 'solidarity rights'; these focus more on the rights of groups of people than on individual rights. They include minority rights, the right to development, environmental rights and the rights to sovereignty and self-determination. The right to development, which has worked through the required process to be recognised as a human right (though not legally binding), includes the concept that states can make human rights claims against other states or the international community. This can be with respect to the right to pursue national development policies and an international environment conducive to development, and implies the duty to provide international development assistance.

Though human rights can be classified into categories and/or definitions as above, they are indivisible. A human being can only be treated with justice, equity and dignity, if all his or her rights are protected, promoted and fulfilled. For instance, a woman who is free to vote and to be an elected as a political candidate, but is denied her right to food and education, is not treated justly and equally.

ActionAid supports the core belief of international human rights declaration and covenants that every person has a moral claim to be treated equally and justly by others. This also means that human rights are universal and apply to all human beings; no human rights apply only to men, white people or the rich.

An important distinction needs to be made between human rights, which are defined by international instruments and which we place at the centre of our strategy, and legal rights, which are defined by states in their statutes. Human rights are derived from a moral notion that people have rights by virtue of being human; legal rights

reflect the power balance between social groups and classes in a given society at a given time, and are liable to abuse.

Most rights become official and legal when they are recognised by, and denote legal entitlements created by, the state. In theory, rights can be created, given and removed from people by states at any time. A right is first developed and disputed in a society, and depending on the power relations, a state can choose to recognise a right and create its respective legal entitlements, or can choose not to recognise it. For instance, in many countries where women have no legal rights to land, women have mobilized themselves, created public awareness about their right to land, associated their local struggle with broader human rights covenants and declarations, made alliances, influenced decision-makers, and undertaken many other actions, until a new power relation has obliged the state to legally recognize their right as they perceived it and to create its respective entitlements.

Human rights differ from legal rights in that people own their human rights by virtue of being human, not by virtue of being citizens of a particular state. In this sense, there is a permanent struggle to broaden a state's legal structure and apparatus, which reflects the balance of power within a society. By reflecting power relations, the legal structure (the set of laws and codes) tends to maintain and perpetuate the domination of the rich and powerful elite that control the state apparatus. To implement a broader concept of human rights, there is a permanent challenge to change the legal status to recognise the rights of the excluded, as well as a permanent struggle to implement and realize such rights by holding governments accountable to fulfill these rights. The most sustainable and effective way of achieving this is by changing the power relations in society.

The political philosophers and moral thinkers recognised that since powerful individuals and entities, particularly governing states, tend to oppress the less powerful and deny them their rights, a human rights framework had to be developed that could go deeper than the laws created by the powerful entities themselves, which could protect and promote all people's rights and determine how states should behave. In so doing, it would keep a check on the power of the state and protect the powerless from the powerful.

To turn human rights into reality, proponents of human rights agreed on the need for universal laws that could bind all people in all nations and which would hold all states accountable for their conduct. The first of these to be developed, the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, reflected the shared aspirations and beliefs on human rights of all member countries. Further human rights treaties and covenants were then developed, which states had to ratify and which included specific mechanisms on how they should report on their performance with respect to human rights. For the most part, therefore, ActionAid looks to these international human rights instruments and to national constitutions and laws, which are consistent with the international human rights framework, to frame the content of the rights we work on and which we advocate for. We also facilitate opportunities for people living in poverty or who are excluded, to elaborate on these rights, and which can be added to the existing body of human rights laws and treaties.

Poverty as the consequence of the denial or violation of human rights

People living in poverty are often treated as less than human, which results in a deepening cycle of poverty. Day to day, from the cradle to the grave, they are cheated and exploited and are denied the very material and philosophical basis that allows them to flourish as human beings. This is perpetrated by family members, neighbours, employers, traders, and most shamefully, the state, the very body that is ultimately entrusted with the duty to protect and promote people's human rights, dignity and well-being.

When people are treated as less than human, they often feel that they have no rights. They feel deeply humiliated and shamed, robbed of their dignity and their sense of equality with others, as well as their sense of self-worth. This further deepens their sense of powerlessness and impacts on their ability to stand up for themselves. Still worse, it strips away their core joy and value of being uniquely human: to be free to reason and imagine what they want to be, what they want to do and what they want to become. It robs them of their ability to plan according to their hopes and needs, and to be free to act on their plans by themselves or with others. And so the cycle continues.

Thus on one level, the connection between poverty and human rights is easily explained. The international human rights framework states that all people have a human right to a standard of living that is adequate for their health and well-being, to food, clothing, housing, medical care and social services, civil and political freedoms. However, many people living in poverty experience a disproportionate lack of enjoyment of their human rights. Many have no access to education, health services, food, adequate shelter, security or a voice. Furthermore, active processes of discrimination and impoverishment are at work to ensure that their rights are denied. Poverty is thus explained as a denial or a violation of human rights, though not all violations of human rights cause poverty. The human rights-based approach to poverty eradication and development is thus best explained as having poor people fulfill their individual needs by claiming or securing their human rights.

Denial of rights as a consequence of unequal power relations

People are denied their human rights, not through mere omission, forgetfulness or lack of effort, but due to unequal power relations, with the more powerful denying the human rights of the less powerful, on both an individual and structural level. On the individual level, poor people face discrimination, violence, oppression, and exploitation in their day to day interactions with other individuals. This can be caused by any factor that blocks access to justice, equal treatment or control and access to the resources needed for livelihoods and to live a life of dignity, and can be in any public or private space such as the household, the marketplace, a school or any other place where people meet or work.

On the more complex structural level, people are denied their rights in the very way that they act, expect and accept that the world operates. It invisibly structures a set of beliefs, laws, institutions, policies and behaviours such as caste, ethnicity, race or gender, as well as broader concepts of patriarchy or deep-seated political-economic

belief systems such as neo-liberalism. People experience social exclusion when their deprivation is a result of their belonging to a particular group, rather than because of their specific individual situation. The unequal position of women in society is the most widespread, deepest and most harmful of human rights violations and social exclusion practices. Most regard it as normal because it has been so carefully and deliberately structured into every level of human relations and over a long period of time. It is the dynamics of these relationships (how, when and why they operate) and the structures through which they manifest themselves (culture, religious institutions, family, law, state, market, and public and private institutions) that determine who can claim and enjoy their human rights. Not only do the powerful make people who live in poverty feel worthless and powerless and that they have no human rights, but those who live in poverty often give in to this exploitation, discrimination and oppression because they don't have the power to resist.

ActionAid's rights-based approach, however, runs deeper than simply the 'what'. If it didn't, simply providing a school in a village or ensuring that the state provided this basic service would be sufficient for us to qualify as practicing a human rights-based approach to development. Certain totalitarian regimes would also qualify. A human rights-based approach to poverty eradication and development needs to go an important step further and focus on how these rights are claimed, secured and enjoyed by the rights holders. Human rights are about flourishing as a human being. They involve people being free to reason and imagine what they want to be, what they want to do with their lives and what they want to become; to plan according to their own hopes and needs and to be free to act on their plans, either by themselves or with others. A human rights-based approach thus needs to ensure that rights are claimed, secured and enjoyed in ways that are empowering, strengthen peoples' ability to negotiate with the powerful, build dignity, and increase freedom and choice to imagine and pursue the lives, futures and the rights they value. Rights can not be just handed out to people as charity; active agency and the actions of the rights-holders need to be an integral part of a rights-based approach.

The How: The process of securing the rights

The content of rights (the what), as mentioned above, needs to work with the process of securing these rights (the how). While our rights-based practices vary according to where and with whom we work, and what we aim to achieve with those we work, there are a few consistent principles that ensure that the process of securing rights is empowering and builds dignity. These are:

- Organising and Raising Critical Consciousness The first step in ActionAid's rights-based framework is to raise critical consciousness through popular education and through practical support to analyse contexts, power-relations and violation of rights and then to plan and organise actions to improve people's well-being.

  For those who have been made to believe that they have no rights, and socialised to expect to be treated without dignity or respect, the first step is to challenge and change their perceptions of themselves. This step supports people to critically assess their situation and to see it for what it is:

exploitation, oppression and injustice. It is also the first step to empowerment for change– an inner realisation that there is a possibility for change and a sense that people have the power to do something about it.

A range of methods and techniques have been developed to achieve this fundamental first step. Most of these, such as REFLECT, Stepping Stones, economic literacy, participatory budget analysis and PVA, are a part of the participatory methods ActionAid uses in its programme work. These techniques support poor and excluded people through a journey in which they discuss and realize who they are and create a collective sense of identity among themselves, as rights-holders. As such, they are crucial components of rights-based work.

Having taken the first step, people then develop power as they organise and work together to claim their rights and pursue the goals that they have set for themselves. One of the most profound and striking changes witnessed in human rights based work is seeing this inner power grow along with peoples' dignity and hopes for the future.

Our commitment to standing alongside people living in poverty in their struggles against injustice means taking sides with them through the long-term, particularly when challenges arise. This can mean sharing their risks and facing the displeasure of the powerful.

An important step in creating an environment in which people's confidence can grow, and in which they can reflect upon and analyse their situation, is bringing people together into groups that share a particular experience of deprivation or denial and violation of rights, such as through Reflect circles. It requires more than simply organising people to undertake activities together, such as digging a well or drawing a transect map of their village; it involves supporting people to reason, analyse and plan for themselves, and to organise and negotiate so that they can act on their plans. This needs to be done in a critical way and within the context of rights having been violated, rather than in a context of failed lives and self-blame.

Initially, the focus may be on building confidence and dignity by mobilising internal resources and negotiating with us or our partners as the main external actors. Confident communities can generate alternative ways of addressing basic needs, such as obtaining access to water or shelter, and can go on to promote these as models of practice which become the state's duty to provide. The analysis and plan that led to the prioritisation of the issue for collective action and ActionAid's intervention may then form the basis for linking to local, district or municipal plans, and hence become part of what the state has a duty to provide.

Other routes to deeper engagement on rights and claims may be to tackle human rights violations directly through mobilisation and protest, or through social audits and participatory budgets. We have a wealth of experience on how rights work can grow from a service-provision entry point. There is no

simple sequence to a right-based approach. It is also often difficult to simplify the process by which people organise to claim their rights, as every situation is unique and each demands its ownanalysis and strategy.

After the initial strategic action, the next step is usually to tackle the dominant and pervasive individuals, systems and structures of power. This requires more power-building strategic action by mobilizing like-minded groups, networks, alliances, social movements, knowledge, resources and public opinion. It requires engaging with formal power structures (state structures and public bodies) and creating new public spaces in which the marginalised are more in control of the process, such as through social audits, participatory budgets, and people's commission and platforms. It is critical at this stage to receive support and solidarity from NGOs and the broader social movements.

Through this process of organisation and mobilisation, people develop increasing control over, and access to, the resources and relationships they need for their well-being. It is an ongoing struggle; one success, such as freedom from bondage, leads to the next, such as the struggle for land, shelter and livelihoods. People claim their rights, use their newly acquired rights and can be said to fully enjoy their human rights when they find themselves in the position of equality with others in being what they want to be, doing what they want to do and doing it with the confidence to become what they set out to become.

- Addressing people's needs as rights they can claim We have a moral duty to work with poor and excluded people to respond to the distress and suffering they experience as a result of having had their rights denied and having been deprived of fulfilling their basic needs. At times, we provide practical solidarity by providing short-term services and relief to address these immediate basic needs, simply because people need them to survive or to support them in claiming their rights. This can take the form of housing, food, information or training in times of emergencies. However, we are also concerned to see that people meet these basic needs in the long-term by ensuring that they claim them from the state as their human rights and entitlements. We ensure that we use the provision of short-term basic services as an entry point and as a means to an end, to work with people to secure their rights from the state in the long-term. Some of our key lessons in this area are:

1. Service delivery (practical solidarity), in terms of provision of money, materials, information or training etc., is an integral part of our rights-based approach.

2. The notion of providing service must go beyond simply providing buildings and materials to include the sharing of information and knowledge, and bridging and linking to others, through training etc.

3. We should deliver services to rights-holders when they need them and demand them, but only as a means or as an enabling strategy, not as an end in itself. Even in emergency situations, where we see humanitarian relief as a

human right, services should be delivered through empowering and enabling strategies that both address and go beyond the immediate conditions of poverty.

4. We should only deliver services when the state is incapable of providing them and we should never provide them in such a way that the state is allowed to shirk its responsibilities as a duty holder or divert its resources away from fulfilling the rights of people or community we work with. In other words, we should never duplicate, displace or replace the state, but supplement it, when necessary.

5. Services should always be defined and managed by rights-holders themselves.

6. Rights-holder are the starting point in our planning and programming. We originally used an 'area-based' approach to programming, in which we examined the gaps in an area and then focused on the people who lived in poverty within it. Our rights-based approach introduces a different hierarchy of planning, placing the rights-holders - the people who live in poverty – before the geography they live in or the area of concern - such as lack of access to food, health or education.

- Ensuring participation and actions of poor and excluded people. The human rights-based approach requires that rights-holders living in poverty are fully involved and take action in determining their needs and the responses that will be provided to answer them. This is in stark contrast to a top-down, service-led approach where such decisions are made externally and where poor people do not participate in the processes that affect, simply because they are wrongly considered to be mere beneficiaries or recipients. This approach undermines peoples' dignity and their confidence to think, plan, and negotiate. Though providing people with new schools, wells and boats can serve them on one level, leaving them with less dignity and power to negotiate with others is a failure on another level.

  Engaging with communities through the provision of services – as a strategic means rather than as an end in itself, does not mean that the service-focused work is of any less importance. It demands the highest level of quality in terms of participatory analysis and community organising and planning, of technical knowledge and best models of practice, and in identification and empowerment of, and work with, the most excluded and marginalised. In short, rights-based approaches should be applied from the start and throughout our work.

- **Paying attention to issues of power**

Central to our rights-based approach is the analysis of power relations and strengthening the power of poor and excluded people. In practice, the fulfillment of human rights is determined by cultural practices, behaviours, institutions and people that either embody or hold power. However, it is not always in the interests of the powerful to protect and promote equal rights. Since a rights-based approach seeks to secure equal rights for all people, it inevitably means confronting, or critically engaging with, the powerful; it means resisting oppression, making claims, persuading and negotiating with the powerful and influencing public policy and building necessary public opinions througha dvocacy and campaigning methods.

Policy changes and public opinion-building must go hand in hand with societal changes to transform the structures, attitudes, and values that are at the root of societal inequities and injustice. We thus require a more people-centred approach focused on social transformation. For instance, while we might work at changing an educational policy to increase girls' access to education, a number of other societal changes need to take place, such as reducing the amount of housework girls need to perform, or eliminating the violence they experience in schools.

- **Deepening democracy at every level**
  A people-centred advocacy can only succeed if political systems and cultures are open to contest and are responsive to citizens. They need to be open in their decision-making, ready to change and accountable and responsive to pressure from citizens. The primary purpose of establishing political authority is to improve the protection of these rights; people own their human rights and should never need to beg for them to be provided or respected. States need to recognise their duty to protect and promote people's human rights the human rights-based approach remind them of it.

ActionAid's rights-based approaches put significant emphasis on making democracy 'popular' that is, deepening inclusive processes and cultures of democracy. Representative democracy - the periodic right to vote for your political representation- is a necessary but insufficient condition to promote human rights. True democracy is inclusive, participative and representative. In their daily struggle to claim their human rights, people need freedom of information and participation, action and decision making. Their participation is more meaningful if processes of democracy are deeper than the formal mechanisms of elections and local government structures and processes. Since formal spaces can often be unfamiliar and hostile to poor and excluded people, democratic forums, such as participatory budgets, social audits, people's commissions, citizen's juries, social forums, and community based participatory plans need to make people feel comfortable, confident in their knowledge and analysis, and worthy of respect.

People need an opportunity to create and experiment with their own democratic spaces and systems of governance if they wish to transform the structures and systems that cause the violation of their rights. Besides being a mechanism to mobilise and achieve specific purposes, social movements are

also important spaces in which people can debate and become inspired by the possibility of a different social experience.

- Holding state (and non-state actor) accountable The human rights framework and our human rights-based approach are premised on the firm belief that the state is the primary duty bearer and is responsible for respecting, promoting, protecting and fulfilling the human rights of its citizens. This requires the state:

  i. To recognise the human rights of its citizen in its constitution, laws and regulations
  ii. To provide legal and regulatory mechanisms and to monitor that neither state institutions nor non-state institutions, such as profit-making corporation or any other institutions or individual, denies any one from claiming and enjoying their human rights or violates them.
  iii. To provide the necessary factors – whether in the form of protection, political space, money, materials, information, capacity, etc. – to fulfill the rights of its citizens.

These are fundamental state responsibilities, irrespective of whether the country is rich or poor. Indeed, poorer countries will be able to provide a lot more for its citizen if they are supported by the international community in terms of financial and material assistance as well as by enabling international or cross-border economic, trade, transport, migration and other useful facilities. As such, working with the state (executive government, legislative parliament, and judiciary) is an integral part of our rights-based approach.

The initial steps in holding a state accountable involve working with rights-holders and others to understand the existing constitutional, legal and regulatory framework. This helps to establish which rights are recognised and provided for, and where there are gaps, either in absolute terms or in relation to the international human rights declaration, conventions and treaties.

This process potentially opens up two streams of work:

  i. to demand the important rights for poor and excluded people that are not yet recognised in the constitution or laws and another, such as rights to work in certain countries

  ii. to further analyse, understand and gather evidence on which rights that are already provided for in the constitution, laws and regulations are not being fulfilled or are being violated by the state or non-state actors (corporations as well as citizens and society itself) and are not enjoyed by the poor and excluded-rights holders.

This is an essential process in claiming rights in our human rights-based approach. The evidence can be used

    i.   to inform or open discussions with the state to develop positive action to secure people's rights in the communities we work in,

    ii.   hold states accountable through litigation and court processes or through international mechanisms such as shadow reports to the United Nations.

Not only is research and exposure of evidence important for our interactions with the states, governments and domestic institutions in areas where we work, but it is also increasingly important in helping us monitor and expose the direct or indirect denial and violation of rights of poor and excluded people and communities by corporations, foreign governments or international institutions.

Conclusion

The practice of our human rights approach to poverty eradication work has evolved over the past six to seven years, and will continue to do so through our practical experience of working in different countries and situations.

Our experience has shown that that while the broad approach outlined above is valid and can be implemented in all our work in almost all situations, the specific methods, tools and work itself vary considerably according to the political context in different countries, the localities within those countries and the periods of time. Local flexibility, adaptation and translation of the human rights-based approach into specific agenda, methods, tools and techniques to suit the context are essential.

Though it is already our nature to work in networks, alliances, coalition and partnership with civil society organisations at local to national to international levels, what has become far more important in working with the rights-based approach, is working with and supporting poor and excluded people's communities, organisations and social movements in setting the agenda and taking the lead.

In conclusion, we have learned that embracing a human rights approach to eradicating poverty requires a corresponding strengthening of capacity in a number of areas. We need to develop the current discourse on human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights where most of our work is focused. We also need to develop our human rights instruments and institutions at national and international level, enhance our ability to research and report on evidence and exposure of human rights violations, and finally, we need to build our capacity to work with and support social mobilisation and social movements.

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