

**An exploration of the success and failures of
developmental local government
on service delivery:
A case of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality**

by

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Abstract

Developmental local government is regarded as a remedy for the deep-rooted structural socio-economic challenges in South Africa. Many of these challenges are a legacy of apartheid and colonialism, so the ascent to power of a democratic government after the 1994 democratic elections was seen as a watershed for the development of policies and programmes to ameliorate poverty, unemployment and gross inequality. The *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 108 of 1996*, positions South Africa as a developmental state (defining developmentalism as a capable state with strong economic growth and professionalized public institutions). The *White Paper on Local Government, 1998*, was also introduced to mitigate poverty and unemployment. The adoption of a democratic developmental state model that empowers local government, as the coalface of service delivery, was seen as the solution. The developmental trajectory posited by the national government was thus predicated on the efficacy of municipalities. This study therefore explores the success and failure of developmentalism in South Africa, using the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality as a case study.

Analysis and comparison regarding the best model for South Africa was done on the basis of a literature review of international and local studies and official documents and legislation. The review shows that the now defunct developmentalist Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was adopted in 1994 to address the socio-economic ills associated with colonialism and apartheid, but it was replaced by the neoliberal Growth Employment and Redistribution policy. Most developing countries use East Asia as a template to replicate developmental models. Developmentalism thrived in Asia because these countries are not democratic. However, South Africa is a constitutional democracy, which means that the public and public participation must be taken into consideration in policy-making and decision-making, especially for local government to address local socio-economic problems, particularly those affecting the poor. This was not found to be the case in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, where developmentalism is overshadowed by endemic problems around leadership, patronage and a lack of consultation with the people, leaving their needs largely unmet. Neo-liberal policies, clearly not aligned with developmentalism, have been espoused, so a developmental local government model

has not been implemented systematically in the Metro. Recommendations to prioritize truly developmental local economic growth and socio-economic development include extensive training and higher appointment criteria.

Key words:

Democratic developmental state

Developmentalism

Local development

Neo-liberal state

Public services

Social investment state

Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

Welfare state

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
<i>Constitution</i>	<i>Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 108 of 1996</i>
DA	Democratic Alliance
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
<i>Municipal Systems Act</i>	<i>Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000</i>
NGO	Non-governmental organization
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa

Chapter 1:

General Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study aims to explore the successes and failures of the implementation of developmental local government model regarding service delivery in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

This chapter provides a general introduction to the study to contextualize its epistemological context and position. It starts with an explanation of the nature of the study by focusing on its background and rationale. This is followed by a problem statement, research question, hypothesis and research scope, as well as the aim and objectives of the study and the methodological approach used to answer the research question. Towards the end of this chapter, a literature review is presented, followed by definitions of the key concepts used in the study, and an outline of the structure of the study in terms of the sequential arrangement of chapters, with a summary of the main focus of each chapter.

1.2 Background

Developmental local government is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. This concept has been a subject of much interest to scholars in the fields of political science, public administration and development studies. Reflection on the application of this concept in South Africa has shown that the mandate given by the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 108 of 1996 (RSA 1996)*¹ to local government should be understood as developmental. In this regard, Vyas-Doorgapersad (2010:44) rightly points out in an article entitled “Capacity building for developmental local government in South Africa” that the question of democratic accountability is central in local government. This implies then that for local government to realize its socio-economic mandate, it should be democratic and accountable in the execution of its duties.

¹ Hereafter referred to as the *Constitution*.

Van Dijk and Croucamp (2007) and Maphunye (2011) have made important contributions on the topic of developmental local government in South Africa. Their research has informed the epistemological content of the discourse, especially regarding the theoretical foundation that informs the object of the current study. A detailed review of the theories of developmental local government and literature supporting this observation is presented in Chapter 2 of the dissertation.

The work of Maserumule (2007) and of Tshishonga and Maphunye (2011) also makes important contributions on the subject of developmental local government in South Africa, although their scholarship, like that of Dassah (2011), has not been foregrounded in the realm of local government. This does not necessarily mean that these studies are not relevant in informing the epistemological content of the discourse, and especially the theoretical foundation of this study.

The advent of the new political dispensation in South Africa after the first fully democratic elections in 1994 ushered in an era in which the government aims to hear the voice of local people through local government structures. Prior to 1994, the current structures of local government did not exist under the then policy of separate development, in terms of which municipalities were constituted along racial lines. Priority, in terms of resources, was given to “white” areas, which, compared to “black” areas, were characterized by a strong tax base. De Visser (2009:8) argues that a homeland system was deliberately introduced to further disadvantage black people, by using traditional leaders as political pawns who took care of local affairs in their area of jurisdiction, *de facto* promoting the interests of the apartheid government.

According to De Visser (2009:9), the local government transformation which began in South Africa in 1990 may be regarded as a watershed moment. This transformation process started with negotiations between the liberation movements and the ruling apartheid government which eventually ended the policy of separate development as contemplated by the apartheid government. These negotiations gave birth to the *Local Government Transition Act, 209 of 1993* (RSA, 1993), which became a tool to dismantle apartheid structures and to pave the way towards democratic local government in South Africa. An agreement was reached between the liberation movements and the apartheid government which resulted in the interim constitution of 1993, and culminated in the 1994 general democratic elections. After the 1994

elections, local government elections followed in the year 2000. A developmental local government was conceived after all these processes.

The value of this study is that it fills a lacuna in the body of knowledge and the authoritative scholarship on developmental local government in South Africa regarding the impact of developmental local government on service delivery in the local sphere of government. This study examines the impact of developmental local government on service delivery in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. This is a specific area of knowledge that needs scholarly attention and more detailed insight into this specific area of knowledge.

Dassah (2011:590) has previously argued that what is often referred to as the “Japanese Miracle” is a good example of a developmental state. The industrialization process in Japan propelled economic development, and it is clear that the Japanese centrally planned model (an instance of state interventionism) came to fruition in that country because sustainable growth snowballed. However, the Japanese centrally planned economic model cannot be used as a panacea for economic growth, even though it worked for Japan and some other Asian countries, such as South Korea and Taiwan. State intervention alone is not enough for sustainable development. Moreover, a liberal agenda (a neo-classical orthodoxy) alone can also not offer a solution for economic growth: for sustainable development, the two models (a centrally planned model and neo-classical economics) must complement each other.

Binza (2010:243) suggests that a broader international perspective is important for South Africa in respect of developmental local government, citing the evolution of developmental local government in the United States, Britain and the Nordic countries as offering examples of lessons to be learned. The Garden City concept sometimes still mentioned is also equated to the integration of conventional and unconventional methods of local government, in order to modernize the system of local government. The modernization of local government may be seen as a prelude to developmental local government. The introduction of free communes in the Nordic countries in particular was regarded as a step in the right direction, primarily because this programme culminated in the decentralization of administration and maximum accountability. Arbitrary decisions were no longer taken; governance in these countries was a concerted effort; the rationale was that decisions relating to

governance were taken in consultation with the public (Binza 2010:244). Nevertheless, the neo-classical orthodoxy which was dominant in the Scandinavian countries (the Nordic countries) and which was initially much lauded, has come to be criticised as counter-productive in respect of service delivery (Brochmann & Hagelund 2011; Diederichsen 2016; Gronholt-Pedersen 2019).

In the South African context, the Mother City of Good Hope can be linked to the development of local government. The city which is now Cape Town was born in the colonial period after the arrival of the first Dutch settlers in 1652, and new towns and municipalities came into being during that era, but the era was characterized by separate development based on race, and the new cities were not designed to benefit of the poorest members of the community. Nevertheless, Binza (2010:244) holds that what he calls the Garden City of Good Hope was a precursor to developmental local government in South Africa.

Tshishonga and Maphunye (2011:1231) contend that colonialism and apartheid contributed heavily to the current lopsided socio-economic problems in South Africa, and so far, the African National Congress (ANC) government has failed to diminish the gap between those who are impoverished and the rich. In a similar vein, in an article entitled “Developmental local government: Issues, trends and options in South Africa”, Koma (2012:105) posits that because

...apartheid had left its imprint on South Africa’s human settlements and municipal institutions, transformation requires an understanding of the historical role of local government in creating and perpetuating local separation and inequity, and the impact of apartheid on municipal institutions[;] equally important is the history of resistance to apartheid in the local sphere and struggles against apartheid local government.

In this context, developmental local government is often seen as a solution to overcome the legacy of colonialism and apartheid (1948-1994). According to Tsheola (2012:163-164), the first tool implemented to surmount the disparities left by the apartheid government in South Africa was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). It was regarded as a cure for challenges relating to service delivery. It was hoped that public participation as an element of the RDP would enable decision-making processes for socio-economic problems to be expedited. The RDP was, however, overtaken by the introduction of the Growth, Employment and

Redistribution (GEAR) programme, which sidelined the RDP as envisaged by the ANC-led government.

According to Tshishonga and Maphunye (2011:1231-1232), the post-1994 South African government was on the right trajectory when it adopted the RDP in 1994. But the gains of the RDP were curtailed by the adoption of the GEAR programme, which Tshishonga and Maphunye (2011:1231-1232) regard as counter-productive because it failed to address the perennial socio-economic problems facing the South African government, particularly poverty, unemployment and inequalities. GEAR has been criticised as a strategy that has further disadvantaged the poorest of the poor, because it subscribes to the neo-classical orthodoxy (liberal agenda), and it has failed to address the socio-economic problems facing the down-trodden (Tsheola 2012:164). However, in *The Great South African Society: A Plan for a Nation Gone Astray*, Biko (2013) takes the controversial position that the pro-poor stance claimed by the ANC government is not real. Biko (2013:64-66) advances the view that the gap between the rich and the poor is intact – mainly because of individualism and elitism in the ruling party, rather than because of a failure of the RDP or the GEAR programme.

In the article “Capacity building for developmental local government in South Africa”, Vyas-Doorgapersad (2010:43) expresses some optimism, pointing out that “Africa is a vast continent with many and diverse human and material resources, it has great potentials for economic growth and human development”. He also points out the other side of the coin, however – Africa

...has tremendous problems, as well as global challenges and opportunities, some of these problems are deeply rooted in history, some are the consequences of the colonial situation, the anti-colonial situation, the anti-colonial struggles and the exigencies of the cold war. (Vyas-Doorgapersad 2010:43)

Since local government is part of the South African government, local government prior to 1994 was also polarized and negatively affected by apartheid policies. Levin (2009:943-944) holds that prior to 1994, black people were disadvantaged because of their race, and the interests of white people were a first preference. It was in this context that proper mechanisms were to be put in place to correct the legacy of apartheid in South Africa. After 1994, it was thus expected that the ANC would make sure that a democratic and accountable government was in place to manage and reverse the damage caused by the apartheid government with regard to the egregious

socio-economic conditions that subjected black people to poverty, unemployment and inequality. The transformation of the public service in South Africa after 1994 implied that the transformation of local government would be automatic, but in fact, more is required.

The ANC (1994:1) has stated unequivocally that

...the apartheid regime has been unrepresentative, undemocratic and highly oppressive in the past decades, the state became increasingly secretive and militarized, and less and less answerable even to the constituency it claimed to represent, the legal and institutional framework we are inheriting is fragmented and inappropriate for reconstruction and development, it lacks capacity to deliver services, it is inefficient and out of touch with the needs of ordinary people, it lacks coordination and clear planning.

The legacy of apartheid propelled the democratic government from 1994 to come up with new mechanisms for service delivery purposes in South Africa, and the foremost instrument implemented by the ruling party was a new constitution that gives local government a developmental role to address the lopsided socio-economic problems created by apartheid policies and regulations (Koma 2012:109).

According to Dipholo, Mafema and Tshishonga (2011:1432),

...in South Africa, local government has undergone tremendous reform since the democratic dispensation, the fundamental and primary purpose of democratizing this sphere was to transform it from being an apartheid apparatus into being an agent of service delivery, development and local governance, these reforms range from policy introduction to restructuring local government which has given birth to new structures aimed at engaging the local populace in local state management and governance.

State intervention is not a new phenomenon in the ANC. According to Maserumule (2012:188), the decision to implement state intervention in the economy evolved in exile. The rationale for this was to neutralize the neo-liberal agenda of the South African economy. The idea of state interventionism was, however, partially discarded or at least lost sight of during the multiparty negotiations prior to the 1994 democratic elections. During these negotiations, the ANC concentrated on achieving the right to a democratic state instead of on state interventionism (a developmental state). An opportunity presented itself during the multiparty negotiations, but the ANC decided to focus on a democratic state project (Maserumule 2012:188). In this regard, Maserumule (2012:188) points out that

...the approach in building the post-apartheid state appears to have been based on the assertion that democracy is a condition for development rather than its outcome, but democracy in conditions characterized by inequities in socio-economic gains is not sustainable particularly in the context of South Africa with the history of many decades of systematic marginalization of black people, despite the observation made above regarding the absence of the notion of a developmental state in the discourse on the construction of a democratic state during the multiparty negotiations in the early nineties, the idea of it became implied in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which the ANC came up with when it assumed power in 1994 as the policy framework for socio-economic transformation.”

In its *Freedom Charter*, the ANC stressed the idea that the people shall govern. According to the ANC, people cannot govern in a country that is not infused by democratic principles, and for decades it therefore opposed the apartheid regime, which introduced laws and policies that separated black people from white people, and that institutionalized racism. After the 1994 democratic elections, the ANC adopted the RDP, the principal aim of which was to ensure that all state institutions are democratized to ensure equality because if all people are equal before the law, they will be able to participate in all processes for the reconstruction of South Africa (ANC 1994:1).

In this context, the following comment by Tsheola (2012:163) is illuminating:

Developmental states, by their definition, lead development, a democratic South Africa’s rhetoric of establishing a developmental state, people-centredness and people-driven development entails the application of democratic ideals and principles, especially on a local scale, given the imperative to redress colonialism and apartheid legacies, South Africa needed national strategic planning to ensure policy coherence and co-ordination and the effective allocation of resources in order to meet its developmental needs, but democratic governments have since at least 1996 faced a tenuous balancing act involving the reinforcement of dynamics between basic needs provision, economic growth, rigorous civil society participation and initiative, and a democratized state serving the needs of all citizens.

In terms of what precisely a developmental state might entail, the Development Bank of Southern Africa (2009:4) states:

[T]he developmental state generally refers to the model many of the East Asian nations pursued after the second world war to rapidly modernize their economies in one of the greatest industrialization transformations of the modern era, in his ground-breaking study of Japan’s extraordinary post-war modernization, Chalmers Johnson (1992) outlined the basic framework of the East Asian developmental state as one where the state sets specific development goals and

then single-mindedly mobilizes society to achieve industrial modernization, the idea of a centralized state interacting with the private sector from a position of pre-eminence so as to secure development objectives is generally called [a] developmental state.

In terms of such a goal, South Africa may be compared to Botswana as another emergent country. According to Maphunye (2011:612), regarding

...the emerging markets in Africa, none is as full of fascinating stories about Miracle Development, Miracle of Africa and Exceptionalism as Botswana. From the humble beginnings of one of Africa's poor, arid and previously unrecognized countries to its present status as an African economic success story, Botswana has been classified as a Developmental State together with Mauritius, Uganda and South Africa.

In the article "The relevance of the developmental state model to South Africa's and Botswana's public services: A comparative perspective", Maphunye (2011:617) maintains that Botswana and South Africa can both be regarded as developmental states, because both these countries have institutions that are regarded as pivots for the sustainability of development. Financial institutions play a role in the developmental nature of these countries, allowing growth to gain momentum, namely the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning in Botswana, and the National Treasury Department in South Africa (Maphunye 2011:617). International recognition is another dimension that undergirds the reputation of these two countries (Maphunye 2011:617). One difference between Botswana and South Africa is that Botswana is a proponent of the neo-classical approach, whereas South Africa has remained wedded to state interventionism. The *Constitution* (RSA 1996) suggests that South Africa is a proponent of stakeholder involvement, while Botswana's success as a developmental state is not characterized by public participation – it can thus be argued that Botswana's economic development may be equated to a liberal agenda linked to authoritarianism. Decentralization of power is elusive in Botswana, compared to South Africa. The adoption of the RDP in South Africa was an early indication that socio-economic development would be characterized by public participation and the involvement of private sector in economic growth (Maphunye 2011:614-615).

Comparatively speaking, sustainable development and good governance in South Africa and Botswana are deeply rooted and strong. These two countries are both proponents of developmental local government, but in South Africa, the *Constitution* (RSA 1996) is central in relation to the establishment of institutions of government,

while in Botswana acts of parliament in that country are central concerning the establishment of local government institutions (Dipholo *et al.* 2011:1433-1434).

1.3 Rationale

The 1994 democratic elections, the promulgation of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996), the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998) and the introduction of the RDP in 1994 were watershed moments in South African history. All of these propelled South Africa towards becoming a developmental state, and set the country on a trajectory designed to overcome the socio-economic dimensions that disadvantage the poor. However, poverty, unemployment and inequality still remain rampant in South African society, a quarter of a century on.

Serving as a researcher and an executive placed strategically in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, I am committed to developmental local government, which is predicated on a developmental state. The desire to see such a state succeed was the primary motivation for my research, and my position in the Metro suggested the focus on the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality as a case study. The current socio-economic challenges in local government were additional triggers for my undertaking this study.

1.4 Problem Statement

In view of the background provided above, the critical exploration pursued in this study is to assess the successes and failures of the implementation of a developmental local government model in improving service delivery in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

The *2018/19 Integrated Development Plan* and the *2019/20 Integrated Development Plan* of the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (Tshwane 2018/2019; Tshwane 2-19/2020) separated the construct of development from the notion of the developmental state. If development (based on the neo-classical approach) and the developmental approach (relying on state interventionism) are kept separate, the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality will not be able to address the perennial challenges related to the soaring poverty, widespread unemployment and gross inequalities in the Metro. This study argues that the model of developmental government has not so far

succeeded in delivering its promises to improve the living conditions of the people in the Metro.

1.5 Research Question

Based on the context outlined in Section 1.2, above, the primary research question relates to the impact (success or failure) of the developmental local government model. The primary research question is the following:

- To what extent has the developmental local government model succeeded or failed in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality?

Related questions are the following:

- Is the developmental local government model relevant for South Africa?
- What should be done to remedy local government problems in South Africa?

Developmental local government is, in simple terms, about the maximization of the socio-economic imperatives that will ultimately enhance the material well-being of people (Nkuna 2011). It is then important to ascertain the implications of the character of developmental local government for service delivery in South Africa. As I have pointed out above, this question underpins the importance of this study which seeks to answer the question using the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality as a case study. The local sphere of government in South Africa is located at the coalface of service delivery, and any study that seeks to answer a question that addresses any phenomenon with implications for the strategic location of the local sphere of government in terms of the core business of government, which is service delivery, is of paramount importance.

1.6 Hypothesis

The study tests the hypothesis that the implementation of a developmental local government model is problematic and fails to improve service delivery as anticipated in the South African local government landscape, and in particular, in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

A significant proportion of public policies are developed and executed to address the justifiable needs and expectations of the public. It is in this context that a

developmental local government model in such policy-making and the execution of the policy will enhance the realization of this objective.

1.7 Research Scope

The research focuses on developmental local government in South Africa, in particular in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. The exploration was conducted over a period of three years to give the researcher a reasonable time to conduct the research within the time limitations imposed in terms of the submission of a Master's dissertation for examination purposes.

1.8 Aim and Objectives

The primary objective of this study is to explore the success and failures of the implementation of a developmental local government model in relation to service delivery in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. The study therefore sought to

- assess the factors behind the successes and failures of the developmental local government model in Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality; and
- recommend remedies to improve service delivery.

1.9 Research Methods

To attain the aim and objectives of the study, the methodological approach that the study adopted was qualitative in nature. In adopting this approach, the study follows most studies on developmental local government in the field of development studies. Their methodological orientation is located in the qualitative paradigm. The object of this study requires descriptive data, which is people's "own written or spoken words relating to their experiences or perceptions" (Brynard & Hanekom 2011:37).

The qualitative data collection techniques used were a literature review, survey questionnaires, unstructured interviews and systematic observation of the praxis of developmental local government. The literature reviewed in the data collection phase can be divided into two categories: theoretical literature and official literature. For the purposes of this study, theoretical literature refers to scholarly work in academic books and scientific journals. In this regard, the researcher tries as far as practicable to use the most recent, relevant and authoritative theoretical literature, except in instances

where the context of the discourse necessitated original thoughts on the object of the study.

The theoretical insights acquired through the analysis or review of books and articles published in scientific journals was used to understand the theories that underpin developmental local government and to contextualize the scientific grounding of the study. These sources were used to determine the extent of the influence of the theories of developmental local government on the strategic policy thinking and orientation of government in South Africa. As expositions of the principles of science or systems of ideas that explain scientific phenomena, theories are fundamental and imperative in a scientific exercise (Brynard & Hanekom 2011:05).

The official literature refers to official publications of government institutions such as legislation, white papers, annual reports, the speeches of elected officials and government-appointed functionaries in their official capacities. Such sources were analysed to generate data that could be used to understand the policy framework of the government and the extent of the relevance of the framework for local government in respect of the issues of developmental local government. They were also used to determine the extent of the coherence of local government legislation with the policies that regulate developmental local government.

Descriptive data were obtained through questionnaires and unstructured interviews with selected officials employed in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality to understand developmental local government praxis and its impact on service delivery. These selected officials are regional executive directors in all seven regions in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. The questionnaires, examples of which are attached in the end of the study as Annexure A, were designed in a manner that enabled the respondents to provide as much descriptive data as possible. They were designed using simple language customized for appointed officials. The researcher distributed the questionnaires personally to the intended selected research subjects (respondents). This made it possible for the researcher to explain and clarify questions that the respondents had in completing the questionnaire. A satisfactory response rate was received.

In addition to the data collected through questionnaires, interviews were also used. This made up for any outstanding questionnaires that were not yet returned to the

researcher when the data collection period had passed. Brynard and Hanekom (2011:39) argue that “although researchers make use of various methods to collect data, interviewing is most probably used more frequently than others”. There are therefore many precedents for using this method in the study. Unstructured face-to-face interviews were conducted, placing the researcher in sufficient proximity with the respondents to clarify any questions on their part on what they were being interviewed about.

Systematic observation of the actions and behaviour of elected and appointed functionaries in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality was also used to generate data to understand developmental local government in practice. The three salient features that were relevant in respect of this systematic observation were time, spatiality and context, as is typical in a case study design.

The data obtained through the various means set out above were subjected to in-depth analysis and interpretation to determine the relation of the data to the research question. The findings were triangulated to make valid deductions. This exercise enables a researcher to make important findings to answer the research question. Mouton (2001:108) distinguishes between data analysis and interpretation. He explains that data analysis is about the attempt to understand

...the various constitutive elements of one’s data through an inspection of the relationship between concepts, constructs or variables and to see whether there are any patterns or trends that can be identified or isolated, or to establish themes in the data, [whereas] interpretation is about the synthesis of one’s data into larger coherent wholes. (Mouton 2001:108-109)

Data in this study were dissected into tractable thematic trails to establish patterns, trends and relationships. Thereafter, it was synthesized to formulate recommendations offered for policy improvement regarding service delivery.

1.10 Literature Review

In the background and rationale for this study in Sections 1.2 and 1.3, above, it was indicated that there is a lacuna in the existing body of knowledge on developmental local government, because the contributions on the subject do not go so far as to specifically determine the impact of this phenomenon on service delivery in the local sphere of government. This observation was based on a preliminary review of the

South African literature on the object of the study. This section takes further that background review. However, because of the limited scope of an introductory chapter, a complete and exhaustive review of the literature on the object of this study to fully authenticate the observation is provided in Chapter 3 of the study.

According to Mouton (2001:87), the literature is reviewed

- To ensure that one does not merely duplicate a previous study.
- To discover what the most recent and authoritative theorizing about the subject is.
- To find out what the most widely accepted empirical findings in the field of study are.
- To identify the available instrumentation that has proven validity and reliability.
- To ascertain what the most widely accepted definitions of key concepts in the field are.

A literature review is important to

...obtain perspective on the most recent findings related to the topic of research; obtain an indication of the methods...which can be used to improve the interpretation of one's own results; determine the actuality of research on a particular topic. (Brynard & Hanekom 2011:38)

The literature in Chapter 3 of the study is reviewed for these purposes and also, more importantly, to confirm the observation regarding a lacuna in the existing body of knowledge on developmental local government relating to service delivery in the local sphere of government.

Developmental local government has been touted as a solution for the problems experienced by the poor in South Africa. The principal aim of developmental local government after 1994 has thus been to address the socio-economic disparities created by the apartheid government in South Africa, especially in relation to poverty, unemployment and inequalities. Local government in South Africa should play a developmental role to ensure that the quality of the lives of local communities is improved. Public participation is another element of developmental local government that ensures that local communities are involved in decision-making processes (RSA 1998:22).

According to Sefala (2009:1165), the *Constitution* (RSA 1996) and the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998) set out important legislative requirements to ensure that municipalities involve communities in decision-making processes.

Community participation is stipulated as a requirement in both these pieces of legislation. Developmental local government can only be realized if there is consistent adherence to these requirements. The *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000* (RSA 2000)² has also been put in place to underpin participatory democracy, particularly Chapter 4 of this Act.

In his article “Reflections on South Africa as a developmental state”, Maserumule (2007:212) argues as follows:

[T]he idea of a developmental state in contemporary political and economic discourses was introduced by Chalmers following the 1982 publication MITI and the Japanese Miracle. In a developmental state, government establishes social and economic goals. Factors of production are privately owned, but government must intervene to provide state guidance to ensure that their utilization would always be aimed at realizing national interests. Strong state capacity is critically important as a distinguishing feature of a developmental state.

Nkuna (2011:632) posits that local government cannot realize its developmental role without the involvement of other stakeholders. Developmental local government is thus contingent on constructive engagement by other spheres of government, community members, the private sector and other relevant stakeholders. An Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is a prelude to sustainable development, and inviting the views of civil society organizations is important for this plan to be a true reflection of the socio-economic needs of the people.

Koma (2012) unpacks the implications of a developmental state with regard to the role of municipalities against the backdrop of South Africa’s *Constitution* (RSA 1996), especially section 152. He suggests that such a state

...implies that municipalities assume a greater and significant role in economic and social development. Local government is aptly defined as a sphere of government located within communities and well-placed to appropriately respond to local needs, interests and expectations of communities, local government is often the first point of contact between and individual and a government institution, being the government closest to the people, it is to be expected that a core function of municipalities is the rendering of a variety of basic but essential services to the community within its jurisdiction, the provision of services by municipalities is a constitutional obligation. (Koma 2012:113)

According to Asmah-Andoh (2009:107), for local government to realize its developmental goal, it is important to plan according to the real needs of communities.

² Hereafter referred to as the *Municipal Systems Act*.

A key mechanism to enable local government to achieve its objectives is the IDP, a five-year plan that guides municipalities towards their development trajectory. The compilation and adoption of an IDP is a legislative requirement that compels municipalities to consult different stakeholders before a decision can be taken on particular projects. Asmah-Andoh (2009:108) maintains that for local government to surmount the ills associated with poverty, unemployment and inequality, an economic strategy should be in place to realize that developmental mandate. Local economic development is thus fundamental to reducing the prevailing levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality, because these problems have to be dealt with through community empowerment and job creation through partnership with big business (Asmah-Andoh 2009:108).

According to Gumede (2009:7), perhaps surprisingly, totalitarianism and undemocratic ways of doing things paved the way for developmental states in many countries, particularly in East Asia. South Africa is different from those countries because of the democratic mandate in South Africa since 1994, when South Africa became a constitutional democracy. By implication, the socio-economic challenges faced by South Africa will not be surmounted through undemocratic and authoritarian means, because the developmental agenda of the South African government is based purely on a constitutional mandate.

Kuye (2009:597) acknowledges that many African countries experienced problems in their implementation of a developmental state model. Indeed, the trajectory towards becoming a developmental state is often blocked by controversies, with severe ramifications. Kuye (2009:597) observes:

[T]he crisis of the developmental state in African countries poses a critical problem. The central role of the state in public administration, development planning and economic management has had a strong resonance in Africa. It was seen as a principal means of managing the economy, directing it away from the interests of financing capital and markets towards meeting national needs and aspirations. The crisis of the developmental state that emanated from this central role of the state in the 1970s and early 1980s in Africa and even recently in the 90s in South Africa has resulted in locational and social differentiation in a considerable number of countries.

According to De Wee (2016:488), the view that the achievement of a developmental state model should only be confined to state intervention is not practical. He points out that a developmental state is predicated on two models, namely a model rooted in the

neo-classical orthodoxy (a liberal agenda) and one rooted in state interventionism. For the developmental model to work, the role of private business and the role of government should both be considered in the trajectory towards economic growth and development: in essence, neo-classical economics and state intervention should complement each other. A complementarity model could, in this context, theoretically surmount the legacy of apartheid in South Africa. A fully fledged developmental state can only be realized if the interests of society are taken into consideration. De Wee (2016:492) observes the following:

[T]he technical capacity of the state to achieve its developmental objectives is one of the critical features of a developmental state, one of the critical and necessary attributes of a developmental state is a central institution with strategic capacities, leverages and authority to drive economic development policy and ensure its implementation, one of the weaknesses of the current South African state is the multiplicity of centres from which economic policy is driven, these include the departments of economic development, trade and industry, national treasury and public enterprises. Developmental state institutions include bureaucratic and meritocratic state agencies.

In his article, “Developmental local government: Issues, trends and opinions in South Africa”, Koma (2012:109) points out that local economic development is an important mechanism in local government. For local economic development to yield positive results to address the question of poverty, unemployment and inequality, municipalities must ensure that civil society organizations are represented in decision-making processes (Koma 2012:109). Developmental local government will be supported and possible only if private business, municipalities, communities and civil society organizations are all committed to the transformative agenda put forward for consideration by the *Constitution (RSA 1996)*, the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998 (RSA 1998)* and the *Municipal Systems Act (RSA 2000)*. Municipalities are in fact compelled by these pieces of legislation to ensure that public participation is a reality, not a public relations exercise.

According to Meyer (2014), a lack of political will and direction from the national government and provincial government has caused confusion in local government. Municipalities are, for example, sometimes confused about what to prioritize and how to execute functions. This state of affairs makes it difficult for municipalities to make informed decisions regarding suitable development strategies. The principal aim of developmental local government should be to make sure that the eradication of

poverty, unemployment and inequality are prioritized in South Africa. These scourges will not be addressed in a vacuum, and their eradication must be predicated on development. Leadership is central in this context (Meyer 2014). Local economic development (also known as LED), which is suggested to be an answer for socio-economic development in South Africa, should be driven by leaders with a clear vision and strategy. The challenge is that there are not enough tangible plans that are pro-poor and provide clear development strategies. Appointed and elected officials should therefore be capacitated so that they can understand the importance of developmental local government in the South African context.

Stakeholder involvement is another dimension that should be considered. The *Constitution* (RSA 1996), and the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998) have levelled the playing field in respect of public participation. The *Municipal Systems Act* (RSA 2000) also stresses public participation. In particular, chapter 4 of the *Municipal Systems Act* undergirds what is already entrenched in the *Constitution* and the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (Koma 2012:109). Furthermore, Koma (2012:112) maintains that

the other important dimension of LED [local economic development] is community based development and poverty reduction, where this focus is the main motivator behind the LED strategy, the strategy will focus on creating job opportunities, improving the employability of the community through education, and improving access to resources in the Sub-Saharan Africa. LED is often identified with self-reliance, survival and poverty alleviation rather than participation in the global economy, competitiveness and funding market riches. LED thus becomes assimilated in Sub-Saharan Africa with what is more appropriately referred to as community or local development. These pro-poor LED strategies are basically about achieving social rather than economic goals; they address important problems, but tend to concentrate on short-term survival issues and on remedial action for the alleviation of social problems, leaving many of the economic issues at the basis of under development virtually untouched.

According to Sefala (2009:1165), local government should not only be developmental, it should also be democratic. With this he means that democratic developmental local government implies that leaders should be responsible, accountable and responsive to the needs of the people, and that community participation is a salient feature of decision-making processes. The *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998) calls on municipalities to be accountable, but accountability can only be realized if participatory democracy is a norm in each and every municipality in South Africa. The

Municipal Systems Act (RSA 2000) is another tool that ensures that development is democratized, as described in chapter 4 of the Act. Socio-economic development should also be linked to democratic developmental local government.

Despite these legislative instruments, NGO Pulse (2012:1) states, somewhat contentiously, that

...the ANC's definition of a developmental state remains rather loose and broad, this is understandable considering that the concept of a developmental state derives from a very particular history very different from South Africa's history. It traces its origins from twentieth century scholars who used the term to refer to the phenomenon of state-led macroeconomic planning in East Asia. In this model, the state is more independent, or autonomous. A developmental state in this context is characterized by strong state intervention in the economy as well as extensive regulation and planning.

However, according to Nzwei and Kuye (2007:198), the only possible solution to underdevelopment is to build a developmental state. For local government to translate its programmes into tangible outcomes, a developmental state in South Africa is the trajectory to be followed. Admittedly, it is a fact that most countries that adopted a developmental state model successfully were totalitarian states, and that in a totalitarian state, it is easy for a national government to intervene in the economic space, while proponents of the Weberian model are of the view that state intervention in the economy hampers development and economic growth. One challenge for South Africa in relation to the problems faced by the poor, particularly the question of poverty, unemployment and inequality, is that in the run-up to and since the 1994 democratic elections, South Africa has been preoccupied with a democratic state model. This approach made it difficult for the state to intervene in the economy. Even though South Africa is, in terms of its constitutional mandate, a developmental state, it is difficult for the state to adopt a totalitarian approach. The national government in South Africa did, however, give local government a developmental mandate to ensure that the needs and expectations of communities are addressed through the *Constitution* (RSA 1996). Vyas-Doorgapersad (2010:47) rightly points out that job creation is not strictly the responsibility of municipalities: the role of municipalities is to level the playing field for private businesses to invest, helping the local economy to flourish. Poverty and unemployment will only be addressed if the local economy is involved in finding a solution for poverty, unemployment, inequality and the many intractable service delivery challenges.

Prior to the local government democratic elections, local government was characterized by separate development, so, since then, the role of developmental local government has had to include bridging the gap created by the previous government's policy of separate development. Municipalities are at the forefront of service delivery and it is in this context that a pro-poor strategy should be in place to surmount the perennial challenges related to poverty, unemployment and inequality.

Meyer (2014) posits that prior to 1994, the focus of the apartheid government was on development, not on developmental forms of government, and the policies of the apartheid government were not conducive to improving the lives of the poorest of the poor (the black majority) in South Africa. After 1994, after the adoption of the RDP, the ANC government was prepared to declare war against poverty, unemployment and inequalities, but the RDP was unfortunately elbowed out with the introduction of the GEAR policy (Meyer 2014).

1.11 Definition of Key Concepts

The following terms are used frequently in the study and are therefore defined for the purposes of the argument:

- *Developmental state:*
According to Maserumule (2007:212), a developmental state is defined “as that type of state rationally planned in a manner that makes it possible and necessary for government to influence the direction and pace of economic and social development rather than leaving it to the dictates of the markets”.
- *Developmental local government:*
Asmah-Andoh (2009:103) defines developmental local government as “a quest for the improvement of material wellbeing, enhancement of choice and equitable access to the distribution of societal resources”.
- *Development:*
Fox and Meyer (1996:36) define development as the improvement of the wellbeing of the people by enhancing their socio-economic status.
- *Local government:*
The *Public Administration Glossary* (Cloete 1995:45) defines local government as

“the functions performed by political executive office-bearers of a municipality, namely members of the council and of committees consisting of councillors”.

- *Neo-classical economics:*

Dassah (2011:589) defines neo-classical economics as a system that espouses a free market system, and it is also an antithesis of state interventionism.

- *Service delivery:*

Service delivery is defined as “the provision of public activities, benefits or satisfactions, services relate both to the provision of tangible public goods and to intangible services themselves” (Fox & Meyer 1996:118).

- *State interventionism:*

State interventionism refers to the state’s taking the lead to be at the forefront of development (Dassah 2011:589).

1.12 Outline of the Study

The study is divided into six chapters, as outlined below.

Chapter 1: General Introduction

This chapter provides a general introduction to the study to contextualize its epistemological position, focus, and scope. It starts with an explanation of the nature of the study, presenting background and the rationale. This is followed by a problem statement and a delineation of the research questions, which underpins the importance of the study, and by an explanation of the methodological approach used to answer the research questions. The aim and objectives of the study are explained. Key terms are defined for the purposes of the argument presented in the current study, and towards the end of this chapter, the structure of the study is presented as an outline with a summary of the main focus of each chapter.

Chapter 2: Theories of Developmental Local Government: An International Perspective

Chapter 2 focuses on theories of developmental local government. Its purpose is to contextualize this key concept in the study and to provide a scientific grounding for the study. Important aspects of the discussion relating to theories of developmental local government are state interventionism, the neoliberal state (neo-classical economics),

the welfare state and social investment state. The discussion of the theories of developmental local government in this chapter includes a comparative analysis between countries that have adopted developmental local government models.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This chapter picks up on Chapter 2 of the dissertation, as well as Sections 1.2 and 1.10, as it seeks to confirm the observation based on the preliminary reading of the literature that there is a lacuna in the existing body of knowledge on developmental local government. It authenticates this observation by providing a complete and exhaustive review of the literature on the subject. This exercise is important, as it makes an epistemological case for this study. The most recent and authoritative theorizing on the subject is considered, along with the most widely accepted empirical findings, but these do not answer the question that this study seeks to answer. This chapter demonstrates that the specific area focused on in this study has not yet been covered in the existing studies on the subject.

Chapter 4: Policy Framework on Developmental Local Government in South Africa

In this chapter, the underlying question is whether the thinking reflected in the literature reviewed and the theories of developmental local government as discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 underpins the strategic policy orientation and framework of the South African government. To answer this question, the policy framework in South Africa on this aspect is analysed. The national policy framework that relates to a developmental local government is discussed to determine its relevance to and coherence with policy arrangements for the local sphere of government on this issue.

Chapter 5: Empirical Analysis of Developmental Local Government in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

In this chapter the descriptive data obtained through the questionnaires and unstructured interviews with selected officials of the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is analysed to understand the manifestation of this approach in practice. The researcher's observation of the actions and behaviour of the officials is also taken into consideration in an attempt to understand the dynamics of a developmental local government in practice. As an executive strategically placed in the Tshwane

Metropolitan Municipality, the researcher is close to the developments, making systematic observation of this phenomenon possible.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Summary of Main Points and Recommendations

In the concluding chapter, the findings of the study are summarized and recommendations are made for policy improvements. In this chapter, the practical value of the study in terms of its implication to policy is also underscored and clearly presented.

Chapter 2:

Theories of Developmental Local Government: An International Perspective

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 focuses on theories of developmental local government. The purpose of the chapter is to provide a fuller context for the study and to develop the scientific grounding of the study. It reviews a number of theories of developmental local government, focusing on the different levels of state interventionism in the neoliberal state (as described in neo-classical economics), in the welfare state and in the social investment state. The discussion also provides comparisons between several countries that have adopted developmental local government models.

The exposition on an international perspective on theories of developmental local government implies that the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality cannot afford to be impervious to these theories. The provision of municipal services to different communities cannot happen in a vacuum. The argument in this context is that any policies and strategies adopted and implemented by the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality are predicated on the policies and strategies adopted by the national government and the provincial government, and that these are in turn affected by international ideas. Consequently, these theories are relevant to the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

2.2 The Neo-liberal State

In her research paper “The Contemporary Neoliberal State and Economic Violence”, Kesztyus (2018:1-2) describes the consequences of neo-classical orthodoxy in Chile’s adoption and implementation of a liberal agenda. A neo-liberal state can be conceptualized as one aligned with the notion of a liberal state: thus neo-liberalism is a form of liberalism. The principal aim of neo-classical orthodoxy is to reduce the role of the state in the economy. This model is preoccupied, *inter alia*, with deregulation, freedom and privatization (Kesztyus 2018:1-2).

According to Kenton (2020a), neo-liberalists see the state's playing a role in the economy as an attempt by the state to submerge the role of private business in the economy. Neo-liberalism is a proponent of minimal state intervention, and this approach is not developmental in nature. State intervention (the maximal approach) is seen as a potential obstacle to democracy and development. According to neo-classical economics, a market-oriented approach is the only tool that can extricate the poor from underdevelopment and poverty.

In this regard, Wolfensohn (n.d.:5) claims that procedural democracy (the minimal approach) is the right route for economic growth and economic development. However, although this route is advocated for the global North, in several instances, state intervention has been encouraged in relation to the global South, and in those cases, this intervention is perpetrated by the global North (developed nations). The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank take the lead in interventions in matters related to the economic affairs of developing countries. The outcome, which favours development of the global North, particularly under the guidance of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, is that the global South continuously remains in the periphery (Wolfensohn n.d.:5). Thus the neo-liberal orthodoxy favours those who already have political and economic power.

The emergence of neo-liberal states makes it difficult for those not wedded to neo-liberalism (Wolfensohn n.d.:6). Indeed, some neo-liberal states have already introduced policies and laws to neutralize the behaviour of dissidents, particularly in countries that have already embraced and adopted the neo-classical economic model. A neo-classical economics has been imposed in states that have adopted this *laissez faire* economic policy. India is regarded as one of the countries that has embraced a neo-liberal model. In a neo-liberal state, the political and economic powers of government are overshadowed by private business. In a country that subscribes to the neo-classical orthodoxy, the preponderance of state institutions has been superseded by deregulation and privatization (Wolfensohn n.d.:6).

Gray (2010:1-2) warns that attempts under a neo-liberal approach to preclude government from intervening in economic affairs tends to be counterproductive, even though proponents of neo-liberalism are convinced that deregulation and privatization are a panacea for economic development and economic growth – this slant is the antithesis of developmentalism. Neo-liberal states are controlled by the markets

(private business), and therefore resist government intervention, until bailouts are required, as they were in the global economic crises of 2008 and 2009. Politics and economics are polymorphous in nature, so if a system is not working, a new one should be developed. The failure of most neo-liberal states shows that state intervention in matters of the economy is often imperative. Deregulation and privatization are clearly not an infallible recipe for economic growth and development globally.

Smith (2019) makes an interesting observation regarding the difference between modern liberalism and neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism draws on procedural democracy and holds that only minimal state intervention should be allowed in matters of the economy. The argument advanced in this model revolves around economic growth and development unimpeded by state policies. This model is the antithesis of modern liberalism, which came into being to neutralize the economic power of capitalism. Poverty and inequality cannot be addressed in a neo-classical orthodox liberal environment (Smith 2019).

According to Smith (2019), in a neo-liberal state, direct state intervention in economic matters is rejected, particularly in relation to competition and economic freedom. Contrary to the popular belief that the neo-classical orthodoxy offers a recipe for economic growth, particularly in the United States and some countries in Western Europe, the 2017 economic downturn proved that neo-liberalism is not necessarily a solution for economic growth and socio-economic development. Economic meltdown led to calls for state intervention in economic affairs, which exposes the neo-liberal agenda as hypocritical and inconsistent.

Martinez and Garcia (1997) argue that neo-liberalism can be equated to a form of colonization, namely neo-colonization. Latin American countries in particular have been victims of this form of colonization, and poverty and inequality remain prevalent in those countries. Even in a wealthy and powerful a neo-liberal country such as the United States, inequality remains endemic, because of capitalism; the gap between the poor and the rich is very wide. Deregulation is a profit-orientated mechanism of a liberal agenda which reduces the power of the government to intervene in the economy. Hence, neo-classical economics is the antithesis of developmentalism, which calls on government to ensure social development.

Lee (n.d.:n.p.) concurs that neo-liberalism is predicated on privatization and deregulation. Neo-liberals are of the view that state intervention in matters of the economy has a negative impact on economic growth and development. International financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have played an important role in relation to the adoption and implementation of neo-liberal policies globally, but these policies are not relevant or sustainable for developing countries: a more appropriate economic policy model for developing countries should be able to address challenges related to poverty, unemployment and inequality, which neo-liberalism demonstrably cannot do.

The socio-economic problems of countries are not the same. Economic growth and development in East Asian countries cannot be equated to the economic conditions in developing nations. Undemocratic state intervention was an appropriate mechanism for many East Asian countries, where civil society involvement and public participation processes are not a legislative requirement. State intervention in those countries was often arbitrary, but authoritarianism as a political system did catapult these countries into economic growth and development.

Neo-classical economics is becoming a dominant economic model globally. Nevertheless, a double standard is applied: the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are making it difficult for the global South not to implement developmentalism by means of state intervention. Foreign aid is being used as a carrot and stick technique to impose a non-democratic developmental approach. The presence of the neo-classical orthodoxy was also felt in the East Asian countries and other developmental states, because of the power of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Lee n.d.:n.p.).

Schultz (2010:11) observes that a neo-liberal approach is associated with David Ricardo and Adam Smith, who advocated, *inter alia*, free trade, deregulation, uninterrupted competition and a minimal or procedural school of thought. A liberal agenda is not aligned with a maximal intervention school of thought, which proposes a maximal state intervention approach. Liberalism is a building block for neo-liberalism. In a neo-liberal state, the relationship between government and society is not transparent in relation to the distribution of resources, primarily because state intervention has been overshadowed by the power of private business.

In East Asia, according to Masina (2012:188-189), the relationship between the concept of a developmental state and neo-liberalism resulted in high economic growth and a reduction in poverty, for example, in Vietnam. The Washington Consensus (enunciated in 1989) is regarded as a reason for the miraculous economic recovery in that country, particularly the prescriptions included in that consensus. These still apply in Vietnam, even though that country is still interested in developmentalism. The developmental project was not completely abandoned in Vietnam, but what transpired in that country was that developmental politics alone could not sustain economic growth and development. Some neo-liberal approaches were necessary to boost economic growth in that country. The existing economic relations between Vietnam and the United States and other European countries necessitated a hybrid model in Vietnam.

By contrast, Lim and Jang (2006:1) claim that neo-liberalism diluted the developmental project in South Korea. Interestingly, South Korea started as a fully-fledged developmental state, and state intervention was the cornerstone of that country's high economic growth; the reason for the rapid growth was authoritarianism. Neo-liberalism is characterized by the minimal intervention school of thought, which argues that state intervention in matters of the economy should never be maximal (complete). It is true that private business had a positive impact on the economy of South Korea, but that did not replace the developmental agenda in that country. The policies related to state involvement were merely relaxed for private business to play its role in the economy. The lesson here is that the economic transformation trajectory in South Korea did not transform that country into a neo-liberal state, and the accommodation of private business in economic matters was not a major political quantum leap.

Despite the successes (perhaps erroneously) claimed for neo-liberalism in the global North, neo-liberalism has been sharply criticised as a model that is responsible for poverty, unemployment and gross inequality in the global South, particularly in Africa. There are some critics who are convinced that neo-liberalism is moribund as an approach in that region. A developmental state model is regarded as a better solution for the challenges facing the global South. In this context it should be noted that the African renaissance is not contingent on a neo-liberal agenda – the socio-economic problems of Africa are more likely to be solved by developmental politics than by a neo-liberal approach. The global South should focus on a developmental trajectory to

ameliorate problems related to poverty, widespread unemployment and unmitigated inequality (Zenawi 2011:1).

Ives (2015:1) points out key differences between the two models that have dominated the discourse regarding the relationship between the government and the economy is concerned, particularly in liberal democracies, namely modern liberalism and neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism is a model wedded to minimal government intervention in economic matters – the power of private business overshadows the power of the government in the economy. Modern liberalism is not necessarily the antithesis of a neo-liberal agenda. Neo-liberalism is itself a consequence of liberalism – neo-liberalism could only arise because of the existence of liberalism. Liberalism or *laissez faire* market fundamentalism may be described as a political economic system that opposes the notion of government intervention in the affairs of the economy. In short, a liberal agenda posits that politics must be separated from economics because these two fields have a different mandate. There is a very thin line between these two models. A *laissez faire* market fundamentalist position calls for deregulation and privatization, which means that this model is profit-oriented, at the expense of the poor. Liberalism is also not interested in the question of poverty and inequality. The one minor difference between these two models is that a neo-liberal agenda espouses a minimal intervention school of thought (procedural democracy), while liberalism promotes the view that government intervention in matters of the economy is not good, and that it should be discouraged. Both models support the dominance in the economy of the markets. However, it may be argued that the role of the government in matters of the economy is important – if the government is not involved, the question of social development will not be addressed for the benefit of the poorest of the poor (Ives 2015:1).

Again the example of South Korea is useful. Hundt (2003:466-467) contends that the adoption and implementation of economic reforms in South Korea does not necessarily mean that the country is a neo-liberal state. High economic growth cannot happen in a vacuum, and a successful developmental state is, among other things, characterized by rapid economic growth and a capable state. The adoption of neo-liberal policies was triggered by economic problems in the 1990s, and the intervention by the International Monetary Fund in this country came at a price. The rescue package from this international financial institution compelled Korea to relax some of

its developmental strategies. The deregulation of the labour markets was one of the compromises Korea had to make. According to Kim (1999:441), the liberalization process in South Korea is clearly an indication that the transformation of the economy in that country involved an economic quantum-leap. Neo-liberalism was invoked as a magic word in Korea, and the relationship between the previously dominant government and private business has improved, but the developmental state trajectory has been eclipsed by the neo-liberal approach, at the expense of labour and the poor in Korean society.

In the article “Neo-liberalism – the ideology at the root of all our problems”, Monbiot (2016) argues that neo-liberalism is characterized by competition. The argument is that in a competitive world, only the fittest will survive, implying that the rich will remain more powerful than the poor. Neo-liberalism supports privatization of state-owned entities. The right to trade unionism is regarded with contempt by this model, and regulation regarding economic matters is also anathema to a neo-liberal agenda. Monbiot (2016) regards the rise of Donald Trump in the United States as one outcome of neo-liberalism, and criticises this economic model as being responsible for the perennial poverty, unemployment and inequality in the global South. Neo-liberalism prioritises efficiency over equality, although inequality is not necessarily an intended feature of a neo-classical orthodoxy (Monbiot 2016).

Liow (2012:241) holds that a combination of the neo-liberal model and a developmental state model can produce positive results for the economy of a country, citing Singapore as successful because of such a hybrid model. The deregulation and liberalization processes that took place in that country are read as a sign that a developmental state trajectory alone could not yield the desired results in Singapore. The neo-classical orthodoxy was given adopted in the economic sphere of that country. What is interesting in Singapore is that the government and private business became partners in relation to economic matters, but with the state as the dominant partner, and that neo-liberal policies and developmental policies could be combined.

According to Thorsen and Lie (2007:2), neo-liberalism can be conceptualized as another form of liberalism, as a resurrection of liberalism. These authors also note a slight difference between the two. They define neo-liberalism as a form of liberalism that emphasises minimal state intervention in economic matters. By contrast,

liberalism can be defined as a *laissez faire* market approach, depending on a free market system, and opposing state intervention in the market. Since liberalism did not offer a viable solution for the socio-economic problems facing the poorest of the poor in the global South, and there is a thin line between liberalism and neo-liberalism, clearly neo-liberalism will not be a solution either.

The genesis and the pros and cons of neo-liberalism can only be understood if one distinguishes carefully between the various models that emanated from liberalism. Neo-liberalism is one of those models. The others are classical liberalism, modern liberalism, libertarianism and liberal egalitarianism (Thorsen & Lie, 2007:3-6). Classical liberalism is not a proponent of state domination in the economy; the role of citizens should take precedence over that of the state. The voice of the citizens should thus be louder than that of the state, but this should not be equated to civil society involvement in economic matters, which is prevalent in a democratic developmental state. By contrast, modern liberalism can be partnered with developmentalism, because modern liberalism does advocate for state intervention in some economic matters. Libertarianism emphasises property rights, democracy and freedom. Liberal egalitarianism is a proponent of equal rights in all spheres of life, and in this sense, liberal egalitarianism and modern liberalism are on the same wavelength regarding the socio-economic rights of citizens (Thorsen & Lie, 2007:3-6).

Interestingly, Marcetic (2017) regards the gravitation towards a neo-liberal approach in New Zealand as counter-productive, given the poverty experienced in that country after the 2008 global economic implosion. In 1893, a plethora of social development policies were passed to extricate people from poverty. The policy reforms in New Zealand have fluctuated, since actual government spending shows that the country was not yet ready to adopt and implement welfare-related policies. Egalitarianism soon became mere lip-service in New Zealand. A neo-liberal trajectory was touted as the solution to that country's problems, and so the salient features of neo-liberalism were adopted and implemented, resulting in deregulation and privatization. However, neo-liberalism proved not to be the hoped-for panacea for poverty and inequality, because neo-liberal reforms usually benefit the elite, not the poor. A proper egalitarian system looked like a better solution for the economy of New Zealand. Another solution might be a hybrid model, since a high economic growth rate is needed before a country can implement an economic system designed to benefit the downtrodden. Hence state

intervention combined with neo-liberalism (a hybrid model) might offer a solution for most countries (Marcetic 2017).

According to Bresser-Pereira (2009:7-10), it is important for the state and the market to complement each other, since economic growth and economic development are predicated on the relationship between government and the markets. The role of the state in this context is to ensure that the competitive nature of the markets does not compromise the developmental agenda of the state. Neo-liberalism is by its very nature pre-occupied with the view that the role of government in economic matters should be minimal. Neo-liberalism is also contingent on global capitalism, and this means that the phenomenon of globalization cannot be ignored. The world economy has been transformed because of globalization, even though it does not benefit the global South: globalization is known for its exploitative tendencies, particularly in developing countries. Given these facts, it is unlikely that neo-liberalism will ever devote itself to or serve social development. The only alternative in this context is then that the state and the markets should complement each other for the benefit of society.

2.3 Welfare State

A welfare state is not a new phenomenon: in ancient times, notably in countries such as Egypt and Rome, social services were provided. Leaders used to provide free grain to the downtrodden (Tanner 2008:1).

The Etymology Dictionary (n.d.) traces the roots of the word “welfare” back to England in the thirteenth century, and it referred to the condition of being or doing well. The word comes from “well” plus “faran”, to get along, to fare. The genesis of a social state or welfare state can thus be traced back to the medieval period, when some social systems were in place to ameliorate problems related to poverty. However, these social systems soon became authoritarian and the continued relevance of such systems was therefore questioned. The role of the state was reconceptualized at the dawn of democracy. In a democratic country, the rights of people and socio-economic conditions of society are considered by the state. A social state can then be defined as a state that is concerned with the general welfare of its people, and it is characterized by a fundamental consideration of social security issues and the rights of workers. A social state is thus essentially a welfare state – the terms are therefore arguably synonymous.

Katz (n.d:1) conceptualizes a welfare state as one that emphasises social development programmes, and also points out that welfarism is not a new thing, since this political system can be traced back to the medieval period, when social programmes of sorts were regarded as a solution to the well-being of the poor.

The rise of the modern welfare state is associated with the religious leader Archbishop William Temple in England, and with the political leader Otto von Bismarck, who was instrumental in the unification of Germany in the nineteenth century (Tanner 2008). A welfare state in this context can be defined as a system that focuses on the provision of social welfare services such as health care, housing, education and old age pensions. These services are provided through official social welfare programmes. Temple's position was that, in modern society, Christians should be entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring that citizens are provided with social welfare services, particularly the poor. This argument was popular in Britain. Tanner (2008) maintains that the 1880 German welfare state under the leadership of Otto Von Bismarck was a unique system at the time, in the sense that the provision of the social welfare services was not directed to a particular group of people. Benefits were provided to all citizens without even applying a proverbial means test. Whether people were poor or not, social welfare benefits were provided in Germany, and this is the principle that still underlies the modern welfare state.

In the United States, the provision of social welfare services was not the responsibility of government, particularly at the federal level. The Great Depression, which ran from the Wall Street Crash in 1929 to the late 1930s as banks country-wide failed, was a global wake-up call, but particularly in the United States. The total collapse of the global economy led, among other things, to widespread poverty and unemployment. Hence, a miraculous economic recovery plan was expected from the government. President Franklin D. Roosevelt came up with the New Deal, which overturned the tradition that barred government from being involved in the provision of social welfare benefits. The federal role was no longer circumscribed in respect of social development. The new welfare state in the United States ushered in a shift in the socio-economic situation, putting in place social welfare programmes to take care of the poor, the unemployed and the elderly (Tanner 2008:3).

A welfare state can be conceptualized as a system that is obliged to ensure that social development and health care services are not compromised – benefits in relation to

unemployment are one of the salient features of a welfare state. The welfare state was also regarded as a solution to the ills associated with the Second World War. After the Second World War, reconstruction and development were also considered a mechanism to overcome the effects of unemployment and the diseases related to poverty. The adoption of a welfare approach in the United Kingdom was the outcome of this need. It may thus be argued that the Second World War compelled the United Kingdom to adopt a welfare state (Cambridge Dictionary n.d.). Yergin and Stanislaw (1998:1-2) discuss the Second World War is a turning point for the emergence of the British welfare state. They maintain that the role of government was reconfigured after the War, as a result of the recommendations of the Beverage Commission (Yergin & Stanislaw 1998:2-3). The Commission proposed that social development programmes be put in place to ensure that poverty and unemployment were prioritized by the government. The Commission also stated that the government should consider the question of free health care services, education and housing. While communism and socialism were also some of the options for economic growth, these were not adopted in Britain. The seminal model of the *laissez faire* market advanced by economist Adam Smith in 1776 was jettisoned for the reconstruction and development of the British economy. The British sceptics' argument for rejecting Smith's economic trajectory was that the results of that approach had culminated in inequality, poverty and injustice (Yergin & Stanislaw 1998:2-3).

Kenton (2020b) conceptualizes a welfare state as a political system that is designed to promote the socio-economic well-being of the people. The question that arises in respect of this system is whether a welfare state is sustainable. This question is relevant because, as indicated above, countries such as Britain and the United States have tried to implement this system, but it proved to be unsustainable. The implementation of a welfare state is an expensive exercise, and its sustainability is questionable and debatable. Economic growth rates dictate the terms concerning the adoption and implementation of a fully-fledged welfare state – a high growth rate is a prerequisite for such a system to work.

According to the European Governance and Politics Programme (2019:1), a welfare system of government is characterized by the amelioration of poverty, unemployment and inequality, as well as the consequences of migration. Western European countries seem to be on the right path regarding successful implementation of the system of

welfarism. Nevertheless, the sustainability of the welfare state model is a challenge for the countries that have implemented it. Such challenges can often be attributed to environmental factors and the limitations of the tax base of those countries, even leading to claims that the concept of a social state (welfare state) is defunct. The contribution made by a social or welfare state should not be underestimated, though, even if this model is no longer relevant. Can the social state model be equated to the state of nature? This question is posed primarily because of the genesis of this model. Cobuild Advanced English Dictionary (n.d.) defines a welfare state as a system that is devoted to the general welfare of a country's citizens, and in which the provision of services such as health care and education is free. Furthermore, the state takes responsibility for people who are unemployed, providing them with money. The aged also form part of the responsibility of the state.

Lindbeck (2006:2) states that

the welfare state comprises of two types of government spending arrangement: cash benefits to households (transfers), including mandatory income insurance and subsidies or direct government provision of human services such as child care, pre-schooling, education, health care and old-age care, by broader definition, the welfare state may also include price regulation such as rent control and agricultural price support, housing policies, regulation of the work environment, job-security legislation, and environmental policies.'

A welfare state is a controversial model, and there is no wrong or right answer here. It is true that the government in a welfare state cannot ignore its social responsibility to take care of those who are unemployed, people who are physically challenged and pensioners, but there is also a school of thought that says that the provision of goods and services cannot be free, a perspective supported by proponents of a *laissez faire* market fundamentalism. Worldwide, welfare state policies were reconceptualized after the emergence of the neo-classical orthodoxy. The welfare state, or "nanny state" as it was called by its critics, was subsumed, particularly in Western Europe, by liberal economics. Proponents of welfarism were disappointed by the privatization of state institutions such as hospitals and other entities that fell into the ambit of the welfare state (Kratzwald 2012:1-4).

To understand the concept of the welfare state, a distinction should be drawn between welfare and the welfare state. According to Whelan (2019:2-3), the word "welfare" can be related to a process that is primarily concerned with the well-being of the people,

which in this context refers to elements such as housing, health care and education. A “welfare state” can be defined as a political system that revolves around interventions relating to the adoption and implementation of policies designed to ensure the well-being of society. The word “free” is often associated with a welfare state, but different welfare state models can be adopted and implemented for welfarism to come to fruition. The corporatist model, the residual or liberal model, and the social democratic or universal model are models that have been institutionalized in welfare states. (Britain and Ireland may be regarded as the primary examples of the liberal model or residual model.)

Poverty, unemployment and inequality are often associated with a welfare state. Social insurance is an imperative, particularly in welfare states that are industrialized – in the United States this takes the form of social security, and in the United Kingdom it takes the form of National Insurance. The sustainability of welfarism is dependent on the efficiency and effectiveness of the social institutions established by the government (Bondarenko 2015:n.p.).

Stiglitz (2017:1) makes a very interesting argument in relation to proponents of a welfare state and those who eschew this political system, referring to the role of stakeholders as a cornerstone of a welfare state. The state alone cannot sustain a welfare model, so the role of private business and the involvement of civil society is regarded as pivotal for the sustainability of welfarism. Welfarism is regarded by many countries as a model that should be discouraged, because it is argued that the welfare model has a negative impact on economic growth of a country (Stiglitz 2017:1). Thatcher and Reagan are regarded as former political leaders who started the debate that a welfare type of an arrangement is not good for the economy of a country, and claimed that it must be discouraged with contempt (Stiglitz 2017). In more recent times, those who reject this model hold the social solidarity that is gaining momentum responsible for the implosion of the Euro, whereas proponents of the welfare state claim that adopting this model does not have a negative impact on the economy. They argue that this model cannot be avoided in the twenty-first century and maintain that state intervention is essential for the well-being of society.

According to Koepfel (2019:n.p.), the Swedish welfare state is an example of a state that operates seamlessly and the model is acceptable to all political parties in Sweden. Welfare states globally cannot match the model that has been implemented in

Sweden, making its success unique. In most welfare states, the relationship between the government and business is not cordial, whereas in Sweden, the relationship between government and the markets is healthy. The eradication of poverty, unemployment and inequality are strongly prioritized in Sweden, which was, for example, the first welfare state to consider paid leave for fathers after a baby is born. Education and health care are also prioritized. According to Gallo and Svensson (2019:1-2), one issue that is often omitted in the adoption and implementation of a social welfare state, namely victim support in the criminal justice system. Sweden is again an exception in this regard, since laws and policies enabling victim support have been enacted in that country. The impact made by the Swedish Association for Victim Support is thus relevant to any discussion on a reconfiguration of the welfare state.

The relevance of the welfare state is questioned by some scholars, academics and practitioners who are of the view that this model is moribund. They claim that reconfiguration is needed because increasing migration and economic internationalization make it difficult to sustain this model. They admit that a welfare state can change the situation in relation to poverty, unemployment and inequality, but point out that the economic environment is now changing, and that these changes are compelling states to reconfigure their social development policies. This shift is regarded by those who are not proponents of welfarism as a safety net that will extricate welfare states from economic crises. In this context, one might return to the question of whether Sweden is a successful welfare state, and the more controversial question of whether the Swedish welfare model should be reconfigured. These questions need to be debated before a conclusion can be reached in respect of the reconfiguration of welfare states' policies (European Governance and Politics Programme 2019:1).

Fox and Meyer (1996:136) conceptualize a welfare state as a system that puts the government under an obligation to ensure that the general welfare and well-being of the people are a top priority. Social development programmes need to be in place to underpin welfarism as contemplated by the state. Some of the resources distributed by the state should be free, such as housing, health care services, and education, particularly at the undergraduate level. In short, socio-economic development in a welfare state falls in the ambit of the state.

According to Hammond (2018:1-2), there is no need to separate a neo-liberal approach from welfarism, because these models can coexist. The role of the government in this context is to protect society from the actions of the market forces, but at the same time, it is also important for government to work with private business in matters of the economy. This coexistence does not necessarily mean that government has abdicated its political responsibilities. What is stressed in this context is that there must be a cooperation between welfarism and the market forces for the benefit of society, particularly the poor.

As already mentioned, the sustainability of a welfare approach is now being questioned, particularly in Western democracies, because the needs and expectations of society change continuously, compelling welfare states to reconfigure their socio-economic approaches. In assessing the pros and cons of a welfare state in Europe, it becomes clear that there is still a need for socio-economic development even in developed nations for the welfare of the people to be improved, particularly the disadvantaged. The challenge in this context is sustainability. Governments in Europe need to recast the current system to implement a new system that can sustain the social programmes of government. This can only be done if a social investment plan (see Section 2.4) is adopted and implemented. The Nordic countries have adopted a social investment approach and it is yielding positive results (Elsasser 2018:1-6).

According to Mingardi (2018), it is important to draw an analogy between immigration and ageing, so that the challenges facing a welfare state can be properly delineated. An exaggerated welfarism is gaining momentum in most countries, even though this generous approach is being castigated, particularly in liberal democratic countries. A generous welfare state is aligned with the notion that the poor and people who are born in a particular country should benefit from the distribution of wealth, free education, health care services, unemployment insurance and other social services. The view that this system should not benefit immigrants should be discouraged. This school of thought is supported by several countries in Europe: a welfare state that is organic will always protect the aged, unemployed, students and those who need access to health care, whoever they are. A generous welfare state is thus not against the immigration of the poor to rich countries. However, some factions do not subscribe to the view that poor people who need a better life and opportunities can immigrate freely to rich countries, and claim that the immigration of unskilled people to rich

countries will only have a negative impact on the economy (Donald Trump is a well-known proponent of this view).

A controversial argument is advanced in *The Welfare State: A Terrible Name for an Essential System*, namely that “all developed countries are welfare states, and there are good reasons for that” (Ghilarducci 2015:1-2). This paper focuses on freelancers and full-time employees, particularly in the United States: some members of the business sector suggest that people should be employed only on a full-time basis, and if that happens, freelancing will be a thing of the past. The rationale offered is that freelancers do not have access to the benefits offered by the state to employees who are permanently employed by the government. What is controversial in this argument is that the form of welfarism posited can be equated to what has been dubbed a “nanny state” (Ghilarducci 2015:1-2).

The Nordic countries are widely regarded as the countries that adopted and implemented the most seamless welfare systems. These systems were sustainable for decades, because the question of immigration was not yet an issue. Denmark can be cited as an example (Gronholt-Pedersen 2019:n.p.). Denmark is currently in a quandary regarding the reform of public spending, because economic conditions are no longer the same as when the system was implemented. The government is confronted with the dilemma of whether public spending should be increased or reduced. The Danish government decided to increase taxes to ensure that social development programmes would be sustainable. This move was seen by the Danes as unusual and unacceptable, because the welfare state in Denmark had never had problems that appeared to require a reconfiguration of the welfare system, so high taxation in that country elicited dissatisfaction (Gronholt-Pedersen 2019:n.p.). The services that were formerly free in Denmark were no longer free, and this situation was criticised. The quality of health care was also questioned, and this state of affairs culminated in people’s opting for private health care (Gronholt-Pedersen 2019:n.p.). The Danish government has argued that if the retirement period is increased (in other words, retirement age is lowered) that could offer a solution. Cutting unemployment benefits was also seen as a way to ameliorate the economic challenges faced by the Danish welfare system. One question that has been asked in this contest is whether the welfare system can be sustainable without the involvement of private business,

and the answer is no, because the sustainability of welfarism is predicated on investment by private business (Gronholt-Pedersen 2019:n.p.).

Liukas (2017:n.p.) argues that Finland was once a successful welfare state that was interested in changing the health care and education environment. However, the successes in respect of social development came about as a result of coalition governments. A corporatist model seems to be the preferred trajectory in Finland:

The welfare state was being built up and constructed as a motion in the Programme between 1950 and 1970, during the 1980's and 1990's the model, was developed and internally synchronized, but in the 2000's and 2010's, the government programs started placing less emphasis on the classic ideals of the Nordic welfare state, such as universalism and equality. (Liukas 2017:n.p.)

It has been argued that welfare states emerged because of warfare states. According to Starke (2018:1-5), the nexus between the warfare state and welfare state is paradoxical, in that a warfare state is in line with authoritarianism and destruction, whereas welfarism is wedded to the general well-being of the people. The question in this context is whether the warfare state a prelude to a welfare state? The answer is often yes, primarily because during the First World War and the Second World War, the well-being of army officers and troops, their children and partners, was considered as a priority in most countries – Germany, Australia, Japan, France and Belgium are good examples in this context (Starke 2018:1-5). What transpired in Japan supports this argument: the imperial expansionist wars from 1931 to 1945 gave rise to the development of welfare policies in that country, and a national health insurance fund and the unemployment fund came into being. The military was first in line for the benefits from these schemes, but without state intervention, these schemes could not be put in place.

In the context of the United States and Israel, war veterans also enjoy social welfare benefits (Starke 2018:1-5), as do the family members of retired soldiers. Civilians in these countries are at the periphery in the distribution of social welfare benefits – inequality in this context is widening. Arguably, we are in an era of modern welfare states in which a warfare system is outdated and countries that still subscribe to this approach will have to reconfigure and reconceptualize their social welfare approaches, so that civilians and the military are treated equally.

In this regard, Mittelstadt (2015:1-4) makes a very interesting argument, juxtaposing the military welfare state and the civilian welfare state in the United States. The genesis of the military welfare state can be traced back four decades in the United States. Although the traditional welfare state has been largely rejected in that country as a system that was no longer relevant, military welfare continued, based on the rationale that this system takes care of members of the military and their family members. Benefits such as medical care, food and other benefits are regarded as rewards and support to loyal conscripts particularly at times when military service was compulsory. Benefits such as housing and free education continues to attract young Americans to join the army, even after the Second World War and the end of mandatory conscription in 1973. According to Mittelstadt (2015:4-6), the sustainability of the military welfare state was questioned by sceptics who claimed that the dependence syndrome encouraged by the military welfare system was not a solution for American citizens or members of the military. They argued that it was an unnecessary and discriminatory approach that divided the American people. This system was also seen as a threat to neo-liberalism. The military welfare state continued into the 1980s even during Reagan's administration, when social welfare was reduced. However, the military welfare state has lost ground and was reconfigured in the United States, because the military welfare approach which benefited the soldiers and their families, and the social welfare state which benefited all citizens, particularly in Europe, fell before the power of the neo-classical orthodoxy. The transformation of the military welfare system was implemented under the Clinton administration (Mittelstadt 2015). The dependency syndrome was reduced as the privatization of social programmes became the norm in the military, which indicated that the military social welfare state, like the civilian welfare state, was defunct in the United States.

Yaghmaian (2017:1-4) posits that the principal problem for a well-functioning welfare state is migration. Migration has indeed had a negative impact on the economy of Western Europe in particular. Migrants are not attracted to just any country: welfare states are the main destinations for migration because of the social welfare benefits associated with such countries. Social programmes in this context are seen as security blankets for the poor. However, proponents of migration are of the view that migrants are not necessarily attracted by welfare payments and other benefits associated with

welfarism, but claim that people who migrate to Germany, for example, have chosen that country because of security issues in their home countries. Germany is well known for its policies regarding safety and protection. The future of children is seen as bright in that country. The question to be asked in this context is then whether migration is not predicated on the existence of a welfare state.

Some political leaders have openly said that migration should not be tolerated, arguing that developing countries cannot rely on the socio-economic development and economic growth of developed countries to take care of their citizens. Donald Trump, for example, has strongly opposed the migration of people into the United States, proclaiming that the United States cannot accommodate more migrants, and that America is for the Americans. Lowe (2019) argues that the open borders in California have had a negative impact on the federal budget intended to benefit people who are entitled to receive social services from the government, because immigration have caused financial problems. The welfare state budget is allocated in accordance with the size of the population, and the poor and the unemployed are a priority in this type of a political system. Immigrants are currently allowed in California, and the budget accommodates them, but the welfare system is unable to address the socio-economic problems associated with immigration. The accommodation of immigrants is morally correct, but if the financial situation dictates the terms, the welfare state should be reconfigured for the economy to remain in good shape. The current shortage of doctors and the implosion of the health care system in California confirms the view that the welfare state in that federal state of the United States has become a nightmare (Lowe 2019).

Some welfare states are introducing new technology to bolster the welfare state. However, according to Mchangama and Liu (2018), the introduction of artificial intelligence for ostensible efficacy and effectiveness in governance can be equated to totalitarianism. Denmark is contemplating introducing artificial intelligence to monitor the distribution of grants and to underpin the Danish welfare state. But the Danish welfare system does not need to be reconfigured by introducing technologies that will in the end replace accountability – Denmark is well known for its rule of law record, and the welfare system in that country is already seamless. The use of artificial intelligence has been associated with authoritarianism, for example in China.

Social development features such as attempts to eradicate poverty and unemployment and to enhance the general well-being of society are not compromised in a welfare state, in which society relies heavily on government social development programmes. In this regard, Katz (n.d.:1) comments:

[I]n the United States, the welfare state confronts universal problems with a distinctive architecture, much broader and more complex than is usually realized. It is not usefully described as either public or private, instead its economy is mixed, and its composition reflects American federalism, the division of powers between the federal government and the state. The American welfare state consists of two main divisions, with subdivisions in each. Each of the subdivisions is rooted in a different location in American history, and to some extent, has followed its own trajectory over time.

Begg and Mushövel and Niblett (2015) posit that European people are used to the welfare state, as vulnerable people in that continent are heavily protected. This protection is predicated on the social development programmes that are in place. The question that needs to be asked is whether the welfare state is consistent with current developments. Associated challenges and the global integration have already been mentioned above. These salient factors are having an impact on the sustainability of welfare states. Disciples of welfarism are of the view that the implementation of a social welfare system can still promote growth and sustainability, but proper planning is imperative in this realm.

Rector (2015) has compared the welfare state in the United States and those in other rich nations, and found differences in social spending. Compared to other countries, the United States is regarded as a country that spends more on social programmes in relation to the level of poverty, but in fact the United States seems to score very low as compared to other nations. The mechanism that is being used to measure poverty levels in the US is the means test. Critics are of the view that the means test in the United States is not accurate, primarily because what is measured with that test does not reflect the actual living conditions of the downtrodden. The implication in this context might be that the poverty statistics might not show the real situation regarding levels of poverty (Rector 2015:1).

Gornick (2001:13) states that the widespread view that the European welfare state is moribund is a ploy to confuse the world and European people, a stratagem manufactured by the United States, particularly the media in that country. Some experts in the United States are claiming that welfarism is defunct in Europe and the

United States, but is a global phenomenon. In the European context, the decline of the welfare state has been associated with magnanimous social benefits and market regulation. The question to be asked in this context is whether the European welfare state is indeed moribund. The liberalization of the market and the retrenchment processes experienced in European welfare states cannot be equated with a collapse of this system – these processes are essentially related only to a reconfiguration of the welfare state in Europe. The view that the United States cannot learn from the European social policy is not true, despite what the media and conglomerates in the United States claim. It is a true that social programmes should be reconfigured in the European welfare state, but this reconfiguration should not be interpreted as the end of the European welfarism. A policy change does not mean that a social state has to be superseded by a neo-liberal economy.

According to an article in *The Economist*, “Capitalism needs a welfare state to survive” (2018:n.p.), the survival of capitalism depends on a welfare state: interdependence between capitalism and a social state is essential. Welfarism is currently gaining momentum. For a market economy to flourish, a welfare approach should be embraced. Most rich countries tend to spend on unemployment insurance, education and health care, and this spending is propelled by the involvement of the markets. Government alone cannot sustain the implementation of social programmes. The principal aim of a welfare state is to develop social welfare programmes for native-born citizens. Social development programmes are usually designed on the basis of the statistics or data collated in a particular country. The data that are collated reflect the number of poor people, unemployed people and other groups that qualify for social protection. In this context, then challenges to the sustainability of a successful welfare state are immigration and ageing, because both groups have a negative impact on the budget of a country, whether that country is a welfare state or not.

Levin (2011) argues that the American welfare state is no longer sustainable and should be reconfigured. Because of the prevailing socio-economic conditions, the democratic welfare system in America is no longer able to cater for the needs of the vulnerable and the downtrodden. A technocratic welfare state has been posited as an alternative for the welfare state in the United States, and private business would still be intact after the adoption and implementation of a technocratic welfare system. This argument suits the developed nations that regard the welfare state as a system that

lacks effectiveness and efficiency. The argument advanced regarding a feeble welfare state in the United States stems from a tottering administrative state that was not responsive to the needs and expectations of the citizens. Proponents of a social democratic approach had to start thinking about a new approach that will be responsive to the continued needs of society, particularly the poor, but the unexpected demise of the American welfare state can be attributed to the 2008 economic crisis. The Obama social democratic trajectory was regarded by proponents of the social democratic state as a solution, but the social challenges did not abate. However, the Obama social project should not be regarded as a futile exercise, because it was an attempt to extricate the poor from their situation, particularly in relation to health care imperatives. It is in the wake of these failures that a technocratic state has been touted as a possible solution (Levin 2011).

Filgueira, Causa, Fleurbaey and Grimalda (2018:1-2) are probably correct in arguing that

...the welfare state is considered under pressure due to globalization, ageing, technical progress which disrupt the job structure, and staggering debt in several countries. Actually, data shows that, the welfare state is not receding and it is arguably a key component of a strategy of global integration, truly enough, redistribution is under pressure in the globalized economy, as tax rates on corporate profit, wealth, capital income and to earnings have been declining in a general effort by many countries to attract investment and mobile talents, but the welfare state has not been reduced in the size of its operations, although it has become less redistributive. The composition of tax revenues has shifted toward indirect taxes and income taxes borne by the middle class and the redistributive function on income taxes has diminished under globalization. Induced tax competition, social spending on cash support for working age households has gone down, while spending on in-kind support, especially in the area of health care has gone up. Redistribution through cash transfers has therefore declined in the vast majority of advanced countries over the last two decades, driven by less redistributive insurance transfers.

The integration of migrants in the labour market seems to be a quandary for many countries, particularly in the Nordic countries. Immigration can have a negative and/or a positive impact on the economy and the budget of a country, and this can be clearly seen in the impact of immigration on Scandinavian welfare states, such as Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The negative impact of immigration arises from the fact that, if migrants are not highly skilled or skilled, they add extra costs for the government; migrants are then advantaged by the benefits that they receive as a result of the social

welfare programmes that are in place, particularly in the countries referred to in this text. The positive impact of immigration is that if migrants are highly skilled, that will have a positive impact on the labour market and the economy – with highly skilled migrants both migrants and their destination states benefit. The reason the Nordic countries are cited in this context is that their social welfare models are characterized by high levels of redistribution, social justice and equality, and the nexus between immigration and the welfare state is ideally characterized by mutual benefit and humanism. An influx of people from poor and developing countries should thus not necessarily be regarded as a burden to developed (rich nations) and developing countries if skilled migrants contribute to social welfare states (Brochmann & Hagelund 2011:13).

The welfare state is controversial globally, including the United States. Zelizer and Patashnik (2016:1-2) acknowledge that both the American Republicans and the British Conservatives have opposed the welfare state. In the 1980s, the then President of the United States, Ronald Reagan (from 1981 to 1989) and the then British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher (from 1979-1990) criticised certain features of welfarism. More recently, another political maverick, Donald Trump, attempted to overturn previous President Barack Obama's care initiatives. The Republicans were concerned with retrenchments to neutralize the social welfare approach to shred the military's safety net. However, the Democrats will not allow the Republicans to change the distribution of benefits as it is a tradition in the United States that these benefits should ameliorate poverty and unemployment. Hence, Zelizer and Patashnik (2016:1-2) claim that the welfare state in the US seems invincible – the Republicans should learn a lesson from Reagan, who tried unsuccessfully to change the social welfare approach, focusing on social security and early retirement, but reaction from the Democrats negated Reagan's attempts.

According to Higgs (1996:n.p.), the importance and impact of the welfare state can be seen if one compares what transpired in the twentieth century and in the twenty-first century. The current situation is better than that in the olden days where our forebears had to rely heavily on themselves, faith, religious institutions, family and friends. Social welfare institutions were not in place to take care of the poor and the unemployed through government programmes. In the United States, the Great Depression affected the economy, requiring government intervention and thus a welfare state. After that

economic implosion, the state was the last resort for American people, and the national government had to employ various strategies to ameliorate the situation. The then incumbent, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, ameliorated the situation with his New Deal economic policy. The situation is thus different today because society can often rely on the social welfare state for survival.

Sherraden (2003:1) explores the transition to the welfare state and the social investment state, which has been informed by the principle of social protection and by economic growth. In a paper entitled *From the Social Welfare State to the Social Investment State*, Sherraden comments as follows:

[T]he welfare state at the start of the 21st century appears to be in the midst of a transformation, the original consensus was that, if the market economy was sufficiently productive, it could be taxed to support social expenditures, these social expenditures were assumed to be a diversion of capital from production and a drag on economic growth. Today the assumed competition between social protection and economic growth is being challenged, there is increasing recognition that social spending for some purposes and/or in some forms can contribute to both economic growth and social development.

It may be argued that there is a thin line between a welfare state and a social investment state, which is discussed in the next section.

2.4 Social Investment State

The social investment state can be regarded as a neutral system, falling between the neo-liberal and the welfare state. This system is characterized especially by investment in education and health care. A strong emphasis on economic growth is another feature of social investment states.

Life-long learning, health care and education are central in a social investment state. Burger (2014:4) explains that investment in education and health care underpin social development, primarily because education and health care are interwoven. Health care is regarded as an independent variable, and education is a dependent variable. Transfers in a social investment or a third way are not seen as negative. Entitlement is diminished in a social investment state, and economic growth is not compromised in a social investment setting. If there is investment in education and health care, competitiveness is also a feature of the social investment approach, particularly international competitiveness (Burger 2014:4).

Features of both a neo-liberal state and a social (welfare) state can be found in a social investment approach. State intervention is also encouraged in the social investment model, but not maximal intervention. In a social investment state, the relationship between the government and the markets is seamless, and decision-making regarding the direction taken in the economy is the responsibility of both the government and the markets. The argument regarding the relationship between the government and private business is that the government cannot build the economy of the country alone. To undergird economic growth and economic development, a concerted effort is required between government and private business. This partnership revolves around regulation and deregulation. The question of a dominant partner is not relevant in this context. What is important is the balance between regulation and deregulation (Perkins, Nelms & Smyth 2004:1-2).

Perkins *et al.* (2004:2-3) explain that “the social investment model’s chief concern is with recognizing and integrating the economic and social dimensions of policy”. Thus social investment is intended to “offer an effective answer to neo-liberal critiques of social spending as wasteful and a source of dependency” (Perkins *et al.* 2004:2-3). The reason for claiming that it is effective is that “[i]nvestment implies returns”. They add:

[I]t is integral to the social investment concept that programs produce outcomes beneficial to the economy, government spending is therefore targeted only where it is needed, and where it will generate the best returns. This aspect is phrased in more specific terms of increasing cost-effectiveness in social welfare and modernizing social protection to make it sustainable. The returns are also conceived as having a multiplier effect, through increased economic participation and the flow-on contribution to the economy. Economic and social benefits accrue for both the individual and the collective.

According to Lister (2004:157), the concept of social investment may be dubbed the “third way social investment”, because this model focuses more on partnerships and public participation. The principal aim of this model is to give citizens a chance to participate in the decision-making processes regarding the social programmes contemplated by the government. Social investment can be regarded as the antithesis of neo-liberalism. The key difference between these models is that, in a social investment state, governance is partnership-oriented, while in a neo-liberal state, public participation is not a priority.

The current reconfiguration of welfare states is a sign that we are now living in a post-modern world. The implication is that we are now in an era of transformation and consolidation. The difference between social investment states and welfare states is that social investment states invest more proactively in health care and education. Human development is also considered as a priority in this model. By contrast, welfare states are characterized by compensatory social policies, which may be equated to entitlement, which is not encouraged in a social investment state (Busemeyer, De La Porte, Garritzmann & Pavolini 2018:801).

Social investment is gaining momentum in Europe, Latin America and South East Asia. It seems that the implosion of welfare states is responsible – the sustainability of the social programmes of the “nanny state” has been seriously questioned, because welfare state entitlement social programmes cannot work if the government alone has to finance social development programmes. The markets and civil society should play their part in the implementation of these programmes.

Ferrera (2009) argues that the emergence of the social investment state is an indication that the welfare state is not sustainable. The welfare state and its social protection approach is now in tatters. Recasting the welfare system would be a step in the right direction, and investment in child education and health care are two solutions that are more specific than broad social protection. The question of benefits to the unemployed and old age pensioners should be revisited because it is not sustainable. In this context, the social investment offers a solution with its post-modern approach to partnerships with the market for economic growth. Citizen involvement is another dimension that will yield positive results, and private business is included in this process (Ferrera 2009:1).

According to Sherraden (2003:1),

...the best social policy alternatives will move beyond the idea of consumption-as-well-being, towards capabilities, [...] building people's assets is one policy pathway to both increase capabilities and eliminate the trade-off between economic growth and social development in the process.

Interestingly, Cantillon (2011:432-433) discusses Portugal's policies for growth, employment and poverty. That country saw a social investment state as a solution to these three imperatives, but poverty levels remain high.

Today, European welfare states face complex challenges that need urgent solutions. Their problems stem from demographic and economic factors. A central challenge is health care inequalities, which can have an impact on education and employment. The social investment state in this context appears to offer an answer (Diederichsen 2016:43). If health care disparities are not dealt with, investments in health care and education will be counterproductive and the social investment trajectory will be derailed. Health care and education are the pillars of a social investment state, and they should not be compromised. Employment and education are thus also inextricably linked.

Social investment states can be easily equated to the proverbial third way type of approach, which is neutral compared to other models. Social investment states are also in the middle. State intervention is allowed in both social investment and a third way model. Partnership between government, private business and civil society is paramount in both these models. A third way is regarded by some scholars as a model for a new mixed economy. According to Higgs (2000:n.p.),

...third way politics advocates for a new mixed economy, in the old mixed economies, markets were subordinated to the state. The new mixed economy looks instead for a synergy between public and private sections, utilizing the dynamism of markets, but with the public interest in mind. The welfare state has few problems, such as the sacrifice of liberty, but third way politics sees these problems not as a signal to dismantle the welfare state, but as part of the reason to reconstruct it.

In this regard, Busemeyer (2014:5) points out that

...in general, the trade-off between social investments and passive social transfers is often depicted as one between politics that create benefits at some point in the future, for example, today's investments in education and early child care will pay off when those little ones who enjoy these benefits today enter the labour market at some distant point in the future. In contrast, pension and unemployment schemes entail immediate benefits for those who receive them.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, different state forms and their relation to developmentalism have been examined. These theories are important, particularly for political leaders in developing countries. As the chapter shows, most countries, particularly developed countries, do not rely on one single theory in relation to economic growth. Many countries, particularly in East Asia, and the Nordic countries, adopted and implemented

welfarism and developmentalism, but many countries that have implemented these theories or models discovered that the models were not sustainable. The most successful countries economically are those that started by implementing welfarism and developmentalism, but later incorporated other theories or models, often shifting to hybrid models. No single model has been found to be sustainable.

Chapter 3:

Literature Review on Local Government

3.1 Introduction

This chapter picks up from Chapter 2 of the dissertation and seeks to confirm the observation based on the preliminary reading of the literature that there is a lacuna in the existing body of knowledge on developmental local government. This is done by providing an exhaustive review of the literature on the topic. This exercise is important as it makes an epistemological case for this study. The most recent and authoritative theorizing on the subject is covered, along with the most widely accepted empirical findings, which have been found not to answer the precise question that this study asks. This chapter demonstrates that an examination in the specific area of focus in this study has not yet been undertaken in the existing studies on the broader topic.

3.2 The Scholarly Literature

The literature on developmental local government is vast; however, in South Africa, as has been pointed out in Chapter 1 of the dissertation, only a limited number of scholars have dedicated their intellectual efforts specifically to examining the phenomenon of developmental local government. Among those are Asmah-Andoh (2009), Binza (2010), Koma (2012), Nkuna (2011), Nkuna and Sebola (2012), and Van Dijk and Croukamp (2007) and Vyas-Doorgapersad (2010).

In the article “Developmental local government: Issues, trends and options in South Africa”, Koma (2012:109) regards the *Constitution* (RSA 1996) as the key point of reference in relation to developmentalism in South Africa, because it states that democracy at local government level should be substantive. This implies that the poorest of the poor and the downtrodden should be a priority when service delivery is rendered. It is a constitutional mandate to local government that socio-economic development processes should be subject to public participation. According to Koma (2012:111), poverty, unemployment and inequality have been identified as problem areas that should be addressed by government, particularly the local sphere of government. These scourges cannot be surmounted in a vacuum, so a proper solution needs to be found for these perennial problems. Local Economic Development has

been identified as a solution to these intractable issues, but it is predicated on a workable economic development strategy – if such a strategy is not in place, this economic trajectory will not come to fruition.

The adoption of the RDP was a watershed moment for the country. This adoption was a positive move for South Africa to address perennial problems related to poverty, unemployment and inequality. However, the adoption of this programme required political leaders and appointed functionaries dedicated to real change and transformation, because the success of this programme was contingent on economic growth and social development. The RDP was unfortunately undermined by a lack of consultation; the ruling party's failure to consult alliance partners made this programme counter-productive (Van Dijk & Croukamp 2007:669).

Vyas-Doorgapersad (2010:47) suggests that developmental local government would be seamless if the responsibilities entrusted to local government were executed according to the mandate given by the *Constitution* (RSA 1996) and the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998). According to this legislation, municipalities are expected to bridge the service delivery gap created by the apartheid government. Developmental local government in this context should be characterized by local economic development and a capable local government.

For local government to be developmental, it is important that socio-economic development be maximized. If that applies, it will pave the way for municipalities to address the ills associated with poverty, unemployment and inequality. Nkuna (2011:630) regards South Africa as a democratic state, which implies that local government should also be democratic in the execution of responsibilities. For developmentalism to come to fruition, public participation should thus be a priority. The involvement of stakeholders (in this context, private business and civil society) is compulsory in all the three spheres of government. Good governance principles, economic growth and citizen participation are the pillars of developmental local government in the South African context (Nkuna 2011). Good governance implies that political leaders and appointed officials use democratic principles to democratize development; development that is democratized will culminate in economic growth, especially if citizens participate in the processes of socio-economic development.

Sustainable development cannot transpire in insolation: it requires social partners who are stakeholders in developmental local government (Nkuna 2011:629-630).

The RDP (ANC 1994) was adopted to ensure that the ills associated with apartheid are surmounted, but the RDP failed, largely because of a lack of consultation between the government and alliance partners. The gradual failure of the RDP opened the way to the adoption of neo-liberal policies, even though the neo-classical orthodoxy is not in line with developmentalism as contemplated by the South African government (Bekker & Leilde 2003:147).

According to Bekker and Leilde (2003:147-148), the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998) was another watershed moment in South African local government. It was designed to address problems facing municipalities and to assist the very poor in South Africa, who are confined to the periphery. The principal aim of developmentalism is to dismantle and reconfigure the apartheid era's Spatial Development Framework to make sure that all people are close to work opportunities. Based on this White Paper, the construct of the IDP was conceived. The principal aim of this blueprint was to ensure that planning in relation to service delivery and socio-economic development is subjected to public participation at local government level.

Meyer (2014:33) argues that for development to come to fruition, government and private business has to put in place a workable strategy to ensure that all barriers that impede development are dealt with. The rationale is that there needs to be co-operation between government and private business, and civil society has to be included in this venture to pave the way for developmental local government in South Africa. In this regard, Madumo (2012) rightly points out that participatory democracy is one of the characteristics of a developmental state. For local government to achieve this developmental trajectory, participatory democracy should be a consideration, and this means that policy-making processes should include public participation at local government level. Basic services cannot be arbitrarily provided to different communities, and hence, the mandate given to local government by the *Constitution* (RSA 1996) and the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998) goes beyond merely rendering basic services such as such as the provision of water, sanitation and electricity. The call for socio-economic development should be regarded as a fresh mandate to municipalities (Madumo 2012:44).

According to Madumo (2012:41-48), the 1994 elections were regarded as the dawn of a new era, as it promised South African voters a better life in which poverty would be eradicated, and voters would have employment, safety and security. Inequality was to end. For this promise to be upheld, the RDP was developed and adopted by the democratic government. The reason for the introduction of the RDP was to reconstruct and develop the South African economy – it was to offer a local *perestroika* and *glasnost*. The principal aim of the RDP was to ensure that the economic gap left behind by the apartheid government was bridged. It was to reverse the effects of apartheid laws that disadvantaged the poor (mostly non-white) economically, socially, politically and culturally. It is problematic in this context that the question of social development is not sufficiently clearly defined for South African local government: developmental local government is characterized by socio-economic development, but the social aspect is not clearly spelled out. For local government to be fully developmental, it should be given a more specific mandate to deal with social development issues (NGO Pulse 2012:1).

Burger (2014) contends that one cannot argue conclusively that South Africa is a developmental state, drawing a comparative analysis to demonstrate what model he considers applies to South Africa. He compares a neo-liberal model, the social investment state model and the transfer welfare state model. His analysis suggests that South Africa is closer to a social investment state than to a developmental state. His reasoning is that in a social investment state the well-being of the people is considered. Education and health issues are important and policy regarding these is compulsory in a social investment state. By contrast, in a neo-classical economic model, government is preoccupied with development, not inequality and other social issues. There is a thin line between a social investment state and a transfer welfare state – the main difference is that sustainability is often compromised in a transfer welfare state. Burger (2014) concludes that South Africa falls somewhere between a social investment state and a neo-liberal state.

Asmah-Andoh (2009) points out that, according to the *Municipal Systems Act* (RSA 2000), it is compulsory for all municipalities in South Africa to adopt and implement an IDP. The adoption of such a plan is an indication that democratic developmental local government is becoming a reality. Participatory democracy should not only be theoretical, it should also be practical to ensure that the public is part of this

democracy. The success of an IDP is predicated on public participation. As a key feature of integrated developmental local government, public participation, including participation by private businesses, will ensure that the socio-economic trajectory is on track (Asmah-Andoh 2009:107-108).

According to Binza (2010:250-251), poverty, unemployment and inequality can only be ameliorated if local economic development is sustainable, and this can only happen through collective leadership. In this context, collective leadership refers to the relationship between municipalities, private business and civil society. Capacity building is another imperative that should be considered by local leaders. The needs and expectations of the people cannot be addressed if political leaders and appointed officials are not conversant with the developmental trajectory of government. A developmental local government will only be realized if elected and appointed officials are properly trained. Unfortunately, most people use the word development and developmental interchangeably: only if these officials are properly trained will they be able to see the difference between these trajectories. Training and development should therefore be stressed.

Coetzee (2010:26) observes that there is a relationship between sustainable development and stakeholder involvement. A developmental state is predicated on strategic partnership. The partnership involved refers to engagement and co-operation between private business, civil society and the government. Economic growth and social development can only be realized if this partnership underpins the entire process. Political will is another factor that can contribute to socio-economic stability.

According to Kuye and Ajam (2012:53), the idea of a developmental state as contemplated by the South African government is a step in the right direction. The challenge is that most developmental states emerged primarily because of dictatorship – authoritarianism propelled economic growth and economic development, particularly in East Asian countries. However, South Africa is a constitutional democracy, and the rights of the people are protected by the Bill of Rights in the *Constitution* (RSA 1996).

As already pointed out in Chapter 1, Gumede (2009:7) believes that for South Africa to be a developmental state, it does not have to emulate what transpired in East Asian countries. The *Constitution* proclaims South Africa to be both developmental and democratic, which means that the developmental agenda of the country cannot be

based on the totalitarianism that characterized the developmental trajectory of Asian countries. Instead, economic growth and social development are predicated on democratic institutions. A developmental state as contemplated by the *Constitution* would be counter-productive if democratic principles are compromised.

Gumede (2009:9-10) rightly observes that a developmental trajectory in South Africa must revolve around the poor. The principal aim of developmental states is to ensure that problems related to poverty, unemployment and inequality are addressed. These problems will be addressed if there is state intervention in matters of the economy, but the intervention referred to in this context should be democratic. The *Constitution* (RSA 1996), the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998) and the *Municipal Systems Act* (RSA 2000) all mandate public participation, making it compulsory for all three spheres of government to comply, and this is how a democratic developmental state can be adopted and implemented in South Africa. Gumede (2009:4) points out that the Second World War and East Asian countries are reference points in relation to the adoption of a developmental state, in which industrialization is a salient feature. In this regard, Gumede (2009:4) warns that the success of a developmental state is predicated on the economic strength of the state: if the state is strong, the developmental trajectory has a better chance of success, because the government is negotiating with private business from a position of strength. This is one of the reasons East Asian countries could make the model work – power was centralized so that the socio-economic objectives of the state could be realized (Gumede 2009:4), but this cannot apply in a democratic dispensation such as that in South Africa. A successful and sustainable democratic developmental state is contingent on a reciprocal approach, partnerships and economic growth, with private business, labour organizations and the public all working together (Gumede 2009:11-12).

Craig (2017:1) rightly points out that developmental states are not the same, since contextual and environmental factors dictate what type of developmental state evolves. Like Gumede (2009), he believes that the developmental state in South Africa will not be the same as that in East Asian countries. A developmental state must be a strong and capable state, with high economic growth as a cornerstone of developmentalism. The Second World War made it necessary for East Asian countries to adopt and implement a pure developmental state under an autocratic regime to

boost economic growth, but South Africa needs a more democratic approach that will involve private business and civil society to realize its developmental project.

A developmental state is feasible in South Africa, but there are some perennial obstacles to achieving this goal, and these arise from the ruling party (the ANC) itself, as some members of the party are involved in factional conflict and there have been many cases of political patronage. These incessant factional battles overshadow the developmental agenda of the government, leading some political scientists to conclude that South Africa is a deep state (Kuye & Ajam 2012:54-55), which refers to a state where governance is controlled by secret networks of power that are not publicly authorised.

Tshishonga and Maphunye (2011:1237) argue cogently that a democratic developmental state is appropriate for South Africa, but it is imperative that development should be democratized. This will require participation by civil society and accountability by the state. The socio-economic trajectory of the state should be transparent for the public and civil society to contribute. State intervention may not be authoritarian if the developmental state desires economic growth that is sustainable. Political leaders should prepare themselves first before adopting and implementing a developmental state. Hence, for a democratic developmental state to succeed, political leaders and appointed functionaries should be capacitated so that they can interpret and implement what has been mandated by the *Constitution* (RSA 1996), the National Development Plan and the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998). The nexus between the public and government should be well founded and developed to avoid service delivery protests (Tshishonga & Maphunye 2011:1242-1243).

According to Tsheola (2012:170-171), legislative requirements are in place in South Africa in respect of the provision of services to the people, but political leaders and appointed officials should make sure that the policies of government are properly implemented. The IDP is one of the requirements relating to stakeholder involvement in matters related to service delivery. The principal aim of an IDP is to ensure that the provision of services to different communities can occur seamlessly, but an IDP also implies that the ability to meet the needs and expectations of the people are contingent on both public participation and the political will from elected officials.

Maserumule (2012:188-189) explains the distinction between the RDP and the later GEAR programme. The RDP was wedded to developmental initiatives and its principal aim was to ensure that the economy of South Africa was reconfigured. This reconfiguration was inextricably linked with state intervention as the only tool that can extricate those enmeshed in poverty. Without state intervention, the problems related to soaring poverty, widespread unemployment and gross inequalities cannot be ameliorated. The RDP was thus regarded as a blueprint for tackling the challenges left behind by apartheid policies. The neo-liberal GEAR policy focused on issues related to development, not on developmental issues. GEAR was characterized by its encouragement of competition and individualism. This implies that GEAR was not a relevant socio-economic tool for South Africans, particularly the downtrodden. The key difference between GEAR and RDP is thus that GEAR was a proponent of the neo-classical orthodoxy, while the RDP was committed to the concept of a developmental state.

According to Levin (2009:950), the introduction of the Batho Pele principles (see Section 4.4) was a step in the right direction for the South African government, and he claims that since the introduction and adoption of these principles, the situation in relation to the provision of services has improved. However, this improvement does not necessarily mean that service delivery problems have been surmounted: there are still pockets of service delivery problems in most municipalities. According to Levin (2009:944), a developmental state must also be characterized by economic growth and socio-economic development. The capabilities of elected and appointed officials and the relationship between government and private business all play a role in economic growth and sustainability to ameliorate poverty, unemployment and inequalities in South Africa.

Developmental local government in South Africa revolves around good leadership, adherence to democratic principles as put forward in the *Constitution*, economic growth and economic development. For these fundamentals to work together, municipalities should make sure that the environment is conducive to sustainable development, because economic development is predicated on economic growth, and economic growth is in turn predicated on the political will from elected officials (Sefala 2009:1169-1170).

According to Dassah (2011:601), a democratic developmental state is the way forward for South Africa. Development and democracy are inextricably linked. According to Dassah (2011:591), a developmental state is the antithesis of a neo-liberal state, and uses state intervention to ensure that socio-economic development and economic growth ameliorate poverty, unemployment and inequality, whereas a neo-liberal agenda aspires to economic growth for selfish profit-oriented reasons. At the same time, Dassah (2011) rejects the argument that for a country to be developmental, it should emulate the East Asian model: the East Asian approach cannot be replicated in South Africa, which is a constitutional democracy. The East Asian model was a success primarily because East Asian countries were inextricably embedded in totalitarianism (Dagut 2010:72-73). While the East Asian economic model may be of interest, in an authoritarian state, human rights are torpedoed to advance the narrow interests of the state, and that should not apply in South Africa, if it is to be a state that is both democratic and developmental. There is thus an urgent need for South Africa to revisit and re-embrace the developmentalism entrenched in its *Constitution* (RSA 1996). For this dream of the young democratic state to come to fruition, there needs to be a careful distinction between the developmental state (which may be a product of a totalitarian government) and the democratic developmental state, such as South Africa (Dagut 2010:72-73), where the undemocratic East Asian political model is not really applicable. Dagut (2010:72) holds correctly that in South Africa, it will be necessary to consult with relevant stakeholders prior to the implementation of socio-economic programmes. Dagut (2010) sees the primary focus of a developmental state as socio-economic development, economic growth and the amelioration of poverty, unemployment and inequality, particularly in South Africa, and rejects the neo-liberal model as unsuitable as a solution to South Africa's socio-economic challenges.

In this regard, Breakfast, Mekoa and Maphazi (2015:33-35) argue that participatory democracy is an important foundation for development. There are two forms of democracy: procedural democracy and substantive democracy. Procedural democracy is associated with the neo-classical orthodoxy, which is not a proponent of a developmental approach as put forward for consideration by the South African government. Social development is not a salient feature of this form of democracy either – the emphasis is on competition and individualism. By contrast, substantive democracy focuses on collectivism: the social needs and expectations of the people

are a priority. Interestingly, both forms of democracy claim to favour participatory democracy.

According to De Wee (2016:496), the developmental trajectory in South Africa should not be the responsibility only of the government. For this approach to be successful, all stakeholders should be involved. A developmental state is characterized by public participation, particularly in a democratic developmental state. For such an approach to come to fruition, political office-bearers should be capacitated to fully understand the nature of such a state, and the path that a developmental state needs to take. Appointed officials are no exception. They should understand that the *Constitution* (RSA 1996) positions South Africa as a developmental state, but that South Africa is in fact operating using a neo-liberal economic model. The unbundling of Eskom without consultation with relevant stakeholders is a good example of what this.

A developmental state is characterized by state intervention in matters of the economy to ensure that all people benefit from the economy, and to address poverty, unemployment and inequality, particularly in developing countries like South Africa, where there is an urgent need to address the legacy of apartheid, particularly social injustice (Tshishonga & De Vries 2011:62-63). A developmental state is usually associated with a centrally planned economic system, the antithesis of a neo-liberal economy, and should be the model for South Africa (Tshishonga & De Vries 2011:63-64), to ensure high economic growth and a capable state. At present the South African government does not meet these objectives, but this does not mean that South Africa cannot be a developmental state, if corruption and factional battles, which have a negative impact on the developmental project, can be rooted out (Craig 2017:1-5). Some ministers are proponents of libertarianism, which is antithetical to developmentalism. Another dimension is a strong and capable state that is able to establish financial institutions that will be at the forefront in relation to the developmental trajectory of the country. The maximization of socio-economic development and economic growth is another salient feature of a developmental state (Tshishonga & De Vries 2011:60).

Bolesta (2007:109) holds that a developmental state model revolves around state capitalism and modern liberalism. For a developmental state to be realized, these two systems should complement each other. A developmental state in South Africa should

be compatible with the *Constitution* (RSA 1996). In a democratic state, power is not centralized. Economic growth and social development are predicated on the relationship between government, private business and civil society. If this relationship is strengthened, problems related to poverty, unemployment and inequality can be addressed (Bolesta 2007).

The Washington Consensus has been cited as being at the forefront in relation to the involvement of civil society organizations (NGOs), particularly in Africa (Edigheji 2005:17). It can be argued that these civil society organizations are in place throughout Africa to ensure that capitalism is protected, whereas a developmental state is regarded as a tool that will ensure that the ills associated with capitalism are addressed. The developmental state referred to in this context should be democratic. Conversely, a democratic developmental state will ensure that there is public participation. Without public participation, a developmental project will be counter-productive (Edigheji 2005:17).

According to Hailu (2014:1-15), it is difficult to establish and implement a developmental state. Such states are polymorphous in nature, especially if the state attempts to address the needs and expectations of those who experience extreme poverty in a democratic way, and also embraces and tolerates the interests of private business, civil society and labour. Economic growth depends largely on the participation of these stakeholders, but democracy and development must be linked. The relationship between government and the aforementioned stakeholders does not necessarily mean that the priorities of the government must be compromised.

Dumon (2012:1-7) claims that by introducing the New Growth Path and the National Development Plan, the South African government showed that it is serious about economic growth and economic development. The challenge with these economic strategies is that consultation was a serious problem from the side of government. Another problem is that these strategies are aligned with the neo-classical orthodoxy. According to Dumon (2012:1-7), the ruling party (the ANC) is in alliance with COSATU, SACP and SANCO, and these partners raised concerns regarding these economic strategies, because a fully-fledged developmental state should use state interventions in matters of the economy in order to address problems related to poverty,

unemployment and inequality, and with public participation, in consultation with alliance partners, civil society and private business.

Akokpari (2018:89) points out that after the colonial period, most Africans were not convinced that there would be democratic governments in Africa, but a few were still of the view that democracy would prevail. The pessimists argued that colonialism had destroyed the continent to such an extent that political leaders could not see any value in democracy, and this culminated in dictatorships as political leaders in power became authoritarian. Nevertheless, a democratic developmental state can be a relevant tool for African countries and help them address poverty, unemployment and inequality. The optimists, according to Akokpari (2018:89-93), contended that if countries on the African and other continents could manage to be developmental, it was highly possible that this phenomenon could arise in African countries too. South Africa, Mauritius and Botswana are cited as good examples where developmentalism based on democracy has emerged, even though there are still socio-economic challenges in those countries. For democracy to be substantive, it has to respond to the needs and expectations of the poor, and ensure public participation. Political leaders must also be held accountable for their actions, and it must be possible to remove them if their performance is contrary to the needs and expectations of the people. By contrast, as already indicated, procedural democracy is proponent to individualism and civil liberties, and a focus on social development is antithetical to this form of democracy.

Tsheola and Sebola (2012:228-230) blame apartheid and colonialism for causing poverty, unemployment and inequality in South Africa, and therefore also call for a democratic developmental state to address the ills associated with the legacy of these two systems. The *Constitution* (RSA 1996) makes it very clear that development should be democratized. Services should be rendered in consultation with citizens and political leaders must be held accountable. Services such as the provision of water, electricity, sanitation, housing, health care and education may not be compromised, and may not be based on political party membership. In this regard, Mpehle (2012:213-217) argues that the Weberian model should be central in the recruitment and deployment of functionaries; for a democratic developmental state to come to fruition, political patronage and cronyism must be eradicated. Appointed officials belonging to the ruling party should be neutral in the execution of their duties. Where

there is political patronage and cronyism, these usually culminate in a deep state, but if there is adherence to the legislative requirements, the democratic developmental project can become a reality, and not be mere rhetoric (Mpehle 2012:213-217).

According to Ndevu (2011:1247-1252), the involvement of citizens in decision-making is one of the cornerstones of democracy. Public participation in South Africa is a legislative requirement, compelling political office-bearers to ensure that communities are consulted in the planning processes. Public participation is not only confined to the provision of basic services – planning on socio-economic matters should also be subjected to community participation. At local government level, this should be done through integrated development planning, which must be part of developmental local government.

In order to make it possible to adopt and implement a developmental state, the model must be clearly defined. In South Africa, the principal aim in adopting developmental local government is to ensure that local government is professionalized to confront the current socio-economic challenges facing municipalities. Policies and strategies should be in place to deal with structural problems that have emanated from the legacy of apartheid, including especially unemployment, poverty and inequality. These ills associated with apartheid are still intact, even though there are policies to deal with these perennial challenges (Qobo 2018:n.p.). In this regard, Qobo (2018:n.p.) sees the introduction of the National Development Plan in 2010 and the New Growth Path in 2011 as good moves. Both were touted as developmental projects that would successfully address poverty, unemployment and inequality. The New Growth Path promised that five million jobs would be created by 2020 but this plan has been railed by corruption, weak leadership and factional battles.

According to Draai and Tylor (2009:117), after the 1994 national general elections, the South African government focused on democracy. What the democratic government inherited was unacceptable to the majority of black South Africans, who wanted the ills associated with apartheid and colonialism to be remedied by a developmental state. However, at the time, it was not clearly recognised that it was a challenge that most countries which adopted and implemented this political model were not democratic (notably in East Asia), making a more participatory model or hybrid model essential.

A developmental state is predicated on state intervention in matters related to the economy, and in the case of South Africa, such interventions must bridge the inequalities created by apartheid and colonialism (Cameron 2009:911-914). Moreover, Cameron (2009:919) contends that a developmental state is characterized by a capable state and high economic growth. A capable state is one without corruption, cronyism, factional battles and ineptitude, but the current situation in South Africa is characterized by all of those and indifference from those in power to the suffering of the poor and the unemployed. A developmental state would be counterproductive in this type of an environment. In this context, even the adoption of the National Development Plan as an economic strategy to resolve the structural problems created by colonialism and apartheid is regarded with scepticism by the labour unions, and the government should take heed of their concerns.

According to Koma (2012:111-115), local government is the face of the government in relation to the provision of services in South Africa. The developmental role mandated to municipalities is indicative of the fact that municipalities are no longer confined to the provision of basic services only, but must also work on local economic development. Human resource development is also central for the realization of developmental local government, because local economic growth depends for its success on leaders that are accountable and ethical in the execution of their responsibilities.

Like several other authors cited above, Tsheola and Sebola (2012:228-230) also highlight the South African government's quandary regarding an economic strategy to deal with the legacy of apartheid. The post-apartheid democratic government wanted a developmental state approach to address poverty, unemployment and inequality. Tsheola and Sebola (2012:228-230) interpret the persistence of these problems created by an unequal society in South Africa as evidence that South Africa is failing to execute its developmental project as set out in the *Constitution* (RSA 1996) .

Tshishonga and Mafema (2010:566-575) mention the introduction of Community Development Workers Programme, which was adopted to ensure that development at local government level is underpinned and democratized through participatory democracy. Community development workers are mandated by the provincial government to ensure that the link between communities and municipalities is

established. The principal aim of the programme is to monitor problems related to development and service delivery at the local government level, and to make sure that communities understand the role and importance of government institutions in relation to the services provided to them (Tshishonga & Mafema 2010:566-575).

Developmental local government can only be understood if the socio-economic trajectory intended by the national government is interpreted correctly. Since 1994, the South African democratic government has attempted to democratize development for the benefit of the previously disadvantaged. In this regard, De Wee (2016:488) posits that a developmental state should not be equated to either totalitarianism or neo-liberalism. A democratic developmental state has to be hybrid in nature because it is characterized by elements taken from socialism, welfarism and neo-classical economics. The right balance is difficult to find – hence, the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality's *Integrated Development Plan*, which is relevant to the discussion in Chapter 5, is not compatible with the needs and expectations of people, particularly those who are trapped in extreme poverty, because the Metro has deliberately separated development from developmental imperatives.

According to Kuye and Ajam (2012:48 -51), a developmental state can be equated to state interventionism which addresses the kinds of socio-economic imbalances that are perennial in South Africa, and which have resulted in increasing poverty and unemployment and ever-widening inequality. These problems were ills associated with apartheid policies, but remain unresolved. The concept of a developmental state is associated with Chalmers Johnson, who popularized the concept after the period of industrialization, particularly in Japan. Other East Asian countries such as South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan also adopted this model to stimulate economic growth. The downside in these countries is that their intervention strategies were authoritarian, not democratic. South Africa is a democratic country and its approach has to be democratic, as contemplated by the *Constitution* (Kuye & Ajam 2012:52-53).

Like other authors, Burger (2014:1) observes that a developmental state is associated with high economic growth, citing Japan as a country that succeeded in its implementation of the model. China, Brazil and South Korea are also mentioned as managing to adopt and implement developmentalism to boost economic growth so that socio-economic development challenges could be ameliorated. By contrast,

South Africa's adoption of the National Development Plan as a strategy to address the socio-economic challenges that are currently endemic seems unable to promote economic growth, largely because the socio-economic and political environment in South Africa is riddled with corruption, cronyism and elements of a deep state (Burger 2014).

Mclennan and Orkin (2009:1036) contend that successful developmental states are characterized by a strong and capable state, and they emphasise the state's ability to monitor the provision of basic services at local government level, even where the provision of basic services has been decentralized to local government. A strong and capable state will be in a position to regulate the activities of government and also to intervene in the economy to extricate the poor and the downtrodden.

Maphunye (2011:608) suggests that the lessons from the Asian countries in relation to a developmental state are relevant and important, even though the political and socio-economic environment is different. The positive lesson is that a developmental state has an interest in the development of the economy. A professionalized civil service and capable appointed officials who are willing to implement the developmental mandate contemplated by the state shows that the state is on track to achieve the developmental project. However, in the South African context, as Tsheola (2012:167) points out, the key to a developmental state is the nexus of public participation and state interventionism: if a state wants to be developmental but fails to involve the public, the endeavour will be counter-productive. The relationship between the state and all the actors that are directly affected by the transformative policies put forward for consideration by the state is crucial for the development of the economy (Tsheola 2012:167).

According to Maserumule (2012:193), a developmental state is contingent on a maximal intervention school of thought rather than on a minimal intervention approach which allows for a democracy that shifts the needs and expectations of the poor to the periphery. Particularly in developing nations, a maximal intervention form of democracy is called for that espouses the view that the needs and expectations of the downtrodden should be addressed, particularly challenges related to poverty, unemployment and inequality.

To understand developmentalism, for the purposes of a country such as South Africa, a juxtaposition has to be made between a developmental state and a democratic developmental state. Akokpari (2018:97) believes that the essential difference between these models makes it easy for the state to choose an appropriate model. Akokpari (2018:97) defines a developmental state, as epitomised by the Asian model, as a state that does not necessarily respect the rule of law or human rights, and in such a state civil society is not strong enough to challenge undemocratic policies implemented by the state. By contrast, a democratic developmental state is associated with human rights and the rule of law and may be seen as an alternative to a pure developmental state. A democratic developmental state is oriented to democratic principles and participatory democracy, which should not be compromised (Akokpari 2018:97).

Developmental local government will only come to fruition if the state is both developmental and democratic. National government should set the tone and municipalities will then follow and implement the mandate, which in this context implies the provision of services in different communities. According to Koma (2012:105), developmental local government can be defined as a model that is anchored in local economic development, and he posits that municipalities will develop only if there is a strategy in place for local economic development. Thus socio-economic development and economic growth depend on a sustainable development strategy which ensures that there is partnership between the government, civil society and private business.

NGO Pulse (2012) contends that local government in South Africa must be developmental because local government is under an obligation to follow such a path in terms of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996), the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998), the *Municipal Systems Act* (RSA 2000) and other legislative requirements applicable to local government. Among other things, developmental local government therefore has to focus on social and economic development and economic growth locally to address poverty, unemployment and inequality through developmentalism in this context (NGO Pulse 2012:2).

According to De Visser (2009:1), developmental local government can be defined as a model that focuses on the transformation of local government in South Africa to ensure that development is democratized – in essence, developmental local

government must ensure that the needs and expectations of the people are addressed, particularly problems relating to the disadvantaged in South Africa.

According to Qobo (2018:n.p.) a developmental local government cannot function in isolation: there should be policies in place in respect of the type of developmental local government that will work in South Africa. Qobo's (2018) argument mentions skills development to capacitate both appointed and elected officials at local government level. If these officials are capacitated, service delivery and public participation will be enhanced.

According to Meyer (2014:32-33), socio-economic development and capacity-building are key features of developmental local government, since services cannot be provided effectively and efficiently if these two dimensions are not in place. The empowerment of local communities and infrastructural development are predicated on local economic development, and on the efficiency of both appointed and elected functionaries. When corruption, political patronage and cronyism overshadow the developmental agenda of the government at local government level, services will inevitably suffer. Similarly, Bekker and Leilde (2003:144) see developmental local government in South Africa as a tool to address the ills associated with apartheid, and consider public participation and the decentralization of administration other key features anchored in developmentalism. It must be remembered that for socio-economic development to become a reality, there must be a political will that reflects the needs and expectations of the people.

Coetzee (2010) is correct in saying that a developmental local government is not only about the provision of basic services; it is broader than that. Developmental local government is mandated to ensure that planning and development are integrated at local government level. Integrated development planning then helps to ensure that there is public participation in decision-making processes. For this integrated development planning to come to fruition, continuous engagement between stakeholders may not be compromised. The partners at local government level are communities, civil society and private business (Coetzee 2010:26).

Madumo (2012:45) observes that public participation and integrated development planning are key in respect of the realization of developmental local government. He also regards the IDP as a strategic tool that promotes inclusiveness.

Sustainable growth can only be achieved if local government is developmental. Democratized development is a prelude to transformation and inclusive society.

In this regard, it should be noted that the *Integrated Development Plan Review 2019/2020* (City of Tshwane (2019/2020) cites the *Constitution* (RSA 1996), the *Municipal Systems Act* (RSA 2000) and the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (1998), but the content of the plan deals primarily with issues related to development, not the developmental aspects as mandated by the *Constitution* and other pieces of legislation. Mechanisms in place to deal with issues related to poverty, unemployment and inequality in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality's *Integrated Development Plan Review* are not very clearly spelled out

Sefala (2009) posits that developmental local government is predicated on a political dimension and an economic dimension, which are interwoven. The political dimension refers to political intervention for transformative purposes, and this intervention should be in line with democratic principles. These principles must ensure that politicians are accountable and ethical in executing their responsibilities. The economic imperative in relation to local government refers to the role of municipalities in economic development. For a municipality to be developmental, its tax base should be strong enough to underpin socio-economic development (Sefala 2009:1161).

Vyas-Doorgapersad (2010:46) contends that for a developmental local government to come to fruition, power should be centralized. The centralization of power can be equated to the Asian model. Power was centralized in the East Asian countries, and as a result, economic growth in those countries became a reality. Vyas-Doorgapersad (2010) argues that that state intervention can be encouraged as long as it does not benefit the elite at the expense of the poor, particularly in South Africa. There is a need for state intervention in South Africa, but that intervention should be democratic if it is to undergird economic growth and socio-economic development. The *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998) and the *Municipal Systems Act* (RSA 2000) are regarded as reference points in this context.

Asmah-Andoh (2009:103-104) believes that developmental local government can be equated to post-modernism. Post-modernism in this context means that policies that are related to authoritarianism should be discarded, and should be replaced by policies that are oriented to democratic developmental local government. Democratized

development is a model in line with public participation in governance processes. Institutions of democracy should also ensure that a developmental system is in place in local government in line with the legislation promulgated by the state.

3.3 Key Official Documents

Four key official documents, already mentioned previously in the dissertation, are highlighted in this section, namely Chapter 7 of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996), the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998), the *Municipal Systems Act* (RSA 2000) and the *Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act, No.56 of 2003* (RSA 2003). These documents hold the key to developmental government at the local level. Other relevant documents are discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

3.3.1 *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 108 of 1996*

Chapter 7 of the *Constitution* states explicitly that local government is an important sphere of government. This sphere of government is entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring that the provision of services to local communities is seamless. Municipalities are thus compelled by the *Constitution* to ensure that the provision of these services are in line with public participation processes. Public participation is a salient feature of developmental local government, and may not be compromised.

3.3.2 *The White Paper on Local Government, 1998*

The *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (1998:22-23) makes it clear that developmental local government is predicated on public participation. Municipalities are compelled by this White Paper to ensure that relevant stakeholders are consulted on a regular basis with regard to socio-economic development matters. The relevant stakeholders referred to in this realm are civil society and private business. Economic growth and social development cannot be realized where public participation does not exist.

3.3.3 *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000*

The *Municipal Systems Act* (RSA 2000:1) indicates that local government in South Africa has been given a developmental mandate. The developmental mandate of local government requires public participation in matters related to governance. The

Municipal Systems Act (RSA 2000) was put in place to ensure that the relationship between municipalities, civil society and private business is strong. This relationship should ensure that local economic growth and socio-economic development is realized. According to this Act, local government should be democratic and accountable. A safe and healthy environment cannot be an exception in this context.

3.3.4 Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act, No. 56 of 2003

The *Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act, No.56 of 2003* (RSA 2003:16), which followed on the *Municipal Systems Act* (RSA 2000), states that

...the object of the Act is to secure sound and sustainable management of the fiscal and financial affairs of municipalities by establishing norms and standards and other requirements for ensuring transparency, accountability and appropriate lines of responsibility in the fiscal and financial affairs of municipalities and municipal entities, management of their revenues, expenditure, assets and liabilities and the handling of their financial dealings , budget and financial planning processes and the co-ordination of those processes.

3.4 Conclusion

As already indicated in the background to and rationale for the study, many academics in South Africa have contributed to the body of knowledge on developmental local government, but their focus tends to be more on national government. Only a few studies have considered local government, and as this chapter shows, no study has specifically focused on the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, which is the study setting for this case study.

The literature review in this chapter emphasises the intellectual output as it relates to South Africa, rather than international studies, on developmental local government and a developmental state. The review shows that that the adoption and implementation of a developmental state in South Africa is plagued by paradoxes and controversies. It is clear that South Africa is not a fully-fledged developmental state. Given that the legislative mandate is clear, it may be posited that most political leaders and appointed officials are not sufficiently conversant with the principles of developmental local government to give effect to that mandate, particularly municipal councillors and senior appointed executives at local government level. The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is a good example in this context. As the findings discussed in Chapter 5 reveal, corruption and factional battles contribute to the failure of municipalities,

particularly the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, which has not managed to implement developmental local government successfully to alleviate poverty, unemployment or inequality.

Chapter 4:

Policy framework on

Developmental Local Government in South Africa

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the underlying question is whether the thinking reflected in the literature reviewed and the theories of developmental local government as discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 underpins the strategic policy orientation and framework of the South African government. To answer this question, the policy framework in South Africa on this aspect is analysed. The national policy framework that relates to a developmental local government is discussed to determine its relevance to and coherence with policy arrangements for the local sphere of government on this issue.

4.2 Reconstruction and Development Programme

As already indicated, prior to the 1994 democratic elections, race was a passport to resources in South Africa, and socio-economic development programmes were directed at the (white) minority. The majority of South Africans were subject to poverty, unemployment and inequality. The ANC government therefore adopted and implemented the RDP after the 1994 national democratic elections. South Africans and political leaders regarded this programme as a proper foundation for a developmental state. There was clear agreement between the RDP and the developmental trajectory of the government. The principal aim of a developmental state, as reflected in the RDP, is to address the socio-economic ills associated with colonialism and apartheid (ANC 1994:1).

However, as was indicated in Chapter 1, GEAR overtook the RDP, and it may be argued that gradually the principles so hopefully embodied in the RDP began to be eroded. This is reflected in the findings reported in the *Twenty Year Review: South Africa 1994-2014*, which states:

South Africa today is still a nation composed of too many black people in possession of almost nothing, no meaningful foundation for social and economic autonomy for too many, the possibility of purchasing much of anything is still

foreclosed. Transformation is a justified claim that requires urgent treatment. (RSA 2014:7)

4.3 The *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 108 of 1996*

The *Constitution* (RSA 1996:84) designates local government as a sphere of government, placing it at the coalface of service delivery. The implication of this is that the developmental mandate contemplated by the national government must be executed at the local government level. Local government is thus entrusted with a developmental mandate to ensure that democracy and accountability are not lost at the local or municipal level. Salient features of developmental local government, such as socio-economic development, safety and a healthy environment, should not be compromised. Civil society and private business are important stakeholders, and they should be allowed to play a role in local government affairs.

The *Constitution* mandates municipalities to play a developmental role in the provision of municipal services. Priority should be given to socio-economic development. Participation in terms of the national and provincial development programmes is compulsory, since local government is predicated on national and provincial development programmes. It is important for municipal leaders to participate in these programmes; the participation of local leaders will undergird sustainable development at local government level, and that will underpin developmental local government (RSA 1996:84-85). The question then is whether this mandate is being fulfilled, and the data discussed in Chapter 5 provide a few answers to this.

4.4 The *Batho Pele Principles*

The *Batho Pele Principles* (RSA 1997:2) state that service delivery cannot be rendered in a vacuum: for service delivery to be seamless, appropriate mechanisms must be in place. The document identifies a number of principles as mechanisms to ensure that service delivery is not compromised. These include value for money and high service standards, consultation, openness and transparency, access to information, redress, and courtesy.

It is clear that value for money is an aspect that should be considered. In the interest of fairness and justice, the services provided to the public should logically be consistent with the payment of services made by the consumers.

According to the *Batho Pele Principles* (RSA 1997:3-10), consultation is essential regarding the provision of services to different communities. This is relevant to a developmental trajectory, since the needs and expectations of communities can only be realized if the question of stakeholder involvement is considered by all spheres of government in South Africa. Service standards cannot be an exception: the quality of services provided to the public should be subject to public knowledge and scrutiny. The public should also have the liberty to question the quality of services provided to them. The principle of openness and transparency implies that citizens are entitled to know the operations of government. The operations referred to in this context are appointments, budget processes and the appointment of independent contractors. Access to information is another dimension that should not be overlooked, since the public should in this context have access to any information that has a direct impact on the relationship between them and government.

Redress is another dimension that needs attention from government, since the needs and expectations of the public should be addressed effectively and efficiently by both appointed and elected officials. If there are problems that are difficult to surmount, it is wise to reconfigure the strategy that is in place to address those problems for the benefit of the public. Redress is also predicated on public participation.

Finally, courtesy, which reflects mutual respect, can underpin the reputation of both elected and appointed officials. This can only happen if members of the public are treated with respect.

4.5 The *Public Finance Management Act, 1999 (Act 1 of 1999)* as amended by Act 29 of 1999

The *Public Finance Management Act, 1999 (Act 1 of 1999)* as amended by Act 29 of 1999 was promulgated, amongst other things, to underpin developmentalism in South Africa (RSA 1999:1). This Act is a vital piece of legislation in South Africa as a developmental state. The Act is a mechanism to ensure that financial management principles are adhered to. The principal aim in implementing this Act as a tool for the democratic government in South Africa is to maximise the delivery of services to the community effectively and efficiently, with the resources available. The rationale underpinning this Act is that money should be directed to the projects that are

approved. The Act was also put in place to ensure that financial management systems are modernized in the public sector. Accountability is a salient feature of this Act.

4.6 Local Government Anti-Corruption Strategy

In support of the successful pursuit of a developmental trajectory, the *Local Government Anti-Corruption Strategy* (RSA 2004:9-10) states:

[L]ocal government has a number of systems, policies and procedures designed to ensure compliance with specific laws and regulations and basic internal controls. All employees, councillors and other stakeholders are expected to comply with the applicable policies and procedures. A fundamental risk in this area is a lack of knowledge and awareness, effective communication and training with regard to the prevailing systems, policies and procedures. In order to address the above weaknesses, reviews must be conducted.

A question that arises in the case study reported in Chapter 5 is then whether the respondents believe that corruption still exists in the case study area.

4.7 South African Local Government Association

Steyn (2011:1) refers explicitly to the national developmental agenda:

...local government is responsible for constitutional mandates related to promoting the developmental agenda. Section 152 of the Constitution states that local government must aim to meet 5 mandates that improve democratic developmental outcomes. These mandates aim to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities, promote sustainable service delivery, promote safe and healthy environments and encourage the involvement of communities and community-based organization in local government affairs. In order to fulfil this mandate, local government requires information to identify and plan the delivery of its mandates.

4.8 The *Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act, No. 13 of 2005*

The *Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act, No. 13 of 2005* (RSA 2005:28) mandates cooperation between the three spheres of government to support a developmental agenda:

[C]hapter 3 of the Constitution describes the three spheres of government as being distinctive, interdependent and interrelated, and enjoins them to cooperate with one another in mutual trust and good faith. An important element of this cooperative relationship is that there needs to be a clear understanding of each sphere of government's powers and functions to ensure that a sphere of government or organ of state does not encroach on the geographical functional or

institutional integrity of government in another sphere. In addition to the construction, various legislation governs or organises the system of intergovernmental relations. Among other things, the legislation formalizes the different spheres' roles and responsibilities with regard to various functions and provides for a range of consultative structures.

4.9 Policy Framework for the Government-wide Monitoring and Evaluation System

The Presidency declares in the *Policy Framework for the Government-wide Monitoring and Evaluation System* that “the overarching government-wide monitoring and evaluation system aims to provide an integrated encompassing framework of M&E [monitoring and evaluation] principles” (Presidency 2007:5). These “practices and standards” should be “used throughout government, and function as an apex-level information system which draws from the component systems in the framework to deliver useful M&E products for its users” (Presidency 2007:5). The document states:

The first democratic government's term of office was concerned primarily with the fundamental restructuring of the apartheid state into a modern public service. The second term was concerned with coordination and integration of government systems and services. The third term has a number of strategic priorities, but key amongst these has been the challenge of increasing effectiveness, so that a greater developmental impact is achieved. (Presidency 2007:5)

4.10 The *National Development Plan* and vision for 2030

The *National Development Plan* (RSA 2012) is another policy document that is aligned with the developmental project contemplated by the South African government. According to the *National Development Plan* (RSA 2012:1), poverty and inequality are endemic in South Africa, and for these two dimensions to be addressed, South Africa needs to adopt and implement a plan that is developmental. A developmental state is thus seen as a relevant mechanism. A developmental state is characterized by high economic growth and a capable state apparatus, but thus far South Africa is unfortunately not characterized by high economic growth or a capable civil service, because corruption and factional battles (as evidenced in Chapter 5) are impediments to economic growth and socio-economic development.

According to the *National Development Plan*, the plans of national departments should be in line with the 2030 vision as put forward for consideration in this Plan. All three

spheres of government are compelled by this Plan to ensure that all relevant stakeholders are involved in matters related to governance in South Africa, since the *National Development Plan* is predicated on public participation processes. The partners referred to in this context are private business and civil society. The President and the Deputy President are expected to take the lead in respect of monitoring and evaluation. Premiers and mayors are entrusted with the responsibility to ensure that the pre-determined objectives of government are realized (RSA 2012:1). The case study discussed in Chapter 5 shows, however, that the spirit of the Plan is not being implemented.

4.11 Expanded Public Works Programme

The *South Africa Yearbook* (RSA 2015-2016) acknowledges that for poverty and unemployment to be ameliorated, the government needs to intervene. Intervention by the government is necessary because the levels of unemployment and poverty in the country have risen to catastrophic levels. An expanded Public Works Programme has therefore been put in place to address problems related to poverty and unemployment in South Africa, but this programme is not a permanent solution regarding job creation in South Africa, since this programme is not sustainable (RSA 2015-2016:1).

4.12 Conclusion

The policy framework on a developmental local government in South Africa has been explored and examined in this chapter. The legislative requirements do indeed reflect a developmental trajectory and lay the necessary groundwork, but as the data analysed in Chapter 5 reveals, most appointed and elected officials in the case study area, the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (which houses the seat of government), are not conversant with some of these legislative requirements. Some of these functionaries cannot even interpret the meaning of the legislative requirements discussed above. For the success of a developmental state, as these documents show, there cannot be an uneasy relationship between the three spheres of government. They need to work together to enhance the effectiveness of government institutions in South Africa, since, if the national and provincial governments do not fully support municipalities, this will affect the developmental mandate given to municipalities.

Chapter 5:

Empirical Analysis of Developmental Local Government in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the descriptive data obtained by means of questionnaires and unstructured interviews with selected officials of the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality are analysed in order to enhance understanding of the manifestation of developmental local government, if any, in practice. The researcher's observation of the actions and behaviour of the officials is also taken into account to illuminate the dynamics of developmental local government in practice. As an executive strategically placed in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, it was possible for the researcher to observe this phenomenon systematically.

5.2 Themes that emerged from the survey and interviews

A number of themes emerged from the survey and interviews. These are discussed below.

5.2.1 Politics/administration dichotomy and its impact on service delivery

According to the respondents, a separation of politics from administration seems to be a good thing, particularly for service delivery. The respondents were of the opinion that the previous (ANC) administration conflated politics and administration. They claimed that political interference was rife in the previous administration. They admitted that there are pockets of political interference in the current Democratic Alliance (DA) administration, but believed that its impact is not the same as in the previous administration. Some respondents were of the view that politics and administration are interwoven: they said that if politics is separated from administration, appointed officials will indirectly become politicians. Their reasoning is that political leaders set the tone, and administrators execute what has been expressed. They concluded that it is difficult to separate politics from administration in this context. Their solution for the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is then that politics and administration should complement each other.

5.2.2 The impact of political patronage on service delivery

The respondents in this research argued that there is political patronage in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, and this patronage has a negative impact on service delivery and the morale of appointed officials. Comparatively speaking, respondents believed that the level of political patronage is the same as in the previous administration. Political patronage in this context is characterized by political appointments, cronyism and corruption. Some of the people who are appointed due to such patronage are not properly qualified.

5.2.3 The decentralization of administration and its impact on service delivery

Respondents argued that the decentralization of administration to the different regions in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is theoretical rather than actual. They acknowledged that the seven regions in this municipality still struggle to provide services to communities, and stated that the main reason for this state of affairs was that decision-making is still centralized. If administration is decentralized without delegating the necessary powers, the provision of services will not be seamless. The main two problems relate to the provision of water and electricity, specifically the connection and reconnection of the water and electricity supply. The municipal head office is still in charge of these services, and the regions remain powerless. The respondents pointed out that regions are ineffective if capital budgets remain centralized.

5.2.4 The impact of developmental local government on service delivery

Most appointed and elected officials in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality are not conversant with the concept of developmental local government. It is difficult for this concept to have a positive impact on service delivery if officials are still struggling to make sense of the principles involved. Respondents indicated that, with regard to job creation, the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality regards the Public Works Programme as a job creation mechanism, but the Public Works Programme cannot be equated to job creation. The Metro does not have a clear policy on poverty, unemployment and inequality. This is unacceptable, because developmental local government is meant to include a strategy regarding poverty, unemployment and inequality. The impact of the notions of developmental local government have been sidelined by the acceptance

of the neo-classical orthodoxy, an economic model which is not conducive to social development programmes. According to the participants in this study, training and development is important for these elected and appointed functionaries, on whose performance the mandate of national government and provincial government in relation to service delivery is predicated.

5.2.5 The impact of the relationship between the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality and private business

The relationship between private business and the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is not characterized by developmental local government, given that many residents of the Metro still experience poverty, unemployment and inequality. Respondents indicated that this relationship benefits only those people who are politically connected. A chamber of business has been established in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, but is not effective, because this organization is dominated by people who are self-interested and rapacious.

5.2.6 Integrated Development Plan

The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality has adopted and implemented an IDP for 2019 and 2020. The principal aim of this plan is to ensure that relevant stakeholders are involved in issues of governance. However, the involvement of these stakeholders is unpalatable to some political leaders, particularly those with conservative views. The respondents stated that ward committees had been established to ensure participation in matters related to governance, but they believed that the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is ignoring the importance of the legislative requirements and legislation applicable to local government, by overlooking the contribution of some ward committee members, particularly those from the townships. The DA administration is sectarian in respect of maximum public participation, and this sectarianism has a negative impact on socio-economic development and local economic growth.

5.2.7 The impact of the local economic development strategy in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

The respondents in this research believed that the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality's local economic development strategy is not effective: the local economy

of the Metro does not display high economic growth or capable leadership. The levels of unemployment and poverty in the Metro are incompatible with the strategy that is in place. The respondents stated that the Metro's flaccid local economic development strategy stems from political patronage, political interference and political appointments.

5.2.8 The impact of neo-classical orthodoxy on service delivery in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

According to the respondents, service delivery has been compromised by the adoption and implementation of neoliberal policies by the current administration in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. Respondents argued that the DA in the Metro is ignoring the developmental mandate set out in the *Constitution* (RSA 1996). Social development is not taken into sufficient consideration in this municipality.

5.2.9 The impact of good governance principles (Batho Pele principles) in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

According to the respondents, the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is performing badly regarding the implementation of Batho Pele principles. For example, the Metro has decentralized administration to bring services closer to the people, but when residents want clarity regarding their accounts, municipal officials tell them to go to Pretoria to obtain that clarity. Residents in the Metro are still struggling to get better services. If power has indeed been decentralized, all problems related to service delivery should be resolved at the regional level, not at Head Office. According to these respondents, the Batho Pele principles are guidelines for the relationship between consumers and municipal officials for seamless service delivery.

5.2.10 The water crisis and its impact on service delivery in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

The respondents in this research expressed anger at the continuing water crisis in the Metro. They believed that the water crisis in the Metro cannot be attributed only to infrastructural problems, but advanced the view that there is lack of political will among the political leaders who are leading the Metro. According to these respondents, this lack of political will can be attributed to factional politics. These research subjects

argued that the only solution to the water crisis in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality was to put the Metro under administration, because water problem has become endemic.

5.3 Observations of the Researcher

What emerged clearly from the responses from the participants in this research is that service delivery has been politicised in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. My observation, based on the response and reactions of the participants, is that the Metro is not yet ready to implement developmental policies. This conclusion is underpinned by the fact that during the interviews, it was clear that the residents, some municipal officials and some political leaders were confused regarding this concept. Another observation in relation to this study is that the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality has separated development from developmental imperatives: any development that occurs is incompatible with developmental imperatives, and tends to fail to address the socio-economic problems that are being experienced by the residents of the Metro.

A key problem with the current DA administration is that it is not a proponent of a developmental state. The policies of the DA are predicated on neo-classical economics. Another observation is that the current administration is not interested in implementing the mandate expressed by the current national government. The *Constitution* (RSA 1996) and the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998) state clearly that poverty, unemployment and inequality should be ameliorated, and this can only be realized if the developmental mandate from the national government is implemented.

Another observation is that the three dominant political parties in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality are not prepared to work together. These parties are the DA, the ANC and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). All three parties have contributed to poor service delivery in the Metro. Respondents who are aligned to the ANC blame the DA administration for poor service delivery in the Metro. Similarly, there were also participants who are aligned to the DA, and who blamed the ANC. The argument advanced by the DA administration is that the DA inherited the problems caused by the previous ANC administration. The impact of the cooperation between the DA and the EFF on service delivery in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality has also crippled

the provision of services because of selfish reasons. The Metro is currently in tatters because of this cooperation. The relationship between the DA and EFF is not based on a policy position, since the EFF is a proponent of a socialist approach in relation to service delivery, and the DA is wedded to a neo-classical orthodoxy. The DA wants to be in power, and the ANC and the EFF also want to be in power. Politics in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality has torpedoed the needs and expectations of the residents. The current court battles contribute to the political problems emanating from selfish and narrow political interests.

There is some basis for the view that there is a black caucus and a white caucus in the DA in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. What has been observed in this context is that there are factional battles in the Metro, and these factions are in place because of racially based caucuses. Service delivery in this municipality is affected because of these racially based selfish interests.

Another important observation with regard to service delivery is that ward councillors are not performing their duties as expected: community members only see these councillors if there is a service delivery crisis. Ward councillors are supposed to keep in touch with their constituencies on a regular basis, not only if there is a service delivery problem. An important problem in relation to these political proclivities is that most of these ward councillors were imposed on these communities. It is compulsory that councillors be conversant with the needs and expectations of the people, but that is not the case in this Metro.

Public participation is another dimension that appears to be overlooked by elected and appointed officials in the Metro. Some areas are deliberately selected for public participation, while others are excluded – it seems that public participation is more effective in affluent areas than in the townships.

Most councillors have been trained through the University of Pretoria, to familiarize these political leaders with pieces of legislation applicable to local government. However, observation shows that what these political leaders are implementing is not compatible with this training or with a developmental mandate. Training and development are good and necessary for political leaders, but if it is predicated on quantity, the end product will be counterproductive. The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is a good example regarding this quantitative paradoxical conundrum.

Appointed officials are not an exception regarding the ineptitude demonstrated by elected officials in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. Many senior executives in the Metro were also trained through the University of Pretoria. The focus area in this training was on responsible leadership. However, the perennial service delivery problems in the Metro are an indication that the investment made by the Metro in training and development has had few measurable outcomes in terms of the quality of service provision. Responsible leadership is about the good of the self and others. The disposition of senior executives in all seven regions in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is reflective of the self only – the good of others has been overshadowed by the narrow and selfish interests demonstrated by these senior executives.

An interesting observation was made regarding the independence of supply chain management committees in the Metro. The independence of these committees has been undermined by the narrow political interests of political leaders. Senior executives are no exception in this regard. The selfish political interests of appointed and elected functionaries has diluted the provision of quality services to different communities in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. The involvement of political leaders and senior appointed officials in the procurement processes is premeditated. Cronyism and political patronage are the main reason for this political interference.

The involvement of union leaders in party politics is another factor that has contributed heavily to the implosion of service delivery in the Metro. Union leaders are no longer neutral, and many capable appointed officials have left the Metro because of these pliable union leaders. Most of the union leaders are involved in the factional battles in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. A carrot and stick technique is used, since political leaders and senior management use union leaders to destroy workers who are not interested in corrupt activities. Upward mobility is promised to union leaders who are prepared to take the risk. Most municipal workers are no longer interested in union politics, and this lack of interest can be attributed to the docility of union leaders. All the factors that have been cited in this context have contributed to the current political impasse in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

I also observed that agriculture is not taken seriously in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. There are three regions that are in peri-urban areas in the Metro, namely Region 2, Region 5 and Region 7. The question of development and a developmental

approach, as explained in Chapter 1 of the dissertation, is relevant here; developmental projects are not a priority in the Metro. Although the three regions mentioned in this context are predicated on agriculture, it is clear that agriculture is peripheral to the Metro: emerging farmers in these three regions have complained about economic empowerment in relation to agricultural projects. Emerging farmers are being neglected in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, particularly black farmers. A local economic development strategy would not be complete without the inclusion of agricultural project, but regional directors or managers are not given the powers they require to implement projects related to agriculture, as these powers remain centralized.

Waste management is another service provision area that the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is grappling with. The functionaries who are entrusted with this responsibility are properly qualified, but the execution process is not compatible with their academic qualifications. Waste management has been outsourced, but officials who are entrusted with this responsibility are still supposed to be accountable in relation to this function. Most of the areas affected by poor service delivery in relation to waste management are townships. The intractable waste management problems are symptomatic – the inability and ineptitude demonstrated by the appointed functionaries epitomise some of the main problems in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. The principal problem in relation to waste management is political interference in tender processes in the Metro. The current DA administration is no different from the previous ANC administration in respect of the *modus operandi* of political interference via political patronage and cronyism.

Most ward councillors are doing little to combat poor service delivery in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, because they do not keep in sufficient touch with their constituencies. They need to do so to get a fresh mandate. A perennial problem is that ward councillors only communicate with their constituencies if there is a crisis and during election time. These ward councillors fail because most of them are populists, not strategic thinkers who always know the needs and expectations of the people they are representing, and who keep in touch with their constituencies. Ward councillors in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality are not executing their responsibilities according to the *Constitution* (RSA 1996), the *White Paper on Local Government*,

1998 (RSA 1998) or the *Municipal Systems Act* (RSA 2000). Service delivery is in tatters in the Metro because of populism and corruption.

The inflation of the capital budget is another inveterate problem in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. The inflation of this budget benefits some political leaders and senior appointed officials. Moreover, service providers who are appointed in this municipality are cronies of these elected and appointed officials. Local contractors have complained about the appointment of these often unknown service providers, but their complaints are then swept aside with claims that local contractors are not yet sufficiently established to handle big projects. The same companies tend to be awarded contracts in the Metro, and this is arguably because unethical political leaders and some appointed executives are sleeping partners in these companies.

The current court battles in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality are not about the needs and expectations of the people – the needs and expectations of the people are secondary and peripheral in this context. What is important to unscrupulous political leaders and senior appointed officials is the control of resources and political power. The internecine conflict between the DA, the ANC and the EFF is responsible for the current poor service delivery and political impasse. It will not be a surprise if the Metro is dissolved and placed under administration.

The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality has failed to take advantage of the potential of intergovernmental relations. The reference point in this context is extragovernmental relations, which are a salient feature of intergovernmental relations. Extragovernmental relations require institutions of government not to rely only on budget allocations from the national government and provincial government. Local government is not an exception in this context. Developmental local government will only come to fruition if there is a workable relationship between private business and the municipalities. This view is also stressed in the *White Paper on Local Government, 1998* (RSA 1998). The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality has clearly failed to establish a strong relationship with private businesses in its sphere of influence. Appointed officials who have been entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring that there is economic growth and economic development appear not to be conversant with the developmental trajectory of the national government in terms of developmental local government, which cannot be insulated from economic growth

and economic development. The relationship between private business and municipalities should yield positive results, particularly in relation to poverty and unemployment. Private companies are regarded as corporate citizens which are part of the community where they operate their business.

A good example of the failure of the Metro to establish strong partnerships was observed during this research, namely the relationship which in theory exists between the Petra diamond mine in Region 5 and the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. There have been meetings between the Metro and the mine regarding economic growth and economic development, but no tangible developmental local government projects have materialised. The levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality in Region 5 remain very high and are unacceptable. The regional executive director of Region 5 has participated in the social labour plan meetings in the region, but the situation has not changed.

The challenges referred to in this context apply in all the regions in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. The relationship between the Metro and private business is thus not compatible with the salient features of developmental local government. The corporate social responsibility plans of corporations should be in place to ameliorate the situation in different communities, not to enrich political leaders and senior appointed officials.

Region 7 is also experiencing problems in relation to poverty and unemployment, even though there are factories in that region. It might be expected that the presence of these factories would make some difference, but the Metro has failed to negotiate partnerships to extricate the poorest of the poor from dire poverty in this region. There is no working relationship between private business and the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality in this region. Senior executives and political leaders are not engaging corporations regarding corporate social responsibility. Developmental local government will not come to fruition if political leaders fail to intervene in local economic matters – creating an environment conducive to the revival of the factories in this region is the responsibility of the Metro.

The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality has also failed to address issues related to human settlement in all seven regions, where housing problems continue. Poor political leadership in the Metro has exacerbated these intractable problems. Region 4

is a good example. Olievenhoutbosch, in Region 4, is plagued by corruption regarding low-cost housing in the form of RDP houses. Zimbabwean nationals and Nigerian nationals have been reported to be beneficiaries of these low-cost houses in Olievenhoutbosch, while South African nationals are still struggling to get houses in this region. Some political leaders, including ward councillors and senior officials are involved in these corrupt activities. The Metro has moreover failed the residents of Regions 5 and 6, although Region 4 is the most affected.

Relocation is another perennial problem in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. The relocation of people from informal settlements to serviced stands has been unsuccessful in the Metro in all seven regions. If people are relocated in the Metro, they are merely relocated to places where stands are not serviced. It is inhumane to relocate people to places where there is no proper infrastructure, especially if people struggle to get clean water and sanitation because of corruption and narrow political interests. These perennial problems have overturned the developmental agenda in this municipality. The involvement of political leaders in tender processes is the main reason why the Metro is failing in its mandate to implement developmental local government.

The billing system is another bone of contention contributing to the failure of the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality's service delivery. Meter readers are not properly trained to perform their responsibilities and simply estimate meter readings. Inaccurate accounts are then issued to consumers, who inevitably complain. Consumers are also requested to take their own readings to avoid unnecessary estimates, but this strategy can be counter-productive. Appointed officials and elected officials have thus failed in this realm and their accountability. Cronyism and political appointments are contributory factors in this context. Customer care officials are also not properly trained to handle problems related to the billing system.

Developmental local government is elusive in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. This view is justified by the current politicization of service delivery issues. The deployment of both appointed and elected officials in the Metro is not characterized by consultation about the needs and expectations of the public, but by insatiable greed and narrow political interests. Most of the public representatives and appointed functionaries are populists who are involved in business with the Metro, even senior

political leaders in their branches. Adherence to *Municipal Systems Act* (RSA 2000) and the *Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act, No.56 of 2003* (RSA 2003) is rare in the Metro, as the deployment of appointed and elected officials is not demonstrably based on merit, irrespective of whether the political leaders and appointed officials are from the DA, the ANC or the EFF. These three political parties have thus derailed the developmental local government trajectory in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

The Metro has also failed in respect of developing a township economy, a concept popularized by the former mayor of the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, Kgosisentso Ramokgopa. The rationale behind a township economy is that most people are involved in informal businesses, particularly in the townships. The formalization of these informal businesses would represent an indication that these businesses are recognized. However, the process of registering informal businesses in the Metro is moving at a snail's pace, because the DA administration is not interested in a township economy as a salient feature of developmental local government. The township economy approach has been overshadowed in the Metro by a neo-classical approach, because a liberal agenda has been adopted and implemented by the DA administration. This is disastrous because the principal aim of a township economy is to ameliorate economic problems related to poverty, unemployment and inequality, and in a neo-classical economic environment, these challenges are not easily addressed.

Another matter observed is the appalling state of many of the roads in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, especially in the townships. The Metro is not proactive regarding road maintenance – community members have to complain before action is taken. The problem can again be traced back to corruption and unethical conduct. The involvement of political leaders and some senior appointed officials in the applicable procurement processes has culminated in the current perennial quagmire. Political leaders who are not truly interested in the needs and expectations of the community continuously recommend their cronies when tenders are awarded, and as a result, inexperienced contractors continue to get away with shoddy work. One consequence is the number of potholes in all the regions. Local economic growth and economic development are predicated on private business, and if the state of the roads is unacceptably poor, local economic growth and economic development will be

compromised. Political patronage and the reactivity of the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality regarding road maintenance is thus a severe obstacle to local economic growth and local economic development.

Youth development is a salient feature of developmental local government, and it should not be overlooked, but no youth development programmes are in place in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality – the Metro does not even have policies for youth development. The negative outcome of this lack of interest among appointed and elected functionaries in the Metro is a proliferation of drug abuse and criminality. All the regions in the Metro are affected by drug abuse and crime, as a result of indifference and ineptitude from the side of political leaders and appointed officials.

The proliferation of service delivery protests in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality can be attributed to the reactivity of the Metro when it comes to the needs and expectations of the public. Scenario planning is essential to extricate the Metro from the current service delivery quagmire. Observation shows that political leaders and senior appointed officials in this municipality have failed to foresee challenges that can develop into large problems in future, causing irretrievable damage in the Metro. There is a research division in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, but appointed officials in this important division have either failed to make a positive contribution, or have been ignored. As a senior official in the Metro, I have observed both ineptitude and a lackadaisical attitude among the researchers, making the research division practically useless. The role of researchers is to identify and analyse issues that can benefit or compromise an institution. Researchers in the Metro are supposed to guide and advise political leaders and senior appointed executives on service delivery fundamentals that are in line with the developmental local government, but they have failed to meet their responsibilities in this regard.

Political leaders and senior appointed functionaries in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality treat their responsibilities as the proverbial hedgehogs would, rather than as a fox would. Hedgehogs avoid uncertainties and do not explore alternatives; they are narrow-minded in respect of future possibilities. Foxes cater for uncertainties and alternatives. The Metro needs political leaders and senior appointed executives who can deal with alternatives and uncertainties, but the Metro has consistently failed to provide quality services to different communities because elected and appointed

officials did not analyse needs and predict future service delivery challenges, particularly in the townships. The problems that have been identified above regarding service delivery are there because of a hedgehog mentality – politicians and appointed executives prefer to disregard facts and embrace political power.

The social contract has been compromised in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, but the social contract is a salient feature of developmental local government. It can all too easily be overturned by authoritarianism, which in this context may be equated to a hedgehog type of leadership. A fox mentality is necessary for political leaders and appointed functionaries in the Metro if the provision of quality services is a priority. Without scenario planning, the Metro will continue to fail. Developmental local government and scenario planning are inextricably linked, and the Metro is *in extremis* because of appointed executives and political leaders who ignore the views of the public.

5.4 Conclusion

The views and frustrations of the respondents interviewed and the residents of the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality as observed have been examined in this chapter. Many of the complaints were verified and shown to have good cause, especially regarding problems such as the water crisis, sanitation, roads, and billing. It was also found that the views expressed by the respondents regarding corruption, cronyism and factional battles were well-founded and factual. A deliberate move to sideline social development projects in the Metro was observed. It became clear that the neoliberal policies of the DA administration are problematic in terms of the implementation of a developmental local government in the Metro.

Chapter 6:

Summary of Main Findings and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This is a concluding chapter where the findings of the study are summarized and recommendations for policy improvement are offered. The chapter also reflects on the practical value of the study and its implications for policy-making.

6.2 Research Findings

The research questions were posed to measure the impact (the successes and failures) of developmental local government in South Africa, particularly in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. These questions were the following: To what extent has developmental local government model succeeded or failed in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality? Is the developmental local government model relevant for South Africa? What should be done to remedy local government problems in South Africa?

It was found to be difficult to measure the success of a developmental local government model in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, because the Metro has largely adopted neoliberal policies, which are not clearly aligned with developmentalism. The developmental local government approach can thus be said not to have been implemented systematically in the Metro. This failure can be attributed to two variables. The first is the adoption and implementation of the neo-classical orthodoxy by the DA administration. The second is political patronage and factional battles. The success of developmental local government in the Metro was also difficult to measure because the Metro does not have specific policies relating to poverty, unemployment and inequality: the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality has seven regions, and all seven regions are still affected by soaring poverty, widespread unemployment and gross inequality.

Local government problems in South Africa are to a large extent a consequence of historical factors that played a role in creating the structural problems now endemic to South Africa. A remedy for these structural problems is an economic system that is

appropriate for South Africa. A liberal agenda is not an option in this context, because *laissez faire* market fundamentalism clearly does not meet the country's needs or address its poverty problems. Local government in South Africa is riddled with corruption and maladministration, and the study has shown that the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is no exception in this regard.

6.3 Recommendations

It is recommended that the following salient issues be addressed in order to realize a democratic developmental state in South Africa:

- Democratic developmental local government should not be compromised at local government level.
- Appointed and elected officials should be trained to understand the importance of developmentalism in praxis.
- There should be interdependence between politics and administration.
- Cronyism, factional battles and patronage should be discouraged.
- Political oversight and political interference are not the same and the terms should not be used interchangeably.
- It should be compulsory for senior executives to be in possession of a post-graduate degree.
- It should be compulsory for city managers to be in possession of a Master's degree in Public Administration or Development Studies.
- Local economic growth and socio-economic development should be prioritized.
- An emotional intelligence test should be compulsory for the appointment of senior executives at local government level.
- It should be compulsory for municipalities to develop and implement social development policies and programmes.

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Annexure A: Questionnaire

An exploration of the success and failures of developmental local government: A case of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

Institution: University of South Africa (UNISA)

Qualification: Research Masters (MA) Degree in Development Studies

Researcher: Richardson Mathibe Mello

Respondents: e.g. Regional Executive Directors (Regional Managers)

Date:

1. The *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1996) and the *White Paper on Local Government* (1998) posit that South Africa is a developmental state. Are the policies of the City of Tshwane properly aligned for this developmental trajectory to be realized? If yes, elaborate.
2. A developmental local government is proponent to the amelioration of poverty, unemployment and inequality. What is the current situation within the region in relation to the latter three dimensions?
3. A developmental state is characterized by high economic growth and a capable state. Is the local economy within the region compatible with the salient features of a developmental local government?
4. The principal aim of a developmental local government is to ensure that problems related to poverty, unemployment and inequality are prioritized and addressed. Is service delivery within the region consistent with this developmental mandate?
5. Political patronage and cronyism are regarded as ramifications in relation to service delivery. Are the latter two encumbrances endemic within the region? If yes, why?
6. Public participation is another dimension of a developmental local government. Is public participation a true reflection within the region? If yes, what made it possible?

7. It is compulsory for municipalities to adopt and implement an Integrated Development Plan, the implementation of this plan is predicated on public participation. Is the implementation of this blueprint subjected to public participation? If yes, explain the process.
8. The adoption and implementation of good governance principles (Batho Pele Principles) in South Africa is compulsory. Are these principles implemented according to the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* within the region? If yes, amplify.
9. The Expanded Public Works Programme is in place to ensure that problems related to poverty and unemployment are ameliorated. Is this programme having an impact within the region? If yes, what is the impact in quantitative terms?
10. Politics–administration dichotomy is regarded as a panacea in relation to a seamless service delivery. Is politics–administration dichotomy a reality within the region? If yes, why is it a reality and a panacea?
11. Developmental local government will only come to fruition if elected and appointed officials are conversant with the developmental trajectory that has been posited by the *White Paper on Local Government*. Are elected and appointed functionaries conversant with this developmental agenda? If yes, amplify.
12. The relationship between private businesses and municipalities is regarded as a solution for local economic growth and socio-economic development. What is the current situation within the region in relation to this perspective?
13. Neo-classical orthodoxy is regarded as a ramification in relation to social development programmes. The current administration is proponent to neo-classical economics. Is this form of liberalism an encumbrance in relation to service delivery within the region? If yes, elaborate.
14. Informal settlement is a perennial problem within the City of Tshwane. How is the region dealing with this incessant problem?
15. The main reason for service delivery protests in South Africa is poor service delivery and corruption. Are you experiencing these problems within the region? If yes, why?

16. The controversial water crisis (stench-related problem) within the City of Tshwane is currently unpalatable. Is the region affected by the stench referred to in this context? If yes, elaborate in relation to the genesis of this conundrum.