Problems and challenges related to public policy implementation within the South African democratic dispensation: A theoretical exploration

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It all starts here ™

NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
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DEDICATIONS

This study is dedicated to my Dad (Maitji Tebele) who has been my earthly pillar of strength and wisdom since the day I was born.

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I wish to extend my sincerest and heartfelt gratitude towards the following people and Higher Power:

My Heavenly Father without whom neither I nor this study would have existed.

To Mr Heydenrych, for having supervised my study.

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To my Dad to whom I am eternally indebted.

ABSTRACT

It is highly recommended that good policies should be produced in any democracy as they are essential for the functioning of a democracy. However, it is also imperative to take into account that good written policies without proper implementation serve no purpose. In this study, it is argued that South Africa has excellent and well-written public policies; however, the problem with South Africa's public policies is that they habitually yield poor implementation results.

Essentially, the present study presents a literature review (a theoretical exploration). The literature review is based on the assumption that public policy implementation (PPI) in South Africa is faced with countless problems and challenges which have resulted in public policies not yielding the expected results as stated in the policy directives of said public policy documents. Some of these challenges and problems that have been identified as contributing to PPI failure include non-compliance of public policy; as well as lack of knowledge, skills, experience and expertise in the public environment.

The primary objectives of the study were to assess what the problems and challenges related to PPI within the South African Democratic Dispensation are; and to determine the extent to which PPI has a bearing on a democracy or the functioning of a democracy in the South African context.

Key terms

Public policy; public policy implementation (PPI); public policy-making; public policy process; problems and challenges of PPI; South Africa; new democracy; theoretical approaches

OPSOMMING

‘n Belangrike vereiste in enige demokrasie is die formulering van goeie beleidstukke omdat dit noodsaaklik is vir die funksionering van ‘n demokrasie. Dit is egter ook van belang om in ag te neem dat goeie geskrewe beleidstukke van min of geen waarde is as hulle nie reg geïmplementeer word nie. In hierdie studie word aangevoer dat Suid-Afrika weliswaar goedgeskrewe openbare beleidstukke het, maar die probleem is dat hierdie openbare beleidstukke tipies swak resultate toon wat die implementering daarvan betref.

Die huidige studie bied ‘n literatuuroorsig (‘n teoretiese ondersoek). Die literatuuroorsig is gebaseer op die aanname dat openbare beleidsimplementering (OBI) in Suid-Afrika ontelbare probleme en uitdagings ondervind wat daartoe aanleiding gegee het dat openbare beleidstukke nie die verwagte resultate toon soos in die beleidsdirektiewe van hierdie openbare beleidstukke gestel word nie. Sommige van hierdie uitdagings wat geïdentifiseer is bydraend tot mislukkings wat OBI betref en dit sluit in: nie-voldoening aan openbare beleid; asook ‘n gebrek aan kennis, vaardighede, ervaring en kundigheid in die openbare sfeer.

Die primêre oogmerke van die studie was om die probleme en uitdagings met betrekking tot OBI te ondersoek binne die Suid-Afrikaanse Demokratiese Bestel, en om vas te stel tot watter mate OBI ‘n impak het op ‘n demokrasie of die funksionering van ‘n demokrasie in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks.

Trefwoorde

Openbare beleid; openbare beleidsimplementering (OBI); openbare beleidmaking; openbare beleidsproses; probleme en uitdagings ten opsigte van OBI; Suid-Afrika; nuwe demokrasie; teoretiese benaderings

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATIONS ..... **I**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **II**

ABSTRACT ..... **III**

OPSOMMING ..... **IV**

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS ..... **XI**

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY **1**

1.1 INTRODUCTION **1**

1.1.1 ORIENTATION 1

1.1.2 PUBLIC POLICY AS A PHENOMENON 2

1.1.3 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND ON PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION 7

1.2 PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION (PPI) IN SOUTH AFRICA **10**

1.2.1 PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF PPI IN SOUTH AFRICA 12

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT **16**

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS **16**

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES **16**

1.6 LEADING THEORETICAL STATEMENTS/ARGUMENTS **17**

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THE RESEARCH DESIGN **17**

1.7.1 DATABASES CONSULTED FOR LITERATURE REVIEW 18

1.8 CHAPTER LAYOUT **19**

1.9 CONCLUSION: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY **20**

CHAPTER 2: MACRO-THEORETICAL CONTEXT OF PUBLIC POLICY AND THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS 21

2.1 INTRODUCTION 21

2.1.1 FURTHER EXPLORATION ON THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY 22

2.1.1.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION 24

2.2 TYPES OF PUBLIC POLICY 25

2.2.1 DISTRIBUTIVE PUBLIC POLICY 26

2.2.2 REDISTRIBUTIVE PUBLIC POLICY 27

2.2.3 REGULATORY PUBLIC POLICY 28

2.2.4 CONSTITUENT PUBLIC POLICY 29

2.2.5 SUBSTANTIVE PUBLIC POLICY 32

2.2.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION 32

2.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF THEORIES AND MODELS AS FOUNDATION OF STUDYING A PHENOMENON 34

2.3.1 THEORIES OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC POLICY 35

2.3.1.1 THE ELITE/MASS THEORY MODEL 35

2.3.1.2 GROUP THEORY MODEL 37

2.3.1.3 INSTITUTIONAL-BASED THEORY MODEL 39

2.3.1.4 RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY 42

2.3.1.5 POLITICAL SYSTEMS THEORY 43

2.3.1.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION 43

2.3.1.7 THE STAGES THEORY AS PRIMARY THEORY FOR PUBLIC POLICY 44

2.3.2 AGENDA SETTING 48

2.3.3 POLICY FORMULATION 49

2.3.4 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION 49

2.3.5 POLICY OUTCOMES AND EVALUATION 50

2.3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION 50

2.4 CONCLUSION 51

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY-IMPLEMENTATION 54

3.1 INTRODUCTION 54

3.1.1 FURTHER EXPLORATION OF THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION 56

3.1.2 KEY COMPONENTS OF PPI 60

3.1.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION 62

3.2 APPROACHES; THEORIES AND MODELS OF PPI 63

3.2.1 TOP-DOWN MODEL OF PPI 63

3.2.2 BOTTOM - UP MODEL OF PPI 66

3.2.3 HYBRID MODEL OF PPI 68

3.2.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION 71

3.3 PPI ACTORS 73

3.3.1 PUBLIC OFFICIALS; POLITICAL ACTORS AND THE ROLE OF THE BUREAUCRACY 74

3.3.2 LEGISLATORS 75

3.3.3 COURTS 76

3.3.4 INTEREST GROUPS (PRESSURE GROUPS) 76

3.3.5 COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS (INSTITUTIONAL GROUPS) 77

3.3.6 INFORMAL GROUPS AS PPI ACTORS INFLUENCING AND INFORMING PPI IN AN INFORMAL POLITICAL SPACE 78

3.3.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION 79

3.4 CONCLUSION 79

CHAPTER 4: PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES? DILEMMAS OF PPI IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC ENVIRONMENT 81

4.1 INTRODUCTION 81

4.2 WHAT CONTRIBUTES TO THE PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF PPI? A GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF PPI 83

4.2.1 MICRO AND MACRO-IMPLEMENTATION 83

4.2.2 CHOICE OF POLICY INSTRUMENTS 84

4.2.3 PRECISION AND CLARITY OF POLICY DESIGN 84

4.2.4 CONTROL STRUCTURES 85

4.2.5 INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN 87

4.2.6 ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITIES AND POLICY AMBIGUITY 89

4.2.7 SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE; COMPLIANCE AND CONSENSUS 89

4.3 FURTHER DETERMINANTS OF IMPLEMENTATION FAILURE 90

4.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION 91

4.5 APPLICATION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT: PPI PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES IN SOUTH AFRICA 92

4.5.1 ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY; INSUFFICIENT RESOURCES AND POLICY AMBIGUITY 92

4.5.2 SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE; COMPLIANCE; CONSENSUS AND SOUTH AFRICA'S 'OBSESSION' WITH APPLYING WESTERN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS 94

4.5.3 REDISTRIBUTION AND DISTRIBUTIVE PROBLEMS 97

4.5.4 OVERLY OPTIMISTIC POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO PPI PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES? THE ISSUE OF CREDIBILITY; POLITICAL POWER AND ELITISM 100

4.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION 101

4.7 PPI PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES: BEARING ON SOUTH AFRICA'S DEMOCRACY? 103

4.8 CONCLUSION 105

CHAPTER 5: ADDRESSING THE IDENTIFIED PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF PPI WITHIN A NEW DEMOCRATIC DISPENSATION - SUMMARY; FINDINGS; RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS 108

5.1 INTRODUCTION 108

5.2 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS OF THE STUDY 108

5.2.1 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS: CHAPTER ONE 108

5.2.2 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS: CHAPTER TWO 109

5.2.3 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS: CHAPTER THREE 113

5.2.4 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS: CHAPTER FOUR 114

5.2.5 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS: CHAPTER FIVE 116

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS: HOW TO ENHANCE THE POTENTIAL FOR POLICY SUCCESS 116

5.4 CONCLUSION 118

BIBLIOGRAPHY 120

ANNEXURES 131

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Dichotomy of politics - administration, supplement to politics and administration. 5

Figure 2: The Easton System Model towards improved development 9

Figure 3: Lowi's Policy Typology 26

Figure 4: Types of coercion, types of policy, and types of politics 30

Figure 5: The Elite/Mass Model 36

Figure 6: The Group Model of public policy making and implementation 38

Figure 7: The Group Model 39

Figure 8: South African structures of Government 41

Figure 9: Conceptual model for evidence-informed policy formulation and implementation. Developed from the frameworks by Bowen, Zwi and Dodson *et al.* [23]. 46

Figure 10: Revised conceptual model for evidence-informed policy formulation and implementation. 47

Figure 11: A skeletal flow diagram of the variables involved in the policy implementation process. 59

Figure 12: A model of the policy implementation process 61

Figure 13: A model of the policy implementation process 62

Figure 14: Dimensions of policy affecting implementation 66

Figure 15: Ambiguity-conflict matrix: policy implementation processes 71

Figure 16: Top-down and bottom-up theories compared 73

Figure 17: Stages of the policy process and associated policy failures 82

Figure 18: Number of protests per year in South Africa (2007-2012) 105

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Affirmative Action
ANC	African National Congress
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BEE	Black Employment Empowerment
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Policy
NDP	National Development Plan
OUTA	Opposed to Urban Tolling Alliance
PPI	Public Policy Implementation
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
TAG	The Tollgate Action Group

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

1.1.1 ORIENTATION

Good policies are needed in any democracy. Furthermore, the correct implementation of those policies is essential in a democracy. Delamaza (2015:21) defines democracy as a political regime. One of the challenges that governance faces within a democratic political regime is to ensure that it creates a platform that makes it feasible for democracy to be able to practise "the regime's freedom to perform its function/s" (Delamaza, 2015:21). One of those functions relates to "how conflicts and social demands" coming from civil society and other interest groups are going to be challenged and resolved (Delamaza, 2015:21). Freedman (2013:26) explains that democracy is, appropriately, one of the most basic features and values on which the South African Republic is founded. Thus, the drafting of policies and the implementation of these become important in any democratic dispensation such as South Africa.

In Chapter ten, section 195 of the Constitution of South Africa (1996), it is provided that there are basic values and principles governing public administration. In the aforementioned chapter of the Constitution, it is stated that public administration must be governed by the democratic values and principles enshrined in the Constitution, and these include the following principles:

"*(a) A high standard of professional ethics must be promoted and maintained.*

(b) Efficient, economic and effective use of resources must be promoted.

(c) Public administration must be development-oriented.

(d) Services must be provided impartially, fairly, equitably and without bias.

(e) People's needs must be responded to, and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy-making.

(f) Public administration must be accountable.

(g) Transparency must be fostered by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information.

(h) Good human-resource management and career-development practices, to maximise human potential, must be cultivated.

(i) Public administration must be broadly representative of the South African people, with employment and personnel management practices based on ability, objectivity, fairness, and the need to redress the imbalances of the past to achieve broad representation".

To summarise what was stated above, it is imperative to take note that the South African system of democracy consists of both representative and participatory (direct) elements (Freedman, 2013:26). Consequently, the public policy-making process must include democratic and "unmediated and continuous participation of citizens" (Freedman, 2013:23) (Currie *et al*., 2001:66). The Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE Research) (1999:7) states that the likelihood of having a public policy succeed relies heavily on the following two variables: Firstly, a pragmatic assessment of the state capacity; and secondly, a meticulous assessment that entails weighing the pitfalls of policy initiatives. Clearly, Chapter ten, section 195 of the 1996 Constitution of South Africa cautions against variables such as exhausting needed resources; public servants committing maladministration; lack of accountability; lack of transparency, and defying the basic values of South Africa's young democracy.

1.1.2 PUBLIC POLICY AS A PHENOMENON

Since public policies and the implementation of these policies can help to strengthen a democracy (Delamaza, 2015:24) it is important to define public policy in the general sense, as well as a definition of what public policy implementation (PPI) entails. These definitions are important because public policy implementation is part of public policy. It follows that public policy implementation is a term that falls under the umbrella term of public policy. Public policy can be defined as a process or cycle that has numerous stages that must be followed before the objectives of a policy can be realised. There are generally four/five phases: Problem identification; Agenda setting; Policy-making/formulation; Policy implementation, and Evaluation of the policy. The stages of the policy are highly reliant on the particular approach that is followed (De Coning *et al.,* 2011:45).

Goodwin *et al.* (2006:5) identify public policy in the first instance as an art of "persuasion". It is described as such because it necessitates the acts of deciding; choosing; legislating; and involving all the relevant stakeholders (Goodwin, *et al.,* 2006:5; Oyadiran & Akintola, 2014:3). The sentiments of Goodwin *et al.* (2005:5) and Oyadiran and Akintola (2014:3) highlighted above are echoed by Lasswell (2003:85) who mentions that one of the objectives

of public policy is to ensure that those responsible for executing important 'decisions in society whether they make them as party leaders; government officials; business executives'; or members of the clergy are well trained (Lasswell, 2003:85). Barrett (2004:253) adds that public policy must be viewed as a "statement of intent" as well as a "negotiated output emerging from the implementation process".

Furthermore, one of the most distinguishable features of any public policy is that it is "fluid" and "fragile". This argument is supported by Hanekom (1987:8) and Moharir (1986:15) who stated that public policies are "jellylike" or must be perceived as if they are seashells, in the sense that the hypothesised or imagined public policy is without any ostensible "beginning or end". It is almost like a circular flow as becomes evident from the Easton System Model (see Figure 2). Lasswell (2003:85) adds that when we refer to policy, 'we mean the making of important decisions'.

According to Hanekom (1987:8), public policy contains aspects such as the intended route that the legislator would like to steer the public and should also contain a narration of how the country's resources are to be utilised (Knill & Tosum, 2012:4). Hanekom (1987:8) suggests that there are numerous elements that can guide the entire process of the public policy process. These include the legislator or bureaucrats in charge, taking into consideration the Constitution and what it stands for or what its aims are. From then on, the legislators or bureaucrats should know which issues need to be addressed.

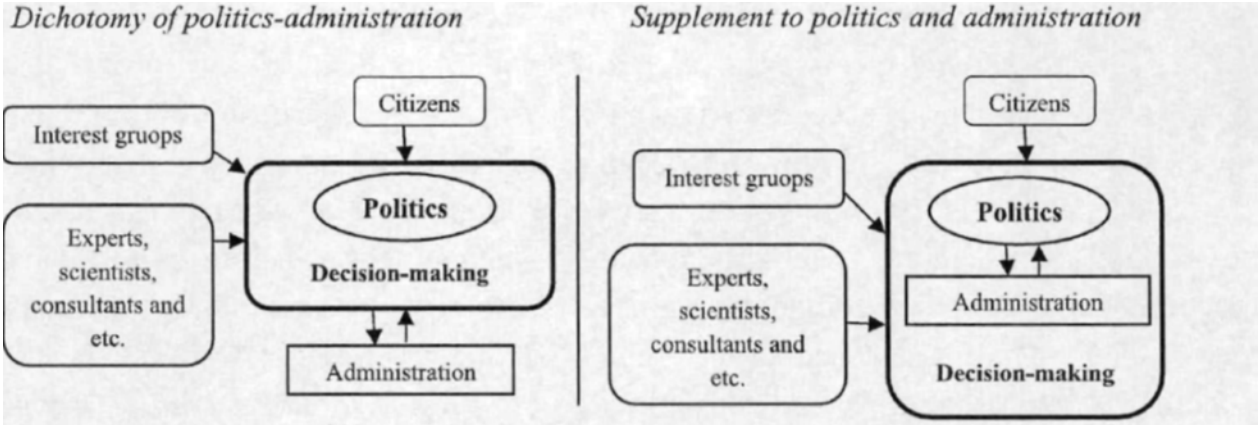
However, one should note that it is not only the Constitution as such that has to be taken into consideration when a public policy is formulated. According to Hanekom (1987:8), the opinions of all relevant stakeholders must be taken into account (notably in a country such as South Africa which is considered to be a democracy – a young democracy, but a democracy nonetheless). Furthermore, many stakeholders (excluding government) in the public policy process are at grassroots levels. This means that these relevant stakeholders who are aware of what is happening in the communities, what the communities are struggling with, and what issues need to be addressed should be consulted.

Mthetwa (2014:16) further explains that the public policy process embodies the "making, implementation, monitoring, evaluation or amendments of public policy". Mthetwa (2014:16) is of the opinion that the core function of the entire process of public policy is one that should prioritise public policy implementation, because public policy implementation should be at the heart of the entire public policy process since it plays a pivotal and salient role in the potency and magnitude of the entire public policy process (Mthewa, 2014:16).

Hogwood and Gunn (1984:18) state that policies are centred on assumptions regarding "what governments can do and what the consequences of their actions will be", because otherwise public policies would be the outcomes of political activity – and will therefore have political ramifications (Hanekom, 1987:8; Peters, 2015:224). Hogwood and Gunn (1984:18) further state that the "assumptions" related to public policy as a theory or model are seldom explained copiously or in the context where they must be understood or implemented. However, as is the case with any policy, a theory or model is always presumed (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984:18; Hanekom, 1987:8).

Stories always have two sides, and the story of public policy seems to confirm this truism. Hanekom (1987:8) maintains that public policy has two stories, or rather, it can be described as "two-dimensional". It is two-dimensional in the sense that it consists of politics on the one hand, and administration on the other. Knill and Tosum (2012:5) refer to this reality as the "larger number of related legislative and administrative activities". By comparing the views of Hanekom (1987:8) and Knill and Tosum (2012:5), it is clear that public policy cannot operate in isolation from politics nor the administrative side of things. Politics, administration and public policy must circulate within the same trajectory (Toleikiene & Meskyte, 2014:86), and should therefore support each other (see to Figure 1).

The political side of the public policy process that Hanekom (1987:8) refers to is the role that government (legislators) play with regard to how the country's resources are going to be utilised, where and how, and which societal issues are going to be addressed in the said public policy. The administrative side of the public policy process, on the other hand, entails the participation of "executive governmental institutions" and the actions they take towards achieving the set out goals as determined by government (Hanekom, 1987:8) (Peters, 2015:219). Goodwin *et al*. (2006:5) further state that it is the responsibility of the administrative side of the public process to ascertain that the policy that is implemented is sustainable in the long haul. Policy-makers, administrators and bureaucrats must ensure that for that implementation to take place, they must persuade all the relevant stakeholders (politicians; interest groups; communities) that a particular policy is indeed necessary, and why (Goodwin, *et al*., 2006:5; Peters, 2015:219).



1. Dichotomy of politics-administration, supplement to politics and administration

Source: Patapas, Bakinaitė (2011), p. 191

Figure 1: Dichotomy of politics-administration, supplement to politics and administration

Source: Patapas and Bakinaite (2011:191)

Hanekom (1987:11) and Toleikiene and Meskyte (2014:86) maintain that public policy is influenced by political party policy or what CDE Research (1999:7) refers to as “symbolic political appeal”, and consequently will have an association with a political ideology. In South Africa, the ruling party is the African National Congress (ANC). Peet (2002:56) explains that after the ANC came into power in 1994, they adopted the leftist side of the political spectrum. They also adopted the “basic needs oriented Reconstruction and Development Programme” (Peet, 2002:56). After barely two years, the ANC shifted towards a “rightist neoliberal” side of the political spectrum (Peet, 2002:56). This was evident when the ANC adopted the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR) (Peet, 2002:56). Consequently, the political ideology of the ANC has a bearing on the policies that are formulated and, to a certain extent, implemented in South Africa.

In support of the above statement that indeed political ideology does influence political party policy, reference can be made to the ANC as the current ruling political party in South Africa having adopted a policy at their National Conference titled: ‘Ready to govern: ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa’ (ANC, 2016). In this policy document, the ANC discusses the party’s vision for the future, which includes the following goals/objectives:

- To strive for the achievement of the right of all South Africans, as a whole, to political and economic self-determination in a united South Africa;

- To overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by colonialism and apartheid, in a swift, progressive and principled way;
- To develop a sustainable economy and state infrastructure that will progressively improve the quality of life of all South Africans; and,
- To encourage the flourishing of the feeling that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, to promote a common loyalty to and pride in the country and to create a universal sense of freedom and security within its borders (ANC, 2016).

In terms of this specific policy document of the ANC, one important constituent that speaks to party political ideology or what CDE Research (1999:7) describes as "symbolic political appeal" stands out.. Specifically, participatory democracy stands out – which of course is a necessary key component in the successful implementation of public policies. Below is the extract that speaks to the party political ideology of the ANC:

> *This document does not present a rigid ANC blue-print for the future of South Africa, to which our supporters will be expected to rally and our opponents required to submit. Rather, the document represents a set of basic guidelines to policies we intend to pursue. These ideas will be developed through discussion within the ANC, and through consultation with the broadest spectrum of South African public opinion. The policies will be adapted according to these processes and on the basis of experience (*ANC, 2016).

It is vital to take note of the fact that most public policies have all or some of the following features: Firstly, public policies will involve "courses of action" (Makhetha, 2015:33). Secondly, they are "future orientated" (Makhetha, 2015:33). Also, every public policy should look towards the future and aim to lessen (if not eradicate) the social ills that might be present in a particular geographical area (Goodwin *et al*., 2006:5) (Makhetha, 2015:33). The public policy process also serves as an opportunity for political actors to skilfully employ both the rhetoric of democracy and modernisation, according to what suits them at the current time (Human, 1998:31; Goodwin *et al*., 2006:5). And chiefly, a policy should be written in such a manner that it can be clearly understood; be precise and concise (Madigan *et al*., 2004:48).

Madigan *et al*. (2004:48) advise that the SMARTE[1] (Specific; Measurable; Achievable; Realistic; Traceable; and Enforceable) method/approach/rule can be adopted and used to great advantage by policymakers. In doing so, those who are in charge of implementing the

[1] The SMARTE method or approach is just one example to demonstrate an approach that can be adopted in the implementation of public policies by relevant stakeholders.

policy will find it easier to do so since the policy they are implementing is specific (they know what is required of them to do); measurable (they can measure the success of the policy; thus making it easier to evaluate its success and outcomes); achievable and realistic (a realistic policy means that it is attainable); as well as traceable and enforceable (it is easier to implement and enforce).

In the above section, an introduction to the study was provided. The introduction commenced with a discussion of democracy, which led to a discussion of the South African Constitution, because the Constitution cannot be divorced from the rhetoric of democracy. This was then followed by a broad contextual background of what public policy is.

In the following section, the contextual background of PPI is provided.

1.1.3 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND ON PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Peters (2001:2321) mentions that “the real policy of a government is the policy as implemented”. This is one of the main reasons why public policy implementation (PPI) constitutes one of the crucial steps in the entire public policy-making process as PPI refers to when a policy is realised (Knill & Tosum, 2012:149; Howie & Stevick, 2014:582). Peters (2001:233) further states that PPI is a salient quandary in our present-day political systems.

Brynard (2009:575) further describes the implementation of policy as a process that takes into account various “behaviours” present in both the administrative and the political environment in which public policy exists. Barrett (2004:259) maintains that the series of actions or steps taken in the very cycle of policy implementation are themselves intensely politically reliant, "having both a macro and micro political context" (Barrett, 2004:259) (Broadnax, 1976:701). The macro-political context that Barrett (2004:159) refers to is the external environment which consists of variables such as legislation, the economy, and what is happening or trending globally. On the other hand, the micro-political context according to Barrett (2004:159) includes the external environment and consists of variables such as the mission of the policy, skills needed, and the organisational culture. PPI is clearly quiet complex since many factors must be taken into account (some which the implementers have control over, and some which they do not, as shown in Figure 2).

Hanekom (1987:54) is of the opinion that it is a misleading notion to assume that PPI is simply about executing already drafted policies into action – indeed, there is more to PPI than that. PPI is concerned with valuable intrinsic information. It pays attention to matters such as: What are the objectives the legislator has got in mind? Will there be enough resources to carry out the intended policy? Is the policy politically feasible? How will it

respond to economic instability? Also, questions must be asked pertaining to the efficiency of the administration; and one should also determine whether the implementation of the policy is still aligned with the initial objectives of the policy-maker (Hanekom, 1987:54).

Figure two is a representation of the Easton System Model that is geared towards improved development. According to Furlong and Kraft (2013:83) and Dye (1984:40), the system model was designed to assist in understanding the political system and to make sense of how government responds to demands or needs (inputs) that have surfaced from the community; in other words, “public opinion and interest group pressures”. The systems theory allows for interaction of all relevant stakeholders in public policy (Furlong & Kraft, 2013:83). Furthermore, the system theory is where political decisions and policy choices concerning the social economic cultural spheres, and all of the other external variables from the external environment can be made (Furlong & Kraft, 2013:83).

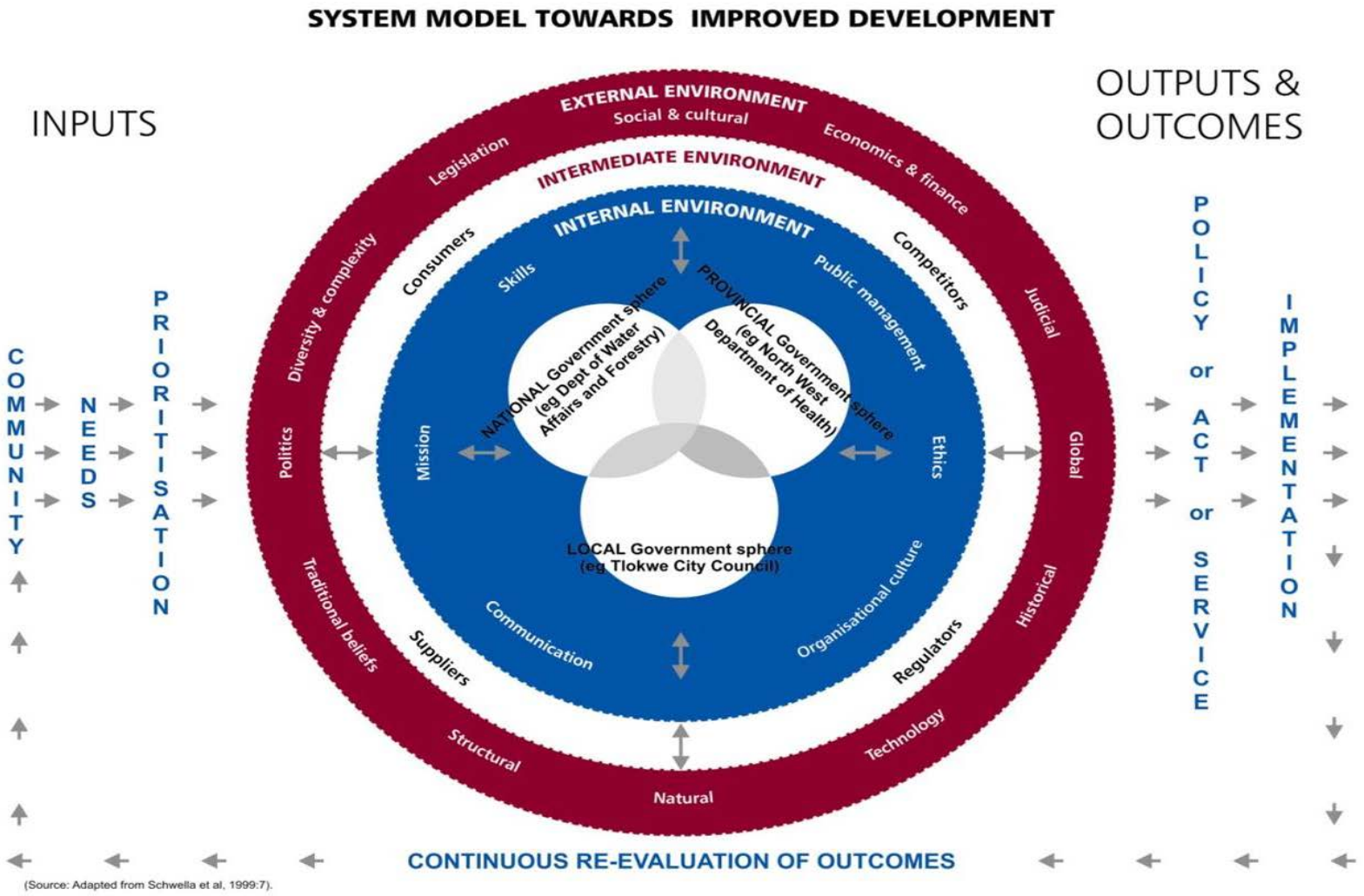


Figure 2: The Easton System Model towards improved development

Source: Diedericks (2012)

Knill and Tosum (2012:149) state that PPI represents a link between the “policy-makers and policy addresses”. This link is facilitated by the implementers. This stage of PPI is critical because it allows for the drafted or envisioned policy to become a reality (Hanekom, 1987:54). This means that a “policy output” is then transformed into a “policy outcome” (Sambo, 1999:286).

Howie and Stevick (2014:582) suggest that in order for the entire policy process to be understood, “policies cannot be separated from practices”. Therefore, the role-players responsible for implementing said drafted policies must not implement policies in complete isolation. It follows that PPI approaches, models and theories must be taken into consideration as they serve as a guideline on how to go about implementing already drafted and approved policies.

The discussion in the sections above represents a brief literature overview pertaining to public policy and PPI, and provides the theoretical context of the study. In the following section attention to the South African context is brought into the picture with reference to the application of this theoretical context.

1.2 PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION (PPI) IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is still a new democracy and, moreover, a developing country. When South Africa transitioned from the old Apartheid regime into the new democratic dispensation, several policies had to be reformulated and some had to be drafted anew in order to reflect the new democratic dispensation South Africans found themselves in (Mthetwa, 2014:1). Policies also had to reflect the founding provisions of the new South African Constitution of 1996 (Cloete, 2011:75). This means that the majority of policies suddenly had to be changed in order to focus “on the poor; indigenous and underdeveloped communities in the country” (Cloete, 2011:75).

Since South Africa is a developing country, there are many factors that must be taken into consideration when drafting and implementing its policies. These factors include taking into consideration socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political variables (Cloete, 2011:70). Most importantly, it should attend to developmental policies that set out to address issues such as empowering people; meeting citizens first; as well as second and third generation rights that must be drafted and implemented. In one of the ANC’s policy documents (ANC, 2016), they address policy problems that the country still faces today. Some of these problems include “extreme levels of poverty and disease in the rural areas; limited access to recreational facilities; and education” among others (ANC, 2016). However, reports from the

Public Protector express that although the ANC (as government) has policies in place to eradicate some of South Africa's social ills, it has signally failed in the implementation of its policies.

Examples of these include shortages and incorrect supply of school workbooks by the National Department of Basic Education to Eastern Cape Schools (Public Protector South Africa, 2013). This failure meant that certain rights of pupils were violated, such as the right to have workbooks delivered in the language of the pupils' choice (Public Protector South Africa, 2013:5). Another example is the "report on the systematic investigations into the allegations of the lack of service delivery and maladministration by the Gamagara Local Municipality" (Public Protector South Africa, 2013) which has given rise to community protests. In this report, the failure of government to implement developmental policies that are needed for a young democracy was clearly highlighted. The report also highlighted issues such as the lack of roads in the Gamagara township; plans for a bridge to be built that failed because the allocated money was misused before the building of the bridge even commenced; and electricity that has not been made accessible to everyone (Public Protector South Africa, 2013:4). The protests led to school children missing an entire year of school. An additional illustration of the lack of PPI in South Africa are the terrible conditions found at EThekwini municipality, Kennedy Road informal settlement where residents still grapple with "issues of housing, electricity, roads and high level of youth unemployment" (Public Protector South Africa, 2016). These issues are policy concerns that can be found in ANC policy documents as well as the South African Constitution, but are yet to be addressed by the current ANC government. In short, issues like these demonstrate a lack of policy commitment and PPI.

The few above examples above referred to reports from the Office of the Public Protector. From these few examples, it is evident that South Africa's new political regime does indeed have problems and challenges related to the implementation of its public policies. This can possibly be ascribed to the fact that South Africa's new political regime is still relatively lacking in implementing policies relating to development and sustaining that development (Sebola, 2014:30; Landsberg, n.d:2).

The inability of the South African government to implement its public policies adequately, according to Sebola (2014:30) and Bond (2014:1-3) as well as Akinboade *et al*. (2014:1) has led to "unacceptable service delivery backlogs and problems which had the ability to threaten internal peace and stability", which may represent serious challenges to the sustainability of constitutional democracy. Tsheola and Sebola (2012) further state that the absence of action from the South African government to implement public policy has not only

led to prolonged public protests, but has also given rise to “civil disturbances, death and the impairment of existing government properties and those of politicians”. These protests are a by-product of the crisis in terms of the implementation of public policies and can have a crippling socio-political effect on South Africa’s young democracy. Alternatively, even though the majority of protests stem from the failure to implement policies, Mkhize (2015:192) and Salgado (2013:15) argue that these protests can be seen as evidence of the South African democracy in action since the South African constitution does promote a participatory democracy. In this sense, exploring the relationship between PPI and democracy in the South African context becomes crucial.

1.2.1 PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF PPI IN SOUTH AFRICA

As mentioned previously, South Africa has faced a number of problems with regard to PPI (Sebola, 2014:30). One of these challenges is the irony that there are excellent written public policies which have been identified as being comprehensive and progressive (Middleton, 2014:23; South African Government, 2015), and most importantly are in accordance with the South African Constitution (Middleton, 2014:23) (South African Government, 2015).

The problem with these policies seems to be that although they describe the ‘what’, they do not explain the ‘how’. It is crucial for policy-makers to explain the ‘how’ because the primary focus of PPI is putting policy into effect. As such, there needs to be course of action put into place in terms of how to go about implementing policy, (Think Tanks and Civil Societies Programs, 2014:21; Brynard *et al*., 2011:138; Barret & Fudge, 1981:13; Hogwood & Gunn, 1984:18). For instance, the National Development Plan (NDP) is a well-designed national policy formulated to eradicate social ills that have been plaguing South Africa as a country; however, there is no course of action presented as to how to go about implementing these policies (Executive Summary-National Development Plan 2030, 2012). The only item offered in the document are the goals that this particular policy aims to achieve, the duration that it should take for the NDP to be correctly implemented and yield results, and a description of the stakeholders.

With regards to the point made above, McLaughlin (1987:172) states that the thorny issue regarding public policy implementation is the fact that policymakers do not have the knowledge to carry out the policies drafted by them, and therefore they have to rely on bureaucrats to implement what they have drafted and Parliament has approved.

According to Hanekom (1987:54) and Howie and Stevick (2014:582), PPI is such a challenging, complex and complicated ‘social’ process because all the relevant stakeholders

have to be taken into consideration. This argument is supported by Anderson (cited by Broadnax, 1976:701), who argues that when public policy is actualised, two issues frequently emanate. The first issue is that of 'compliance', and the second that of 'non-compliance'. The critical argument made here regarding the two issues is whether the general public will welcome and comply with the policy once it has been adopted and an effort has been made in the implementation of the policy. Therefore, Anderson (cited by Broadnax, 1976:701) states that the root causes of compliance and non-compliance should not be ignored as they form a necessary component in attempting to grasp the grim work that comes with attempting to implement public policy. Madigan *et al.* (2004:46) further maintain that policies should not be vague because this would be likely to increase non-compliance.

Broadnax (1976:701) believes that the main reason for non-compliance of public policy is because all the relevant stakeholders are ‘often not activated until the implementation phase has begun”. This failure then leads to a lack of support of that particular policy. However, in order to prevent this situation as far as humanly possible; Madigan *et al.* (2004:48) advise that “educating the “end-users” or the public on the contents of the policy/policies” might perhaps lead to compliance of the policy.

The above argument is supported by Mkhize (2015:193) who explains that some of South Africa’s challenges in implementing its public policies are the result of “systematic problems relating to the lack of consultation and participation around policy choices” in all spheres of government (national; provincial and local government). Mkhize (2015:193) argues that the public are not engaged sufficiently and that policy decisions are taken unilaterally. This of cause creates another challenge to PPI, which is that this type of decision-making does not take into account the poor, and may consequently lead to dissent and protests – of course, with dire consequences such as destabilising South Africa’s democracy (Sebola, 2014:30). An example in the context of a grander or broader policy framework is the ANC scrapping their commitment to social democracy which was in the form of the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) in favour of a neoliberal macro-economic policy known as GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) (Mkhize, 2015:193). Mkhize (2015:193) states that the adoption of this policy was problematic as it did not sit well with the public as a result of a lack of democratic interaction and consultation. Therefore, implementing it became a problem, as it led to long periods of uneven development and an immense loss of jobs, which had severe repercussions on structural unemployment (Mkhize, 2015:193). This matter could also be of relevance pertaining to the discussion of policy relevant to the South African context – as discussed below.

Human (1998:51) suggests that one of the solutions for the above problem is that there should be a dynamic relationship between the people (non-state actors) and the state; however (Human, 1998:51) further suggests that the state should both lead and follow. This suggestion made by Human (1998:51) has a ring of truth to it, but on the other hand the majority of states have a problem in following, and letting non-state actors lead (particularly when it comes to public policies). It has been suggested that this dynamic also relates to public policy implementation in relation to democracy.

The challenge of PPI is the fact that it is time-consuming and challenging to implement in such a manner that will gratify everyone involved (Brynard *et al*., 2011:138) (McLaughlin, 1987:172) – i.e., the relevant stakeholders, politicians and the general public. This might be one of the core reasons why public policy implementation is failing in South Africa, as noted with the above example where decisions were taken unilaterally (Mkhize, 2015:193). McLaughlin (1987:172) suggests that for a policy to be successful, two components are necessary: local capacity, and the will of all concerned stakeholders (particularly public officials). This means that there ought to be enough human capital (with the necessary skills, experience and qualifications) as well as the readiness by all relevant stakeholders to bring the intended policy to fruition.

A further and related issue and challenge that Human (1998:48) has raised with regards to public policy implementation in South Africa, is that South Africans tend to apply and adopt 'Western' solutions to 'African' problems. Ferim (2013:1) is of the opinion that it is not advisable to be implementing Western solutions in our country, since the Western world has over 200 years' experience of practising democracy and therefore the Western worlds' history is unlike that of Africa. Furthermore, according to Solomon (2015:48), Africa is still plagued by the ghosts of colonialism, and for a country like South Africa this means having a heterogeneous nation as well as the skeletons left by the Apartheid regime (Cloete, 2011:75) (Mthetwa, 2014:1). Therefore, it is unlikely that the Western world's way of doing things will work for Africa (Ferim, 2013:1). Human (1998:48) further argues that the problem with adopting Western solutions is that policies formulated at times do not fit the context in which they have to be implemented. To clarify this point, Human (1998:49) states that "the theory must fit the context" and that the actual "policy must respond to the actual situation". Conversely, Ferim (2013:1) argues that the mentality Africans have of applying Western solutions to African problems is the result of inadequate capacity and political will. The point raised by Ferim (2013:1) coincides with that of McLaughlin (1987:172) and CDE Research (1997:7) when both sources suggest that in order for policy to be successful, state and local capacity are needed, as well as the commitment of all concerned.

In summary, the following core problems and challenges have emerged from the above literature review in relation to PPI within the context of a new democracy such as South Africa:

(i) Firstly, lack of participation, which comes about as a result of lack of consultation. The problem of a lack of consultation between government and relevant stakeholders is that it defies South Africa's Constitution, as the Constitution clearly stipulates a participatory democracy. Therefore, the lack of consultation between government and relevant stakeholders is a direct "gun-wound" to South Africa's young democracy (Mkhize, 2015:193; Freedman, 2013:23; Currie *et al*., 2001:66; CDE Research, 1999:7).

(ii) Secondly, the lack of consultation can lead to non-compliance, which can have a detrimental effect on South Africa's young democracy (Hanekom, 1987:54; Howie & Stevick, 2014:582; Broadnax, 1976:701; Mkhize, 2015:173).

(iii) Thirdly, applying Western solutions to African problems is a problem (Human, 1998:48) (Ferim, 2016:1; Solomon, 2015:48).

(iv) Fourthly, the fact that PPI is time-consuming and challenging to implement is one of the problems pertaining to PPI in South Africa (Brynard *et al*., 2011:138; McLaughlin, 1987:172).

(v) Fifthly, lack of knowledge, skills, experience and expertise is a problem and a challenge (McLaughlin, 1987:172; Barrett, 2004:159; Lasswell, 2003:85).

(vi) Lastly, the absence of a common theory on PPI is a major obstacle to successful PPI (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984:18; Hanekom, 1987:8; Human, 1998:49).

In conclusion, problems and challenges relating to PPI (such as not having a common theory on public policy implementation; non-compliance from appropriate stakeholders; not stating the guidelines on how to go about implementing public policy; adopting 'Western' solutions to local problems; or the fact that public policy implementation can be demanding and arduous) are some of the variables that are detrimental to the implementation of public policy in South Africa. The danger, it seems, of the lack of PPI is that it can be an impediment to South Africa's young democracy, as established through the literature review where examples of violent protests by communities were noted as a by-product of the lack of PPI and which can lead to instability and impede on the internal peace of the country (Sebola, 2014:30).

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Public Policy Implementation (PPI) is confronted by a number of challenges and problems in South Africa. These challenges and problems, such as lack of participation as required in terms of South Africa's constitutional democracy, appropriateness of policy in a South African context, lack of knowledge and skills and so on, constitute a set of factors that as a whole has a bearing on the functioning and sustainability of democracy in South Africa. Against this background, the question asked in this study is: To what extent does the set of factors that represent challenges and problems in PPI have a bearing on the functioning and sustainability of South African democracy?

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions for the study the following:

(i) What is meant by public policy (and the public policy-making process), and what are the principles and theories related to this concept?

(ii) What is meant by PPI, and what are the theoretical perspectives, theories and models related to this concept within the context of the public policy-making process?

(iii) What are the problems and challenges related to PPI within a new democratic dispensation such as South Africa?

(iv) What bearing does the problems and challenges of PPI have on democracy or the functioning of a democracy in the South African context?

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research objectives for the study the following:

(i) To provide a theoretical foundation of public policy-making concepts and related principles.

(ii) To analyse the theoretical foundations of PPI within the context of the public policy-making process.

(iii) To identify and analyse problems and challenges related to PPI within a new democratic dispensation such as South Africa.

(iv) To analyse the extent to which the problems and challenges of PPI have a bearing on a democracy or the functioning of a democracy in the South African context[2].

1.6 LEADING THEORETICAL STATEMENTS/ARGUMENTS

The following are the statements that form the theoretical foundation of the study:

(i) There should be effective communication and participation channels between the government and relevant stakeholders to allow for communication and consultation to occur timeously on to matters of public policy and PPI in order to prevent difficulties such as non-compliance and violence from arising (Mkhize, 2015:193; Public Protector South Africa, 2013).

(ii) Lack of consultation and participation can lead to non-compliance, which can have a detrimental effect on South Africa's young democracy (Hanekom, 1987:54; Howie & Stevick, 2014:582; Broadnax, 1976:701) (Mkhize, 2015:173).

(iii) Government must implement policies that speak to South African problems and its people to ensure that the building blocks of South Africa's young democracy become firmer as times progresses (Human, 1998:48; Ferim, 2016:1; Solomon, 2015:48).

(iv) Government must work at developing knowledge, the necessary skills, experience and expertise to ensure that the implementation of policies becomes a successful feature in South Africa's young democracy (McLaughlin, 1987:172; Barrett, 2004:159).

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Bak (2004:25) states that the research methodology section in a research study has the role of providing the reader with a clear indication of how the researcher will go about achieving the research objectives that have been already identified. Bak (2004:25) adds that the goal of the research methodology is to explain in as much detail as possible the methods and procedures to be used and applied in the study.

According to De Vos (2011:17), a research design is the choice that the researcher makes in selecting the different elements relevant to the study. This is done by integrating the different elements in a systematic and logical manner, ensuring that indeed the research problem of the study is addressed in an effective manner, and that the objectives of the study are reached (De Vos, 2011:17).

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[2] *i.e.* To explore how the identified problems and challenges regarding PPI can be addressed by way of the theoretical knowledge gained from chapters 2 and 3.

There are three types of research designs that can be applied to the social sciences, namely qualitative, quantitative or a mixed-method approaches (mixed approach) which include both the previous two designs. The present study is conducted using a qualitative research design; Creswell (2003:14-30) states that a qualitative research design is suitable for "exploring and understanding of the meaning of phenomena where specific problems are identified that should be addressed". Therefore, this type of research design assists in exploring and analysing problems and challenges related to PPI within a new democratic dispensation in South Africa. Such a design is usually associated with the uncovering of the deeper meaning of a phenomenon in the real world and relies on philosophical analysis, conceptual analysis, and literature reviews from reliable academic sources in the subject field (Creswell, 2003:14-30; Babbie & Mouton, 2001:646; Fox & Bayat, 2007: 7; 10; 65).

Qualitative research allows for selected issues to be studied in greater depth, and offers a platform for openness by being able to describe the phenomena under scrutiny with great detail by means of the written word, through narrative and descriptive analysis (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000:37-38; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:2). Qualitative research places more emphasis on methods of observation and analysis that "stay close" to the research subject and it also allows for the non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations (this aspect of qualitative research will help in examining and interpreting the underlying meanings and patterns of relationships between PPI and problems and challenges related to PPI within a New Democratic Dispensation) (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:646; Fox & Bayat, 2007:7; 10; 65). Moreover, a qualitative research design offers the researcher a "set of interpretive mechanisms that makes the world perceptible to the researcher and which will aid the researcher to interpret an occurrence in the real world better and to make more sense of it" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:2). This approach can lead to an increase in knowledge on the phenomenon that is being studied and can assist in developing something out of the knowledge (Winstanley, 2012:12).

1.7.1 DATABASES CONSULTED FOR LITERATURE REVIEW

Various sources and databases were consulted in order to establish whether adequate sources were available to undertake the study. The following databases were consulted and revealed that there are sufficient sources of information available in order to undertake the study:

(i) The NWU Institutional Repository (NWU-IR)

(ii) North-West University Library Catalogue (which allows the of searching catalogue for books, e-books, digital records, and more (which includes databases such as One-search; Google Scholar; AtoZ Journal and eBooks List; EbscoHost; SAePublications)

(iii) Libguides

(iv) Catalogue of theses and dissertations of South African Universities

(v) Catalogue of books available at the Ferdinand Postma Library (NWU) as well as books that are available via Interlibrary Loans.

The primary source of information for this study is a literature analysis. A literature study is identified as the first stage of a study (Mouton, 2008: 86). The practice of reviewing existing literature warrants that important literature on the subject matter under study is retreated, examined and described in a scientific manner. A body of existing academic literature should be reviewed in order to access the most recent and reliable sources that will be of assistance to the researcher in building his/her research (Mouton, 2008:86). The literature review allows for the researcher to establish "general knowledge and understanding of fundamental concepts" regarding his/her study. To summarise the above, the databases which were consulted revealed that there are sufficient sources of information available in order to undertake the literature study.

1.8 CHAPTER LAYOUT

To meet the set study objectives, the study unfolds in the following five chapters:

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Chapter one consists of the orientation and problem statement. The focal point of this chapter is to introduce the topic of the intended study by discussing the theoretical understanding of variables/concepts as well as motivate why this particular study should be undertaken, together with an introduction of the research methodology and the research objectives and questions.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY AND PUBLIC POLICY MAKING

Chapter two of the study presents the theoretical perspectives; theories and models of public policy. This is achieved by means of reporting on the findings obtained from the literature review.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY-IMPLEMENTATION

Chapter three peruses theoretical perspectives, theories and models related to the concept of PPI within the context of the public policy-making process.

CHAPTER 4: PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES? DILEMMAS OF PPI IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC ENVIRONMENT

Chapter four discusses and analyses the problems and challenges related to PPI within a new democratic dispensation such as South Africa.

CHAPTER 5: ADDRESSING THE IDENTIFIED PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF PPI WITHIN A NEW DEMOCRATIC DISPENSATION: SUMMARY; FINDINGS; RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter five presents the conclusions to the study by summarising the findings of the study in relation to PPI and the bearing PPI has on a democracy or the functioning of a democracy in the South African context. Chapter five also provides recommendations in terms of the preconditions for successful PPI.

1.9 CONCLUSION: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Regardless of where a country is situated, the successful implementation of public policies is vital to that country's economic growth, social cohesion and political stability. The primary role of public policy is to try and answer to the needs of already identified problems; problems that citizens wish to see resolved.

Therefore, the value of the present study is to set out to understand the phenomenon of public policy implementation within the geographical context of South Africa. It is hoped that this study will provide answers as to why South Africa tends to have problems with the implementation of its public policies.

The study's significance therefore lies in providing greater clarity on public policy implementation and its problems and challenges in South Africa specifically as well as more broadly pertaining to new democracies.

CHAPTER 2: MACRO-THEORETICAL CONTEXT OF PUBLIC POLICY AND THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Public policy is manifested in everyday life. It also becomes part of everyday general conversation where ordinary citizens discuss matters such as what can contribute to the betterment of public policies. As already expressed in the introductory chapter, the public policy-making process is like an onion: is multi-layered and intricate (Hill, 2005:4). There are two founding principles (or two broad fields of study) that are pertinent for public policy formulation and public policy implementation. These fields are Political Sciences/Studies[3] and Public Administration. According to Sabatier (1991:153), public policy comprises of a multiplicity of subfields which are found within the political science discipline. The public administration function yields to the carrying-out of public policies, which are as a result of the political (or policy-making) features of government, and which are funded and authorised by political administrators (refer to Figure 1) (Skok, 1995:327-331). According to Wilson's dichotomy (cited by Skok, 1995:331), when meting out public policy from both the structural and functional aspects, politics and administration cannot be separated into different functions. The line there becomes as thin as a thread from a spider's web.

Simeon (1976:550) notes that public policy develops from an amalgam of "economics; social and political forces" as revealed in and through institutions and practises. Public policy, according to Skok (1995:326), can also stem from "problem articulation (acknowledgement of a policy problem); and the discovery of alternatives and the political processes" (Jann & Wegrich, 2007:45). Dye (1984:3) states that "public policy is not a new concern of political studies". Hill (2005:12) maintains that the academic exploration of the public policy process unquestionably forms a part of political studies/sciences as political science can be "significant" to public policy queries without forgoing its commitment to scientific inquiry (Dye, 1984:xi), because politics addresses 'who gets what'; 'when'; and 'how' (Hill, 2005:13) (Lasswell, 1936) (Dye, 1984:xi). According to Hill (2005:4) and Hanekom (1987:8), the public policy process is intrinsically a political process where there are various stakeholders involved, such as politicians, pressure groups, or 'passive recipients of policy' (Goodwin, *et al.*, 2006:5; Weible, 2014:5). Political Studies as an academic discipline offers the aptitude needed for the description, analytical and explanation of public policy to take place (Dye, 1984:1).

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[3] Political Sciences and Political Studies are used interchangeably throughout the study.

Additionally, Simeon (1976:559) maintains that there are three variables of public policy which are cardinal for Political Studies. The first variable is the “scope of government policy” (Simeon, 1976:559). The “scope of government policy” addresses factors and decisions regarding the dynamics surrounding social and economic life in a society as well as the role government plays in society (or rather questioning whether government indeed does have a role to play) (Simeon, 1976:559). The second variable that Simeon (1976:559) mentions “is the question of means”. This refers to the resources, instruments and techniques that are at the disposal of government to ensure compliance and cooperation between the state and those to whom the proposed policy is directed (Simeon, 1976:559). This second variable is clearly explained by Lowi (1972:300) (refer to Figure 4), where Lowi (1972:300) designed a diagram explaining the cooperation (compliance); types of policies and types of politics and how these three constituencies come into play with each other. The third and final variable of public policy that is of value for Political Sciences is Lasswell’s (1936) ‘who gets what’; ‘when’; and ‘how’.

Simeon (1976:559) states that the variables of public policy discussed above that are of importance for Political Sciences can be summarised into three questions: Firstly, what does government do? Secondly, how does it do it? Finally, with what effects? These questions offered by Simeon (1976:559) can be regarded as one way of determining how and where policy originates or comes into effect.

2.1.1 FURTHER EXPLORATION ON THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY

As this chapter is focused on the theoretical foundations of public policy, it is necessary to address the definitional aspect of public policy. The most common definition of public policy is that it is foremost seen as a ‘plan of action’ (Makhetha, 2015:33; Hill, 2005:6; Steinberger, 1980:189; Meier, 2000:69). As a ‘plan or course of action’, a public policy can transpire into “a law; a rule; a statute; a regulation or an order” (Fischer *et al.*, 2007:xix). This ‘plan of action’ must epitomise rational decision-making, which will subsequently lead to rational action (Hill, 2005:6; Parsons, 2002:46). According to Stewart *et al.* (2008:6) and Jann and Wegrich (2007:45), public policy relates to the process or series of actions undertaken by government in order to remedy a certain societal problem that was identified in the first place (Meier, 2000:69; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:544). Skok (1995:329) identifies public policy as being developed; implemented and evaluated within specialised policy subsystems that represent communities for whom in the end the outcomes of a policy action can and will have an impact on their lives.

Furthermore, Dye (1984:xii) concurs with Stewart *et al.* (2008:6) by explaining that public policies are the result of the amalgamation of "rational planning; belief in or advocacy of change through small steps; rivalry amongst groups; elite preferences; systematic forces; political processes; and institutional influences"[4] (Dye, 1984:xii; Lasswell, 1936:29). This will encompass whatever decisions government chooses to act upon or not act upon (Dye, 1984:1; Weible, 2014:4; Fischer *et al.*, 2007:xix). Therefore, according to Simeon (1976:573), policies are the outcomes of the combination of miniature decisions taken; decision-makers; and are the result of the process of complex bargaining. However, according to Simeon (1976:573), the process of policy-making and the drawing up of policies are the result of an ideology at work, thus alluding to the fact that public policies do indeed represent ideology (or has a symbolic repertoire; Hanekom, 1987:11; Toleikiene & Meskyte, 2014:86; Lasswell, 1936:29). An ideology is founded on a blueprint of "assumptions; norms and values" (Simeon, 1976:573).

As an illustration to support the above argument proposed by Simeon (1976:573), the ANC describes themselves as a national liberal movement. For the reason that they have identified themselves as a 'national liberal movement', their policies (*i.e.* their ideology or dogma) will include reference to "good governance", "human rights", "democracy", "development" and "anti-Western ideologies", just to name a few (Tobias & Didier (2010:548).

In relation to this notion, it is clear that public policies have many facets. Weible (2014:4) and Steinberger (1980:189) contend that public policy can assist in the "regulation of behaviour; the organisation of bureaucracies; be of assistance in the distribution or allocation of benefits/resources or the collection of taxes" as well as spell out the "methods of implementation" (Steinberger, 1980:189; Dye, 1984:1). Weible (2014:5) explains that the context of public policies are designed according to the socioeconomic conditions that are found in a particular geographical area that the public policy must respond to. In addition, the public policy-making process can be influenced by various factors such as the "institutional arrangements; party system a country uses or the general interaction between government and the general public" (Knill & Tosum, 2012:18). Public policies also encompass the predominant thoughts; philosophies and dogmas that exist in a society (Simeon, 1976:570). Therefore, these factors create a platform for the foundational premises and structures within which policies can be contemplated (Simeon, 1976:570).

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[4] *See* discussion on the theories of politics and public policy.

Unlike the various definitions of public policy that have been given throughout chapter one and this chapter; Schön (cited by Parsons, 2002:48) states that public policy epitomises the "study of how societies learn or rather fail to learn". This definition refers to understanding societies' problems and how societies decide to manage and engage with these problems (Parsons, 2002:48; Jann & Wegrich, 2007:45), with government acting as a facilitator in reducing or eradicating these problems identified by society (Parsons, 2002:48; Jann & Wegrich, 2007:45).

Skok (1995:326) is of the opinion that public policy can be viewed in terms of two facets (or can be divided into two functions); namely 'structural terms' and/or 'functional terms'. The structural aspect encompasses the various interactions that can occur between the various participants of public policy in the arena of the various specialised domains of the public policy field (which are mainly the different policy subsystems) (Skok, 1995:326). Lowi (cited by Skok, 1995:326) is of the opinion that the structural function of public policy is deeply influenced by the different policy types, whereas the functional aspect speaks to the essence of the policy cycle (which will later be covered in this chapter; *also* refer to Figure 9 & 10).

2.1.1.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION

To conclude the present discussion, the introduction to the chapter has furnished an overview of what public policy is, and alluded to what drives public policy. The main goal of this chapter is to provide a theoretical discussion on the theoretical perspectives and theories and models of public policy. In order to meet these objectives, the chapter presents a literature review where findings will be obtained on the types of public policies; the importance of theories and models as foundations of studying a phenomenon (*i.e.* public policy and PPI). The discussion culminates with reference to the stages theory as the primary theory for public policy.

2.2 TYPES OF PUBLIC POLICY

Public policies can be drafted in various format and/or types to address the need that is on the policy agenda. Lowi (1972:299) refers to these types of policies as a 'policy taxonomy'. A policy taxonomy is inherently relevant "for the study of politics" because a policy type would have a "variety of politics associated with them" (as noted in Figure 4) (Lowi, 1972:299; Steinberger, 1980:192). Therefore, a politically appropriate policy taxonomy has been designed (Lowi, 1972:299). However, what is imperative is to ensure that the policy taxonomy is characterised by intellectual and theoretical features that have a bearing on actual political situations (Lowi, 1972:299). Consequently, the aim of the policy taxonomy is to ensure that it is complementary to the study of politics without neglecting the public administrative side or having dire consequences for the general political atmosphere (Lowi, 1972:299).

Kraft and Furlong (2013:107) maintain that the objective of public policy typologies or taxonomies[5] is to grasp the underlying differences amongst "policies and the political conditions" that influences the types of policies that exist. Steinberger (1980:189) believes that policy typologies are needed as they have the added convenience of describing "typifications" that are customarily engaged by role-players "in the political process to define public policies". Essentially, this means that policy taxonomies allow for the truthful definition of a public policy (Steinberger, 1980:192). Gilbert (1976:124) correspondingly states that policy taxonomies assist in deciding on the style and bearing of a policy. Policy taxonomies, according to Simeon (1976:559), offer the leisure of paying attention to the balance that is found between the individual and collective action; as well as attending to the degree of coercion (refer to Figure 4). Therefore, Simeon (1976:559) is of the opinion that policy taxonomies described by Lowi (1972) are important and significant for students of politics.

Lowi (1972:299) identifies four types of public policies or policy taxonomies that are commonly known today as distributive; redistributive; regulatory; and constituent public policies. These typologies or taxonomies are classified as functions that government carries out. According to Heinelt (2007:109), these policy typologies can indicate the specific outcome of a policy which, as a result, can foster political debate in relation to decision-making along with the implementation of policies. Policy typologies also have the objective of being based on sectoral classifications/clusters (De Coning & Wissink, 2011:15). For instance, there may be a cluster of "protective policies"; "regulatory policies";

[5]The term types; typologies and taxonomies of policies will be used interchangeably throughout the study.

"development/growth-orientated policies" and "welfare policies" (De Coning & Wissink, 2011:15).

In the South African case, the Government is divided into five well-known sectoral clusters. These clusters are the Economic Sector, Employment, Infrastructure Development; the Governance and Administration Cluster; the Social Protection, Community and Human Development Cluster; the International Cooperation, Trade and Security cluster; and the final cluster being the Justice Crime Prevention and Security Cluster (South African Government, 2016). These clusters dictate a policy typology under which a policy will fall. Additionally, these clusters help in the drafting of policies as well as fostering an integrated approach that helps Government to improve planning; decision-making and service delivery (South African Government, 2016). These types of public policies/policy taxonomies as identified by Lowi (1972:299) are discussed next.

Type of policy	Definition	Examples
Regulatory policies	Policies specifying conditions and constraints for individual and collective behaviour	Environmental protection; migration policy; consumer protection
Distributive policies	Policies distributing new (state) resources	Farm subsidies; local infrastructure such as highways and schools
Redistributive policies	Policies modifying the distribution of existing resources	Welfare; land reform; progressive taxation
Constituent policies	Policies creating or modifying the state's institutions	Changes of procedural rules of parliaments; creation of new agencies

Sources: Based on Lowi (1972: 300) and Knill and Tosun (2011).

Figure 3: Lowi's Policy Typology

Source: Knill and Tosum (2012:17)

2.2.1 DISTRIBUTIVE PUBLIC POLICY

According to Meier (2000:89), the main leading agenda of distributive policies is that of problem-solving; therefore, they tend to operate in the most favourable political environment.

The environment in which distributive policies take place are characterised by a “robust clientele; knowledge; leadership and cohesion” (Meier, 2000:94). It is the practice of taking action in order to solve the public’s problems (Meier, 2000:69). Notably, distributive policies can also be defined as policies that address the distribution of new resources; costs and benefits from government to a certain demographic of the population (Hill, 2005:138; Knill & Tosum, 2012:16; Simeon, 1976:559; Meier, 2000:69). Distributive policies, according to Simeon (1976:559), address Lasswell’s (1936) mantra of ‘who gets what’; ‘when’; and ‘how’. According to Kraft and Furlong (2013:107), distributive policies are characterised as policies that make use of general public funds (rather than user fees) to help a selective section of a societal group without paying attention to budget constraints or lack of resources (Meier, 2000:69; Knill & Tosum, 2012:16). Distributive policies also serve to benefit the constituencies of elected officials; this can be seen during election manifestos where different political parties seek voters’ approval with what resources and services they can provide for them if they are voted into power (or kept in power) (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:108).

Kraft and Furlong (2013:107) state that distributive policies assume a form of education research grants; weapons procurement; and agricultural subsidies. One disadvantage of distributive policies, according to Kraft and Furlong (2013:107), is that when the distribution occurs, one group gains, whereas another group loses. This disadvantage can be summarised up as: “Where one group’s gain is another’s loss” (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:107). However, Knill and Tosum (2012:16) caution that in order to avoid the “where one group’s gain is another’s loss” situation, distributive policies should be designed and implemented in such a way that it cushion any blow that may cause conflict.

2.2.2 REDISTRIBUTIVE PUBLIC POLICY

Redistributive public policies (also known as allocative policies) are policies that address needs such as the education system, health, and welfare budgets (De Coning & Wissink, 2011:15). Redistributive policies aim to transfer or reallocate costs, benefits and resources from one collective group to another (Knill & Tosum, 2012:16-17). According to Meier (2000:69), redistributive policies take place when a selective portion of the population is taxed by government in order to provide benefits to another group. Typically, the reallocation of these resources happens between the wealthy and the underprivileged and disadvantaged members of society (Knill & Tosum, 2012:17). Skok (1995:326) maintains that redistributive policy can also occur transversely between “ideological cleavage lines”. According to Skok (1995:326), when the redistribution of public policies is influenced by “ideological cleavage lines”, the policy decisions tend to be undertaken by the high ranking political officials or elites as well as “national interest group leaders”.

As a result of the above, Kraft and Furlong (2013:108) and Meier (2000:81) argue that due to the direct taxation and transferring of resources from one societal group to another, one distinct characteristic arises which distinguishes distributive and redistributive policies from each other. This characteristic is conflict (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:108). The reason for this conflict is that redistributive policies are policies that are intensely political, difficult, unfavourable and controversial to adopt and implement (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:108; Meier, 2000:81). They cause divisions that divide the public along party lines (Meier, 2000:81). This particular problem regarding redistributive policies arise due to the fact that "one category of individuals benefit at the expense of another" (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:108; Henry, 2001:4). What also contributes to the conflict regarding distributive public policies is that they explicitly reflect on an ideology or class conflict.

In the South African context, redistributive policies that are still controversial and which a section of the demography is not welcoming of include Affirmative Action (AA) and the Land Reform Policy. To illustrate this point, a policy has been drafted and adopted by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform titled 'Strengthening the Relative Rights of People Working the Land'. This policy document is a clear example of a public redistributive policy as it aims to distribute land equally among the farm owners and those who work the land (Donnelly, 2015). However, Donnelly (2015) argues that the disadvantage of this type of redistributive policy is that government often does not have the resources to roll out such a policy (i.e. to implement it). For example, the policy has not specified "the practical details" on how the pilot projects of the policy will be implemented (Donnelly, 2015).

2.2.3 REGULATORY PUBLIC POLICY

Generally, regulatory policies address policy needs pertaining to traffic; infrastructure; health and other regulations and standards (De Coning & Wissink, 2011:15) or prohibiting people from activities such as selling illegal merchandise such as unsafe drugs; competing unfairly in the marketplace or polluting the environment (Meier, 2000:70). Meier (2000:82) and Vedung (1998:31) describe regulatory policies as policies or formulated rules that are carried out by governmental departments (or the state generally) that control or put limitations on the options available for the human individual or collective behaviour rather than involving monetary exchanges (Knill & Tosum, 2012:16; Henry, 2001:4). Meier (2000:69) further states that regulatory policies are drafted in order to restrict "unacceptable behaviour". Since regulatory policies are so broad, these policies have been divided into two distinct categories: competitive regulation and protective regulation (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:108). Competitive regulation encompasses policies that are solely directed towards "regulating certain industries and their practices" (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:108).

An example of a competitive regulatory policy is regulating the licensing of radio and television broadcasting (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:108) such as the SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) which is regulated by The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA). On the other hand, protective policies are designed to protect the public; i.e. consumers, from activities that take place in the private sector (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:108). An example of a protective regulatory policy is the Labour Relations Act which aims to protect employees against elements such as unfair dismissals; to ensure health and safety rules are endorsed in the workplace; the right to form and join trade unions (Labour Relations Act, 66 of 1995).

According to Kraft and Furlong (2013:108), regulatory policies are also controversial because they allow government to 'meddle' in the proceedings of the private sector as well as individual lives. Another shortcoming of regulatory public policies, according to Knill and Tosum (2012:16), is that they can have a considerable amount of influence on the distribution of costs involved and the assistance needed between societal actors.

2.2.4 CONSTITUENT PUBLIC POLICY

The last policy taxonomy that Lowi (1972:300) identified is the constituent policy. Lowi (1972:300) is of the opinion that there are two 'constituents' in public policy: Government and/or the nation as a whole (Meier, 2000:69). Meier (2007:106) further defines constituent policies as policies that have been designed to benefit both the nation state and the public at large. Meier (2000:101) describes constituent policies as highly intricate; methodological and overseeing massive programmes. This description of constituent policies offered by Meier (2000:101) can be seen in the Ministry of the Presidency, where currently this department is rolling out policies such as the NDP and being in charge of policies; functions; managing and co-ordinating the National Youth Policy 2015 - 2020; Medium Term Strategic Framework 2014 – 2019 and the Presidential Review Committee on State-Owned Enterprises (Ministry of the Presidency, 2016).

Constituent policies also cover government affairs such as "defence policies; foreign policies and housekeeping functions of government" (Meier, 2000:69). The housekeeping functions of government involve activities such as maintaining a government department and ensuring accountability (Biggs & Helms, 2007:201). These housekeeping functions that fall under constituent policies are often reflected in the work done by the Ministry of the Presidency and the Chapter Nine Institutions; which are state institutions supporting constitutional democracy in South Africa as noted in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996.

Henry (2001:4) classifies constituent policies as taking place in a democratic society, because constituent policies state the *modus operandi* such as election laws. According to Knill and Tosum (2012:16), constituent policies aim to formulate or amend the state's institutions. Knill and Tosum (2012:16) describe constituent policies as those policies from Lowi's (1972:300) policy taxonomy which are least subject to public scrutiny. The reason for this is because constituent public policies only concern the top political branch of government (Knill & Tosum, 2012:16). Meier (2000:101) states that one of the advantages of constituent policies is that they operate in an environment that encourages "clientele support; expert knowledge; leadership as well as cohesion" (an element that seems to be lacking from the redistributive policies).

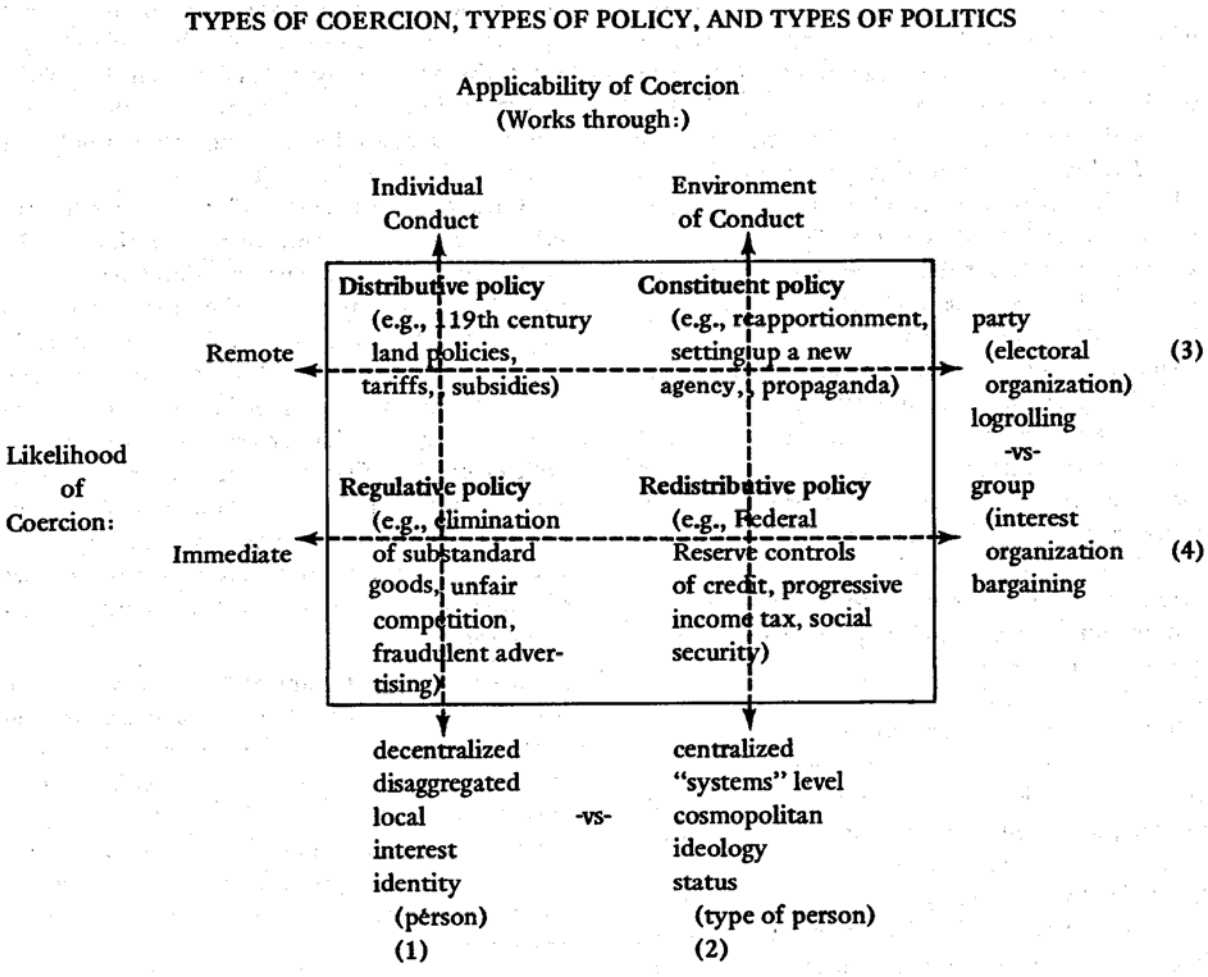

Figure 4: Types of Coercion, Types of Policy, and Types of Politics

Source: Lowi (1972:300).

Lowi (1972:300) in his identification of the types of public policies only identified four policy taxonomies, as discussed above. These policy taxonomies have the shortcoming of

excluding other policies that might not fall under the policy taxonomy, as (Meier, 2000:69) argues: that not all public policies will necessarily fit into Lowi's (1972:300) policy taxonomy. Since the introduction of Lowi's (1972:300) policy taxonomies, a few types of policies have been added to the policy taxonomy. Only one additional policy taxonomy specifically referred to as the 'substantive public policy' is briefly discussed below.

2.2.5 SUBSTANTIVE PUBLIC POLICY

According to Dye (1984:1), public policies play a critical role in a wide-ranging assortment of "substantive areas". These substantive areas can range from the military; mineral resources; environmental affairs; international relations; basic education; home affairs; economic development; public service and social development just to mention a few (Dye, 1984:1). Substantive policies address "what governments should do" (Simeon, 1976:571). A substantive policy can consist of some abstract aims or goals (like stating what the drafted policy would like to achieve) (Howlett, 2011:16). It can also consist of less abstract objectives which are objectives that the particular policy obviously has to attain (Howlett, 2011:16).

In summary, Howlett (2011:10) states that substantive policies have the power to actually address a policy issue effectively. The main reason for this is that substantive policies allow a variety of actors ranging from the "electorate; interest groups; political parties; think tanks; the media as well as other policy actors" to actually have a voice in the public policy process and be able to assess whether a public policy is "legitimate or illegitimate, fair or unfair, just or unjust in its formulation, implementation or in its overall outcomes" (Howlett, 2009:158-159).

2.2.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION

Linking the discussion of the types of public policies back to the five sectoral clusters of the South African government, it emerged there is no simple parallel between these five sectoral clusters and Lowi's (1972:300) policy taxonomy. Instead, there is an overlap between the five sectoral clusters and Lowi's (1972:300) policy taxonomies. For instance, the Economic Sectors, Employment, Infrastructure Development cluster correspond with Lowi's (1972:300) distributive and redistributive policies. The Governance and Administration Cluster as well as the International Cooperation, Trade and Security cluster clearly speaks to Lowi's (1972:300) policy taxonomy of constituent policies. Then, a cluster such as Justice Crime Prevention and Security corresponds with Lowi's (1972:300) regulatory policy taxonomy. Subsequently, there is a measure of relation occurring between the five sectoral clusters of the South African government and Lowi's (1972:300) policy typologies.

In summary, Steinberger (1980:187) states that it is important to take into account that the types of policies available should be comprehensibly understood and must be defined in a number of ways. Steinberger (1980:188-192) argues that this is necessary because the "objective elements of a policy" or policies are rather inclined towards shaping or having the

implication of having different meanings for different stakeholders. What one group of participants may perceive to be a regulatory policy, the other group may regard as a distributive or substantive policy proposal or initiative (Steinberger, 1980:188). Therefore, policy typologies serve to delineate the various techniques in which stakeholders of public policy tend to define policies (Steinberger, 1980:189), and they assist in constructing the actuality and practicality of the policy to be implemented (Steinberger, 1980:192). Hence, Steinberger (1980:192) warns against the fallacy of assuming that a policy will be inclined to fall under one policy typology. A policy document can therefore serve the interest of the variety of policy taxonomies. As a final point, Lowi (1972:300) believes that all policies has some kind of a redistributive element to them; and furthermore, the above discussion on policy types indicates that the policy types do feature on figure 15 "Ambiguity-Conflict Matrix: Policy Implementation Processes" as the policy types can call for administrative; political; experimental and/or symbolic implementation[6].

In order to contextualise and understand the discussion so far, it is necessary to develop a theoretical foundation on which public policy-making and public policy implementation can be analysed and described. This is necessary because public policy making is not simply a political function of government; instead, it is a complex interactive process influenced by the diverse nature of socio-political and other environmental forces. Cairney (2012:1-9) proposes that understanding the theories of a phenomenon will aid in greater clarity regarding among a scientific community.

Below, the importance of theories and models as foundation of studying a phenomenon is to be discussed, since any phenomenon is understood as based on a theory or model.

[6] *See further explanation of Figure 15: 'Ambiguity-Conflict Matrix: Policy Implementation Processes' on* chapter three.

2.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF THEORIES AND MODELS AS FOUNDATION OF STUDYING A PHENOMENON

According to Kraft and Furlong (2013:78), theories and models are "abstract representation[s]" used by social scientists as a means to understand the world around us and how it functions. Theories and models offer a way for the social scientist to create meaning of something that might be deemed difficult or perceived to be chaotic (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:78) (Hanekom, 1987:45). Therefore, theories and models provide a platform for understanding the world we live in and an explanation as to why certain things transpire the way they do (Cairney, 2012:31; Kraft & Furlong, 2013:78).

Logically speaking, there are differences between theories and models. According to Kraft and Furlong (2013:78) and De Coning *et al.* (2011:32), models are more likely to be rather simplistic and descriptive in nature and less explanatory and involve the exploration of concepts (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984:43) (Hanekom, 1987:46). Models also offer an explanation for the relationships amongst variables as well as a simplified representation of the real world (Dye, 1984:19; Cairney, 2012:30; Hanekom, 1987:46; De Coning *et al.,* 2011:32). Dye (1984:19) and Hogwood and Gunn (1984:42) explain that models can either come in the form of an actual physical representation or can be in the form of a diagram. Models can guide the policy-maker in gaining clarity of the issue at hand. Be that as it may, Hanekom (1987:46) states that the fallacy of a model lies in the fact that it does not provide a guideline to the user of the model of how to go about "discriminating; evaluating or judging" what is before them. The reason for this is that a model is only a 'representation' of an image of reality (Hanekom, 1987:46).

Various concepts and models may converge to suggest several hypotheses (Weible, 2014:3; Knill & Tosum, 2012:70; De Coning *et al.,* 2011:32). Furthermore, a theory is "exhaustive; methodical; rational" and aims to have a reliable explanation of the world around us (De Coning *et al.,* 2011:32).

Bearing in mind that this study is about public policy, theories and models that are used by political scientists pertaining to the world of government and politics; the nature of policy-making and public policy are discussed. The discussion aims to answer questions such as why certain policies are adopted instead of others, and generate the concepts and jargon that could facilitate communication and understanding regarding this field.

2.3.1 THEORIES OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC POLICY

Dye (1984:20) holds that models and theories of public policy can be found in any literature pertaining to political studies. According to Dye (1984:20), such theories and models each provide a distinct angle on political life and offer an understanding on the different concepts of public policy. The theories and models of politics and policy comprise the policy process model; elite/mass theory; group theory; institutional theory; rational choice theory and the political systems theory (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:78). These theories and models have often been associated with political ideologies (De Coning *et al*., 2011:33). Dye (1984:20) contends that the majority of policies are a fusion of "rational planning; incrementalism; interest group interest; elite preferences; systemic forces; game-playing; political processes as well as institutional influences."

Kraft and Furlong (2013:78) are of the opinion that such theories and models will shed light on politics and policy-making and on the leading sources that major political and policy decisions are taken. All of these theories (excluding the policy process model[7]) together with their models will be discussed next as an on-going approach of trying to make sense of the complexity of public policies.

2.3.1.1 THE ELITE/MASS THEORY MODEL

In the elite theory, the masses are seen to be led by a small elite group (De Coning *et al.,* 2011:34). This aims to explain how the views of the elite, which are contrary to that of the populous general public, manage to influence public policy development for the main reason that, according to this theory, the opinions and wellbeing of the elite are of primary importance (Hanekom, 1987:79; De Coning *et al.,* 2011:39; Kraft & Furlong, 2013:78). The elite theory is based on the assumption that the views of society should not have an impact in the shaping of public policy because the public is 'supposedly' "apathetic" and "ill-formed" (Dye, 1984:28). According to the elite theory, public policy should only be developed by an established caste of society (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:79). This elite caste can be made up of "economic elites; wealthy people; political parties; business executives; the ruling class and the educated members of society" (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:79).

The implementation of the elite theory can be seen in the form of who is most present in making public policy decisions (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:79). Not all elites are dominant in the decision-making of all public policies. Each elite has a niche market which they want to influence heavily. For instance, the business executives will want to influence policy

[7] The public policy process model is discussed in the last section of this chapter.

decisions regarding tax law; import and export policies. On the other hand, the ruling class would want to influence policy decisions regarding the electorate; governance; distribution of wealth and resources. Also, it is possible that in the exercising of their 'influence' and 'power', these two elite groups might overlap and come into contact with each other.

The elite/mass theory is identified as one of the few theories of public policy that public administrators regard as the most appropriate model to implement, as De Coning *et al.* (2011:39) indicate that public administrators find this model relevant. This relevance according to De Coning *et al.* (2011:39) is influenced by the fact that public administrators are perceived less as "servants of the people" and more as "the established" class of society.

Below is Figure 5, which is the model of the elite/mass theory. This model can be explained as policy decisions that are decided by a small elite flowing downwards towards an 'ill-informed' civil society at large (Dye, 1984:28). These decisions, according to De Coning *et al.* (2011:34), are driven by political power, and the decisions must be implemented by the bureaucracy (Dye, 1984:28). The theory holds that power lies in the hands of the knowledgeable elite.

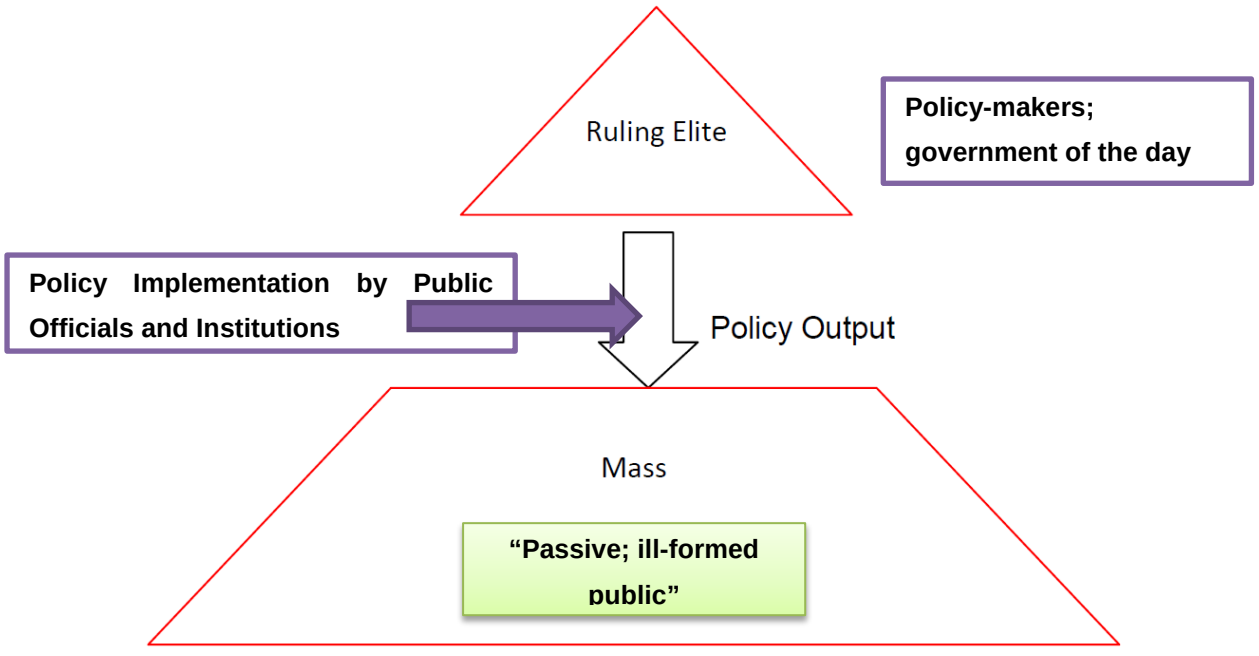

Figure 5: The Elite/Mass Model

Source: De Coning *et al.* (2011:39) and Hanekom (1987:78) (as adapted by the author).

2.3.1.2 GROUP THEORY MODEL

The group theory encompasses organised interest groups in the public policy-making process and the interaction among the groups is a "central fact of politics" (Dye, 1984:27) (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:80). It defines these actors as continually fighting for their voices to be heard. Therefore, the group theory can be summarised as the clash of voices amongst organised interest groups. Members that can be categorised as belonging to the group theory can range from, for example, music recording companies to even members of the agricultural sector.

De Coning *et al.* (2011:40) state that the group theory is one of the models evident in South Africa's democracy. This is because different groups play an important role and have the opportunity to influence public policy inputs. As a case in point, South Africa has a large number of non-profit Civil Action Organisations such as OUTA (Organisation Undoing Tax Abuse) which has the agenda of "promoting and advancing the South African Constitution and other democratic processes" through:

"Challenging taxation policy and/or the regulatory environment, when these are deemed as being irrational, unfit or ineffective for their purpose intended; and

Questioning and challenging the squandering, maladministration and corrupt use of taxes, through a clear and effective methodology, and to hold those responsible to account."

Another example of a non-profit Civil Action Organisations in South Africa is the TKAG (Treasure Karoo Action Group). This is a non-profit organisation "striving to promote awareness, public participation, transparency, accountability and fairness around the issue of shale gas in South Africa".

It is evident from the above two examples that the group theory model is relevant and necessary in public policy. This is because these groups play an integral part in policy-making; as well as assisting in upholding already adopted or passed law such as the Constitution. All of these groups influence public policy, whether it is policy relating to environmental conditions or the well-being of the masses. The above example is an indication of how different interest groups from different sectors of society can each have a voice regarding policies they believe government should promote or discontinue and be critical role-players in the policy-making process. According to De Coning *et al.* (2011:40), the group theory has certain implications for political decisions. It can, for instance, be seen influencing the dynamics of cabinet.

However, the shortfall of the group theory is that it favours those groups that are more organised; have more numbers; have financial means; have political affiliations; are popular and have made connections with policy-makers (Dye, 1984:26). On the end of the spectrum there are the poor members of society who lack all of the above mentioned resources (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:80). Kraft and Furlong (2013:80) maintain that the critique of scholars of public policy regarding the group theory entails that it has assigned too much power to organised interest groups and has left policy-makers to respond to the demands coming from these interest groups (De Coning *et al.,* 2011:40)[8]. It also seems as if public officials are left on the side of the road. The scholars of public policy are of the opinion that the kind of power that organised interest groups have over policy-making tends to contribute towards the already present complex dynamic feature of policy-making (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:80).

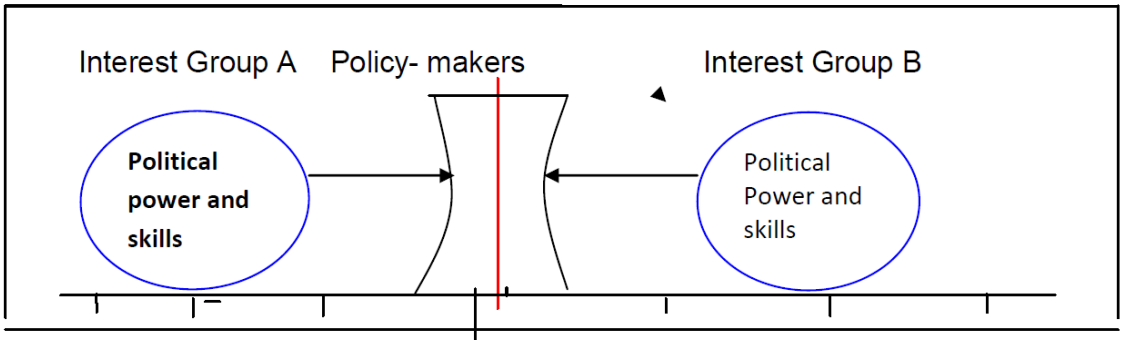

Figure 6: The Group Model of Public Policy Making and Implementation

Source: De Coning *et al.* (2011:40)

[8] It is equally important to note that the elite/mass theory does infiltrate itself into the group theory. Although the group theory might accommodate all groups (regardless of social class or importance), those who have more resources at their disposal are the ones whose voices often at times triumphs in the policy-making process. Those voices often belong to the elite. As a consequence, they silence the voices of the groups that do not have the same resources as the elite at their disposal.
This can be seen in Figure 7 where the diagram speaks of added influence. The added influence refers to those elite groups permeating themselves into the group theory and policy-making process. This is what Meier (2000:94) classifies as "robust clientele; knowledge and leadership" playing out. This also adds more pressure on the policy-makers and public administrators, and as a result, tips the scale of a public policy in their favour.

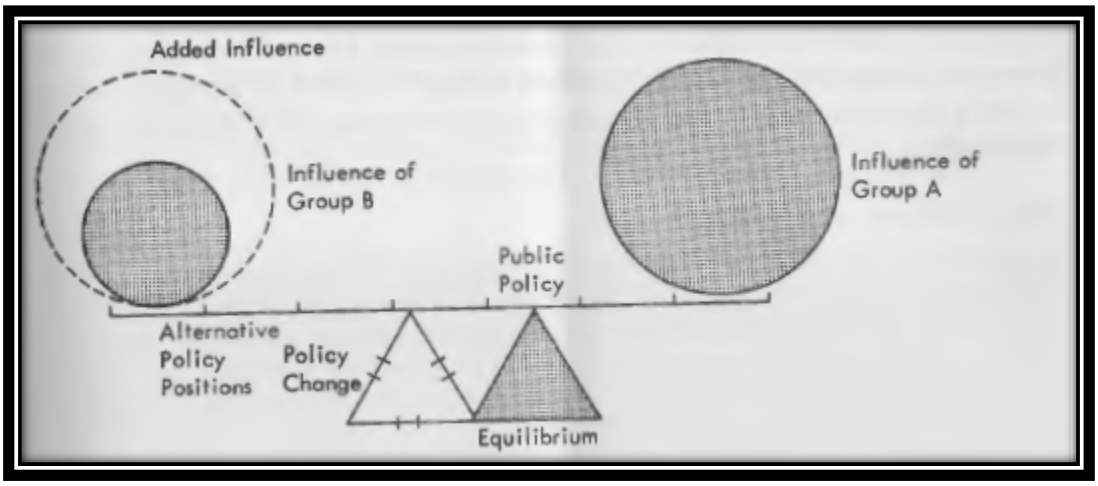

Figure 7: The Group Model

Source: Dye (1984:27)

2.3.1.3 INSTITUTIONAL-BASED THEORY MODEL

The institutional theory is also known as the classical theory as it is classically interpreted for the study of public policy (De Coning *et al.,* 2011:41). Dye (1984:20) also states that government institutions have always been an integral part for the study of political sciences because conventionally political sciences have included the study of governmental institutions within the political system (Knill & Tosum, 2012:76). Since public policy is also dubbed the "product of public institutions" (Hanekom, 1987:81), it is no coincidence that Parsons (1995:323) states that the institutional approach emerged as awareness grew of the importance of entrenching public policy-making in the "context of institutions" (De Coning *et al.,* 2011:34). This alludes to the fact that the trepidations and wellbeing of government should be given penchant above all actors (De Coning *et al.,* 2011:34). This fact is supported by Kraft and Furlong (2013:81) who add that the institutional theory of politics and policy studies is engrained in the "formal and legal" side of the government structure.

Kraft and Furlong (2013:81) maintain that the role of the institutional model is to examine the systems that govern the manner in which government is arranged, as well as its legal powers and the code of conduct government employs in taking decisions. To all intents and purposes, the institutional theory is about the extent to which decision-making is presented to the public; the transparency of government; and finally, the doctrine of the *trias politica* (separation of powers) present between the different levels of government (De Coning *et al.,* 2011:34) (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:81). The actors that partake in the institutional theory model (and can influence public policy) range from political parties to even foreign political regimes (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:82).

Rationally, what the institutional theory model proposes is that structures and the code of conduct that governs the government and its departments play a major role in the different kinds of policy processes that takes place and eventually how policy role-players will be influential in those policy processes (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:81). The institutional theory model is also used as a tool by political and policy analysts to measure how the different role-players in public policy perform in the policy-making process. Analysts also make use of this theory to assess the rules, norms and strategies that are implemented by the various stake-holders in the policy-making process (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:82). Parsons (1995:323-324) further states that the institutional theory has three frameworks that it encompasses: sociological institutionalism (which focuses on the relationship between institutions and individual action); economic institutionalism (where the focus is on economic analysis and how that can be applied to both political institutions and public policy); and political institutionalism (this goes beyond the formal structures of institutions and pays further attention on "developing a sociological view of institutions by assessing the interaction that takes place between the different institutions and the effects of institutions on society" as evident in the political system) (Knill & Tosum, 2012:79).

The institutional theory is important in providing universality; coercion and legitimacy to public policies (this can be seen in regulatory policies where the public are obliged to follow these policies as they carry a legal obligation on them) (Dye, 1984:20) (Hanekom, 1987:81) (Knill & Tosum, 2012:77). The success of the institutional-based model, according to Knill and Tosum (2012:77), relies on the "design and effectiveness of political institutions", not only on economic and social conditions.

On the following page is a diagram (Figure 8) depicting the institutional model of South Africa (the South African structures of government). What can be seen in this model is the *trias politica* of the South African government as well as the roles of the Chapter 9 institutions as entrenched in the South African Constitution. The model also depicts how political activities are central to government institutions as public policy is "authoritatively determined; implemented and enforced by these institutions" Dye (1984:20) as evident from Figure 8.

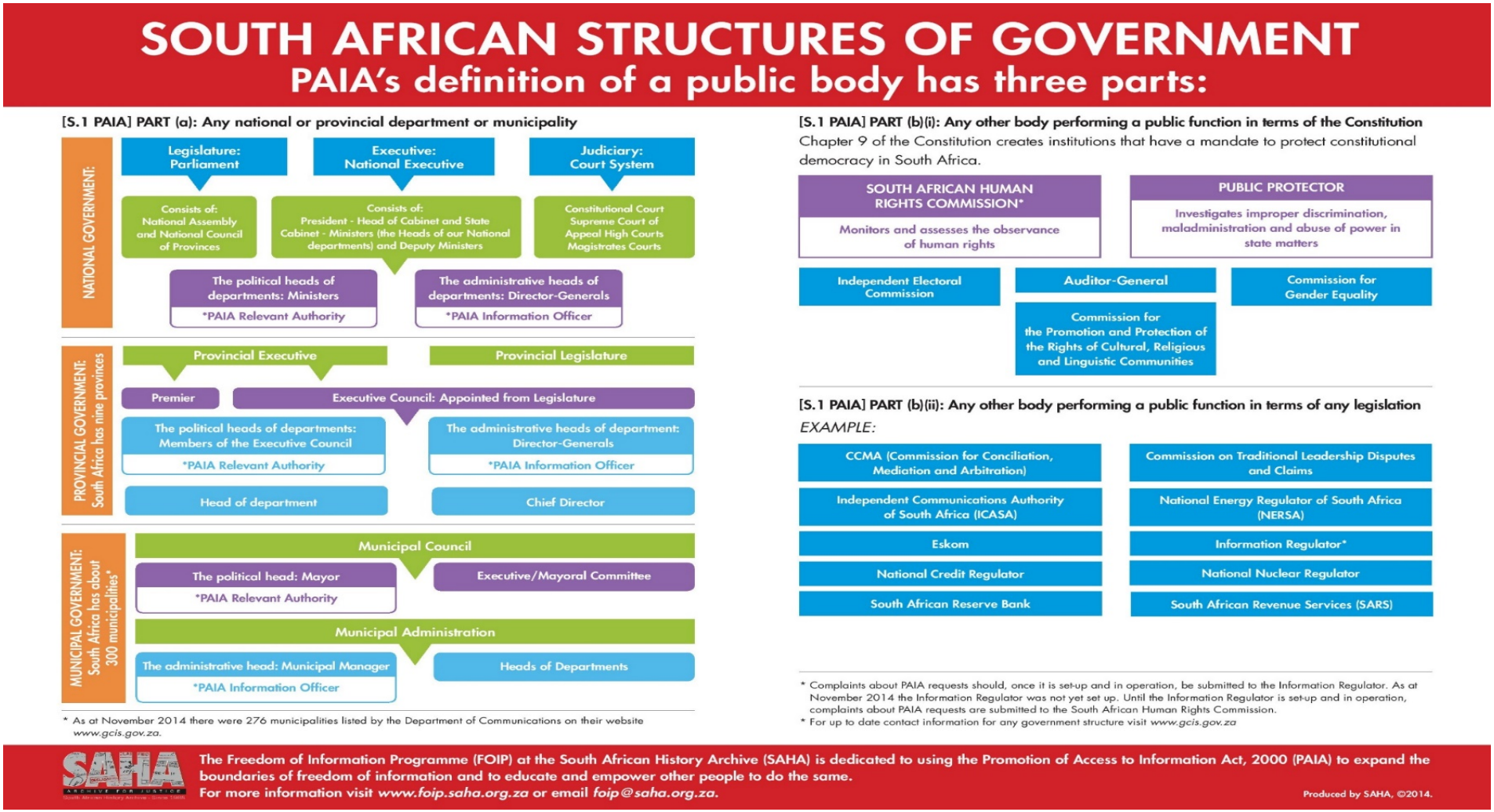

Figure 8: South African Structures of Government

Source: SAHA-South African History Archives, 2016.

2.3.1.4 RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY

Ostrom (1997:2) classifies the rational choice theory as “one of the most powerful theories used in contemporary social sciences”. The rational choice theory is also regarded as the public choice and formal theory (Cairney, 2012:132). Kraft and Furlong (2013:82) and Cairney (2012:132) state that this theory is deeply based on economics (particularly microeconomic theory). Kraft and Furlong (2013:82) and Hill (2005:51) further explain that this theory habitually makes use of “elaborate mathematical modelling” which has been moderately convenient in gauging ‘marginal behaviours in competitive situations’ usually witnessed during the balloting period (Ostrom, 1997:2). This theory is viewed as being “highly developed and rigorous” and as one that can be ‘widely’ applied to questions regarding public policy (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:82). This theory is used by analysts to make sense of decisions regarding matters such as individual voter decisions. However, Hogwood and Gunn (1984:47) state that critics of this theory believe that the problem with models of rational policy-making is that they are “unrealistic and impracticable”. In spite of the arguments presented by critics regarding the models of rational policy-making, Hogwood and Gunn (1984:47) maintain that there are no flawless models and it is not obligatory for a model to be perfect in order to “represent reality or to provide a blueprint for action”.

Cairney (2012:132) states that there are two distinct features of rational choice theory. It is devoted to “methodological individualism and the supposition of rationality in individuals”. The rational theory believes that, since an individual can make decisions, therefore an individual is capable of rational thinking (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:82). On the other hand, Ostrom (1997:9) states that there is a general theory of human behaviour that accompanies all models of rational choice. The general theory, according to Ostrom (1997:9), holds that human beings are multifaceted; they are flawed mortals who strive for perfection amidst all the constraints they may encounter on the way. This flawed mortal, according to Ostrom (1997:9), is also capable of learning “heuristics; customs; rules” as well as ways to develop new rules in order to generate better achieved outcomes.

Rational choice theory applies to public policy in the following way: rational choice aims to illuminate political outcomes and public policy in terms of the choices and actions taken by “self-interested individual policy actors” under particular conditions (Cairney, 2012:132) (Ostrom, 1997:2; Kraft & Furlong, 2013:82). Cairney (2012:132) describes these ‘rational’ actors as acting in their full capacity to fulfil their preferences regarding public policy (Knill & Tosum, 2012:83). These self-interested individual policy actors can range from voters to legislators.

2.3.1.5 POLITICAL SYSTEMS THEORY

Kraft and Furlong (2013:83) define the political systems model as the most comprehensive model; and as one of the most generally used theories. The political systems model, according to Cairney (2012:33), encourages the institutions and activities of government to translate 'inputs' (demands which arises from the environment) from the public into policy 'outputs' (*i.e.* public opinion and interest group pressures) (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:83). Cairney (2012:33) believes that many scholars of the literature of the system model are of the view that this is how the system model should operate in a democracy. It was designed to encourage awareness of policies; for the public to have a platform where they can air their grievances (Cairney, 2012:33), thus creating a platform for issues to arise on the policy agenda of government. It is also a reflection of the grander shared social and economic and cultural context on which political and policy decisions are made (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:83).

Kraft and Furlong (2013:83) add that the value the systems theory has expanded the jargon of politics and policy studies. This new vocabulary of terms refers to words such as "input; demands; support; policy output; policy outcomes and feedback". Kraft and Furlong (2013:84) state that these concepts exist in formal models (as noted in *Figure 2*).The political system model by political scientist David Easton is a model that simply portrays the manner in which government responds to the demands from the public or society at large.

2.3.1.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION

The elite/mass theory can be summarised up as society being divided into two segments: those who possess power and those who do not. It is evident that in the elite/mass theory, those who have access to and possess power, play a larger role in the decision-making of public policy-making. It has been noted that the interesting feature of the group theory is that it is more aligned with the legislature rather than the bureaucracy (De Coning *et al.*, (2011:40). This might be due to the fact that the legislature (as in the case of the South African Parliament) is where the voices of the public are represented. Without a doubt, the institutional theory indicates that the relationship between public policy and government institutions is a very close one (Dye, 1984:20). The institutional theory model is founded on procedural rule and how that can help certain arenas of governmental structure to either empower or obstruct political interests (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:82).

Even though in the rational choice theory the policy actor is identified as being knowledgeable and capable of rational choice, Knill and Tosum (2012:76) believe that this theory can be misleading and unrealistic since actors of public policy are expected to have

all the information available to them in order to make informed policy choices. This is not always feasible as Knill and Tosum (2012:83) point out that in the case of policy-makers, they are faced with numerous tasks and decisions on a daily basis, and often choosing the correct policy choice becomes a challenging feat. The systems theory is, however, a simpler way of classifying and understanding the contributions and inter-relationships made amongst institutions and policy participants and the role of the external environment in the policy-making process (De Coning *et al.,* 2011:34). (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:83).

However, one of the outstanding features that distinguishes the rational choice theory from the elite/mass theory; is that the rational choice theory believes in all policy participants and in their capabilities of being informed citizens as well as playing a "dynamic catalyst" role in policy-making, while the elite/mass theory does not conceive the general public as being capable of playing a pivotal role in the policy-making process. In the researcher's opinion, any theory that promotes any form of participatory citizenry (especially in a democracy) should be adopted by both the politicians as well as the public office-bearers, on the grounds of "democracy is a system of government based on wide public participation" (Jones, 1977:34; Booysen, 2009:3). Public policy is for the public, and as such the public should have a say in all due processes of the policy cycle.

Still Kraft and Furlong (2013:85) caution against disregarding any of these theories and models. According to Kraft and Furlong (2013:85), all of the theories and models outlined above are helpful when studying politics and policy sciences. They offer different views of politics and public policy, and how these two play out and fare both in the political and institutional arena.

Emanating directly from the above section of theories and models of politics and public policy; the theories of politics and policy are an indication of how issues eventuate on the policy agenda. Thus, the policy process is discussed below, because any policy is a result of the different processes. Without a policy cycle; there will be no public policy.

2.3.1.7 THE STAGES THEORY AS PRIMARY THEORY FOR PUBLIC POLICY

In the development of public policies, the policy process[9] model entails an analytical progression of proceedings influencing the formulation of public policies (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:85; Skok, 1995:326) whereby political and administrative representatives are

[9] Since Lasswell's contribution to public policy, it has become quite usual to speak of 'policy processes'; 'stages'; 'phases' and/or 'cycle' when referring to the stages theory (Hill & Hupe, 2014:6). Therefore, these terms are used interchangeably in this study.

presented across the four public policy functions (Skok, 1995:329). The public policy process shows the relationships among policy stakeholders within each stage of the policy process model (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:85). Kraft and Furlong (2013:85) and Dunn (2008:45) describe the policy model as articulating the way decisions were made; as facilitating the understanding of the sequence of events; and as serving the functional side of public policy (Skok, 1995:326). Furthermore, it shows how this in the end creates an understanding "general enough to fit any political system and its policy processes" (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:85) (Dye, 1984:318). This is made possible due to the fact that the policy model generates words; concepts and language which make it possible to study the phenomenon of public policy.

Cairney (2012:32) defines the policy cycle as a way to categorise the study of policy-making and as the best way to introduce a discussion of policy theories. Kraft and Furlong (2013:85) describe the classical model as being cyclical, because the policy process is like a wheel in the sense that it is always moving and is continuous (Dunn, 2008:45). Cairney (2012:34) states that the important lesson the policy cycle offers is that simply because a problem as been articulated and a decision has been taken, it does not necessarily mean that everything has been sorted out. In actual fact; that just marks the beginning of the policy process. Like a chain cycle, the public policy process is linked to each stage in the model (Dunn, 2008:45). Kraft and Furlong (2013:85) add that no "policy decision or solution is ever final" (Dunn, 2008:45). Thus the policy model is associated with a cycle as evident in Figures nine (9) and ten (10). The distinguishing feature of the policy process model, according to Kraft and Furlong (2013:85), (despite all its impediments) is that it does manage to capture the essence of policymaking and therefore "corresponds to political reality".

According to Strehlenert *et al.* (2015:171) and Skok (1995:326), the classical model of the policy process entails the following general four functional stages or phases: Agenda Setting, Policy Formulation, Policy Implementation, and Evaluation. Kraft and Furlong (2013:85) adds two stages to the policy process model: policy legitimisation and policy change. Skok (1995:326) maintains that in primitive terms, the stages theory model postulates the results of policies and their respective subsystems that must be implemented and achieved. This means that the stages theory model is a reflection of how a public policy manifests itself (or comes into existence).

Skok (1995:329) identifies knowledge and information as driving forces behind the policy process. Technically, that is why it is important that those who are involved in the policy process have sufficient knowledge of how the public policy process works; have the

necessary skills, understanding and capability of seeing the policy process to its completion (McLaughlin, 1987:172).

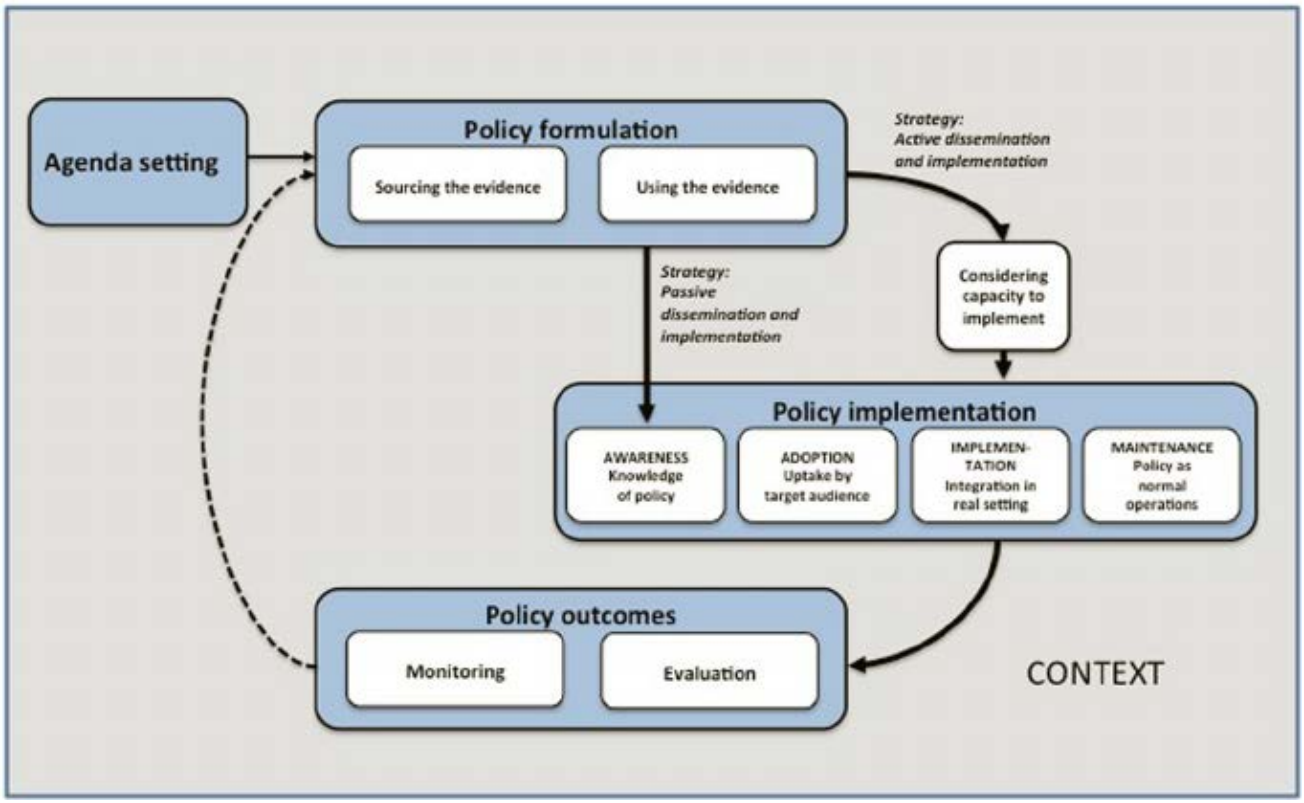

Figure 9: **Conceptual Model for Evidence-Informed Policy Formulation and Implementation. Developed from the Frameworks by Bowen, Zwi and Dodson *et al.* [23].**

Source: Strehlenert *et al*. (2015:171)

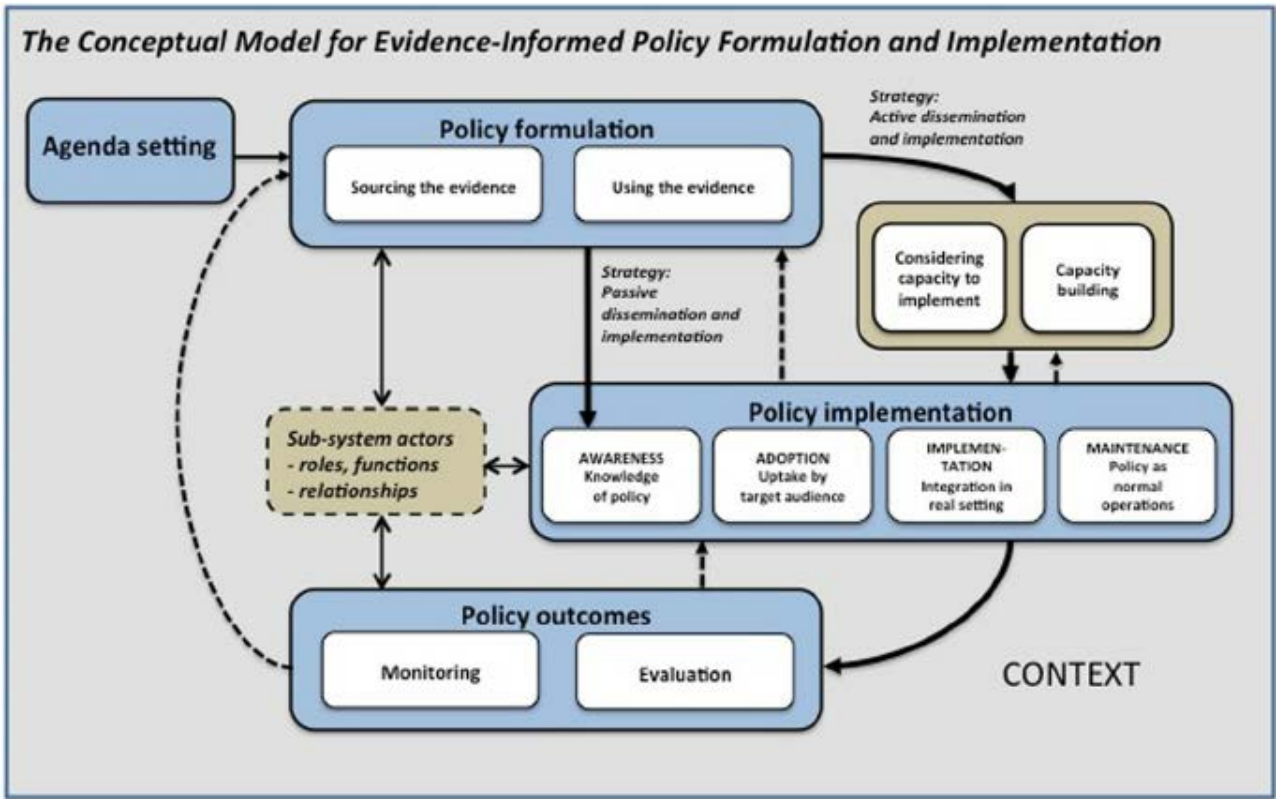

Figure 10: Revised Conceptual Model for Evidence-Informed Policy Formulation and Implementation.

Source: Strehlenert *et al.* (2015:171).

Hogwood and Gunn (cited by Cairney, 2012:32) state that the policy cycle can be useful in two ways: it offers a prescription or a description. The prescription feature of the policy cycle speaks to the prescriptions (guidelines) that have been laid out for the policymaker (Cairney, 2012:32) which in principle must guide the policy-maker to undertake decision-making in a systematic manner. It also serves as a tool to guide and enlighten policy-makers on the operations involved with public policy (Cairney 2012:32). The description feature of the policy cycle describes the manner in which policy-makers operate in the arena of the policy process (Cairney, 2012:32) and this assists the policy-maker to simplify their decision-making.

Naturally, there is a disparity in the literature regarding the amount of stages present in the policy cycle. However, for the purpose of this study, the following four general functional stages or phases (as presented in both Figure 9 and 10) are discussed, because these four general functional stages or phases are the expected route that any public policy is expected to go through. One should note that the policy cycle mirrors an image of a “continuous

process, than that of a single event" (Cairney, 2012:32). In short, the crux of the policy process consists of channelling 'inputs' into 'outputs' (*see* Figure 2) (Cairney, 2012:33).

2.3.2 AGENDA SETTING

Dye (1984:318) and Jones (1977:34) maintain that any identification of a social issue by the public deserves acknowledgement from government; and more importantly, it is expected that in a democracy the agenda setting should be characterised by a "high degree of public involvement" (Jones, 1977:34). Subsequently, the agenda of a policy is collectively influenced by actors whom are within or outside government (Jann & Wegrich, 2007:46). Various mediums influence, control, shape and define the problems that end up on the policy agenda (public opinion being a driving force in influencing the agenda of a public policy) (Dye, 1984:318). These mediums that can 'influence; control; shape and define' the problems that end up on the policy agenda a result of the strategic use of media coverage (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:550); or the involvement of experts coming from a particular field (Jann & Wegrich, 2007:46). In a nutshell, agenda setting can be defined as consisting of three steps: step one being problem identification; step two is determining which problem is of importance; and step three giving an outline of the nature of the problem (Cairney, 2012:33).

By comparing the view of Cairney (2012:33) with that of Jann and Wegrich (2007:45) the first step in the policy process is certainly the identification of a problem, which is then put forward on the agenda for thoughtful deliberation and consideration by policy-makers (Cairney, 2012:32). The agenda consists of nothing more than a listing of a diverse of problems and issues of which government must select and respond to (Jann & Wegrich, 2007:45-46). However, Hanekom (1987:52) is of the opinion that there is one variable that this first phase of the policy process depends on, namely availability of information regarding social issues/problems which as a result can grab the attention of policy-makers. Jann and Wegrich (2007:45) also identify agenda setting as a political process, which is influenced by how the public media perceives and recognises a social problem because the media is capable of influencing public opinion from the plateau of different media platforms available such as the newspapers, radio, television, and the internet (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:550). Skok (1995:326) believes that when "problem articulation; the discovery of alternatives and the political process" align with each other, a policy problem then reach the agenda.

2.3.3 POLICY FORMULATION

Policy formulation requires the development of a policy (or rather the course of action of going about responding to what has been brought forward in the first phase of the policy process) (Hanekom, 1987:52). According to Cairney (2012:33), policy formulation consists of "setting objectives; identifying the cost" as well as looking at what tangible solutions this policy will bring about. Therefore, this stage in the policy cycle articulates the proposed course of action as well as the intended intentions of the policy-maker/s (Hanekom, 1987:52).

When this is all done, the best plausible solutions that were put forward are chosen. After this action is completed, then the selection of choosing the necessary policy instruments takes place (Cairney, 2012:33). Hanekom (1987:52) and Dye (1984:318) believe that the formulation of a policy should involve all the necessary stakeholders such as appointed public officials, the legislation and interest groups.

2.3.4 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

A public policy is simply a product of what unfolded during the initial stages of the policy process (Hill & Hupe, 2014:7). In the implementation stage, a public policy may be expected to undergo changes such as modification; further elaboration of the public policy and even be negated during this stage (Fox & Bayat, 2006:58; Hill & Hupe, 2014:7). One important characteristic of PPI is that it can twist itself into different shapes and forms, depending on the culture and institutional setting (Hill & Hupe, 2014:1). According to Hill and Hupe (2014:1), this characteristic of PPI is important especially taking into account that PPI is 'functioning' or is being 'implemented' in an era in which the "processes of 'government' have been seen as transformed into 'governance'".

Furthermore Hill and Hupe (2014:2) define the study of PPI as a sub-discipline of political science and administration. Hill and Hupe (2014:2) state that this speaks to the fact that there is starting to be a diverse range of actors participating in the policy-making process and that "simplistic hierarchical models are being abandoned". Furthermore, administration seems to begin where politics ends. Seemingly, there is a relationship between 'politics' and 'administration'. According to Hill and Hupe (2014:8), this relationship between these two disciplines has both a hierarchical and a stringent dichotomy which has been embedded in the institutions of the "rule of law and democracy".

In short, PPI[10] speaks to the adoption and implementation thereof a formulated/drafted policy (*i.e.* simply what happens between policy expectations and perceived policy results) (Hill & Hupe, 2014:2; Hanekom, 1987:52). When this takes place, a public policy is deemed to be the course of action that must be carried out by government departments (or whomever is responsible for the carrying out of that particular policy) (Hanekom, 1987:52) (Dye, 1984:318). Most importantly, the stages theory as primary theory for public policy places emphasis on the fact that in the implementation stage, policy-making continues (Hill & Hupe, 2014:8).

2.3.5 POLICY OUTCOMES AND EVALUATION

This is the stage in the policy process where a policy is evaluated in order to assess the extent in which the policy was successful (or unsuccessful) (Cairney, 2012:33). Key aspects that are looked at in the evaluation of policies include policy decisions that were taken; the correct implementation of the policy; and whether the policy had the anticipated outcome as set out in the agenda setting and policy formulation stage (Cairney, 2012:33; Hanekom, 1987:52). When this has taken place, lessons will be learned and noted, and generally set the tone for policy choices that will be decided upon in the future (Dunn, 2008:58) (Cairney, 2012:32-33).

This is done by thoroughly inspecting all feedback generated through the evaluation of the policy outcomes. This action can be carried out by various participants of public policy such as think tanks; government departments; outside consultants; NGO's; the media as well as the general public (Dye, 1984:318). When this action has been completed, the policy can be referred back to the legislator where the policy can either be amended (which will then in turn possibly start a new policy cycle) (Hanekom, 1987:52).

2.3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION

Cairney (2012:41) and Hill and Hupe (2014:6) state that the policy cycle is advantageous for the following main reasons: firstly, the policy cycle is simple and easy to grasp as it is a very systematic process that is able to capture the multiplicity of reality. Secondly, each stage communicates to a definite part of the setting in which public policy is formulated (Hill & Hupe, 2014:6). This can assist the policy-maker in deciding which various variables and approaches can be utilised. Thirdly, the policy cycle indicates that policy-making is fluid in

[10] As the focus of this study is on PPI, this segment of the present chapter is brief, because this subject matter has already been discussed in chapter one and a full chapter is dedicated to it (*see* chapter three).

nature; fourthly, there is a chronological order to the policy-making process. Finally, the policy cycle is a great asset to the policy-maker as it provides a starting point as to where the policy process must begin.

However, Dye (1984:318) cautions the policy-maker to consider that the policy process can be influenced to a large degree by external influences which are out of the control of the policy-maker as well as the political actors. These external factors noted by Dye (1984:318) are displayed in Figure 2 of the Easton Model, where external factors such as politics, the legislation and globalisation are seen as constraints to the public policy process. However, it is imperative to take note of one thing: the political systems theory and the stages theory as primary theories for public policy have three things in common: firstly, to let policy happen by allowing inputs from all the environments (*i.e.* maintaining channels of access and communication to open so that those that need to be heard can be heard); secondly, encouraging public policy to take place by allowing government to reach out to the masses so that the defining and articulation of problems can take place; and finally, making policy happen where possible. This is achieved when government plays an active role in defining problems and setting goals (Jones, 1977:37-38).

2.4 CONCLUSION

What is of cardinal importance is that public policy and PPI are about policy 'outcomes' (De Leon, 1999:315). It is about generating all of the inputs (needs) that emanate from the community, thereafter prioritising those needs. Those inputs from the community or other role-players in public policy are what define the issues that land on the agenda of the policy. Secondly, the bureaucracy cannot ignore the external environment (the legislation; global environment; technology; traditional beliefs; politics; diversity and complexity; economics and finances) as those external factors (*excluding* the community) play an important role in shaping public policy. The policy-maker must also take into consideration the regulations (the judicial and legislation); the consumers (whom the policy is aimed at); competitors (those who are against the proposed policy); and the suppliers (those who are going to implement the policy).

The policy-maker must also take into consideration all the available and needed skills, mission of the public policy; communication (ways to communicate to all stakeholders and how to ensure that there should be a constant supply of information and the availability of constant feedback); public management; ethics and organisational culture. It is important that the stages theory as primary theory for public policy takes into account the systems theory as a political sub-process within the policy-making process (Fox & Bayat, 2006:51) as

that can dictate to the policy-maker what should take prioritisation; what actors to expect as indicated in the discussion on the importance of theories and models as foundation of studying a phenomenon.

As a case in point, what can be extracted from the discussion, is that public policy is fundamentally about 'demands'; 'resources'; 'support'; 'conversion of demands into policy outputs' (political sub-processes in the political system); 'policy statements'; 'policy documents'; 'monitoring of activities' and finally 'evaluation of reports' (as the constant continuous re-evaluation of outcomes should never be neglected) (Fox & Bayat, 2006:52). When all of those elements come together, a policy is born.

In the final analysis, this chapter has indicated that participation from all stakeholders is crucial (commencing from problem identification, right through to the evaluation phase), particularly in a democracy where bureaucrats have the responsibility to encourage public debate regarding public policy and social issues that should come forward on the policy agenda (De Coning *et al.,* 2011:35; Hanekom, 1987:45-52). De Coning *et al.* (2011:35) state that in a country such as South Africa, the role of the "media; civil society; the churches as well as NGO's" play a pivotal role in the public policy process. De Coning *et al.* (2011:35) further maintain that the South African state needs to incorporate policy inputs of the policy participants into 'participative policy exercise'. This is particularly necessary as South Africa's democracy is founded on both the rhetoric's of representative and participatory (direct) elements of democracy[11] (*see* chapter one) (Freedman, 2013:26). More importantly,

[11] This was witnessed with the *Doctors for Life and the Matatiele* cases before the Constitutional Court that dealt with the importance of including citizens in the law-making process (*see* Section 72 (1)(a) and 118(1)(a) of the South African Constitution, 1996) (Psygkas, 2010:723). This case addressed critical issues relating to strengthening democracy through public participation processes and facilitating public involvement in government legislative processes as participatory democracy is a beneficial addition to a representative democracy (Czapanskiy & Manjoo, 2008:2-3; 40). As a result, there are two salient issues that can be taken from these cases: "Firstly, legislation (public policy) is better when legislators (policy-makers) are required to invite and attend to public input (as shown in the Easton System Model) and secondly, citizenship is better when legislators are required to invite and attend to public input" (Czapanskiy & Manjoo, 2008:4).

Lastly, both cases address the importance of the theories and models of politics and public policy by indicating the importance of the group theory; the political systems theory; the rational choice theory (where the participants in both cases showed that "rational choice aims to illuminate political outcomes and public policy in terms of the choices and actions taken by "self-interested individual policy actors under particular conditions"); the stages theory and, mostly importantly, showing the significance of the institutional theory of politics and policy studies which is engrained in the "formal and legal" side of government structures. This can be attested by reading the following sections as firmly established in the Constitution: Section 72 (1)(a) and 118(1)(a) of the South African Constitution, 1996.

one should take into account that policy-makers must facilitate inputs (as illustrated in the Easton System Model). This can be done by inviting participation which will correspondingly assist in policy-makers gathering essential information on which to draft public policies (Czapanskiy & Manjoo, 2008:39), especially taking into consideration that public policy responds to the needs of the people. The types of policies, theories, models and the policy-making process indicate one virtue about public policies: that public policies are ductile in nature. Therefore, there should be different types of policies, theories, models to assist the policy-maker to adapt to the ever-changing world.

In conclusion, this chapter dealt with the macro-theoretical context of public policy and the policy-making process. This discussion was a means to establish the theoretical foundations upon which public policy is embedded. The next chapter is dedicated to PPI.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY-IMPLEMENTATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Pülzl and Treib (2007:89) and Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:451) state that implementation studies is an assortment of theoretical and empirical work from several academic disciplines including "public administration; organisational theory; public management research and political science studies". Implementation studies is still a new academic discipline as it only gained dominance in the 1970s (Bain, 1992:96) (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:89), where according to Hjern (1982:301) implementation studies was as an approach to separate politics and administration from each other. Furthermore, Hjern (1982:301) is of the opinion that scholarly critics of implementation are of the belief that 'implementation' was introduced to the academic field of political sciences in order to use the term 'policy' as a euphemism for 'politics', and 'implementation' as a substitution for the term 'administration'. It is therefore not surprising that PPI needs 'institutional structures and arrangements' to be in place (Knill & Tosum, 2012:165). Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:448) suggest that implementation studies also ask: "Why did policy happen the way it did?"

Even though "conceptual clarity and empirical rigor" are staples of implementation studies, De Leon and De Leon (2002:483) observe that it is also imperative that implementation studies theory should have a fundamental basis which incorporates democratic values. What De Leon and De Leon (2002:483) are implying is that there should be direct forms of democracy applied during the policy processes as "more democracy is better than less democracy". However, De Leon and De Leon (2002:483) state that if there are reasons which suggest avoiding direct forms of democracy, those reasons should be adhered to.

Since public policy implementation is the focus of this study, it is important to understand what is meant by public policy implementation within the context of the public policy-making process, because PPI is a "dynamic process which may vary considerably among issues" (Jones, 1977:144). It has been argued that in order to fully understand the policy process, the analysis should also include public policy implementation (Bain, 1992:90) (Strehlenert *et al.,* 2015:171); hence the focus of this chapter is centred on PPI, its actors and approaches.

Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:468) and Parsons (1995:461) indicate that implementation studies are an exploration of "change; how change comes about, and how that change can possibly be stimulated". Additionally, Parsons (1995:461) states that implementation studies explore the 'micro-structure' of political life; how the institutions found within or outside the

political system function and have relations with each other; and also what motivates their actions (Berman, 1978:174). Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980:539) state that primary scholars of PPI Martin Rein and Francine Rabinovitz (1978:308) proposed that the PPI process should be assessed based on the following "imperatives": "Firstly, the respect for legal intent", which is about doing what is required as the law is there to serve as a 'referent' to all actors in the PPI process.

The second imperative identified by Rein and Rabinovitz (1978:308) is that of the "rational-bureaucratic imperative". This imperative is about civil servants' concern for instrumental rationality which is about doing what is rationally defensible; and the bureaucracy engaging itself with problem-solving. The problem-solving emanating from the bureaucracy must contain elements of rational thinking where the bureaucracy must base their decisions on what do they view to be "morally correct; administratively feasible and intellectually defensible" (Rein & Rabinovitz, 1978:309). The final and third imperative is about the expectation that concerted action requires consensus both within the government institutions (the legislature; executive and administration) responsible for implementing public policies and as well as in their external political system as it is imperative to establish an agreement between all actors who have a stake in the outcome of a public policy (Rein & Rabinovitz, 1978:308-9; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:539).

When viewing the three "imperatives" as suggested by both Martin Rein and Francine Rabinovitz (1978:308) it can be hypothesised that these scholars view the rational choice theory and the institutional–based theory as important theories to take into consideration in the implementing of public policies. This is because the three "imperatives" allude to 'rationality' and the legality of policies, which indicate that public policies are binding. As a consequence, in order for public policies to be binding, the institutional-based theory model advocates that public policy-making should be vested in the hands of government institutions (De Coning *et al.,* 2011:34). Furthermore, it can be hypothesised that these scholars are of the opinion that consensus regarding public policies is very important. This view is supported by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:458) by stating that PPI is characterised by the extent in which there is goal consensus present among PPI actors within the PPI process.

As indicated in the previous chapters, a lack of consensus among parties (actors), can lead to non-compliance, which can lead to other problematic causes such as threatening democratic principles when the "legitimacy of the legislation is threatened" and cause civil disturbances (Rein & Rabinovitz, 1978:315; Broadnax, 1976:701; Tsheola & Sebola, 2012). To clarify this point, Rein and Rabinovitz (1978:315) refer to the external political system (which contains input [needs] from the community, further indicating how public policy is

formed within political systems and how it is received by different actors in society; the legislation; politics; the structure of governing institutions; the influence emanating from global politics with accordance with the economy)[12]. According to Bain (1992:22), these cause the political system and institutional-based theory to be in sync with "contemporary thinking" as the three "imperatives" specified regards policy output (as illustrated in figure 2) as essential, also in terms of how the political system maintains itself. Furthermore, Rein and Rabinovitz (1978:308) view the three imperatives as having a "striking relationship" with each other and having some connotations of democratic theory.

3.1.1 FURTHER EXPLORATION OF THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Fox and Meyer (1995:97) define public policy implementation as the execution and steering of government policies by government institutions over time. Rein and Rabinovitz (1978:308) summarise implementation as a "declaration of government preferences". Hill and Hupe (2002:8-15) and Hjern (1982:303) define public policy implementation as "the carrying out of a basic policy decision" made by government (or in a statute) and which is the task of government institutions to bring the said policy to life (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:447) (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:540; Pülzl & Treib, 2007:89). This indicates that the function of public policy implementation involves putting adopted policies into effect by the government, its established institutions and responsible bureaucracies (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:540; Hanekom, 1987:54 & 60; Jones, 1977; Knill & Tosum, 2012:149). PPI is ultimately 'theory' (policy objectives) transcending into 'action' (Lipsky, 1978:396). The above views are supported by Kraft and Furlong (2013:99) who affirm that PPI is a "crucial stage of the policy process" as government is afforded the opportunity to actually intervene and play an active role in bringing "real consequences for society".

Parsons (1995:332) states that "policy-making in a democracy not only involves deciding on a programme structure as well as the ends and means of a programme"; "It should also comprise of the implementation stage (the activities of public servants as administrators or professionals)" (Hanekom, 1987:60). Public policies are affected through implementation (Meier, 2000:98) and a policy is only actualised once it is implemented (Hanekom, 1987:54). Policies that are adopted by the legislature (Parliament) or the political executive (the President; Deputy President and Ministers) (*see* Chapter 5 of the 1996 Constitution of South Africa and Figure 8), create an environment in which those policies can be implemented by government departments (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:448; Meier, 2000:69).

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[12] *See* figure 2; figure 11; figure 12 and figure 13.

In essence, then public policy implementation refers to the process that encompasses the "stage of the policy process immediately after the passage of a law" (Stewart *et al.,* 2008:106). Knill and Tosum (2012:149) state that PPI is also the stage in the public policy-making process when the policy-makers and the policy addressees engage with each other as PPI is mediated by a number of actors (Rein & Rabinovitz, 1978:308) (Parsons, 1995:465). This interaction occurring amongst these two actors in the PPI stage, according to Knill and Tosum (2012:149), is facilitated by the implementers.

Kraft and Furlong (2013:99) further suggest that PPI depends on the development of the policy programme specifics which can warrant that the proposed policy goals and objectives can be attained (Lipsky, 1978:396) (De Leon, 1999:315). More importantly, Hanekom (1987:54) and Brynard *et al.* (2011:142) are of the view that PPI is a complicated process due to the fact that the actors of public policy and PPI have to be catered to "over an extended period of time"; which then becomes a process "involving an outlay of time and resources" (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:451).

To project the above discussion on the theoretical foundations of PPI, PPI for this study is understood as the political administration of ideologies – for the main reasons that PPI for this study is understood as a combination of several academic disciplines; the practice of the Easton political system model in action; as a rational process that looks at elements such as the micro structure of political life; understanding "why did policy happen the way it did"; as a process that requires consensus among its actors especially in a democratic setting where consensus speaks to direct forms of democracy whereby government is tasked with executing the 'promises' it has made to its citizens in the form of a public policy document. Moreover, the study also recognises that PPI is not simply about executing policy decisions that government is tasked with; it is also about regulating the public domain that the public environment finds itself in the midst of, by incorporating theories such as the rational choice theory; institutional-based theory and group theory.

In the next subsection, the components (variables) of the PPI process are discussed. Figure 11; figure 12. and figure 13 depict some of the important variables that form part of the PPI process.

Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:446) state that these diagrams depicting the PPI process do not differ from similar adaptions of political systems models first introduced by David Easton. However, the differences between figures 11; figure 12 and figure 13 as compared to figure 2 is that figure 11; figure 12 and figure 13 simultaneously consider "policy" and "performance" as distinct categories as noted by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:446) in

their analysis of these models. On the other hand, there is one shared feature across all political systems models which gives insight into the PPI process, namely policy actors, and how they all play a pivotal role within and across the PPI stage (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:446).

Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:446) state that some aspects of the PPI process (also referred to as 'The Policy Delivery System') have been more frequently analysed than other political system models. This point is further explored in the sub-section on views of scholars of PPI such as Smith (1973); Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980); Hill & Hupe (2014) under the sub-heading of 'The Key Components of PPI'.

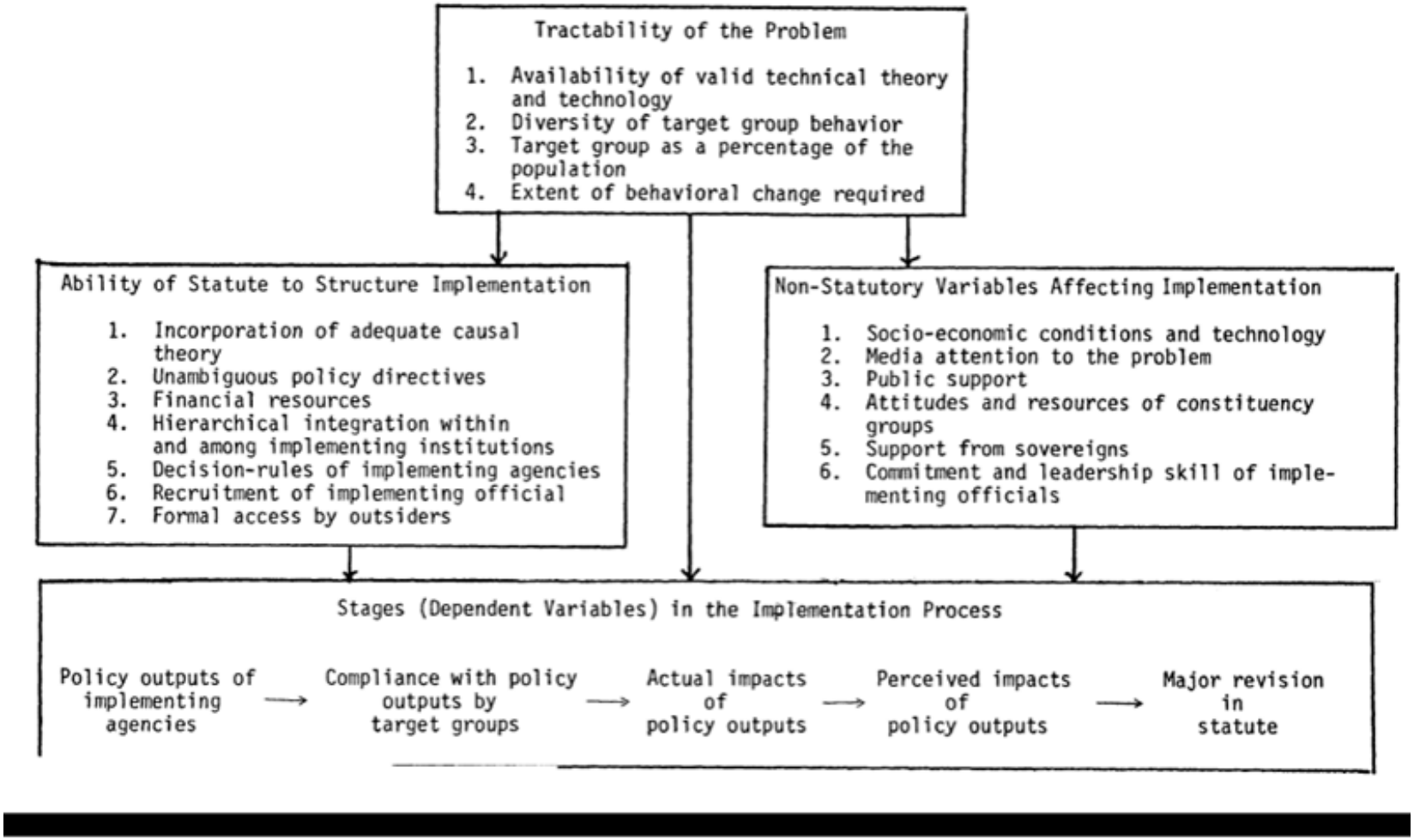

Figure 11: A Skeletal Flow Diagram of the Variables Involved in the Policy Implementation Process.

Source: Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980:542)

3.1.2 KEY COMPONENTS OF PPI

Smith (1973:202) suggests that there are three key components in the implementation of the public policy that should be considered. The first of these is the 'structure of the personnel'. It is imperative that human capital should have the relevant qualifications (McLaughlin, 1987:172), and the structure of the governmental department should be stable and cohesive (Smith, 1973:205). Secondly, the leadership of the administration organisation is important, as it speaks to the kind of leader who is leading the policy process. The last key component that Smith (1973:202) mentions is the implementing program and capacity. The governmental bureaucracy responsible for implementing the public policy should have enough capacity to undertake the responsibility of carrying out the public policy so that objectives of the public policy can be met (CDE Research, 1997:7) (McLaughlin, 1987:172).

Smith (1973:202) is of the opinion that there are a further four (4) components (variables) which are imperative to the PPI process (*see* figure 12). These four components are: the idealised policy; the implementing organisation (governmental bureaucracy); the target group (the consumers of the public policy); and the environmental factors as depicted in figure 2 of the Easton System Model. According to Smith (1973:203), if these above mentioned components of the PPI process are not managed efficiently, discrepancies and tensions will arise, which can lead to the implementation failure[13] of a public policy.

Below is figure 12 which is similar to the 'Easton System Model: Towards Improved Development' (figure 2). This model illustrates the importance of government departments (the bureaucracy) in implementing the policy drafted during the policy-making process, and shows how that policy should satisfy the target group of the idealised policy to be implemented. Smith (1973:203) states that there are four relevant categories of components attached to the idealised policy. These include the formal policy (the policy document); the type of policy[14] to be implemented; the programme (which looks at the intensity of the support, the source and scope of the policy); and the images of the policy (that is the reaction attached to the public policy (will it generate tensions?), what feelings will the intended public policy evoke in the eyes of the public?) (Smith, 1973:203-4). Figure 12 also mentions environmental factors (similar to figure 2), which evidences that environmental factors play a pivotal role in PPI simply because these factors have the power to influence or be influenced by PPI (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:539). For instance, in a country such as South Africa, those implementing a policy in a rural area must take into consideration the basic cultural and social life-styles of the community. If they fail to do so, an environmental factor can transform into a significant policy constraint (Smith, 1973:203-

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[13] *See* further discussion on implementation failure in chapter four (4).
[14] *See* discussion of policy types in chapter two (2).

4). Finally, the model also depicts feedback, as feedback indicates that the policy process is an "on-going, continuous process" that may never reach a definite conclusion[15] (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:446) (Colebatch, 2002:53).

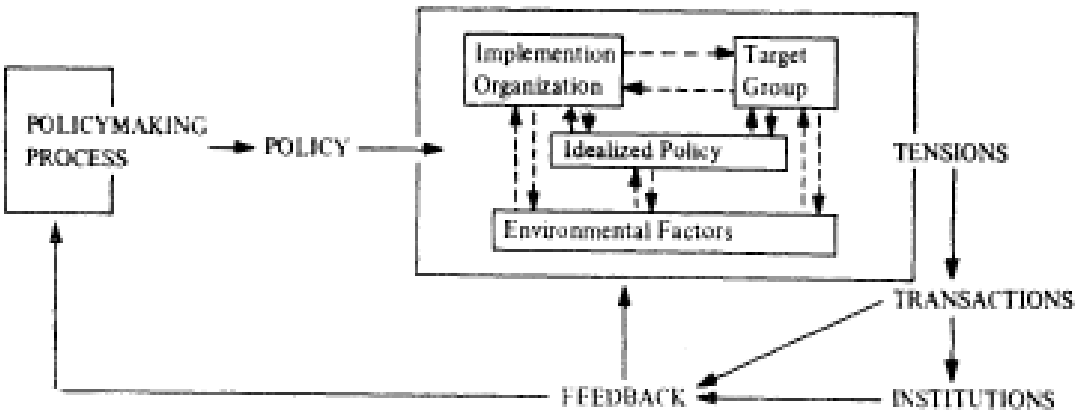

Figure 12: A Model of the Policy Implementation Process

Source: Smith (1973:203)

Below is figure 13 (which has roughly six (6) comparable variables as seen illustrated on figure 13), depicting the PPI process which has put together the six (6) clusters of variables of any public policy to be implemented in the PPI process model (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:446 & 462). The first one which is the standards and objectives (1) speaks to the policy standards and objectives that elaborate on the general goals of the policy decision in order to specify the guidelines needed to assess the performance of the implemented policy (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:446 & 465; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:539; Hill & Hupe, 2014:49). Berman (1978:177) and Howlett (2009:155) state that in order for any policy to be implemented, there should be resources available (from human capital, to the funding itself) (as seen on (2)) which might assist or facilitate effective PPI and institutionalisation (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:446 & 465; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:539; Hill & Hupe, 2014:49). There should be quality inter-organisational communication and enforcement relationships all-round (3) (Hill & Hupe, 2014:49).

The characteristics of the implementing agencies (government departments) (4) speaks to the organisational control; economic, social and political conditions (5) (as well as inter-

[15] This type of view regards the PPI process to be horizontal as the horizontal dimension encourages interaction among the varied actors and the vertical dimension of PPI is more inclined towards the top-down perspective, since PPI is regarded as emanating from the top executive branch (Colebatch, 2002:53).

organisational issues); the department's formal and informal linkages with the "policy-making" (legislature) and "policy-enforcing body" (the courts) (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:471; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:540; Hill & Hupe, 2014:49). The disposition of the implementers (6) involves three important variables: the cognition of the implementers with regards to the public policy (do they comprehend the policy? Do they have a clear understanding of what the policy documents aims to achieve?); secondly, how do they feel about the policy (have they accepted the policy as it is? Are they neutral in their stance of the policy? Or have they rejected the policy completely?); and finally, the intensity of their response (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:472; Hill & Hupe, 2014:49; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:539-540).

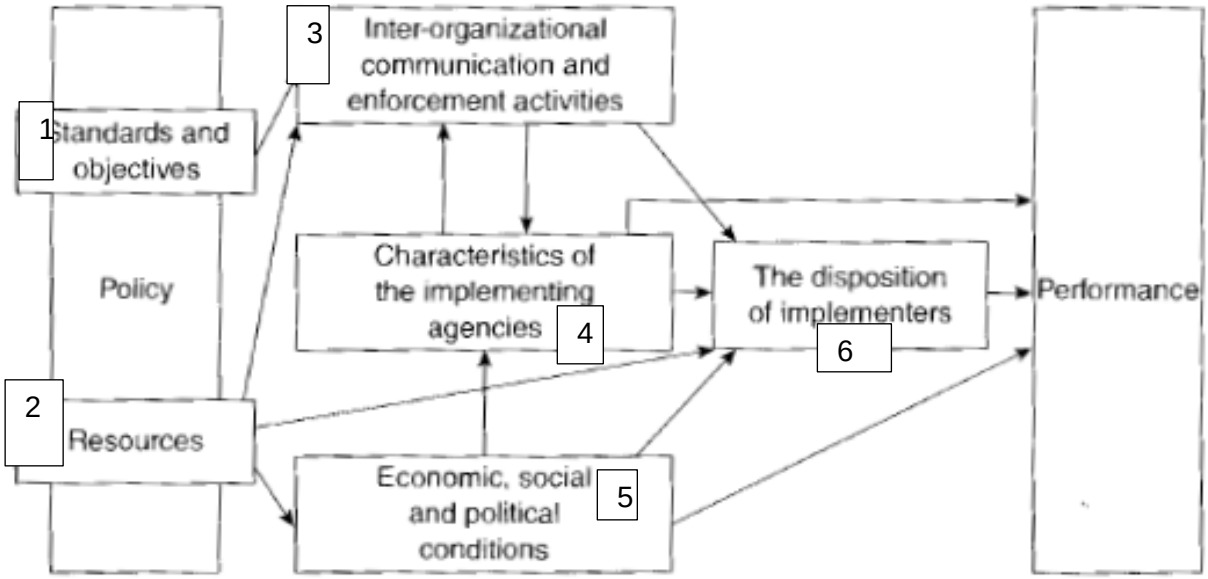

Figure 13: A Model of the Policy Implementation Process

Source: Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:463)

3.1.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION

Consequently, Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980:540) believe that when all of the above components are taken into consideration, they provide a clearer picture of the complexity of the public-making and PPI process and the "variety of factors" that can prompt or hamper successful PPI. Subsequently, the founding fathers of the policy implementation process model have hypothesised that successful implementation will only take place when the policy output does not require too much change in terms of the "status quo and when goal consensus among the public and private actors involved is high" (*see* figure 14) (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:460; Knill & Tosum, 2012:154).

However, Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980:540) state that the above-mentioned components do have shortfalls. The shortfalls of the 'Model of the Policy Implementation Process" as maintained by Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980:540) are that a public policy does not have the capacity to determine the amount of "veto/clearance points". Secondly, the model does not provide a formal opening in which a diverse number of actors can gain access to the PPI process; and thirdly, none of these frameworks explicitly attend to the solutions as stipulated on a public policy (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:540). Nonetheless, in the defence of these components, Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980:540) maintain that they should not be swept aside as they have provided the world of policy implementation with an underlying bias towards a further understanding of PPI.

However, what can be noted is that the one variable that is constant throughout the discussion is the Easton's political system, whereas inputs and outputs of the public policy are unchanging constants.

Bain (1992:109) states that since the re-emergence of scholarly literature in implementation studies, there has been a renewed interest in the history of PPI and how it is practised or contextualised in the modern-day world. On account of this renewed interest, there have been conceptualisations which have been pinpointed in the form of "various models of PPI" which, according to Bain (1992:109), "forms the bases from which descriptions and analysis of PPI can be approached". Thus, below the approaches, theories and models of PPI are discussed.

3.2 APPROACHES; THEORIES AND MODELS OF PPI

Bain (1992:110) contends that several assumptions pertaining to public policy-making assisted in determining numerous models of PPI. As a result, Hill and Hupe (2014:46) state that the top-down/bottom-up approach gained prominence when there started being robust debating discussing how to separate implementation from policy formation. However, Hill and Hupe (2014:46) note that this on-going debate was only highlighting a bigger part of the problem, which consisted of questioning assumptions relating to features of a very complex process, and which takes place across time and space, and engages itself with a multitude of actors.

Nevertheless, according to Knill and Tosum (2012:149), the approaches in PPI play a role in evaluating whether there is a "difference between the anticipated and attained policy outcomes".

3.2.1 TOP-DOWN MODEL OF PPI

Bain (1992:112) states that the top-down model is also referred to as the "classic model of policy-making and PPI". This theory is rooted in the stages model theory (Hill, 2005:176). The top-down model has made a clear distinction between the policy formulation stage and the

implementation stage (Hill, 2005:176). It is this distinction, according to Knill and Tosum (2012:153), which allows for the actual comparison of the policy objectives and policy outcomes of public policies to take place. According to Knill and Tosum (2012:153), "the degree of goal attainment serves as an indicator of implementation success", an effective manner of gauging whether there is a match between the actual "policy objectives and policy outcomes"; hence, the use of the top-down model (Brynard *et al*., 2011:139).

Additionally, the top-down theory was built upon the assumption that PPI commences with a decision taken by "central government or the legislature" and how the public policy is carried out at the bottom (Brynard *et al.,* 2011:139) (Cairney, 2012:37). Therefore, this model is entrenched in the "traditional, elitist conceptions of representative democracy" (*see* figure 16), where elected representatives are seen to be the only actors "within a society who are legitimised" and authorised to take "binding decisions" on behalf of the people (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:94). In view of this feature of the top-down model, Pülzl and Treib (2007:94) state that it is the responsibility of "proper democratic governance" to safeguard these decisions made by the elected representatives that public policies are carried out impeccably. If this is not done, it is considered to be a "violation of democratic standards"[16] (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:95).

Therefore, this approach requires setting up suitable bureaucratic procedures in order to ensure that public policies are implemented as "accurately as possible" (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:91). However, for that to occur, government departments must ensure that they have the required resources at their disposal (as indicated on Figure 13), accompanied by a system that clearly stipulates the "responsibilities and hierarchical control" to supervise those in charge of implementing the public policy[17] (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:476; Parsons, 1995:464; Pülzl & Treib, 2007:91; Hanekom, 1987:54).

It is clear that the top-down model emphasises the efficiency of the administration and that there should be accountability at all times. This argument is supported by Bain (1992:112) who states that the top-down model concerns itself with seeking to explain what is "wrong or right" with the PPI process and the departments (institutions) as well as the actors who are responsible for the implementation of the policy rather than concerning itself with the actual policy itself. This

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[16] However, there are discrepancies with this model making use of elitism (*i.e.* elite democracy). It is argued that true democracy can only occur in a true 'participatory model of democracy' (which the bottom-up model offers). As, a 'participatory model of democracy' does not exclude those whom the public policy affects or concerns such as those at grass-root levels; interest groups or private actors such as businesses (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:468; Pülzl & Treib, 2007:95).

[17] Chapter ten, section 195 of the 1996 Constitution of South Africa warns against exhausting needed resources; public servants committing maladministration; lack of accountability; lack of transparency and defying the basic values of South Africa's young democracy.

approach also views public policy as essentially being about input and PPI being about output factors (Cairney, 2012:37; Pülzl & Treib, 2007:90-1).

According to Pülzl and Treib (2007:90), the top-down model of PPI emphasises the ability of the decision-maker to generate policy objectives and to see whether the decision-maker is able to control the implementation stage. Therefore, the top-down model has a strong connotation with the rational choice theory, for the main reason that PPI is regarded as "purposive action" which has to take into consideration the goals of the policy; the implementation research that is "concerned with considering the hindrances that might arise and hinder the success of the policy" (Parsons, 1995:464; Knill & Tosum, 2012:153; Hill & Hupe, 2014:47). Furthermore, the top-down model is aligned with the rational choice theory in view of the fact that PPI is undertaken by a diverse range of actors with a multitude of preferences (Knill & Tosum, 2012:153; Hill & Hupe, 2014:47).

This theory is described by scholars of the top-down model such as De Leon and De Leon (2002:468) as a "governing elite phenomenon" (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:91). Other notable scholars of this approach such as Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:460) argue that in order for PPI to be successful during the implementation process, there should not be too much policy change (*see* figure 13) (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:92). In addition, there should be consensus regarding the policy objectives amongst the policy actors (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:92).

Knill and Tosum (2012:154) state that the rationality of the top-down approach model is classically explained by Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980), because it addresses the extent to which the actions of the role-players of PPI are consistent with the "objectives and guidelines outlined in the public policy". In addition, it takes into consideration how the goals stipulated on the policy document were attained over time; what hindrances are causing defects in the implementation of public policies, and finally, how the policy was reformulated on the basis of experience (Knill & Tosum, 2012:154).

However, there is a shortfall to this approach as it places too much value on the assumption that measuring the progress of the policy objectives is a simple task (Bain, 1992:113). This creates a problem where variables such as "power relations; conflicting interests and the value system shared between individual actors responsible for making and implementing PPI" are not considered (Parsons, 1995:467; Bain, 1992:113).

Below is figure 14 which represents how major or minor policy change (within the approaches; theories and models of PPI) can tip the scale of goal consensus among actors. The smaller the policy change, the higher the goal consensus is (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:460). On the

other hand, the larger the policy change, the lower the policy consensus there will be between actors (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:460).

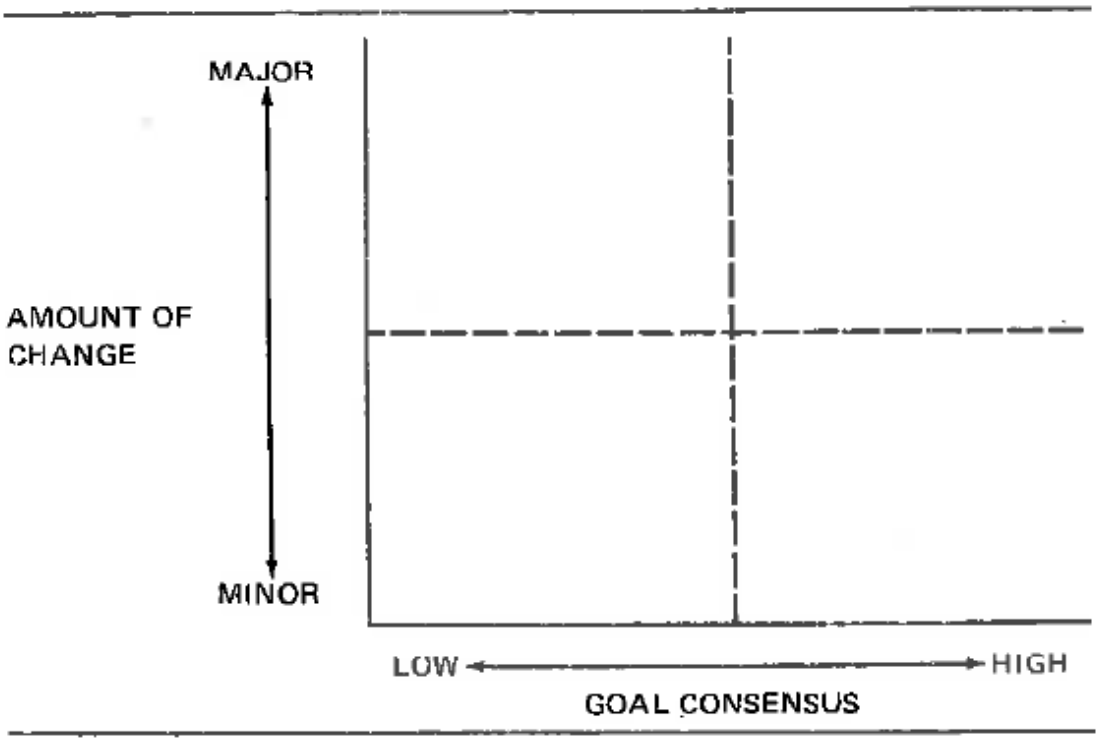

Figure 14: Dimensions of Policy Affecting Implementation

Source: Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:460)

3.2.2 BOTTOM - UP MODEL OF PPI

Bain (1992:116) states that the bottom-up model is also referred to as the "integrationist model of policy-making and PPI". According to Pülzl and Treib (2007:92), the bottom-up model emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a response (critique) to the top-down model centred on detecting faults of the top-down model as well as generating solutions to counteract those faults (Brynard *et al*., 2011:139 & 143). The bottom-up approach "abandoned the divide between policy formulation and implementation" and rebuked many of the theories emanating from the top-down model (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:470; Knill & Tosum, 2012:155).

Not only did the bottom-up approach rebuke the divide between policy formulation and implementation, it is also abandoned using "policy objectives and instruments as a standard for measuring policy goals/outputs" (Knill & Tosum, 2012:155). The bottom-up approach did not support the fact that public policies should be defined at the central level of government and that public officials had no other choice but to adhere to the objectives of the public policy coming from the executive top (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:92). This argument is supported by Bain (1992:116)

who states that the approach of the bottom-up model is one that acknowledges the role that is played by the actors of PPI during the "implementation phase of the comprehensive public policy process" because this approach reflects communal interests (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:478; Colebatch, 2002:59; Parsons, 1995:467).

Thus, the bottom-up model of PPI solely views public officials as the main actors in the PPI on account of the fact that public officials are seen to be more at ground level (much nearer to real problems) than the executive (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:90). Furthermore, the bottom-up model regards the implementation stage as "negotiation processes[18] within the networks of implementers" where each actor involved in the PPI process challenges the status quo in an attempt to prioritise his/her own interests (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:478; Colebatch, 2002:53 & 59; Cairney, 2012:38; Pülzl & Treib, 2007:90). Therefore, it is no surprise that the bottom-up approach concerns itself with achieving "perceived outcomes" which correspond with the preferences of the actors involved, instead of concerning itself with attaining policy objectives that have been "centrally defined"[19] within the policy document (Knill & Tosum, 2012:154).

Knill and Tosum (2012:155) state that PPI takes place in two ways. The first part takes place on a macro-implementation level which consists of central actors who create a policy output in order to influence the manner in which public policy is delivered/implemented on local government and its structures (Brynard *et al*., 2011:142; Knill & Tosum, 2012:155). This Knill and Tosum (2012:155) and Berman (1978:176-177) refer to as "local delivery influences" and/or "deliverer implementation". The second part takes place at the micro-level involving local actors who respond to the "macro-level policies", and as a result draft their own policies and implement them. According to Berman (1978:176-177), the micro-implementation encompasses three segments: mobilisation (which comprises the actors found on the level of local government whom are in charge of deciding which public policy to adopt and execute, and further symbolises the interaction found between the "mixture of political and bureaucratic activities"); deliverer implementation (which mainly focuses on the adaptation of public policies; *i.e.* transcending policy goals into an operational reality) and institutionalisation (which is also seen as a by-product of implementation) (Brynard *et al*., 2011:142).

Therefore, scholars of the bottom-up approach propound that it will be insightful if the bottom-up approach studies emphasise the actors found on the micro-level (mobilisation) and the "whole

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[18] This is a further indication (as shown on figure 16) that the bottom-up model aligns itself with participatory elements of democracy and contestation which the study thus far has indicated are fruitful in the achievement of implementing a public policy successfully.

[19] *See* figure 16.

pattern of relationships through which public policy is implemented"[20]. It should also pay cognisance to their policy objectives and what their preferences are (deliverer implementation); and what constraints they face in implementing their policies (institutionalisation) (Colebatch, 2002:59; Knill & Tosum, 2012:156).

According to Knill and Tosum (2012:156), this bottom-up approach is contrary to the top-down approach and shows that the PPI process is complex, dynamic, daunting, and should be regarded as such (Brynard *et al.,* 2011:143). There are many variables that need to be taken into account, such as the interests of the politicians who tend to have policy objectives that are "vague; ambiguous and ambitious" (Knill & Tosum, 2012:156). Furthermore, the bottom-up approach acknowledges that the implementation processes are rarely identified by the competencies between the "political and administrative actors involved" at the different spheres of government (Knill & Tosum, 2012:156). Subsequently, PPI is not hierarchically defined, but is focussed on the equal participation of all PPI actors from all walks of life (Berman, 1978:177; Colebatch, 2002:59; Knill & Tosum, 2012:156). Furthermore, this approach is regarded as more "realistic and practical" in comparison to the top-down approach (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:478).

Consequently, this approach holds that PPI should start at the bottom, and make its way to the top, contrary to the top-down approach. Additionally, the bottom-up approach gives the implementers free reign to amend public policies where they see fit (Knill & Tosum, 2012:155), consequently leading to an approach that is more "conducive to a democratic approach" with regards to the PPI process as compared to the top-down approach (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:478).

3.2.3 HYBRID MODEL OF PPI

The hybrid model is a combination of both the top-down and bottom-up approach of PPI which emerged as a way to further contribute to the theoretical frameworks of both the top-down and bottom-up models (Knill & Tosum, 2012:156; Pülzl & Treib, 2007:90). According to Knill and Tosum (2012:154), the hybrid approach concerns itself with linking the "the macro-world of the policy-makers" with that of the "micro-world of the policy implementers". Knill and Tosum (2012:157) state that proponents of the hybrid model are of the opinion that variables present both in the top-down and bottom-up models should be reconciled and work together. These

[20] Particularly paying attention to how PPI actors within or outside government structures manage to collaborate together even though there might be differences in opinions (especially with regards to policy goals) (Colebatch, 2002:59).

variables consist of the "ambiguity of political objectives/goals[21] (lack of clarity in defining policy objectives or stipulating ways to achieve them); the level of political conflict present during a policy decision (which arises when policy implementers prefer a certain policy objectives versus the output that has to be implemented); the intricacy of policy complexes; as well as government capacity" (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:459; Knill & Tosum, 2012:157).

Knill and Tosum (2012:157) propound that these variables are utilised in order to measure which approach (top-down or bottom-up) should be brought into play in order to identify suitable ways for explaining a certain implementation process. Furthermore, Knill and Tosum (2012:157) argue that policy ambiguity and policy conflict give rise to four (4) ideal implementation constituencies (processes), namely administrative; political; experimental and symbolic (*see* figure 15). The administrative implementation processes embody "low policy ambiguity and low policy conflict". In the administrative implementation process, the environment allows free reign of policy outcomes, where policy outcomes can dictate the "resources" that are needed (Parsons, 1995:464). According to Knill and Tosum (2012:157), this implementation process can be likened to a machine as it involves "central policy-making" autonomy. In this sense, the administrative implementation process is fitting of the top-down model.

The political implementation process demonstrates some of the same characteristics as the administrative implementation processes, as both variables personify "low policy ambiguity and low policy conflict" (Knill & Tosum, 2012:157). In the political implementation process, there is clarity regarding policy goals which emanate from the actors. However, friction arises when the desired policy goals are not realised (Knill & Tosum, 2012:157). As a result, the political implementation process is characterised by negotiating and joint power relation emanating from all PPI actors. This type of activity can be associated with the top-down approach (Rein & Rabinovitz, 1978:308) (Knill & Tosum, 2012:157).

According to Knill and Tosum (2012:157), the experimental and symbolic implementation processes use the bottom-up approach as a basis for further progress and development. The experimental implementation process is different from the administrative and political implementation processes as it is characterised by a probability of "high policy ambiguity and low policy conflict". Therefore, the experimental implementation processes create an environment where policy outcomes depend on the "resources and actors present in the micro-

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[21] Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:464) state that policy-makers intentionally foster "ambiguities and contradictions" in the classification of the standards and objectives of public policies. This is done as one way of deliberately ensuring a positive response on the part of those who are responsible for the implementation of public policies across the different levels of government or the policy delivery system.

However, it is always advisable to have clear policy goals and directives, as the clearer the policy is, the clearer the direction which the policy implementers can follow (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:474).

implementation level" (Knill & Tosum, 2012:157). This dependence on "resources and actors present in the micro-implementation level" can be a delicate matter as resources and actors vary from "setting to setting". The deduction that can be made from the experimental implementation process is that policy outcomes are difficult to predict.

On the one hand, the experimental implementation process view policy ambiguity as high, and policy conflict as low, and alternatively the symbolic implementation process view both of those factors as high. These views are ascribed to the fact that the symbolic implementation process regards PPI actors as more active at grassroots level, and as such there is a variety of actors who are in control of the resources, and therefore, conflict frequently occurs. Then again, the power that actors have is dependent on 'circumstantial conditions' as ("different conditions might require different implementation strategies") and on what determines the preference of the actors policy objectives (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:471). When all of these factors combine, conflict can arise, causing delays and failure in achieving policy outcomes (Knill & Tosum, 2012:157).

Figure 15 is a diagram of the "Ambiguity-Conflict Matrix: Policy Implementation Processes". It depicts administrative implementation to be low in ambiguity as it contains basic traditional public administration practices (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:485). Political implementation is classified as containing high ambiguity and conflict as there might be disagreements on policy goals due to political power. A top-down approach is more suitable to the political implementation cell as evidenced in figure 15. De Leon and De Leon (2002:486) state that ambiguity and conflict in the experimental implementation cell will be dependent on which actors are the most dynamic and involved. It has also been noted by De Leon and De Leon (2002:486) that the symbolic implementation cell is one that is a mixture of high ambiguity and has high levels of conflict. Therefore, it is the most difficult strategy to consider in applying to PPI. Fundamentally, Lipsky (1978:396) is of the opinion that ambiguity will always be present for the reason that "ordinarily no one doubts that there are significant connections between official intentions and actual practice".

Ambiguity-Conflict Matrix: Policy Implementation Processes

	CONFLICT	
AMBIGUITY	Low	High
Low	Administrative Implementation	Political Implementation
High	Experimental Implementation	Symbolic Implementation

Source: Matland (1995, 160).

Figure 15: Ambiguity-Conflict Matrix: Policy Implementation Processes

Source: De Leon and De Leon (2002:485)

3.2.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION

It is clear that none of the models discussed pertaining to PPI offer an adequate solution to PPI. As De Leon and De Leon (2002:471) state, there is indeed never a single best implementation strategy, as one shoe has never fitted all. Each model has its own flaws.

There are three fallacies to the top-down model. The first fallacy (or critique) regarding this model is that it only concerns itself with policy outputs, completely ignoring the second process of the public policy process, which is that of policy formulation (Knill & Tosum, 2012:154). In ignoring this phase of the public policy process, it is refusing to acknowledge action that was taken prior to the PPI stage. The second fallacy of the top-down model is that it side-lines the political aspects (such as power relations; conflicting interests [*i.e.* political ideologies]) which are concerned with public policy (Knill & Tosum, 2012:154). It tends to pay considerable attention to the administrative process features. Finally, it neglects local actors or any actor that is not 'central government' (such as the ones at grass roots levels or the ones at local government) (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:470; Parsons, 1995:467). One other notable feature of the top-down approach that is not cherished by the bottom-up scholars, is that it has hierarchical tendencies which are not always valid, and which can lead to what De Leon and De Leon (2002:477) have labelled as "unduly optimistic expectations" (Lipsky, 1978:392).

However, scholars of the bottom-up approach such as Lipsky (1978:391-401) and Hjern (1982) state that when scholars of the top-down approach ignore the important role that "street level bureaucrats" play in ensuring the successful implementation of public policies, they do so at their own peril (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:470). This becomes a mammoth deterrent to PPI as

any successful public policy is also reliant on PPI taking place at ‘street level’. According to Knill and Tosum (2012:154), these criticisms of the top-down model are what caused the bottom-up model to emerge.

This study suggests that the top-down model may not be the best approach to PPI as it is impossible for the decision-maker to have full control of the entire implementation stage. According to the Easton political systems model, there are many variables that can contribute or hinder the public policy process. The only aspect over which the decisions-maker can have complete control is the internal environment. The decision-maker does not have control over the intermediate and external environments. Therefore, this model is more of a hindrance to PPI than a help.

With regards to the bottom-up model, it is impossible to view public officials as the only actors of PPI. There is an array of actors that also contribute to some aspects of PPI success. For a policy to serve the people and the constituencies it is directed towards, all relevant stakeholders must partake in the policy process. Regarding the hybrid model, this model emerged as a tactic to reconcile both the top-down and bottom-up models. In doing so, it was able to marry macro and micro-implementation, indicating that PPI can take place in many forms such as through administrative; political; experimental; and/or symbolic implementation. However, it has been indicated that even those forms of implementation have their own shortfalls such as yielding high levels of conflict depending on various factors in play.

Therefore, one clear finding that can be gleaned from the discussion on the approaches, theories and models of PPI is that these models embrace the elite and institutional-based theory models of politics and public policy (ignoring the group theory), because these models emphasise government institutions as having power in implementing public policies and focus on how “the trepidations and wellbeing of government should be given penchant above all actors” (De Coning *et al*., 2011:34).

However, Brynard *et al.* (2011:140) state that the top-down, bottom-up and hybrid models do offer useful insights into the PPI process. The only factor left is to determine when to apply which model, because each model can be valuable – depending on the scenario in which a public policy is being implemented (Brynard *et al.,* 2011:140).

Top-down and Bottom-up Theories Compared

	Top-down theories	Bottom-up theories
Research strategy	Top-down: from political decisions to administrative execution	Bottom-up: from individual bureaucrats to administrative networks
Goal of analysis	Prediction/policy recommendation	Description/explanation
Model of policy process	Stagist	Fusionist
Character of implementation process	Hierarchical guidance	Decentralized problem-solving
Underlying model of democracy	Elitist	Participatory

Figure 16: Top-down and Bottom-up Theories Compared

Source: Pülzl and Treib (2007:94)

3.3 PPI ACTORS

Cairney (2012:37) and Colebatch (2002:60) state that public policies are implemented through 'implementation structures' such as government departments at all spheres of government, where naturally the public and private sectors often and cooperate in the implementation of some public policies. As such, according to Hanekom (1987:56), public officials and government institutions are assigned the task of implementing and evaluating public policies. The affiliation between the policy-makers (legislators) and the policy-implementers (the executive, public officials and government departments) can influence PPI (Hanekom, 1987:56), because PPI has been assigned to public officials, and public officials frequently find themselves in the midst of the political arena (Hanekom, 1987:56). Hence, it is suggested that in order for successful PPI to take place, there should be a collaboration of actors who will come together and assist in implementing the public policy, and simultaneously examine ways to solve their problems (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:93). Furthermore, De Leon and De Leon (2002:478) suggest that when all role-players of PPI are considered, recognised, and informed with regard to public policies, they will be more willing to conform and consent to public policies. In informing, considering and recognising all the role-players of public policy, the public policy process applies a more democratic approach to policy analysis (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:478).

Below, the discussion on PPI actors follows, as PPI can be defined as "those actions taken by public/private and or individuals/groups, whose main objective is to achieve the goals as instructed in a policy document" (Hill, 2005:176). It is not surprising that the various actors involved in PPI are important (Knill & Tosum, 2012:151), and that each of them has their own "different interests; values; perceptions and policy preferences" (Colebatch, 2002:60; Miller & Demir, 2007:137; Hill & Hupe, 2014:64). As indicated by Petridou (2014:12), the purpose of

"policy research is the understanding of the interactions among the machinery of the state, political actors, and the public".

3.3.1 PUBLIC OFFICIALS; POLITICAL ACTORS AND THE ROLE OF THE BUREAUCRACY

Hanekom (1987:56) argues that a public policy only becomes meaningful once it is implemented. One institution that is recognised to be responsible for the implementing of public policies is the bureaucracy (also known as the civil service; government; and/or administration) (Knill & Tosum, 2012:150). Jones (1977:142) states that Carl Friedrich conceived the bureaucracy as "the core of modern government". Jones (1977:140) adds that philosophers such as Max Weber viewed the bureaucracy as a machine of government that is tasked with the gruelling and arduous tasks of the modern day government. This 'modern governmental machinery', according to Weber, was tasked with putting into effect the "rules; laws and/or regulations" (Jones, 1977:143). Even though the bureaucracy plays a fundamental role in implementing public policy, it cannot go about it alone. 'Real-life governments' depend on other actors in fulfilling the objectives of a public policy and ensuring that the policy-makers are held in check, and that the custodians of the public policy are catered to (Jones, 1977:144).

Hence Hanekom (1987:56) contends that a public policy is implemented by the same persons who formally had a hand in the drafting of the policy. Those persons are usually public officials who are the principal "formulators of bills", and are involved in the processes of passing a bill in parliament (Hanekom, 1987:56-57). Equally important: they have the enormous responsibility of carrying out the implementation of the policy in a political environment as their decision-making regarding a public policy is a mixture of both political and administrative components. This is because the role of the bureaucracy is much more politically dynamic than can is generally believed (Jones, 1977:144; Hanekom, 1987:56-57).

It is common knowledge that many public policies are associated with a political ideology brought forward by political actors who may formally or informally hold positions in all spheres of government (Petridou, 2014:12; De Coning *et al*., 2011:33; Toleikiene & Meskyte, 2014:86; Lasswell, 1936:29). Therefore, Hanekom (1987:56) maintains that public officials cannot dissociate themselves from the political ideology of the current government (*i.e.* remain neutral in the implementation of the public policy), nor can they remove themselves from the policies "embodied in legislation" (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:547). The ability or inability of the public official to associate themselves with the ideology of the public policy as well as implement it accordingly can have severe consequences on the success of the public policy (Hanekom, 1987:56). Hanekom (1987:57) advises the public official to acquire the necessary skills and abilities to participate and carry out the functions of government, regardless of the party in

power, as the task of the public official is to adopt the aims (objectives) presented to them by the policy and work towards achieving those aims of the policy (Hanekom, 1987:56). If they fail to do so, they run the risk of transgressing the provisions of the Constitution as well as infringing upon the freedom of the individual (Hanekom, 1987:56).

3.3.2 LEGISLATORS

Legislators are involved in the policy process in a variety of ways. They are frequently consulted with regard to the administration of the public policy in their particular fields of expertise; as well as "revising and even revoking statutes" (Jones, 1977:140; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:552). Hanekom (1987:57) adds that the more detail contained in a public policy (legislation), "the less is left to the discretion of government institutions and their public officials". This is the case because often parliament is tasked with delegating policy decisions to different government departments, and in doing so they must outline in great detail how a governmental entity is going to apply and adopt a policy decision (Knill & Tosum, 2012:164).

Furthermore Knill and Tosum (2012:164) state that the role of the legislator (parliament) is that of 'statutory control' (public policy oversight). Statutory control can take place in two ways: by using the approach of 'fire alarms' (also known as 'whistle blowing' in South Africa) and 'staked decks' (Knill & Tosum, 2012:164). Fire alarms with regards to statutory control is a system established by parliament whereby there are 'rules and informal practices' established in order to govern and provide a platform for individual members of society and concerned interest groups to examine administrative decisions (Knill & Tosum, 2012:164). Where applicable, one has to 'raise the alarm' if one believes that certain decisions were not supposed to be taken. 'Stack the deck' as a means of statutory control implies that legislators will go out of their way to take/apply strategic policy decisions which will be more advantageous to other 'groups that the legislators want to help (Knill & Tosum, 2012:164). In 'stacking the deck', it is evident that the group theory (concentrating on the type of influence interest groups have during the public policy-making process as they are always continually fighting for their voices to be heard) and the elite theory (a theory that hypotheses that power lies in the hands of the knowledgeable elite whom their opinions and wellbeing are of primary importance) play a massive role in the game of political and administrative implementation (*see* figure 5; 6; 7 and 14).

In conclusion, legislators are important PPI actors as they assist with the administration of the public policy; revising the public policy where possible during the implementation stage; delegating the public policy to the different departments who are best suited with the implementation of the public policy, as well as overseeing the implementation of the public policy in the form statutory control.

3.3.3 COURTS

Without a doubt, courts have been bestowed the great responsibility of ensuring that there is compliance with public policies, such as those passed in the legislature chambers (Jones, 1977:141). Law enforcement such as "appointed individuals working in the police force; courts of law" have the duty to see that certain policies (such as regulatory policies) are implemented accordingly; as they have the responsibility of foreseeing the administration of the passed laws (Hanekom, 1987:58). This can be seen when judges work with cases and apply a policy in civil or criminal cases and perform an administrative function when the public is involved (Jones, 1977:140-141). Courts do not only play a significant role in applying (implementing) the law; they are also tasked with the vital policy function of evaluation and appraisal[22] when an individual or the general public challenges the constitutional basis of a policy (Jones, 1977:140). The courts also have the function of constitutional interpretation (Jones, 1977:140). Furthermore, Knill and Tosum (2012:164) state that courts are tasked with the responsibility of safeguarding that government entities do not dare exploit their implementation powers.

3.3.4 INTEREST GROUPS (PRESSURE GROUPS)

Interest groups are tasked with representing the majority of social and economic groups in society (Peters, 2001:208). As noted in the discussion on theories of politics and public policy, the group theory model plays a pivotal role in the policy-making process as interest groups are necessary; and also have the power of influencing public policy and PPI (Peters, 2001:187) – especially in a democratic political system such as South Africa, where interest groups are not only an accepted part of political life; but are "legally and officially involved in the process of

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[22] This was witnessed in South Africa with the case of **"*Economic Freedom Fighters v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others and Democratic Alliance v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others*"** when the "Constitutional Court handed down judgment in a matter concerning the power of the Public Protector to "take appropriate remedial action" and whether her finding that President Zuma was required to pay back a reasonable portion of the money spent installing non-security upgrades at his private residence (Nkandla) in his personal capacity is binding" (Constitutional Court of South Africa, 2016).

The President, with the assistance of the South African Police Service and National Treasury, failed to determine the reasonable costs of the non-security upgrades and repay a reasonable portion thereof to the State. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and the Democratic Alliance (DA) decided that since there was lack of compliance with the Public Protector's remedial action, it would be better to bring the legal proceedings against the Speaker of the National Assembly (Speaker), the President, and the Minister of Police to the highest court in the land (Constitutional Court of South Africa, 2016).

The above case illustrates how the courts play a pivotal role in implementing public policy as well as strengthening democracy by respecting the Constitution and holding those who breach the law accountable.

making and administering public policy" (Peters, 2001:187). This can be witnessed when groups decide to partake in the implementation of public policy matters concerning themselves, regardless of government's support or not (Jones, 1977:141).

The participation of interest groups in implementing public policy can take many forms (Jones, 1977:141). According to Peters (2001:193), interest groups play the active role of serving as "quasi-official arms of the political system" in implementing public policies that they may have expert knowledge and skills in. Peters' (2001:193) statement can be seen in action when interest groups are offered the opportunity to cooperate with government departments in implementing public policy (Jones, 1977:141). In addition to when a group succeeds in influencing public policy, it can also "influence PPI and have an impact on public policy" (Hanekom, 1987:58).

In the discussion of the group theory model it has been indicated that organised interest groups that are prone to be "more organised; have more numbers; have financial means; have political affiliations; are popular; have an advisory capacity within the policy-making process (*i.e.* when businesses in the private sector are requested by government to come assist them in overcoming a financial crisis) and have made connections with policy-makers" (Dye, 1984:26) (Hanekom, 1987:58) have the added advantage of being included in the PPI stage, and could also influence policy.

3.3.5 COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS (INSTITUTIONAL GROUPS)

Community institutions (or institutional groups) are those institutions found in the community that can influence public policy in a variety of ways (Hanekom, 1987:58). These institutions, according to Peters (2001:194), are a "special class of legitimate pressure groups". The interest/pressure groups belonging to these institutional groups are regarded as important social or political institutions that seek to influence public policy as a way to obtain benefits for themselves and even their group members (Miller & Demir, 2007:137; Peters, 2001:194). Their interest in public policy seems to be more specialised as they are seeing a "more particularised special-interest output" as compared to other interest groups (Peters, 2001:194). Examples of such institutional groups are the churches; the army; journalists; policy analysts; influential politicians; the public bureaucracy itself; and even local government (Peters, 2001:194; Miller & Demir, 2007:137).

What sets apart the institutional groups from other interest groups is that their groups are copiously distinguished and legitimised through the "prestige of the institution/s" they belong to (Peters, 2001:194). They are often attached to a symbolic repertoire which gives them legitimate access to government institutions and the policy-making process as compared to

other interest groups (Peters, 2001:194). The added advantage that community institutions have as compared to other interest groups is that they have become identified with “stability and normal politics” (Miller & Demir, 2007:141). In conclusion, these institutional groups can be categorised as embodying the elite group theory and institutional-based theory models of politics and public policy.

3.3.6 INFORMAL GROUPS AS PPI ACTORS INFLUENCING AND INFORMING PPI IN AN INFORMAL POLITICAL SPACE

Informal groups differ vastly from community institutions and institutional groups in that they are at a disadvantage during the PPI process due to the fact that they are not attached to a “special class of legitimate pressure groups”; nor are they aligned to any form of a prestigious institution/s; nor identified with features such as “stability and normal politics” (Dye, 1984:26). However, informal groups do matter during PPI and their role should be recognised. Furthermore, there is one perpetual characteristic of informal groups acting in an informal political space within PPI which is worlds apart from the other actors of PPI; and it is that normally informal groups become only present or activated when they are aware that a policy is being in the process of being implemented. Salgado (2013:17) states that this is due to the fact that there was lack of consultation with informal groups and a "long-standing alienation by large sections of communities who possess the structures of power" (Booysen, 2009:17).

In South Africa, informal groups influence public policy and PPI in the form of protest action. Salgado (2013:17) and Averweg and Leaning (2015:105) state that informal groups use the power of protest action in order to influence PPI for the main reason that members of informal groups find themselves marginalised, and as a result their frustration and their quest to be heard lead them to believe that the only manner in which their voices can be heard and not stifled it is through the means of "headline-grabbing violence". Additionally, Booysen (2009:21) further mentions that in South Africa, protest action from the less structured or informal actors of PPI is an indication of the “civil society-driven praxis that when PPI is incomplete or goes wrong (for example, due to slow implementation; corruption; or other determinants of PPI[23]), the need to influence PPI outcomes through public participation peaks, whether through conventional civil society mobilisation or protest action”. Therefore, Averweg and Leaning (2015:105) state that informal groups (such as disenfranchised communities) acting in an informal political space in South Africa “continue to have a significant resonance across a broad population”; and in doing so are able to influence public policy and PPI.

[23] *See* discussion on the “Further determinants of implementation failure”.

In conclusion, informal groups can be classified as acting within a broader contested democracy as informal groups, often becoming a voice for their disenfranchised communities and are against the elite theory which views society as a whole to be consisting of an 'ill-informed' civil society (Dye, 1984:28).

3.3.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION

It is clear from the discussion of 'PPI actors' that all actors are capable of influencing PPI. This study has demonstrated that different actors use different avenues or tactics in which they can influence and partake in PPI. For example, public officials use the bureaucracy as a machine of government to influence and implement public policies; and informal actors use protest action as a means to gain access to the PPI stage. Furthermore, actors of PPI that are regarded as formal have access to 'implementation structures' that they can use to advance their own "different interests; values; perceptions and policy preferences" during the implementation process (Colebatch, 2002:60) (Miller & Demir, 2007:137) as compared with informal actors of PPI.

Although 'informing; considering and recognising' all the relevant actors of PPI are encouraged and recommended; this is not always the case, as noted within the discussion of 'informal groups as PPI actors influencing and informing PPI in an informal political space'. This indicates that some actors of PPI are tolerated, but are not taken as seriously as actors who have support and access to 'implementation structures; association with a legitimate pressure group/s" or a prestigious institution/s; or affiliated with "stability and normal politics" (Dye, 1984:26)

However, what can be gleaned from this sub-section is that policy actors do intertwine with each other where it can be found that one policy programme may be populated with an amount of different actors (Jones, 1977:141). For instance, a public official is identified as the catalyst in the policy-making process, whilst the majority of policy decisions are expected to be carried out by the political office bearer. In the final analysis, it is clear that all actors in the policy-making process and PPI are important. Each one of them has a role to play in the policy cycle as public policy is the "joint product" of all the actors' collaborations (Cairney, 2012:24). Hence Cairney (2012:37) states that "the assumption that policy is controlled by a single central actor with consistent objectives" will in actual fact aggravate "perceived and actual policy failure".

3.4 CONCLUSION

There have been continuous features intertwining with each other throughout this chapter. These include the role of 'ambiguity; conflict; consensus; resources; capacity and the role of the actors' within the PPI process. It is clear that the models and theories of public policy are staples on the PPI stage, as it was noticed with the discussions of the three imperatives; and

the approaches and models of PPI. Each of these elements highlighted the importance of having the models and theories of public policy as frameworks within the PPI stage, as these theories provide a solid foundation in the further analysis of the PPI process.

In relation to the discussion on the approaches of PPI, both models touched on the importance of democracy, and both models play an important role in any democratic setting (as shown on figure 16). It has been established throughout this chapter (as highlighted by De Leon & De Leon, 2002:479-480) that PPI in general should not be practised as a "governing-elite phenomenon", but rather the implementers of PPI should practice PPI in a "more participatory, more directly democratic" manner. This analysis is based on the fact that the top-down model equivalents representative democracy as it represents "command; control and uniformity" (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:486). Then the bottom-up model is equivalent to participatory democracy as the bottom-up model appears to be more consistent with a democratic participatory approach. It was also observed that the top-down approach leans more towards the rational choice theory as it is aligned with Rein and Rabinovitz's (1978:308) rational-bureaucratic imperative. Both approaches also established which actors should be prominent in the PPI process.

In closing, Lipsky (1978:396-7) indicates that perhaps scholars of PPI will always be mystified by PPI failure, as there is one variable that is always taken for granted. The variable that Lipsky (1978:397) is speaking of is the "relationship between higher and lower levels of organisational authority". In the next chapter, the variable identified by Lipsky (1978:396-7) and others that contribute to policy failure are discussed because the focus of the next chapter is policy failure facing the South African public environment within a new democratic dispensation. Another focus is whether any of the variables discussed in this chapter have any significant bearing when it comes to the failure of public policies, especially in relation to PPI failure.

CHAPTER 4: PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES? DILEMMAS OF PPI IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC ENVIRONMENT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Cairney (2012:34) made a powerful argument when he stated that "the study of implementation is based on the simple point that decisions made by policymakers may not be carried out successfully" (Bain, 1992:123). This statement highlights the fact that not all approved policies can be as successful as envisioned by those that drafted the policies. This is because "policies can succeed or fail in a number of ways"; or have new and unanticipated problems emerge during the PPI stage (Hanekom, 1987:61) (Howlett, 2009:158) (Bain, 1992:123). Public policy is complex, as already been established in the previous chapters, which is reflected in the implementation phase of the public policy-making process. The implementation stage of public policy reveals the gaps and holes that can be found in a policy. This stage is of the utmost importance in the public-policy making process.

The central concern of this chapter is that of "non-implementation" which indicates policy failure (or no adaptation in the project plan or in deliverer behaviour) due to hurdles that policy implementers were not able to overcome (Berman, 1978:178), and that of "unsuccessful implementation" which is about analysing the failure of meeting intended policy outcomes. According to Knill and Tosum (2012:149), "unsuccessful implementation" does not imply that a policy was not implemented. It rather shows that indeed a policy was implemented, but that the intended public policy has failed in yielding the intended results as classified in the policy objectives of the policy document (Parsons, 1995:466; Knill & Tosum, 2012:149).

Therefore the present chapter of this study is guided by Van Meter and Van Horn's (1975:448) core question of implementation studies which asks: "Why did policy happen the way it did?" Consequently, the central focus of this chapter is asking the following question of: "Why did policy happen the way it did within South Africa's new democratic dispensation and what bearing does the challenges and problems pertaining to PPI have on the functioning and sustainability of South Africa's democracy?" The discussion aims to point a magnifying glass onto the problems and challenges of PPI within the South African public environment in a new democracy. As in the past there have been policy failures that have been very public and noticeable to the South African public and electorate at large. However, at times those responsible for the policy failure have not acknowledged their mistakes, nor made an effort to identify reasons for policy failure and suggest other avenues for not repeating the same errors for future reference.

Below is figure 17 which is an overall representation of the 'stages of the public policy process and associated policy failures'. However, as previously indicated in the introductory chapter (as well as throughout the study), the main focus of this study is on the implementation stage. As the implementation stage of the public policy process is the heart beat of this study. As noted in figure 17, policy failure can occur at all the different stages of the policy process.

It is clear that there are many variables that contribute towards non-implementation and unsuccessful implementation with regards to public policies (*see* figure 17). In the next sub-section of this chapter the factors that contribute to public policy/PPI failure are discussed in detail. This is followed by a discussion of how these variables are applicable to the South African context. In doing so, the study sets out to establish a broader understanding of why some excellent written public policies in South Africa had failed dismally.

Stages of the Policy	Associated Policy Failures
Agenda-setting	Overreaching governments establishing or agreeing to establish overburdened or unattainable policy agendas
Policy formulation	Attempting to deal with wicked problems without appropriately investigating or researching problem causes or the probable effects of policy alternatives
Decision-making	Failing to anticipate adverse and other policy consequences or risk of system failures
Policy implementation	Failing to deal with implementation problems including lack of funding, legitimacy issues, principle-agent problems, oversight failures and others
Policy evaluation	Lack of learning due to lack of, ineffective or inappropriate policy monitoring and/or feedback processes and structures

Figure 17: Stages of the Policy Process and Associated Policy Failures

Source: Howlett (2009:161)

4.2 WHAT CONTRIBUTES TO THE PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF PPI? A GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF PPI

4.2.1 MICRO AND MACRO-IMPLEMENTATION

In the previous chapter it was briefly touched on how PPI can take place in two ways, namely through the macro-implementation and micro-implementation level. This was discussed with reference to the actors of PPI and how macro and micro-implementation can influence the bottom-up perspective. Berman (1978:164) notes that there are profound differences between the processes of micro-implementation and macro-implementation, which is a result of their "distinct institutional settings". Micro-implementation processes take place solely on local government level within an institutional setting that can be characterised by "bilateral interactions; multiple and conflicting policy goals which can be largely immeasurable whilst simultaneously occurring in a fairly uncertain and uncontrollable environment" (Berman, 1978:176) (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984:199).

On the other hand, Berman (1978:179) associates macro-implementation as inexorably involving politics. The macro-implementation process also comprises of the entirety of the policy sector (government departments; courts; policy actors) and includes all spheres of government (Berman, 1978:164-5). The policy sector forms part of the 'macro-structure', where according to Berman (1978:165), this sector is typically characterised by "tacit operating rules of the game; established roles; routinized procedures and reasonable stable conditions". Furthermore, the policy sector is also a myriad of activities where the different sectors (such as the education; health and housing sector) interact in a somewhat "unsolidified, habitually frenzied and conflictual" manner. Berman (1978:166) adds that macro-implementation also risks four more determinants of implementation failure: goal discrepancies; influence and authority differences; lack of resources and communication problems among PPI actors such as implementation organisations (Colebatch, 2002:53). Furthermore, it has been noted by Berman (1978:172) that in the macro-implementation process, 'effective power' lies within the macro-structure together with "local implementers and street-level bureaucrats".

Berman (1978:164) adds that implementation failure/problems arise on national level where national government departments have the responsibility of carrying out a public policy. However, in the process they are also tasked with influencing both provincial and local government in how policies should be carried out (Berman, 1978:164). This Berman (1978:164) refers to as the macro-implementation problem. Alternatively, in response to policies coming directly from the national and provincial government, Berman (1978:164) states that the micro-implementation problem arises when local government has to "devise and carry out its own internal policies (by-laws)".

Berman (1978:158) is of the opinion that implementation problems of public policy originates from the "interaction of a policy with its institutional setting". This statement can be aligned with two prior discussions from the preceding chapters. The first one is that the institutional theory is regarded as important; Berman (1978:158) views the 'institutional setting' as salient here. The second fact can be aligned with the statement Lipsky (1978:396-7) made when he stated that public policy failures are due to the fact that the "relationship between higher and lower levels of organisational authority" are taken for granted.

4.2.2 CHOICE OF POLICY INSTRUMENTS

When incorrect policy instruments are chosen by policy-makers due to restrictions from government's inabilities and the "characteristics of the policy environment", policy failure is bound to materialise (Knill & Tosum, 2012:163). Furthermore, the incorrect use or choice of a policy instrument can yield non-compliance of public policy (Knill & Tosum, 2012:163).

4.2.3 PRECISION AND CLARITY OF POLICY DESIGN

When there is lack of clarity with regard to government intentions which can then lead to policy ambiguity (*i.e.* deficient policy formulation), this can contribute to problems and challenges with regard to PPI (Knill & Tosum, 2012:162; Cairney, 2012:37; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:548). This tends to result in a "mismatch between intended policy objectives and the actual policy outcomes" (Knill & Tosum, 2012:153). According to Knill and Tosum (2012:162), when the actors involved concern themselves more with "probable losses and gains" as compared to paying more attention to studying the "causal relationship between policy objectives and the suggested policy instruments" (Human, 1998:23-48), this can also influence implementation failure. This, according to Knill and Tosum (2012:162), is due to the fact that actors pay more attention to bargaining than to directing their energies towards problem-solving. These type of actions from concerned actors can cause the drafting of insufficiently-designed policies which contain elements of incorrect hypotheses regarding the "causal relationship between policy issues and politically adopted remedies"[24] (Knill & Tosum, 2012:162). Thus, one of the fundamental problems according to Knill and Tosum (2012:162), with regards to implementation failure is 'deficient policy formulation' because of the relationship between politics and the implementation stage.

What prompts this type of problem is conflicts emanating from the political environment (which forms part of the macro environment and which often at times the bureaucracy does not have

[24] Additionally Knill and Tosum (2012:162) are of the opinion that the more and diverse the concerned actors are (especially those with the constitutional right to reject a policy decision); the more complicated the "general decision-making structure" is faced with. Which makes it prone to settle based on "open formulations and inconsistencies in policy design".

control over)[25] during the policy formulation stage; these eventually surface during the implementation stage (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984:199). The argument by Knill and Tosum (2012:162) can be seen in figure 15 where it is shown that political implementation and interference with the administrative implementation are not advisable as political implementation can be considered to be "containing high levels of ambiguity and conflict as there might be disagreements on policy goals due to political power" (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:485).

Therefore, even though there might be exemplary goal articulation in a policy document, it is of utmost importance that the projected policy goals are consistent with the resources available to fulfil the projected policy goals because the feasibility and practicality of the public policy has to be taken into consideration (Howlett, 2009:158; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:543; Parsons, 1995:466). Howlett (2009:158) suggests that there should also be criteria available for measuring policy goals and that the rationale of the policy goal must be clearly articulated.

4.2.4 CONTROL STRUCTURES

According to Knill and Tosum (2012:163), principal-agent theories have a contributing effect on implementation failure. This is because the agent wants to act in his own interest, simultaneously side-lining the needs and preferences of the principal. In the policy world, the agents are frequently the politicians and the principal are the general public. What then transpires is that implementation deficits occur as a result of the "variances found between policy intentions and their actual implementation through the responsible government departments" (Knill & Tosum, 2012:163). This variation is as an after-effect of the arrangement and is a result of the contemporary political-administrative systems which are symbolised by delegating "competencies to subordinate administrative authorities" (usually found on lower-level management) (Knill & Tosum, 2012:163).

Once again, this scenario presents us with a conflict matrix occurring between the administrative implementation cell and political implementation cell, as outlined in figure 15. Knill and Tosum (2012:163) refer to the conflict matrix scenario that occurs between administrative implementation and political implementation as a "political-administrative system". However, the "political-administrative system" gives rise to two problems, namely 'high organisational complexity' (which may increase a 'bureaucratic drift' that may occur due to a high increase in the number of public officials and the levels of government which have been assigned with the task of implementing public policies). This type of scenario usually occurs in countries where

[25] *See* Figure 2 and 13.

they are making use of the multi-party system (where there are coalition governments' formed amongst various political parties)[26] (Knill & Tosum, 2012:163).

The second problem that the "political-administrative system" may cause is that if a policy document is riddled with a complex of "scientific and/or technological" characteristics, this can lead to difficulty in interpreting the policy aims both by the principals and agents (Hanekom, 1987:61-63; Knill & Tosum, 2012:163). Knill and Tosum (2012:163) add that the greater levels of specialised knowledge a policy document requires in order for the policy document to be implemented, the higher the probability of the policy executer having access to information that can advantage them with regards to the policy-maker. This, in turn, can create an environment where there is deviation from the original course of action concerning the policy guidelines (Knill & Tosum, 2012:163).

Knill and Tosum (2012:164) state that with regard to 'control structures' as one of the determinants of implementation failure, there are actually two approaches by means of which politicians can have an impact on the bureaucracy (*i.e.* administrative implementation; *see* figure 15). The first approach pertains to what Knill and Tosum (2012:164) refer to as 'formal oversight'. This refers to the legislature and its continuous interaction with the different structures of government (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:552), where parliament can use its powers to monitor governmental departments' behaviours and have access to information which can assist parliament in remedying 'undesirable behaviour' (Knill & Tosum, 2012:164; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:552). This type of action undertaken by parliament is made possible by "means of committee hearings and investigations" (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:552).

This type of action by parliament is not rare in South Africa's Parliament – indeed, South Africa's Parliament has been established to "represent the people and to ensure government by the people under the Constitution" and a national forum has been established in order to ensure "public consideration of issues" (Section 42 of the South African Constitution, 1996).

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[26] Since the South African Municipal Elections which took place on the 3rd of August 2016, the outcomes of the elections have brought an exciting new different kind of coalition government amongst opposition political parties. These have never really been present since the dawn of South Africa's new democracy back in 1994, as there was no outright winner produced in many districts/metropolitans municipalities. These elections then "result[ed] in hung municipalities and forcing parties to form coalitions to govern" (BBC News, 2016). The coalition between the DA and other smaller opposition parties was as a way to dethrone the ANC which has been enjoying high levels of support at the polls until recently.

However, it is yet to be seen whether this type of party system in South Africa which is slowly gaining prominence, will in fact be able to avoid 'bureaucratic drift'. Knill and Tosum (2012:163) caution against the fact that coalition governments tend to practice the principal-agent theory (which can jeopardise both the formulation and implementation stage of the policy process), whereby coalition partners may find themselves compromising and accepting policy change, if at the end it can assist in changing policy outcomes during the implementation stage.

Furthermore, South Africa's Parliament's five core objectives are those of 'passing legislation; conducting oversight; public participation; co-operative government; and international participation (Parliament of South Africa, 2016:32).

The second approach in which politicians can have an impact on the bureaucracy is in the form of statutory control (Knill & Tosum, 2012:164), whereby the executive or the legislature is responsible for drafting the 'structures and processes' of a governmental department in order to favour one policy over another policy (Knill & Tosum, 2012:164). However, statutory control through 'stack of deck' can have a negative impact on PPI because it may favour policies of certain group interests, in the process neglecting some of the voices of the general public.

In conclusion, the present discussion emphasised the presence of suitable procedural arrangements and effective control measures. If these are not there, there can either be delay or lack of success in PPI (Hanekom, 1987:63).

4.2.5 INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN

Public policies are often generalised to require institutional structures and arrangements because they frequently have institutional implications (Knill & Tosum, 2012:165; Berman, 1978:158). This means that they require the setting up of "appropriate structures and procedures for their proper implementation" (Knill & Tosum, 2012:165). There are many challenges that can arise in the implementation of public policies, such as the technical language applied in some policy documents; and the different worldviews from those drafting and executing the public policy (Knill & Tosum, 2012:166). Furthermore, these challenges emerge when they challenge existing institutional structures to reform and adapt an institutional design that will provide a conducive environment to PPI.

Knill and Tosum (2012:166) state that the reason why institutional arrangements should be regarded as important is because there is a causal relationship between the requirements of the institutional arrangement and the content of the public policy for proper PPI. Therefore, this argument suggests that implementation problems and challenges may be the result of institutional change. Consequently, this argument relies on the top-down approach which "requires for the setting up of suitable bureaucratic procedures in order to warrant that the implementation of public policies are implemented as 'accurately as possible'" (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:91; Knill & Tosum, 2012:166; Hogwood & Gunn, 1984:207). On the other hand, the bottom-uppers are of the opinion that there can be transformation in institutional structures which are responsible for PPI without them ceasing to exist (Knill & Tosum, 2012:166).

However, there is a fallacy to the argument. The fallacy is centred upon the fact that existing institutional structures will automatically adapt to new suggested ideas of 'model structure' (*i.e.*

the transformation of its original institutional setting) (Knill & Tosum, 2012:166). Knill & Tosum (2012:166) and Sabatier & Mazmanian (1980:543) state that normally, in a scenario such as the one presented above, analysts concern themselves with determining whether the required institutional structures and arrangements have in place the required resources such as “skills; resources and capacities of the relevant actors; financial resources; legal and personal resources” which provide a state of the art institutional design which will pave way for public officials and political actors to actually succeed in the implementation of its public policies (McLaughlin, 1987:172).

Be that as it may, it has been previously touched on in the former chapters that implementation studies are an exploration of “change; how change comes about, and how that change can possibly be stimulated”” (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975:468; Parsons, 1995:461). However, it is important to note that change is often very difficult. Often when change is implemented, institutional structures fall apart, leaving public policies to exponentially fail.

4.2.6 ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITIES AND POLICY AMBIGUITY

Berman (1978:167) states that the administrative part of PPI occurs where policy decisions are converted into a “specific government programme” whose initial goal is to execute the intent of the public policy. Hence, it has been emphasised throughout this study that for a policy to have any chance of being successful and yielding the expected results, the necessary combination of resources is needed because the administrative capacity is about having the ability to “comply with given policy requirements” (Knill & Tosum, 2012:169; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:545; Hogwood & Gunn, 1984:200; Colebatch, 2002:53).

Howlett (2009:155&157) and Hanekom (1987:63) highlight that institutions (regardless of whether they are public or private organisations) are all in need of a certain amount of “human capacity (administrative and technical expertise) whereby bureaucrats are dedicated to attaining the objectives of the public policy; financial; network and knowledge resources” to enable them to execute the required tasks needed for managing and implementing public policy (Knill & Tosum, 2012:169; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:543 & 547). It is therefore not advisable for PPI to be entrusted in the hands of unsuitable government departments (Hanekom, 1987:63). Hence, when PPI is entrusted into the care of government departments that lack the necessary administrative capacities; or when government does not have the required resources to execute a public policy, the allocation of existing resources must be rearranged according to political priorities (Hanekom, 1987:63; Knill & Tosum, 2012:169; Sebola, 2014:36). In addition, lack of needed resources can either result in unsuccessful implementation or non-implementation of the policy.

Berman (1978:168) and Colebatch (2002:53) further state that what mostly deters PPI success is ‘policy ambiguity’ or unclear requests stemming from the top structures of government (Cairney, 2012:37). This becomes a challenge when the objectives of a policy document are not clearly stipulated; or there is lack of specificity about the means to go about achieving the desired outcomes (Berman, 1978:164). This result in the bureaucracy often being left in a powerless position which is bound not to warrant any form of successful implementation (Cairney, 2012:37). Furthermore, the public policy is not given penchant above other public policies due to its lack of precision and clarity (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:544). This results in the public policy being accorded low priority (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:545).

4.2.7 SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE; COMPLIANCE AND CONSENSUS

It is imperative that the actors or those whom the public policy affects must be taken into account (Rein & Rabinovitz, 1978:312). It is consequently no surprise that without compliance or the social acceptance of a public policy, a public policy is in danger of being unsuccessful

because the reaction to whom the public policy is aimed at cannot be controlled or be predicted (Hanekom, 1987:63; Hogwood & Gunn, 1984:199). Non-compliance usually transpires when a certain group of society has to foot the bill (*i.e.* a cost is imposed upon them); or when the policy objectives of the public policy are not well understood (*i.e.* the implications of the public policy are not clear) (Knill & Tosum, 2012:170; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:544).

Another feature of PPI is that PPI is 'governed' or influenced by the consensual preferences emanating from interest groups (Rein & Rabinovitz, 1978:312), and therefore PPI failure may be the cause of civil organisations/interest groups being against certain public policies that are introduced by government (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980:541). This can provoke conflict with other relevant role-players of PPI such as less structured or informal actors of PPI (Colebatch, 2002:53). Then it becomes evident that some actors of PPI where not activated from the inception of the public policy; thus when the policy comes into effect, there is opposition to it (Salgado, 2013:17). Therefore, government may be faced with a throng of people who are against a specific policy. Consequently, the general public is reluctant to accept the public policy, which in the natural order of events will lead to non-compliance and lack of consensus.

In the next sub-section, other problems and challenges which can be further determinants of PPI failure are discussed.

4.3 FURTHER DETERMINANTS OF IMPLEMENTATION FAILURE

Further contributors of PPI failure, according to Howlett (2009:160) and Hanekom 1987:63), are when government undertake to address a policy issue which is deemed to be "unaddressable" or there is lack of knowledge regarding the problem, and which as a result the "cause of the problem or the solution" is not known (Hanekom, 1987:63). These contributors of PPI failure lead to the sense that government has failed in anticipating the "consequences of their proposed courses of action", which may include their over-all predisposition in their public policy and administrative system (Howlett, 2009:160). One other element that may give rise to PPI failure is when the envisioned public policy as envisioned by the decision-makers is not "correctly or precisely translated into practice" (Howlett, 2009:160). Also, a certain contributor towards PPI failure is when a government fails to learn from other governments as well as their own government's previous experiences with regard to implementation failure (Howlett, 2009:160).

Equally, PPI failure can be as a result of outsourcing. Therefore, implementation failure can stem from the fact that more than one governmental department or sphere of government is responsible for the executing of a public policy (Berman, 1978:165). Outsourcing opens a corridor where more than one institution is involved in the implementation of the public policy.

This can cause a problem because the public policy will depend on the approval from numerous institutions (Hanekom, 1987:63). A related problem that arises is that not all institutions that are tasked with the deliverance of the public policy are qualified to do so (*i.e.* they lack the administrative capacity to implement the policy) (Hanekom, 1987:63).

Furthermore, implementation problems can be attributed to three main spheres, according to Hogwood and Gunn (1984:197) and Meyer and Cloete (2011:228-9). Bad execution (when a public policy is not implemented as planned); bad policy (when the public policy is carried out, but fails in reaching its intended outcome) and lastly bad luck (when the public policy is carried out, but then again its success is derailed by circumstances which are beyond the reach of the policymaker) are listed in this regard (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984:197 & 201; Cairney, 2012:33).

Bad luck is a challenge for successful PPI because the variables that can hinder PPI success are external to the social-political milieu and the public manager cannot foresee these, and such challenges may to a certain extent are unavoidable (*see* figure 2 & 11) (Meyer & Cloete, 2011:228; Parsons, 1995:466; McLaughlin, 1987:173). Hogwood and Gunn (1984:199) add that the above three problems are due to an "inadequate understanding of the problem", especially with relation to bad policies.

Meyer and Cloete (2011:229) note that bad policy execution is a salient issue in many underdeveloped and developing countries. This is as a result of the lack of "financial resources; lack of human capital; defective management processes and organisational cultures which are more inclined to obstruct rather than promote successful PPI" (Parsons, 1995:466).

It has been emphasised throughout this study how demanding PPI can be. As indicated above, this is the consequence of a variety of reasons. Consequently, the lack of attention to detail regarding the complexity of PPI is what in actual fact can cause and contribute to "difficulties in the administration of a public policy, in turn producing feelings of powerlessness when no one seems to be in charge" (Cairney, 2012:37). Furthermore, there is the fact that many policies have to be carried out at grass-roots level by local government who are partially (if not wholly) dependent on funding emanating directly from both national and provincial government (Berman, 1978:164). Another reason is because even national government has their own implementation problems which can seep into the other spheres of government (Berman, 1978:164).

4.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION

In conclusion, problems and challenges of PPI can emanate from ambiguity; when the public policy in question is in conflict with other directives; or when the public policy is not regarded as high priority; when there were insufficient resources to carry out the public policy; or it provoked

conflict with other significant actors of public policy; when the target group proved hard to reach; where there is lack of support for the policy; of when the manner in which the deliverance of the public policy occurred was in such a way that it did not have the necessary impact as predicted or envisioned (Colebatch, 2002:53; McLaughlin, 1987:171-8). Consequently, the combination of all of the above contributors can cause a general lack of PPI. In the next sub-section, the problems and challenges that may have contributed to PPI failure in some public policies in South Africa are discussed.

4.5 APPLICATION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT: PPI PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES IN SOUTH AFRICA

In the introductory chapter of the study, it was stated that many of South Africa's public policies are exceptionally well written. However, there is one discrepancy that some public policies tend to share in the realm of South Africa's public environment; and that is the failure of a number of public policies to produce the intended results as clearly stipulated in the policy documents. It can be further stated that this becomes a major headache as most public policies fail to materialise in the way they have been intended to, and often these are public policies that have been aimed towards improving the lives of the disenfranchised members of South Africa. When the implementation of these public policies does not answer to the call of public opinion, the general public often take to the street to convey their dissatisfaction with government. Frequently, this type of participatory action is in the form of protest action[27] (Alloggio & Thomas, 2013:108).

The above discussed scenario of South Africa's PPI exposes the many problems and challenges that the South African public environment (which is tasked with delivering services as assigned to them through the numerous policies in place) faces. This thus reveals certain implementation problems and challenges within South Africa's new democracy such as variables including 'social acceptance; non-compliance and non-consensus'. These variables and others are discussed under their own respective sub-headings with the intention of establishing why certain well-written public policies are failing to deliver as envisioned by the policy-maker in the South African public environment.

4.5.1 ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY; INSUFFICIENT RESOURCES AND POLICY AMBIGUITY

Sebola (2014:36) states that many new democracies face the challenge of "policy adoption or implementation". This, Sebola (2014:36) argues, can be connected to "lack of capacity" which can also be attributed to insufficient resources ranging from "technical; skills and financial"

[27] *See* Figure 18

resources. One way in which insufficient resources hinders PPI is that often governments in new democracies or developing countries hide "behind political answers as a way to avoid providing economic answers that they deem could be politically costly to their constituencies" (Sebola, 2014:36).

An example of how administrative capacity and insufficient resources can hinder PPI pertains to policies relating to poverty eradication in South Africa. Most policies in South Africa designed towards poverty eradication are long-term projects. Often, "successful poverty eradication measures' are dependent on the capacity of government and civil society" (Aliber, 2003:473). Therefore, one of the constraints in the implementation of a public policy emanates from "delivery capacity or financial resources" (Aliber, 2003:473).

In the introductory chapter of the study it was hypothesised that what might be contributing to the challenges and problems of PPI in South Africa is that although the public policies describe the 'what', often the policy-maker neglects the 'how'. Equally, it is argued that it will be helpful if public policies provided ways in which civil servants can go about implementing a public policy (Brynard *et al*., 2011:138; Barret & Fudge, 1981:13). Aliber (2003:475) states that the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) presented the implementers of this public policy with the same above-articulated problem – namely, not providing the 'how'; it failed in not outlining what the "new economic strategy would entail". By the same token, it can be stated that the policy had elements of ambiguity and vagueness about it (Aliber, 2003:475).

According to Aliber (2003:475) and Jeffery (2010:239), the core business of the RDP Policy Framework (also described as a "socialist-inspired policy manifesto"; which was also Keynesian inspired) was aimed at "redressing the inequalities and injustices of the past" by means of "bringing growth and jobs through massive government spending" (ANC, 2016) (Moyo & Mamobolo, 2014:948) (Pottinger, 2009:70). Therefore, the RDP Policy Framework paid special attention to tackling socio-economic problems which included meeting citizens first; second and third-generation rights by means of looking at ways to redistribute resources; reducing poverty; helping citizens to have access to clean running water; creating job opportunities; and giving access to land, education and healthcare (Aliber, 2003:475; ANC, 2016; Cloete, 2011:77; Moyo & Mamobolo, 2014:948; Pottinger, 2009:74-5). At that time, the RDP Policy Framework[28] was therefore designed towards "a large share of the country's 40 million people".

[28] In short, the RDP policy framework was aimed at "social and infrastructural 'delivery'" and was characterised as a "cornerstone of the Mandela era" (Pottinger, 2009:74).

4.5.2 SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE; COMPLIANCE; CONSENSUS AND SOUTH AFRICA'S 'OBSESSION' WITH APPLYING WESTERN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS

Soon after the RDP Office was launched in the Office of the President in November 1994 (Jeffery, 2010:240; Pottinger, 2009:74), in the beginning of 1996 the RDP Office was closed (Aliber, 2003:475). This, according to Aliber (2003:475) and Jeffery (2010:243), was due to public opinion; as the public were questioning what the RDP Policy Framework meant for economic policy. On grounds of the facts given, it can be argued that two of the main reasons why the implementation of the RDP Policy Framework failed was due to ambiguity (*i.e*. deficient policy formulation) and public opinion - which can be linked to conflict with other directives (such as in the case of the public questioning what in actual fact did the RDP Policy Framework mean for economic policy, as prior to the Office of the RDP being established in the Office of the Presidency, the general public had already questioned what the new economic strategy will entail).

Furthermore, Cloete (2011:77) states that the office of the RDP folded due to the fact that the policy directives demanded high amounts of scarce resources for successful implementation to take place; which at that time the "prevailing economy could not sustain" (Jeffery, 2010:242). Adelzadeh (1996:67) argues that it is reasonable to reason that other factors that contributed to the failure or decision to forgo of the RDP Policy Framework included variables such as the government folding under pressure due to the instability of the exchange rate at that time; "lack of competence and commitment emanating from civil servants due to "cadre deployment and Affirmative Action (AA) (*i.e.* skills shortage in South Africa)"; "inappropriate monetary policies which the then governor of the South African Reserve Bank (Dr Chris Stals) adopted" as well as "succumbing to the policy directives and ideological pressures", which mostly came from international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Adelzadeh, 1996:67; CDE Research, 1999:83; Jeffery, 2010:242).

Soon after, the RDP programme was scrapped in favour of what Mkhize (2015:193) and Aliber (2003:475) describe as the ANC's strategic, orthodox, neoliberal macro-economic policy known as GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) which according to Pottinger (2009:70 & 74) was "firmly based on the Washington Consensus; which was the ten-point package of economic policy prescriptions drawn up by John Williamson in 1989 in order to help countries who found themselves in economic turmoil". Furthermore, GEAR was geared towards "rebuilding and restructuring the economy in order to fulfil the goals of the RDP" (Moyo & Mamobolo, 2014:948; Cloete, 2011:77; Jeffery, 2010:259; Habib, 2013:75-90). This introduced one further problem,

which was the non-social acceptance of this particular policy as critics[29] of this specific public policy viewed the GEAR policy as having failed to address pressing economic issues pertaining to unemployment and poverty (Aliber, 2003:475) (Habib, 2013:81). Additionally, Pottinger (2009:69) states that GEAR was surrounded by various aspects of controversy when the then Minister of Finance, Trevor Manuel 'implied' during his budget speech that GEAR as a policy document was not "open to amendment". The implication that the policy document itself would not be open to amendment led to critics of the policy document questioning the validity thereof, stating that in a new democracy such as South Africa, it is imperative that South Africa's public policies be an "embodiment of negotiated outcomes" (Pottinger, 2009:69).

Linking the discussion back to GEAR being "firmly based on the Washington Consensus", the study hypothesises that one of the main reasons that led to GEAR not succeeding as envisioned, was due to the fact that the GEAR policy document was firmly based on the Washington Consensus as stated by Pottinger (2009:70). Although the Washington Consensus had ten main policy changes which focussed on three main general approaches in the reform of government policies (Pottinger, 2009:70&74; Gore, 2000:789-802); this was problematic because the present study is of the view that the Washington Consensus failed to mention which approach policy-makers should take, and what they had to consider when drawing up these policies in order to assist economic development in the undeveloped regions/countries of the world. For example, it was not clear whether they had to consider whether policy problems were regarded within a global or national frame of reference, because is always vital to consider that what worked for the USA or any other Northern American/European countries would not necessarily work for country A or Region A, especially when one takes into account that countries such as the USA have been practising democracy for a long time, while regions such as Latin America and Africa are classified under the third wave of democratisation.

Therefore, the study opines that the Mbeki administration was supposed to contemplate questions such as how the Washington Consensus could offer a solution to problems that are unique to South Africa, particularly economic problems, while at the same time respecting the fact that South Africa was still going through a fragile transition which still needed some aspects of consolidation. This is true especially looking at the history of the country, and taking into account that South Africa is still a new democracy, and emerged from a regime of authoritarianism (Apartheid) and colonisation, and as such there were still some elements of fragility which included the "transformation processes and radical changes in the economic;

[29] Some of the critics of GEAR included COSATU (unionists) and the SACP (communists) whom according to Jeffery (2010:195) began to "mobilise with increasing stridency against GEAR's conservative fiscal and monetary stance" (Habib, 2013:87).

social; political and cultural arenas in South Africa and moving away from a racial oligarchy regime towards a more egalitarian society" (Wnuk-Lipinski & Fuchs, 2005:39-41).

Furthermore, policy-makers were supposed to address the critical issue of who was GEAR really going to benefit, if it was going to be based on the Washington Consensus. One could even postulate that the Washington Consensus was developed as a facade that would make less developed and still developing countries 'more' dependent on the countries from the northern hemisphere or other support mechanisms such as the IMF and World Bank (an example would be where Jason Symoniak and John Williamson stated that there should be competitive exchange rates, where the developing countries should adopt a competitive exchange rate that will strengthen exports by making them cheaper abroad (Gore, 2000:789).

Additionally, the policy-makers were supposed take into consideration that not all of the ten topics addressed in the Washington Consensus would be as useful as Williamson has envisioned them to be, since each country is a unique case on its own. One further fallacy of basing GEAR using the Washington Consensus as a guideline was that the Washington Consensus was not developed together with developing countries, thus failing to recognise that at the end of the day, developing countries were the clients, and they were supposed to be consulted in the entire process (Gore, 2000:789-802). As a result of these points, the study opines that elements such as administrative capacity; insufficient resources; policy ambiguity and social acceptance were not the only determinants of GEAR not succeeding; it was and is still South Africa's obsession and widespread tendency of applying Western solutions to local problems that contributed to some aspects of the policy not doing exceptionally well.

Furthermore, shortly after GEAR was introduced, it was no surprise when Adelzadeh (1996:67) hypothesised that GEAR did not "(a) provide neither sound analytical arguments nor convincing empirical evidence for its main proposals; (b) there were flaws and inconsistencies in its conceptualisation; its policy proposals, and its empirical projections; (c) the policy has not integrated some of the main issues of economic transformation in its modelling exercise and proposed scenarios; and, (d) will fail in meaningfully addressing let alone transforming the inherited inequities of the apartheid system" (Adelzadeh, 1996:68). One additional feature that Adelzadeh (1996:68) mentioned when reasoning why GEAR would potentially fail, was that certain stakeholders during the proposed policy growth framework were not consulted; and the main model used to craft the proposed policy growth framework of GEAR was never made public. As a result, the main model used to craft the proposed policy growth framework of GEAR was never subjected to "independent and rigorous debate by professional economists" but also the broader society (Adelzadeh, 1996:68). Consequently, when Pottinger (2009:70) undertook to analyse and review the policy document dating back from its date of inception, this led to the

author branding the GEAR policy document as a policy that was "divisive; acrimonious; divertive and misunderstood".

One other example regarding the issue of compliance and non-compliance is when in South Africa the e-tolling system was implemented. What happened then was that the general public rejected the policy; individuals and interest groups such as Vavi Zwelinzima; OUTA (Opposed to Urban Tolling Alliance); and TAG (The Tollgate Action Group) were vehemently against the policy from the outset. Interest groups went as far as taking the Bill to court in order to challenge the constitutionality thereof; as well as hosting massive protest action against the Bill (Serrao, 2013:4; Dlamini, 2014:7; Jadoo, 2013:7; Watson, 2014:3). As such, the rejection of the e-tolling system by the general public is a clear illustration of a public policy failing due to non-compliance.

The above scenarios (the RDP; GEAR policy frameworks and the e-tolling system) highlight why government should take the views of all relevant stakeholders into account and not act unilaterally. The above examples of policy failures in South Africa reflect that some of South Africa's policy failures were due to variables relating to the general public not welcoming and complying with the policy once it has been adopted, even after an effort has been made in the implementation of the policy such as in the case of the e-tolling system. Furthermore, in the case of GEAR and the e-tolls, it can be argued that the challenge that faced both policies was based on the fact that some of the relevant stakeholders were not activated until the implementation of the policies had begun. As a result, there was a lack of support of those policies. Consequently, the above discussion aligns with Mkhize's (2015:193) argument, when he argued that some of South Africa's challenges in implementing its public policies are as a result of "systematic problems relating to the lack of consultation and participation around policy choices" in all spheres of government (national; provincial and local government) as well as government not honouring their social commitment to social democracy.

In addition, it can be argued that South Africa's inability to rely on generating solutions that are feasible to South Africa's political climate is what has led to some public policies failing, such as in the case of GEAR being inspired by the Washington Consensus and scholars such as John Maynard Keynes (hence GEAR being described as containing elements of Keynesian economics).

4.5.3 REDISTRIBUTION AND DISTRIBUTIVE PROBLEMS

Parsons (1995:481) made an important argument when he stated that the effectiveness of PPI will "vary across policy types and policy issues". It is therefore not surprising that one challenge that modern South Africa faces is the fact that the new democratic dispensation that came into

power inherited many existing inequalities (Pottinger, 2009:72; Wnuk-Lipinski & Fuchs, 2005:40-42). One example is the health system which, according to Stuckler *et al*. (2011:170), was utterly and unequivocally inequitable. Stuckler *et al*. (2011:170) state that due to the multitude of problems the ANC government inherited from the Apartheid government, there had to be policy changes. However, some of those policy changes where only effected as from 1999. Even though those policy changes favoured redistribution (*i.e.* redistributive policies), problems arose due to incapacity, which determined how funds were allocated. As a result, Stuckler *et al.* (2011:170) state that certain policies where not successfully implemented. Therefore, one of South Africa's main problems in PPI lies in the failure to implement redistributive policies accordingly.

The above argument can be supported by the fact that even though policies such as the RDP Policy Framework; GEAR; ASGISA (Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa); BEE; BBBEE (Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment) and AA were designed towards economic and social redistribution and wealth redistribution (Cloete, 2011:77) (Pottinger, 2009:74); those policies dismally failed in benefitting the majority of poor South Africans (whom still consists of the majority of black South Africans) (Jeffery, 2010:259). Although GEAR and ASGISA, according to Cloete (2011:77), did manage to achieve a "higher economic growth rate in the country from 1998" as envisioned in its policy documents, it failed to alleviate the high levels of poverty in the country. The failure for the policy frameworks to meet their intended objectives according to Jeffery (2010:195 & 259) was due to the strategies of the policy frameworks not being properly implemented. Instead, what adversely happened, is that GEAR and ASGISA benefitted the already opulent members of society and betrayed the poor members of society.

The same can be said about the BEE programme. The BEE programme, which is a policy document that was introduced in 1998 before Thabo Mbeki came into power in 1999, was designed to effect the redistribution of wealth from the white minority community to the majority of the black community (Cloete, 2011:77). However, the only thing it managed to do was to advantage a small number of black elites whom already had political affiliations to the ruling party (the ANC) (Cloete, 2011:77). Thus, instead of the BEE programme speeding up the process of "wealth redistribution from the white minority community to the majority of the black community", it only benefitted a few, failing to have a "desired effect on the poorest segments of the black society" (Cloete, 2011:78).

Additionally, in South Africa there is a current policy document which is a "long-term development vision" and is in the process of being implemented until the year 2030 (Moyo & Mamobolo, 2014:955) (Salgado, 2013:18). The policy document is the National Development Plan (NDP) which was approved in 2012 by the Cabinet and which has also been described as

an “incontestably good” plan (Alloggio & Thomas, 2013:110). However, there have been discrepancies that have been noted with the policy. One discrepancy that the critics of the NDP has noted, is its lack of commitment to tackle transformation and redistribution issues (Moyo & Mamobolo, 2014:955). According to Moyo and Mamobolo (2014:955) this discrepancy can be noted in the sixth chapter of the NDP policy document which touches on the issue of ‘Inclusive Rural Economy’. Moyo and Mamobolo (2014:955) state that the fallacy that the NDP policy document has committed is its inability to stipulate the targets of how to go about achieving land reform[30]. Furthermore, even though strategies are presented, Moyo and Mamobolo (2014:955) are of the opinion that these strategies presented lack the aptitude to produce the anticipated outcomes, especially in relation to the “transfer of land to the black population”. When this happens, the issue of non-compliance or social acceptance comes to the fore, as Moyo and Mamobolo (2014:955) state that with regards to the transfer of land to the black masses, most businesses are largely against land reform as they believe that the transfer of land will erode their business confidence. As such this aspect in the NDP policy document is already challenged and causing the postponement (implementation) of land reform as businesses are lobbying against it (Moyo & Mamobolo, 2014:955).

Moreover, not only is South Africa failing in implementing its redistributive policies, there is a major concern when it comes to the distribution of basic services. The upkeep of basic services such as electricity; water; sanitation; education; health; housing and road maintenance is a constant struggle in South Africa (Cloete, 2011:78) (Booysen, 2009:17). Cloete (2011:78) states that President Jacob Zuma back in 2010 on the 11th of February during his first State of the Nation address at the opening of Parliament, indicated that the reason why South Africa was still struggling with the implementation of distributive and redistributive policies it was due to elements such as insufficient resources; high levels of immigration rates; “bad service-delivery performance at all levels of government”, particularly in local government; as well as high amounts of corruption; and nepotism found in government (Cloete, 2011:78).

From the above discussion it can be deduced that the problems and challenges that the South African public environment faces with regards to PPI are in relation to redistributive and distributive policies; which equate to not having enough resources to implement the policies (which is worsened by high levels of immigration rates which as a result have an impact on the

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[30] It has been noted that it is not only the issue of land reform that the NDP policy document has failed in stipulating its targets; Alloggio and Thomas (2013:110) state that the entire policy document has not answered the “critical question of how the vision of the future plan can be achieved”. According to Alloggio and Thomas (2013:110) this still remains a mystery.

Additionally, Alloggio and Thomas (2013:110) are also of the opinion that the implementation of the NDP will not be a success due to the NDP failing to address the fact that the ANC has not succeeded in altering the “structural order that made apartheid possible”.

limited resources South Africa has access to); bad service-delivery; as well as elements of corruption and nepotism.

4.5.4 OVERLY OPTIMISTIC POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO PPI PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES? THE ISSUE OF CREDIBILITY; POLITICAL POWER AND ELITISM

According to Moyo and Mamobolo (2014:952) the challenges and problems that many public policy documents face become those of 'credibility', whereby the problem at hand is not satisfactorily diagnosed. According to Moyo and Mamobolo (2014:952) it is not only enough to identify the problem that the policy document must address, but it is also imperative to identify what is the root cause of the problem, as in doing so "lasting solutions" can be found. Moyo and Mamobolo (2014:952) are of the opinion that if policies can identify the root cause of the problem, it then becomes easy to implement the policy as the policy document will have been drawn from the ground up and during formulation and implementation policy-makers and bureaucrats don't have to grasp at straws. Conclusively, Moyo and Mamobolo (2014:952) state that one problem the newly-introduced NDP policy document is defective in includes not providing strategies "that will lead to transformation of the structural order that breeds poverty and inequality". Consequently this type of error committed in the NDP policy document according to Moyo and Mamobolo (2014:952) "casts doubts on the credibility" of the policy document.

Furthermore, Moyo and Mamobolo (2014:952) offer the critique that the NDP strategic solutions do not seem to address the root causes of the problems that have been identified by the NDP. This argument then supports the statement Human (1998:48) made, when he argued that one of South Africa's problems is that the South African public environment has public servants trying to "turn abstract ideas into physical reality without first grasping or engaging with that reality" of which the problem was born from. Furthermore, CDE Research (1999:19) articulates that South Africa's obsession with 'overly optimistic' policies is due to politicians and public officials being influenced by models and ideas extracted from "highly industrialised and rich countries which had not generally been thought through" as witnessed in the case of GEAR being firmly based on the Washington Consensus.

The above stated issue announces one element that has recurrently plagued PPI in South Africa, which is that South Africa has made efforts towards 'symbolic and superficial change' and an "imagined nationhood" (as noted in some of the public policies) while actually not changing the living conditions of the majority of the people (Human, 1998:2) (Alloggio & Thomas, 2013:110). This type of "symbolic and superficial change" has led to what Human (1998:23) has termed "the strategy of the goat" or the "greedy little caste" whom are motivated

only by self-interest and greed. Human (1998:28) describes the strategy of the goat as the tendency whereby the managerial elite view organisations as a basis for individual survival. Tobias and Didier (2010:547) are of the opinion that the strategy the goat uses is that of 'resources'. These resources include bureaucratic capacities, organisational skills, finance and the ability to mobilise funding, knowledge, political alliance, and very importantly to have access to state resources. According to Tobias and Didier (2010:547) what happens is that these resources differ across time, space and political contexts, and furthermore are distributed unequally among competing groups. Which in effect partially accounts for the ability of some groups or actors of public policy and PPI to dominate others politically.

The problem the “strategy of the goat” introduces with regards to PPI it is that “public managers, leaders, and politicians see public institutions as serving them”, rather than the other way round (Human, 1998:29). Furthermore, the “strategy of the goat” has made outsourcing in South Africa pose many challenges to PPI. This is due to the fact that outsourcing has introduced a new caste of elites known as ‘tenderpreneurs’. Mackenzie-Hoy (2010) defines tenderpreneurs as people who have made an astonishing amount of money from a contract (usually obtained from national government, provincial government, or a municipal tender) and it has been awarded for some sort of service to be delivered. The controversy surrounding the tenderpreneur system it is that it is a system perceived as corrupt whereby the tenderpreneur who wins the tender is perceived as being awarded that tender unfairly through political connections; as such Mackenzie-Hoy (2010) is of the view tenderpreneurs are making a select few wealthy and doing nothing for the population at large.

Fundamentally, what is also palpable throughout this discussion is the importance of political power and how political power can hinder the successful implementation of public policies. As noted above, the reason why various important policies have failed to deliver adequately was due to the fact that only a few elite members of society benefitted from policies that the general public should benefit from, therefore bringing into play the role overly optimistic public policies play in issues such as credibility; political power and elitism. This as ascertained with policies such as BEE and BBBEE.

4.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO SUB-SECTION

As South Africa is a new democracy and also one of the countries with the biggest divides between the poor and rich; it cannot be denied that the South African government has worked hard to design public policies which are for the betterment and well-being of all South Africans, especially the poor. However, there is a discrepancy in government’s efforts to implement these public policies. Government seems to neglect or lack what Meier (2000:94) describes as “robust clientele; knowledge; leadership and cohesion” which needs to be present in the policy process

(especially the first two legs of the policy process). The study is not denying that the South African public is generally active in the public policy process, but there are instances when even ‘robust clientele’ is present, but government still fails to respond adequately.

Furthermore, it seems that in the implementation of these policies there is often at times lack of knowledge and leadership absent in the implementation of these policies. Instead politicians and bureaucrats alike are in the midst of being accused of the misappropriation of public funds; maladministration and contravening some sort of procedures or guidelines. Additionally, there are often at times a lack of cohesion between the participants (the policy actors). This might be due to the fact that even though a policy (such as in the case of the e-tolling system) might be deemed to be a 'bad policy', under no circumstances is it unconstitutional, thus making the policy binding on the public. The problem that arises with regard to policies such as the e-tolling system it is that a cost is imposed upon the public. As such compliance becomes a factor in determining the successful implementation of the policy. Moreover, Parsons (1995:481) and (McLaughlin, 1987:173) state that for PPI to be successful there ought to be compliance and consensus among policy actors. This leads to the supposition that there is a breakdown in the implementation of the Easton Model. Where constant feedback and communication are needed among all participants in the public policy process, this leads to the deduction that somewhere, somehow, the public voices get droned out. In addition, the outcomes of public policies are not as the public expects them to be.

In addition, South Africa struggles with the implementation ‘gap’ in the sense that the implementation gap is too wide due to the ‘unrealistic’ expectations some actors of public policy harbour towards public policies, particularly policies that are to their advantage, which then to a certain extent leads to some of the problems and challenges South Africa faces with regard to PPI. This is what tends to lead to civil disturbances in societies, where members of the public take to the street in order to air their grievances. Therefore, Cairney (2012:34) is of the view that an implementation gap can be identified which can offer a compromise between the expectations of the policymakers and the actual policy outcome. Perhaps this ‘solution’ provided by Cairney (2012:34) can cushion against bureaucrats having to implement policies that lack a “great deal of direction”.

Essentially what can be deduced in a nutshell from the above discussion of the problems and challenges of PPI in the South Africa is that (1) South Africa has policies that are not appropriate or fitting in the context in which they are applied/implemented (Human, 1998:49); (2) South Africa focuses more on methodology (hence we have good policies) and adopting western solutions and applying them to local problems, which can stand in the way of delivery (Human, 1998:211); (3) We are fixated on the means and not on the ends (Human, 1998:210). (4) We are a heterogeneous nation; which means that in the implementation of a public

policy/policies one or more section of society is bound to be neglected and furthermore heterogeneity becomes a problem when government needs everyone to get on board with a policy, hence social-compliance becomes a factor in PPI in South Africa. In the ensuing sub-section of the chapter, the bearing the problems and challenges of PPI has on a democracy or the functioning of a democracy in the South African context will be discussed.

4.7 PPI PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES: BEARING ON SOUTH AFRICA'S DEMOCRACY?

One of the research objectives the study set out to achieve was "to analyse the bearing the problems and challenges of PPI has on a democracy or the functioning of a democracy in the South African context". In order to achieve the above stated objective; identified problems and challenges regarding PPI have been explored by way of the theoretical knowledge gained from chapters 2; 3 and the first two sub-sections of chapter 4. Therefore, this sub-section subsequently embarks on addressing the impact PPI problems and challenges have on South Africa's young democracy.

In the introductory chapter, it was noted that South Africa's Constitution and system of democracy makes for the provision of both a representative and participatory (direct) elements of democracy. This system of democracy in South Africa necessitates that the public policy making process must encompass democratic and "unmediated and continuous participation of citizens" (Freedman, 2013:23) (Currie *et al*., 2001:66). It has been continuously mentioned in the study of how important participatory democracy is, because when those that are in power stifle the voices of the general public, problems do arise which are usually aligned with non-compliance. It has been noted in both chapter 2 and 3 that South Africa makes use of both the elite/mass theory model and also the top-down approach. Both approaches have their own strengths and weaknesses (depending on the type of policy and policy issue). However, it can be deducted that both models do not serve PPI in South Africa nor South Africa's democracy that well. This is due to the fact that the study has indicated thus far that during PPI; the elite members of society (which consists of the economic elites; wealthy people; political parties; business executives; ruling class and the educated members of society) are the ones benefitting from public policies which were not designed with them in mind, as such sabotaging efforts made towards implementing public policies successfully.

This failure to implement policies adequately has in the past as well as the present led to protests which have turned violent and taken lives (Salgado, 2013:17). Furthermore, due to the frequent occurrences of these protests, South Africa has been dubbed "the protest capital of the world" (*see* Figure 18) (Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 2009) (Mosupi *et al*., 2016) (Booysen, 2009:17). The challenge that the top-down approach presents to the South African

context is that the model itself is classified as consisting of “traditional, elitist conceptions of representative democracy”. Even though the South African Constitution caters for a representative democracy, this model is not advisable to be frequently applied in the South African setting as the majority of times it only recognises elected representatives as the ‘only’ actors in the public policy process. This becomes a challenge as the study has constantly indicated that all policy actors are needed and necessary (especially in the first two stages of the public policy process). Hence South Africa has problems with the implementation of its policies as the general public are seen to be side-lined and the elite are benefitting.

To answer the core question of whether the problems and challenges of PPI have an impact on the functioning of a democracy in the South African context; the answer is both yes and no. Lack of PPI or failure to do so promotes a participatory democracy where citizens are vocal about policy matters (which is good for the strengthening of a democracy as the crux of a democracy is government for the people by the people). However, when there is a lack of PPI or failure to implement policies, that causes defectiveness and poses a threat to the functioning of a democracy as people can get violent.

In addition, Sebola (2014:30) and Bond (2014:1-3) and Akinboade *et al.* (2014:1) have stated that the danger of the South African government of being unable to implement policies correctly has led to “unacceptable service delivery backlogs and problems which has the ability to threaten internal peace and stability”, which may represent serious challenges to the sustainability of constitutional democracy. In summation, PPI problems and challenges can impede South Africa’s young democracy from maturing, as South Africans often exercise their right to participatory democracy through acts of wanton violence (such as destroying public property; acts of arson *etc.*), which can at times lead to a close calling of a state of emergency; as currently witnessed with the Fees Must Fall movement protests, where students are currently violently protesting and stating that the current ruling government has failed in implementing its policies towards a fee-free higher education.

Below is figure 18, which is a representation of the number of protests per year in South Africa between the years 2007 to 2012. Averweg and Leaning (2015:104) state that South Africa has witnessed a spread of local community protests since 2004 being that protest action tends to take place on the local government level (Booysen, 2009:21). However, there was a “dramatic upsurge of protests in 2009 and 2010” (as presented on figure 18). The high number of protests according to Salgado (2013:15) and Averweg and Leaning (2015:104) is due to a “deep-seated frustration from protestors” who are of the opinion that government is not responding to their most basic needs and that policies that have been drafted to serve them (as in the case of distributive policies), are doing so inadequately. Consequently, this form of behaviour emanating from large sections of communities in South Africa as a result of the South African

public environment failing in implementing public policies efficiently has resulted in the "collective trauma of the paradoxical new democracy in South Africa" (Averweg & Leaning, 2015:104).

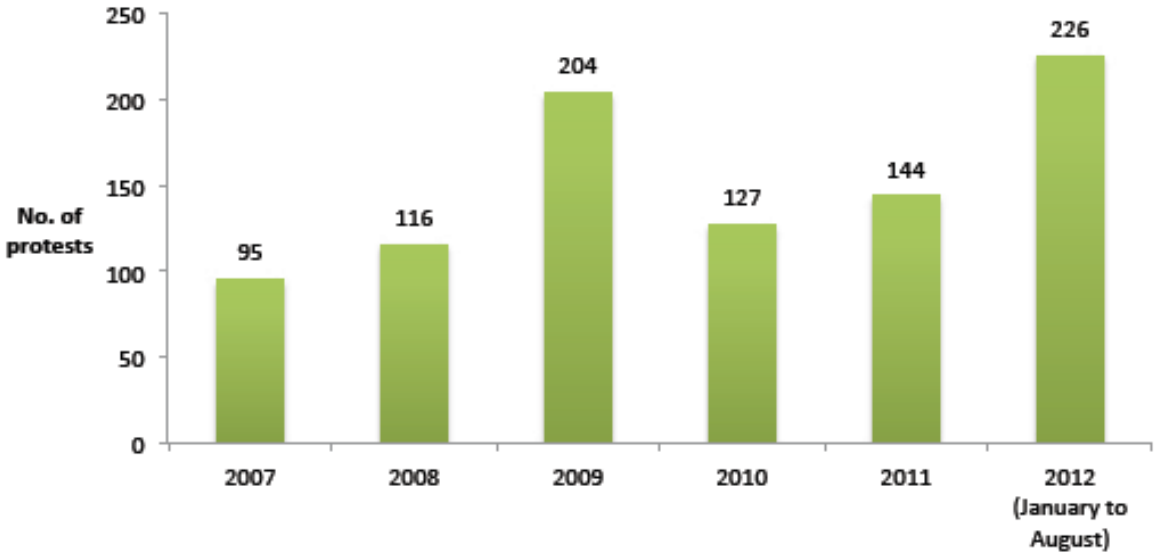

Figure 18: Number of Protests per year in South Africa (2007-2012)

Source: Salgado (2013:15)

In consummation, in order for South Africa to honour its commitment to liberal democracy, the study opines that the South African public environment should conceivably implement public policies in such a manner that does not promote social alienation among the diverse sectors; communities; physical; political; economic and ideological landscapes found across South Africa. As Wnuk-Lipinski and Fuchs (2005:41) affirmed that if liberal democracy fails in South Africa, it will subsequently be as a result of failing to address policies that honour economic and social redistribution along with other policy types and policy problems. Furthermore, it will be of great justice to entrust public policies in the hands of government departments who have the administrative capacity to implement public policies adequately and not succumb to mal-administration nor provide political 'goats' with access to resources that ought to be used for the successful implementation of public policies.

4.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter was divided into three (3) main sub-sections. The first sub-section looked at the general contributors of problems and challenges that PPI normally faces. It was generally concluded that a combination of all of the above stated problems and challenges of PPI can

cause a general lack of PPI. The second subsection exclusively looked at how the discussed contributors of PPI had an influence on PPI failure in South Africa. This was done by means of using public policies that had already been drafted and did not do as well as imagined. During the discussion in the second sub-section, there is one pattern that emerged. The pattern that emerged is that the contributors of PPI problems and challenges are intertwined and that it is normal for a public policy to be unsuccessful due to more than one problem or challenge. For example, several of the public policies combined suffered from a combination of being overly optimistic; not all actors being aboard with the public policy in question; lack of administrative capacity and resources. Therefore it was interesting to see this type of pattern emerge in the study alluding to the fact that a public policy can be susceptible to more than one policy discrepancy.

Additionally, the final sub-section of this chapter concentrated on answering one of the core research questions of this study which was geared towards finding an answer to the extent PPI has an impact on South Africa's young democracy. It was concluded that PPI can have a positive or negative effect. However, in the South African context it was noted that lack of PPI or failure to implement public policies adequately yields a combination that is both negative but also positive to South Africa's democracy as lack of PPI or failure to implement public policies usually showcases South Africa's democracy in action as citizens becomes active and vigilant when policies that where directed towards their betterment and standard of life are not correctly implemented.

To conclude on this chapter, the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE Research) (1999:7) stated that in order for a public policy to succeed; elements such as a pragmatic assessment of the state capacity; and a meticulous assessment weighing the pitfalls of policy initiatives should be constant features in the public policy. In this chapter, it was noted that the South African public environment does face challenges when it comes to administrative capacity and overly optimistic policies which can be cautioned by assessing the state capacity; weighing the pitfalls of policy initiatives and satisfactorily diagnosing the problem at hand. However, all of the above mentioned must be done during the agenda setting stage which is the first stage in the public policy-making process.

Mistakes such as not adequately diagnosing the problem are due to the following three steps which enables for a policy issue to land on the agenda setting being absent. These steps that ought to be followed are: Namely problem identification; Step 2: Determining which problem is of importance; and Step 3: Outlining the nature of the problem (Cairney, 2012:33). As stated in chapter 2, for the problem to be correctly identified it is imperative that the agenda setting (especially in a democracy) should be characterised by a "high degree of public involvement" (Jones, 1977:34). As Moyo and Mamobolo (2014:952) has stated that it is imperative that the

root cause of the problem is identified. As in doing so “lasting solutions” can be found. However, in order for that to happen, public policy has to be collectively influenced by actors whom are within or outside government as it will be neglectful to only focus on a small throng of policy actors (Jann & Wegrich, 2007:46). Furthermore, when this happens, the bottom-up model is seen to be in play as it is argued that the bottom-up model paves the way for ‘true democracy’ to come into play as it is reasoned that true democracy can only occur in a true ‘participatory model of democracy’ (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:468, Pülzl & Treib, 2007:95).

Moreover, Cloete (2011:78) is of the opinion that South Africa should transform itself into a developmental state, the reason being that the developmental state has a higher chance of providing “stronger leadership and guidance from the top”, which will assist in reaching the goals of social and economic transformation in the country as articulated in policies such as RDP Policy Framework; GEAR; ASGISA; BEE; BBBEE; AA and the NDP. Furthermore, possibly to lessen PPI failure and strengthen South Africa’s democracy; South Africa has a duty of applying Human’s (1998:209) principles which include “consultation; participation’ consensus; and transparency[31]”. Human (1998:209) argues that those four principles are “important cornerstones of South Africa’s new democratic society”

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[31] There might be conflicting views that state that in the policies given to outline the implementation failure in South Africa that indeed policy documents drafted made use of Human’s principles; however what must be noted is that not all actors views are taken into consideration; therefore there is lack of consultation and participation which leads to lack of consensus and transparency in the policy process.

CHAPTER 5: ADDRESSING THE IDENTIFIED PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF PPI WITHIN A NEW DEMOCRATIC DISPENSATION - SUMMARY; FINDINGS; RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The study has reached an apex where it calls for an in-depth analysis of what has been discussed thus far. In the introductory chapter it was stated that the primary purpose of chapter five will be that of serving to arrive at the conclusions to the study by summarising the findings of the study in relation to PPI and the bearing PPI has on a democracy or the functioning of a democracy in the South African context. Furthermore, chapter five will also suggest recommendations of what the preconditions for successful PPI should comprise of.

5.2 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

5.2.1 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS: CHAPTER ONE

Chapter one of the study was devoted to setting the tone of the study. From the onset of the study, it was indicated that good policies are needed in any self-respecting democracy, as well as the correct implementation of these policies. In the effort to commence with the study, it was seen as fitting to provide a general contextual synopsis of what public policy is. This was done by means of accessing the numerous works and literature of public policy scholars. By determining beforehand what *public policy* meant as a term, the study quickly realised that public policy and PPI in general were highly recommended in assisting in the strengthening of a democracy. In defining the term 'public policy', the study noted that the results that the literature produced, focussed on involving all the necessary role-players of public policy. The introductory chapter also revealed that public policy is mainly about "doing", meaning that a public policy is not merely a document; it is a document that has intent; and that intent can be ostensible. Furthermore, that intent must be brought to life by means of implementing it. In order for that to occur, those in charge of implementing the public policy must be well-trained. Hence, the Easton System Model[32] became one of the main features of the study from the onset; indicating the numerous factors that has to be taken into consideration during the entire policy process.

Chapter one further indicated that public policies do have political ramifications due to the fact that public policies are the outcomes of political activity which are influenced by a 'symbolic political appeal' as well as a political ideology. Therefore, the implementation of public policies should not be taken lightly. Furthermore, the administration of public policies embodies politics

[32] *See* Figure 2.

and administration. Both disciplines feed off each other; and in order for a public policy to succeed, politics and administration should be taken into account. Chapter one further introduced the concept of the dichotomy of politics-administration[33] and how that is supplementary to politics and administration.

Further into chapter one, the contextual background on PPI was provided, particularly taking into cognisance that the study is centred on PPI and what role PPI plays towards a democracy. With the discussion on PPI, the study noted that PPI cannot be divorced from society's modern-day political systems; nor the administrative and political environment[34]. Furthermore, chapter one alluded to the fact that PPI is not one-dimensional as it is reliant on many factors, such as the policy's feasibility; the economic and political climate in which the policy is to be implemented; the effectiveness of the government structures responsible with the implementation of the policy; as well as assessing to what extent is the implementation of the policy still aligned with the policy directives. Chapter one also enlightened the study to take into consideration the approaches; models and theories; as those aid in providing the parameter/s on how to go about executing policies that are awaiting implementation.

After the contextual background of public policy and PPI had been provided for, the next focus of the chapter was on PPI in South Africa. The section was approached by looking at some of the challenges PPI has been facing in South Africa. Some of the challenges and problems that emanated early on in the study were those of a lack of consultation; non-compliance; applying western way of thinking to African/local issues; entrusting PPI in the hands of public servants that were not well equipped with the necessary skills or expertise to deal with the enormous task of implementing a public policy/policies successfully. Chapter one was then rounded off by providing the problem statement of the study; the research questions; the research objectives; the leading theoretical statements/arguments; the research methodology and the research design; the databases that would be consulted for the literature review study; the provisional chapter layout and finally the significance of the study.

5.2.2 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS: CHAPTER TWO

The study found it obligatory that from the outset a chapter be dedicated to the macro-theoretical context of public policy and the policy-making process. The chapter that was assigned this task was chapter two of the study. Conversely, in order to meet the objectives of the chapter; it was imperative that focus be given to the theoretical discussion on the theoretical perspectives and theories and models of public policy. This was done by dividing the chapter into six (6) sub-sections. The sub-sections were as follows: The introduction that gave an overall

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[33] *See* Figure 1.
[34] *See* Figures 1 and 2.

overview of the chapter; 'a further exploration on the theoretical foundations of public policy'; the 'types of public policy'; the importance of theories and models as foundations of studying a phenomenon; and then finally the chapter was rounded off with a discussion of the stages theory as primary theory for public policy and a conclusion.

Chapter two shed plenty of light regarding public policy as a field of interest in Political Studies, such as illuminating the notion that public policy is multi-faceted and that it is founded on two broad platforms; namely Political Sciences/Studies and Public Administration. Chapter two further indicated that public policy was influenced by a myriad of activities which included forces such as economics; society and politics. Subsequently after the chapter had furnished an extensive discussion on the theoretical foundations of public policy; the discussion then progressed into a discussion of the 'types of public policy'[35]. The notable scholar that emerged during the discussion on public policy types (also referred to as a policy taxonomy/typology) was Theodore Lowi (1972). Policy typologies emerged as being important to the discussion on public policy; as policy typologies enabled the policy-maker the luxury to decide on the style and bearing a public policy will have for the individual and collective at large.

Four policy typologies which were identified by Lowi were discussed. They were distributive; redistributive; regulatory; and constituent public policies. It was further indicated by De Coning and Wissink (2011:15) that policy typologies had the objective of being based on sectoral classifications/clusters. For example a policy on HIV/AIDS will fall under the sectoral cluster of 'welfare policies' or the sectoral cluster of 'community and human development'. Distributive policies were explained as policies leaning more towards problem solving and operating in a docile political environment. Distributive policies' main purpose is the distribution of resources. Therefore, redistributive policies will rely more on experimental, administrative and political implementation[36]. Redistributive public policies (also known as allocative policies) are understood as the redistribution, transfer or reallocation of resources from one collective group to another. However, the study noticed that redistributive policies were also characterised by conflict, as resources were reallocated from one collective group to another collective group. Therefore redistributive policies have the ability of creating an environment characterised by high amounts of conflict during the implementation stage as they are intensely political, difficult, unfavourable and controversial to adopt and implement (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:108) (Meier, 2000:81). As a result, redistributive policies leaned more towards political and symbolic implementation[37].

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35 *See* Figure 3 and 4.
36 *See* Figure 15.
37 *See* Figure 15.

Regulatory policies were explained as policies that aim to regulate the public at large, such as regulating the age at which persons can drink or drive; regulating road rules and how companies run their businesses. Furthermore, regulatory policies were divided into competitive regulation and protective regulation. As a result, regulatory policies lean more towards administrative and political implementation[38]. The last policy typology as identified by Lowi was constituent policies. The constituent policies were defined as policies that encompassed government and/or a country as a whole. The study noted that out of all Lowi's policy types, constituent policies were the policies with the least conflict as they were generated to benefit both the nation state and the public at large (Meier, 2000:106). Therefore constituent policies leaned more towards administrative implementation[39]. The chapter cautioned that not all policies will fall or fit into Lowi's policy taxonomy. As a result, the substantive policy type was introduced. The substantive policy type offers the advantage of indicating what government can do. This can range from a variety of substantive areas such as education to the economy. Furthermore, the chapter indicated that substantive policy had the advantage of addressing a policy issue effectively. As a result substantive policies will lean more towards administrative implementation[40].

The discussion of policy types was followed by 'the importance of theories and models as foundation of studying a phenomenon'. The sub-section then commenced with a definition on theories and models. Theories were simply defined as being simplistic and descriptive in nature, whilst models on the other hand required more explanation and entailed exploration. The theories and models that were discussed in chapter two were the elite/mass theory; group theory; institutional theory; rational choice theory; the political systems theory and the policy process model.

The study revealed that the elite theory was a theory that was founded upon the notion that only a small elite group should lead the collective public; and that the collective public where not capable of understanding nor making rational decisions in the public policy process. Furthermore, the elite theory is a theory that makes the voices of the 'knowledgeable' elite triumph during the public policy-making process, as a result stifling the voices of the populous general public. The following model of public policy that was discussed was the group theory model. The group theory model is recognised by the study to be one of the most important and applicable models of public policy and PPI, for the main reason that the study constantly hammered on the importance of including everyone during the public policy process. Moreover, the study is of the opinion that no individual, regardless of social standing, should ever be

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38 *See* Figure 15.
39 *See* Figure 15.
40 *See* Figure 15.

excluded in the important mechanism which is known as public policy (especially in a democratic dispensation). Consequently, the study observed the group theory model to contain everyone from all walks of society. Including ordinary members of society; trade unions; NGOs; businesses; churches; political parties; the bureaucracy, just to mention a few.

The next theory that was discussed was the institutional-based theory model, also referred to as the classical theory of public policy. This theory's focus is on the integral role that government institutions play in the formulating; adopting; implementing and the evaluation of a public policy. The institutional-based theory model is imperative in the public policy making process for the main reason that public policy starts and end in governmental structures. The next theory that was discussed was the rational choice theory (also acknowledged as public choice and formal theory (Cairney, 2012:132) which draws heavily on economics (particularly micro-economic theory). The rational choice theory hinges upon the principle that public policy is a rational process which requires rational thinking and rational decision-making. The next theory that was discussed was the political systems theory. From the outset of the study, the political systems theory[41] was the theory that featured most, as it is the most comprehensive model and most general amongst other theories, and then followed by the group theory. The political systems theory is viewed by the study as simply translating 'inputs' (demands) from the public into policy 'outputs' which arise from the environment (*i.e.* public opinion and interest group pressures) (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:83) by institutions and activities of government.

The next sub-section of the chapter was 'the stages theory as primary theory for public policy[42]'. The study opined that 'without a policy cycle; there will be no public policy as any policy is as a result of the different processes it underwent'. The stages theory as primary theory for public policy is a theory model that acknowledges the actors of public policy across the various stages of the public policy making process. Furthermore, the stages theory as primary theory for public policy is one model of public policy that is inclusive on how decisions were made; as facilitating the understanding of the sequence of events; and as well as serving the aspect of the functional side of public policy (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:85) (Dunn, 2008:45) (Skok, 1995:326). Additionally, the policy cycle can be prescriptive or descriptive. The chapter and sub-section of 'the stages theory as primary theory for public policy' were rounded off with a discussion of the four general functional stages or phases which are the expected route that any public policy is expected to go through and a conclusion of the chapter.

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41 *See* Figure 2.
42 *See* Figures 9 and 10.

5.2.3 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS: CHAPTER THREE

For the main reason that the locus of the study was on PPI, it was imperative that the study had an entire chapter dedicated to the 'theoretical perspectives and foundations of PPI' which included an extensive discussion of what PPI is; the approaches/models and actors of PPI. The chapter that was assigned with this task was chapter three of the study. Chapter three commenced with an introduction which introduced some notable scholars of PPI such as Meter and Van Horn (1975); Berman (1978); Lipsky (1978); Rein and Rabinovitz (1978); Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980); Parsons (1995) and De Leon and De Leon (2002) just to mention a few. From the commencement of the chapter, Van Meter and Van Horn's (1975:448) point of view regarding the fact that implementation studies asks: "Why did policy happen the way it did?" became a vital question to be kept in mind for the remaining duration of the study. As the study intrinsically wanted to find out why PPI occurred the way it did in South Africa's democracy, Van Meter and Van Horn's (1975) stance later became important for chapter four of the study. Furthermore, it was established from the beginning of the chapter that PPI requires proper 'institutional structures and arrangements' to be in place (Knill & Tosum, 2012:165). The need and requirement for proper 'institutional structures and arrangements' turned out to be a constant feature in chapter four when the factors that were or could be influencing implementation failure in South Africa were discussed.

The chapter yielded results such as how PPI processes can be assessed based on Martin Rein and Francine Rabinovitz's (1978:308) three "imperatives", which were legal intent; the rational-bureaucratic imperative and the final one, consensus. Additionally, chapter three gave various definitions of PPI from various scholars and academics of PPI, but for the main purpose of the study, the study simply understood PPI to be the political administration of ideologies. The introduction was then followed by a discussion on the 'key components of PPI'. The 'key components of PPI' included the idealised policy; the standards and objectives of the public policy; the target group (the consumers of the public policy); the implementing organisation (governmental bureaucracy); 'structure of the personnel'; the leadership of the administration; the implementing capacity of the governmental bureaucracy responsible for implementing the public policy; availability of resources and environmental factors. The discussion of the 'key components of PPI' was supported by figure 2 of the Easton System Model; figures 12.1 and 12.2.

After the discussion on the 'key components of PPI', this was then followed by the 'approaches; theories and models of PPI'. This was an important discussion as the various models of PPI accorded the study the bases from which descriptions and analysis of PPI can be approached. The approaches that were discussed included the top-down model (also known as the classic model of policy-making and PPI) which is a model founded upon the notion that PPI

commences with a decision taken by “central government or the legislature” and how the public policy is carried out at the bottom (Brynard *et al.,* 2011:139) (Cairney, 2012:37). The following approach that was discussed was the bottom-up model of PPI, also known as the integrationist model of policy-making and PPI. The bottom-up model of PPI was a critique of the top-down model and was founded upon the notion that everyone should partake in the policy process and that public policies should not be defined at the central level of government (Pülzl & Treib, 2007:92). The final approach discussed was the hybrid model of PPI which was a combination of the top-down and bottom-up model of PPI. The combination of both models was as a result of linking the “the macro-world of the policy-makers” with that of the “micro-world of the policy implementers” (Knill & Tosum, 2012:154).

The discussion of the ‘approaches, theories and models of PPI’ was then followed by ‘PPI actors’. The discussion indicated the pivotal role actors of public policy and PPI play. The actors of PPI that were discussed included public officials, political actors and the role of the bureaucracy; legislators; courts; interest groups (pressure groups); community institutions (institutional groups); and informal groups as PPI actors influencing and informing PPI in an informal political space. The chapter was rounded off with a conclusion giving an overview of the chapter.

5.2.4 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS: CHAPTER FOUR

Chapter four remains one of the most crucial chapters of the study as it was built from the beginning on an effort to rejoin the remarks that were articulated in the problem statement of the introductory chapter. As chapter one of the study hypothesised that PPI in South Africa is confronted by a number of challenges and problems such as lack of knowledge and skills needed to carry out a public policy; the public policy process not being as open or transparent to all the relevant actors of public policy and PPI. Against this background that was provided for in the introductory chapter of the study, as well as taking into account how some of the already mentioned challenges and problems in South Africa can influence South Africa’s constitutional democracy and have a bearing on the functioning and sustainability of democracy in South Africa.

The introductory chapter then led the study on the trajectory of asking: “To what extent does the set of factors that represent challenges and problems in PPI have a bearing on the functioning and sustainability of South Africa’s democracy?”. It was then imperative that from chapter one onwards the theoretical perspectives; theories and models of public policy and PPI be discussed and reviewed in order for the study to be equipped with the necessary understanding and knowledge regarding public policy and PPI. So that when the study arrived at chapter four, it was well equipped to undertake and deliberate the leading theoretical statements that were

previously mentioned from the start of the study and will subsequently yield some answers for the study. Beside trying to understand the problems and challenges that public policy and PPI faces generally, the aim of chapter four was to also analyse the bearing the problems and challenges of PPI has on a democracy or the functioning of a democracy in the South African context.

Consequently chapter four unfolded by introducing the chapter, and this was then followed by a discussion of 'What contributes to the problems and challenges of PPI? A general discussion on the problems and challenges of PPI'. Under this heading the study noted that micro and macro implementation; precision and clarity of policy design; administrative capacities and policy ambiguity; social acceptance, compliance and consensus were just some of the factors that could contribute to policy success or failure. The discussion was further supplemented by the 'further determinants of implementation failure'. The following heading that followed was the 'application to the South African context: PPI problems and challenges in South Africa'. This sub-section of the chapter was one of the most important discussions if not the most important one as this sub-section will contain some of the answers that were hypothesised in the introductory chapter. The results that the chapter yielded are that indeed South Africa does suffer from a serious bloat of implementation problems and challenges. In order to prove that, the chapter used various public policies in South Africa that had been implemented and are still being implemented including public policies such as the RDP; GEAR and the NDP.

This sub-section was divided into various sub-headings which revealed what problems and challenges of PPI South Africa normally suffer from. Several problems and challenges that kept emerging included inadequate resources; policies lacking strategies which will inform the carriers of the public policy how to go about implementing the public policy; redistribution and distributive problems; problems with the social acceptance of certain policies which often at times led to protest action[43]; designing overly optimistic policies with western thinking instead of indigenous knowledge.

The chapter culminated in the discussion of the 'Problems and challenges? Dilemmas of PPI in the South African public environment' by finding out whether indeed PPI problems and challenges have a bearing on a democracy or the functioning of a democracy in the South African context. The study yielded a mixed result. The mixed result the study yielded was yes, PPI problems and challenges do have a bearing on South Africa's democracy; and no, PPI problems and challenges do not have a bearing on South Africa's democracy. Conclusively, some of the problems and challenges of PPI in South Africa encouraged a participatory democracy, where citizens became concerned about certain public polices and wanted to voice

[43] *See* Figure 18.

their opinions. However, the negative effect is that some of the elements of participatory democracy led to bouts of violence which as a result can have the powerful effect of destabilising South Africa's young democracy.

5.2.5 SUMMARY AND FINDINGS: CHAPTER FIVE

Chapter five of the study is the chapter dedicated to summarising the discussions and findings of the previous chapter. Chapter five began with introducing the aim of the chapter; followed by summarising the finding under their own respective headings. This then was followed by the 'Recommendations: How to enhance the potential for policy success.' Additionally, chapter five culminates by giving an overall conclusion to the study and what lessons can be taken from the study.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS: HOW TO ENHANCE THE POTENTIAL FOR POLICY SUCCESS

The above discussed chapters have previously revealed that PPI is confronted by a number of challenges and problems in South Africa; which were extensively discussed throughout chapter four. Therefore this sub-section of the concluding chapter to the study will be providing recommendations that can enlighten the role-players of public policy and PPI what strategies or methods they can apply that can assist in policy documents delivering on their stated objectives. Below are the strategies/methods that the role-players of public policy and PPI in South Africa can adopt and apply will be recommended.

According to Cairney (2012:35) policy success can be achieved by means of highlighting the objectives and outcomes that have to be realised in order to ensure 'perfect' implementation success. In order for that to happen; the South African public environment must ensure that policy objectives are "clear; consistent and well communicated and understood". In short, this means that those administering the policy should be able to interpret the policy document which will make the application of the policy less vague. Furthermore, when a policy consists of clarity and consistency and is well communicated and understood, it halts features such as vagueness and ambiguity from being impairments to policy failure and a policy resulting in bad execution. Hence critiques of the NDP hammered a lot on the lack of strategies that were absent from the NDP policy framework. Moreover, public servants should go out of their way to ensure that political ideological objectives of politicians should not clash with the social and economic ideological objectives (which normally will be emanating from the public at large). It is further recommended that the objectives of a public policy should be consistent with the resources available.

Additionally, it is advisable that there should be consensus when it comes to the policy objectives (*i.e*. there should be a common understanding of objectives with no breakdown in communication and government should consult with all the relevant stakeholders before making decisions). Consequently, the study opines that when there are transparency and consultation during all of the stages of the public policy process, it can result in high levels of consensus, and lower levels of conflict; and will further yield a higher percentage of social acceptance of the policy, which in turn will lessen violent protest action which has become synonymous with South Africa's participatory democracy. The main reason the study is constantly encouraging government to engage and consult with all the relevant stakeholders is due to the fact that consultation offers a significant number of advantages to the policy process as well as democracy at large. For instance, Cairney (2012:36) states that consultation "secures wider participation in the political system; it creates a sense of involvement (where it can help marginalised members of society to feel less excluded and alienated; and more involved in the policy process); which in turn ensures a greater sense of purpose and commitment to the success of the policy; it allows for government to benefit from the practical experience of those that were consulted; it allows for a wider distribution of responsibility for the attainment of the policy and finally government can be more informed on policy matters with fewer problems of agreement".

It is further recommended that the required resources be made available to the implementers of the policy that is being implemented. Hence Kraft and Furlong (2013:99) are of the opinion that successful PPI is also reliant on organisation. Organisation will be the establishment of the resources that will be needed in order to implement the public policy (Kraft & Furlong, 2013:99). The resources will include human capital/capacity that has the relevant qualifications; skills and expertise to implement the policy in the best way that can yield high success for the policy; capital; the appropriate institutional structures and arrangements that will be able to comply with the given policy requirements. The study therefore recommends that PPI should be entrusted to suitable government departments that have the necessary administrative capacities; the required resources to execute a public policy; as well as a dedicated, committed and insightful bureaucracy. It is also imperative that the implementation process be structured adequately. Hanekom (1987:63) states that this can be done by making use of programming and scheduling methods such as the Gantt chart; PERT (Programme Evaluation and Review Technique) and CPM (Critical Path Method). It is further advised that if South Africa’s public environment should follow the democratic values and principles enshrined in Chapter ten, section 195 of the Constitution of South Africa (1996), perhaps policy failure will be a minimal occurrence in South Africa’s young democracy.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Throughout the study emphasis was on how important it is to have the cooperation of actors and everyone involved in the public process and that public opinion should be taken into consideration and that government should listen to the legitimate grievances of its protesting citizens in order to avoid pitfalls such as violent protest action being a constant feature of the South African political environment as Hanekom (1987:62) states that “a main premise of public policy is that it should be in harmony with the public interest”. Furthermore, what the South African government must realise is that in order for participatory democracy to be a positive concrete feature in South Africa’s political climate; it does not do justice to have public policies written but not adequately implemented, thus yielding a negative side of participatory democracy. In the words of Pottinger (2009:69): "Contemporary South Africa is an embodiment of negotiated outcomes. Nothing is beyond compromise, often good, sometimes bad". What Pottinger (2009) is articulating is that one way of ensuring a certain level of policy success is that the South African public environment should embody the spirit of all relevant stakeholders and implement policies as effectively as possible. This will entail the implementing government structure/s to be equipped with all the necessary and needed resources. This means that government should be diligent in providing those.

Moreover, not only are the actors of public policy and PPI important, it is imperative that factors such as the state capacity to carry out a policy to its fruition and an analysis that weighs the pitfalls of policy initiatives be diligently assessed for the reason that when the actors of public policy (*i.e.* politician and public administration) do not take the above mentioned factors into consideration, policies yield unsatisfactory results where in the case of policies that must uplift many poor South Africans result in only uplifting the lives of the already affluent as observed with policies such as BEE and BBBEE. The study further encourages the shrewd structuring of the implementation process.

Furthermore South Africa should take into account that “policy outcomes are dependent primarily on micro-implementation at the local-level”. Therefore showcasing that real PPI success is due to implementation at grass-roots levels where implementation is implemented for the people, for the main reason that many implementation problems emanate from grass-roots level, the South African public environment should empower the municipalities with all necessary resources as they carry out the day-to-day functions of government. As such, the South African democracy and its public environment must ensure that policies are implemented accordingly in order to answer to the social demands emanating from civil society.

In conclusion, the study expresses a sense of optimism that in having provided a process of theoretically informed empirical analysis on the topic of “Problems and Challenges Related to

Public Policy Implementation within the South African Democratic Dispensation - A theoretical exploration"; the South African government can better learn from experience and find a way to avoid repeating the same mistakes and errors of years gone by.

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ANNEXURES

Declaration

This is to declare that I, Annette L Combrink, accredited language editor and translator of the South African Translators' Institute, have language-edited the dissertation by

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