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AN ASSESSMENT OF AND PERSPECTIVE ON THE MEASUREMENTS AND
INDICATORS OF GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

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2014143313

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements in respect of the Master's Degree in
Governance and Political Transformation in the Department of Political Studies in the Faculty
of Humanities at the University of the Free State.

Date: 2017

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DECLARATION

I, Nkosiyezwe Cyprian Vezi declare that the mini-dissertation that I herewith submit for the Master's Degree qualification in Governance and Political Transformation at the University of the Free State is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education.

Nkosiyezwe Cyprian Vezi

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Dec 2017

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ABSTRACT

As a leading post-colonial nation-state in the African continent, South Africa finds itself in desperate period to foster better good governance, especially in the wake of an ailing economy marred by mass corruption. The study explores the use of governance indexes to foster greater good governance practices.

The purpose of the study was to determine the impact of the Governance Indicators reports on state behaviour in South Africa. The study does this by using a qualitative research design to address the four research objectives. The four research objectives of the study were (i) To determine the extent to which Governance Assessment reports are recognized by South Africa (ii) To determine the governance index recognized by SA in comparison to other governance indexes; (iii) To determine the impact of governance indices on state behaviour; (iv) To determine the extent to which governance reports have the ability to police South Africa.

A content analysis technique is used to analyse the South African Parliament Hansard Documents, the Presidency's Annual Reports and the State of Nation Address and to achieve the objectives of the study. The content analysis results revealed that the governance indexes are still relevant in South Africa to foster good governance; however, are not recognised in Parliament as tools to influence nation state behaviour.

The study findings show that the achievement of good governance in South Africa is congruent with the achievement of the NDP goals and reveals that there have been significant efforts made to achieve the NDP goals. The study showed weak political leadership in South Africa is the primary cause of the many issues which derail good governance efforts in the country.

The study recommends that South Africa must accelerate its efforts to achieve its NDP goals as they are congruent with good governance practises by building and strengthening institutions that foster good governance.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide the motivation and background of the study, the research problem, research questions, research objectives, preliminary literature and the research methodology of the study.

1.2 MOTIVATION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Governance offers many features which are synonymous with democracy and development. The assessment of governance through the creation of governance indicators has become a popular tradition in recent years. This research aims to evaluate the impact which the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) have on South Africa.

The concept of governance remains a highly contested concept, similar to other concepts such as politics and development (Heywood, 2013). However, this does not mean that there is no sense of consensus on the definition of governance. Literature reveals that the consensus on the concept of governance is that it reflects values and practices which embody the characteristics of democracy and liberal market policies (Langbein and Knack, 2010). However, after over two decades since the conception of the concept, there remains no existing single definition of governance. Literature shows that some definitions are narrower than others while some are broadened definitions.

A narrow definition of governance is one which only measures corruption and the ability of the state to hold state officials accountable, while a broader definition of governance is one which includes the level of corruption in country, the level of human rights and other civic rights, the capacity of the state to provide public services, and the effectiveness of the judicial system in a nation state (Aminuzzaman, 2007).

Bilateral multilateral organisations and aid donors to nation states have been the most consistent advocates for governance. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United Nations (UN), the United Nations Development Plan (UNDP), the Commission on Global Governance, the World Bank, Transparency International

(TI), Amnesty International, the European Commission, Britain, France, the United States, Canada, Germany and Norway are some of these multilateral organisations and donor nation states that seek to measure the level and extent of good governance in nation states and to promote the governance agenda to regions which are in dire socio-economic situations (Knack, 20010:56; OECD, 2009:167; Merry, 2011:245). The assumption is that poverty and other socio-economic problems in nation states are a result of the absence of governance. Therefore, the development agenda or strategy in nation states must consistently aim to address governance.

The assertion that governance has multiple definitions may trigger a debate on which governance definition will be appropriate for the current study. The researcher motivates that it would be ideal for the study to make use of the most mainstream definition and a definition which is endorsed and legitimately recognised by several multilateral organisations. The study uses a definition of governance which has been coined by the World Bank.

The World Bank is an international financial institution that gives loans to nation states with its headquarters in Washington D.C., United States (World Bank, 1992:67; Santiso, 2001:154). The World Bank defines governance as the way in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development (World Bank, cited by Kaufmann, D. and Aart, K. 2010a:35). This suggests that the World Bank is more concerned with how leaders or governments of nation states exercise their power and how they work to advance the development agenda.

This definition by the World Bank is similar to the UNDP (2006:16) definition of governance. The UNDP defines governance as the method used to conduct, exert and retract authority in the management of the informal and formal institutions of the state (UNDP, 2006:143). This suggests that governance is about how citizens are treated by institutions and other people in a nation state; it is about the way citizens' livelihoods are improving or deteriorating.

Governance is a concept which resembles the measurement or rating of a behaviour situation. Governance is usually referred to as good if it improves the livelihood of citizens in nation states. Governance also carries enormous economic implications, because it is associated with the standard of living in a nation state and the ability of a government to deliver efficient public services to its citizens in an equitable fashion (Aminuzzaman, 2007:12).

The fact that governance can be rated suggests that the governance in a nation state can be described to be 'good', 'slightly good', 'average', 'bad' or 'very bad'. Hence, the aim for nation states is to achieve 'good' governance. The term 'good governance' has become popular in the last decade. The use of the word 'good' began along with the popularisation of the phenomenon of governance to strengthen the rhetoric of positive progression (Stella Ladi, cited by Yirga, 2010). This suggests that good governance describes a set of positive qualities that make a nation state look good, for example, accountability, civil rights, political freedom, employment, human rights, transparency, efficiency, monitoring, participation, poverty reduction, economic prosperity, equality and an independent judiciary (Nwabuzor, 2005:234).

The debate on governance in Africa began in the 1960s but the governance agenda only began in 2002 when the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was succeeded by the African Union (AU). This led to the shift in Africa's agenda from decolonisation to governance. The AU was formed specifically to rapidly advance the socio-economic and political development of Africa, to build peace and security in Africa, to stimulate democratic institutions, and to promote good governance and human rights. The aim of the AU is to steer economic development and peace-building in Africa and strengthen African countries' multi-lateral relationships with fellow African countries (The African Union, 2005:234).

This decisive position on the agenda on governance by the AU has had significant outcomes for Africa. This is evident with the visible steps taken by many African countries towards addressing governance issues since the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. The most notably progressive events in Africa were those which contrasted with the characteristics of colonial Africa. The introduction of multi-party elections played a pivotal role in decolonising Africa and introducing Africa to the first principle of democracy which is pluralism. Pluralism is a philosophy which recognises that the existence of several diverse political groups, religious groups and social groups is of utmost importance to society (Heywood, 2013:123).

However, the practice of multi-party elections does not automatically ensure good governance. Firstly, this is because multi-party elections are not immune to manipulation or being compromised. Evidence of manipulated election results and rogue electoral processes has been most prevalent in Africa; for example, cases in Zimbabwe, Kenya, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Egypt, Somalia and Gambia are of note (Smith, 2013:34).

Secondly, the fact that the exercise of political and civil rights is just one facet of governance suggests that the practice of multi-party elections alone is not sufficient to address the governance agenda in Africa. This means that there are several challenges that still face Africa regarding the agenda of governance (McKinley, 2004:238).

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

South Africa is a developing country which has taken significant steps towards addressing the agenda of political and socio-economic development. Significant strides have been taken since the demise of apartheid in the mid-1990s. Apartheid was an oppressive system which was characterised by the institutionalisation of oppression, separate development, segregation and racial discrimination. The release of Nelson Mandela from prison, the unbanning of the African National Congress, the return of its leaders from exile and the holding of multi-party elections in 1994 led to the end of apartheid. This marked the first time that democracy was practised in South Africa (Leibbrandt, Finn and Woolard, 2012:35; Heywood, 2013:287).

Over the years South Africa has introduced various policies and programmes to address the issues of poverty, development, equality and governance. The Reconstruction and Development (RDP) programme, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR), and Broad-Based Economic Empowerment (BBEE) are just a few of the most prominent development policies introduced by South Africa. These policies were specifically introduced to address the problems which had been inherited from the apartheid government. However, as of 2017 South Africa still faces acute socio-economic and political challenges such as unemployment, poverty, corruption, threats to independence of the judicial system, inefficiency of public institutions, state capture, poor educational services, inadequate health services and inequality. The South African unemployment rate is currently 30 per cent while 50 per cent of the population is living in poverty (Abedian, Ajam and Walker, 1997:123; Leibbrandt et al., 2006):234.

The concern over the level of governance in Africa has not just been the concern of citizens and state officials. It has become the concern of donors who provide foreign direct aid to developing countries and for the multi-lateral organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Institute on Governance (IG), the European

Commission, Irish Aid and Oxfam. This could be the result of the effects of globalisation (Heywood, 2013:123)

In a news article by the Mail and Guardian newspaper titled “Education the only way to reverse inequality in SA” on 29 July 2012, the World Bank is reported saying that economic inequality is the biggest challenge for South Africa. The report was a study conducted by the World Bank in 2012. In the report, the World Bank recognises the fact that South Africa has the strongest economy on the African continent. However, the fact that its socio-economic situation displays extremely high levels of inequality is alarming. The World Bank asserts that the richest 10 per cent of South Africans account for approximately 60 per cent of the country’s wealth, while the bottom 10 per cent accounts for 0.5 per cent (World Bank, cited by Khumalo, 2012:45).

The World Bank defines governance as the way authority in a nation state is used to determine three main elements, namely the process by which a government is selected, monitored and replaced; the method used by a government to effectively develop and implement progressive policies; and how power is used to shape citizens’ perceptions of state institutions (Kaufmann et al., cited by Burlacu, 2013:143). Thus, governance assesses how power is used by the legislative, judiciary, and executive authority and how other state officials use their authority. This suggests that governance comprises the following features: accountability, transparency, equity, performance of public institutions, citizen participation, rule of law, strategic vision, a lack of arbitrariness, ethics, integrity, and stability.

The World Bank WGI has been assessing governance in South Africa for several years. However, cases of corruption, service delivery protests, education protests, questions about the fairness of the judicial system, class and racial inequalities, the health crisis, crime, xenophobia, police brutality, media repression and unemployment remain prevalent in South Africa. The socio-inequality gap has worsened; the education system is in a crisis. The year 2016 saw several nationwide student protests demanding a reduction in university tuition fees. News headlines reporting on corruption by state officials have become frequent and commonplace; media reports of how citizens have lost faith in the judicial system of the country remain a relevant topic in journalist circles; and the acute shortage of job opportunities for the youth remains a terrifying reality for most South Africans (Leibbrandt et al., 2006:123; Nathan, 2013:187; Khale and Worku, 2013:268).

The governance indexes must be able to influence nation state policy on development and democratic efforts effectively to improve the level of good governance (Court, 2006:154). Nation states must view reports on governance indexes as an opportunity to shape policy effectively to facilitate further good governance. The governance indexes must be objective, factual and reliable to achieve optimised results (Burlacu, 2013:123).

However, the governance indicator reports have been ineffective and insufficient in fostering good governance in South Africa. In South Africa, the level of good governance has been in a dire state and remains characterised by dire socio-economic realities two decades after the first democratic elections. It has been characterised by prevalent public protests, increasing inflation, prevalent cases of corruption, a compromised judicial system, civic protests, elevated levels of unemployment, gender and racial inequality, and prevalent poverty (Leibbrandt et al., 2012:156).

If governance indexes continue to release annual reports on the level of governance in South Africa and the level of governance in South Africa does not improve, this would suggest that there is a gap which needs to be identified regarding the relationship between governance indexes and efforts by a nation state in addressing issues of governance. In addition, this could mean that the governance indexes are only effective for aid allocation by donors (Court, 2006:154).

The inability of good governance indexes to foster development and meaningful democratic and public administration efforts may lead to a situation where South Africa may be considered a failing state or, in the worst-case scenario, a failed state. Based on the literature, South Africa is on the brink of being a nation state characterised by bad governance. At present South Africa has good policies in place to foster good governance efforts but these policies are derailed by ineffective implementation processes. Another problem could be that the state officials in South Africa do not regard the governance indexes as critical devices to steer policy (Leibbrandt et al., 2012:157).

However, the position of the study is that governance indicators can only have direct effects on nation states if they are valued by the nation states.

If South Africa values the reports by the governance indexes it would prove to be of great benefit to the citizens of South Africa, as this would lead to South Africa's being nation state

which practises more good governance efforts consistently. Hence, this research is important because it will provide information on the position of governance indexes in South Africa and answer the question of whether governance indexes influence nation states' policies and efforts.

Research questions are the nucleus of the research problem. The study aims to answer the following three research questions:

- (i) What is the difference between the governance indicators recognised by South Africa in comparison with others?
- (ii) What is the extent to which governance reports have the ability to police South Africa?
- (iii) What is the impact of governance indices on state behaviour?

1.4 PRELIMINARY LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of a literature review is to determine what other scholars have written on the topic, what the gap in literature is, as well as to identify the main models and theories that are relevant to one's research study. The main aim of a literature review is to unpack information concerning one's research topic and to discover any relevant information that could enhance one's research. It is also useful to determine what has not been written about the topic under review (Creswell, 2009:45).

A study by Kaufmann *et al* (2010b) discussed the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators' (WGI) methodology of aggregating the key issues affecting the analysis by the WGI. In the study, Kaufmann (2010:178) analysed 200 countries using the six dimensions of governance as defined by WGI. The six dimensions were voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence terrorism, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption.

The data for the study was collected using surveys from 31 various sources; among these were citizens, public and private firms and the NGO sector. The study's findings were that governance was a method which is used to exercise authority in a nation state. However, similar

to the notion proposed by other studies, Kaufmann et al. (2010:56) assert that the concept of governance remains a contested concept.

The study illustrated how features associated with governance can be assessed, such as the traditions and practices of nation states, and the process by which governments are selected, replaced and policed. In addition, governance rates the capacity of the government to achieve development and provide public services as well as the effectiveness of a nation state's judiciary system.

A key event which led to the World Bank's overt interest in governance in nation states was in 1996 when World Bank President James Wolfensohn decided to reverse the World Bank's longstanding policy of staying out of politics, as he saw the dire need to address cases of human rights' abuses and corruption. James Wolfensohn's argument was that it was counter-productive to keep giving aid and loans to the undemocratic and corrupt nation states (Oman, 2006:75). The World Bank continues this campaign for governance by using its financial muscle and international hegemony to influence other bilateral and multilateral agencies to join the fight against undemocratic practices such as corruption and poor public management.

The World Bank measures governance using its organ's instrument known as the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI). The WGI were formed at the World Bank Research Department in the 1990s by Daniel Kaufmann. The WGI define governance as the culture by which authority is achieved and exercised in a country. This means that when authority is misused, it is described as poor governance and when authority is used positively to foster development or democracy it is described as good governance. The WGI assess nation states' governance using the following six categories: (i) voice and accountability; (ii) political stability; (iii) absence of violence and terrorism; (iv) government effectiveness; (v) regulatory quality; and (vi) the rule of law and control of corruption. WGI reports are released annually and are measured as aggregate scores from 441 single variables accounting for the different proportions of governance from 35 various sources created by 33 different organisations (Kaufmann et al., 2009:27 Kaufmann, 2010: 56).

Court, Fritz and Gyimah-Boadi (2007) conducted a study which asserted the importance of governance. The study showed that nation states which illustrated good governance consistently would benefit by an improvement in development and the attraction of aid from

donors, such as multi-lateral organisations and developed countries. The study recognised the six dimensions of governance which make the World Bank's WGI, founded by Kaufmann and Kraay (2010:78), the most comprehensive model of measuring governance.

In addition to the WGI, the study by Court, Fritz and Gyimah-Boadi (2007:27) recognised the World Bank Country Policy and Institute Assessment (CPIA) as a legitimate institution for the assessment of governance in a nation state. The study shows that the WGI and the CPIA are two institutions which are most frequently used by donors in the decision making regarding donor allocation. The top donor countries such as the Netherlands and France used the World Bank's CPIA while the Millennium Challenge Account of the US used Kaufmann's WGI.

The study also showed that there was a direct link between the increased agenda on governance in the world and the increase of aid distributed by donors. As an example, the Irish Aid which focused on giving aid to Southern African countries, such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho and Zambia, has increased its aid programme on a yearly basis since the mid-2000s. However, it still donates aid to other countries such as Palestine, Ethiopia and East Timor (Court et al., 2007:157).

The findings of the study by Court et al. (2007) revealed that the donors regard governance as a condition for combating poverty, assuring the accountability and effectiveness of the state, and as a fostering condition for democracy and the rule of the law. The study also discussed the definition of governance and its conclusion was like those of Kaufmann (2010:63) and Court et al. (2007:87) who see governance as a method by means of which public officials and state agents acquire and use power to manage state resources, institutions and public life.

Furthermore, the study by Court et al. (2007:98) revealed the challenges which face the governance indicators. Firstly, they stress the absence of reliability in the data collected for assessing governance. The study argues that the data is subject to opinions; hence, it is more likely to lack objectivity. Secondly, the data comprises insufficient facts. These two reasons have led to further debate by scholars and research firms on the quality of assessment sources and methods.

A study of governance is important because it is aligned to every developmental initiative, programme and policy implementation. In South Africa, the agenda for governance is

synonymous with the NDP. The NDP is South Africa's national executive plan for poverty reduction and economic prosperity. The plan targets 2030 as the year in which it must have achieved these goals (Court et al .2007:130).

In addition, the agenda on governance is important because it is synonymous with the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The MDGs aim at the total elimination of poverty in the world. The United Nations defines governance slightly differently from other multi-lateral organisations. The UN does not use the term 'good governance'; rather, it recognises the term 'democratic governance'. It defines democratic governance as the process of facilitating the achievement of the MDG. Furthermore, the UN defines poverty in a holistic approach, contrary to the perception that economic deprivation leads to poverty. The UN then defines poverty as an outcome of a lack of opportunities, a lack of accessibility, a lack education, and a lack of civil freedoms (United Nations, 2003:453).

A study by Ikome (2017), which was like that of the UN (2003), sees governance as the key essential ingredient for development in Africa. Ikome (2017) sees a direct link between economic progression and governance. This view by Ikome (2017) strengthens the assertion by Kaufmann, who suggests that governance helps foster sustainable socio-economic development. However, Ikome (2017:45) emphasises corruption as the most important dimension in governance. Ikome (2017:7) is quoted saying "...corruption is the main barrier for governance in Africa".

Furthermore, Ikome (2017:55) sees corruption as an ambiguous concept as it is subject to several interpretations. Corruption ranges from petty corruption to grand corruption, for example, bribes, embezzlement of funds, money laundering and state capture. This ambiguity makes it difficult to determine the best way to assess corruption in contrast to studies which gave a list of institutions of governance indicators, such as the study by Ikome (2017) which listed institutions which assess corruption, for example, the Control of Corruption Index (CCI), the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) and the Global Integrity Index (GII).

Furthermore, Ikome (2017:53) revealed that the limitations associated with the sources of data used to assess corruption were like those limitations identified by Court et al. (2007:176) for assessing governance. The reasons among many were the questionable reliability of data, the process of data collection being vulnerable to sample bias, the constraints which organisations

face in collecting data, such as the excessive cost of conducting surveys and the absence of the international dimension of corruption.

The study by Ikome (2017) also asserted a controversial statement on aid allocation. It argues that the increase in foreign aid has weakened nation state accountability because aid allocation tends to breed bureaucracy. Bureaucracy was a key feature in the old public administration paradigm. Max Weber was a pioneer of traditional models of public administration. Weber believed concentrated hierarchical control was a more effective technique of management (Weber, cited by Pfiffner, 2004:234). Furthermore, foreign aid tends to promote free market policies and evidence has shown that free market policies do not always lead directly to development; for example, the agenda of equity is not comprehensively dealt with in free market policies.

The study by Merry (2011) is important for the purposes of the current study. The assumptions established by Merry (2011) on the effects of governance ratings form the main basis of the current study inquiry. Merry (2011:133) asserts that governance indicators must promote self-governance among nation states. The notion is that state officials of low governance performing nation states are more likely to be encouraged to exercise measures to improve governance. Furthermore, the study by Merry (2011) asserts that governance indices illustrate the standard of acceptable behaviour: this means that governance indicators must inspire nation states to meet acceptable standards. In addition, the publishing of governance indices acts as a reward for high-performing nation states. It acts as a form of prestige and it motivates nation states to maintain elevated levels of performance.

The study by Merry (2011) also revealed that there have been some instances where state officials such as ministers and presidents have at many international conferences boasted about how well their governments have achieved success in taking progressive efforts of dealing with development and democracy. This finding by Merry (201:251) forms one of the key questions of this study, namely “What is the impact of governance indices on state behaviour?”

A study by Arndt and Oman (2011) revealed that the agenda of governance has increased since the late 1980s. The study shows that there has been a rapid rise in the number of institutions measuring governance. Among the indicators being used to rate governance in a nation state, the most widely used are the perception-based indicators such as the CPIA and the WGI. These

perception-based indicators are also known as the aggregate indicators, a term made famous by World Bank researcher and economist, Daniel Kaufmann. Arndt and Oman (2011:97) asserted that it was imperative for governments to discuss governance at the OECD because it provided a platform for governments to identify collective good governance practice.

The study by Arndt and Oman (2011), like other several studies on governance, asserted that the measuring of governance is marred by possible inherent biases. Among the sources of data used, household surveys make a small contribution to the overall sources of data used. Arndt and Oman (2011:239) argue that household surveys have more influence in comparison to other sources of data such as data from agencies and experts. Arndt and Oman (2011:254) argue that development agencies and experts fail to recognise that household surveys are more capable of capturing the true views of the poor.

However, the problem is that there is a tendency to give more weight to perceptions of experts over those of the public (household surveys). Another limitation is the incapacity of governance indicators to robustly guide the actions of government officials to improve governance in nation states. The study by Arndt and Oman (2011) is invaluable because it identified a challenge faced by governance indicators which had not been identified by several scholars and researchers. Arndt and Oman (2011:233) noted that it is difficult for anyone to replicate the studies conducted in arriving at the governance indicators because the information used to calculate indicators is not available to the public.

The study by Arndt and Oman (2011) also revealed that direct investment has rapidly increased in the past three decades. It increased from just US\$10 billion in the 1980s to US\$200 billion in the mid-2000s. Arndt and Oman (2011:247) assert that this increase was due to the rapid growth of the agenda on governance to mainstream politics. The demise of communism at the end of the cold war in 1990 was the key event which saw a major concern for governance. Although governance promotes equitable growth, it has been associated with free-market policies and other neo-liberal policies (Arndt and Oman, 2011:249).

Besancon (2003:66) defined governance as a political condition, such as the ability of a country to deliver political goods to its citizens and to grow citizens' political participation. The study focused on establishing the value of measuring governance. Like the stance of the UN

(2003:340), the study by Besancon (2003:78) asserts that governance indicators help in setting a standard for improvement for nation states.

They also act as a shaming mechanism in the case of poor performing nation states and as an incentive for nation states to improve the livelihood of their citizens. Besancon (2003:85) cites evidence of how the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) by Transparency International influenced the election outcome in Nigeria and effectively made Pakistan take pro-active steps to address corruption. The study by Besancon (2003) confirms that World Bank WGI are one of the most influential governance indicators.

1.5 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The study aims to assess the effects of the WGI assessment report on South Africa. It also aims to establish what type of behaviour state officials in South Africa adopt as a response to the WGI reports.

Governance indicator advocates assert that governance assessment reports should achieve at least three goals, namely (i) help donors to determine to whom and how to allocate aid; (ii) shape the behaviour of nation states; and (iii) set the parameters of where and how far nation states should aspire to be regarding good governance (Kaufmann, 2010:78). The aim of the study is to assess the validity of the three above objectives of governance indicators.

The literature review reveals that most of the research and studies conducted on governance have been limited to research which sought to understand the definition of the concept, the importance of constructing a single definition of governance, the importance of measuring governance, the effects of comparing indices and the challenges which have marred the legitimacy of governance measurements. However, this study will be different from the other studies, as it aims to determine the effects which WGI have on nation states.

The study aims to measure the impact of the WGI on the actions of the nation state. This means that this study will be valuable because it addresses a gap in this field of literature. It will add valuable knowledge to the scholarly work in the fields of development, economics, political science, public administration and law. It will also provide insight into the efforts of the South African government to address development in the country. Furthermore, the features of good governance are synonymous with the goals of the National Development Plan (NDP) of South

Africa. The NDP is the national plan for development and poverty alleviation in South Africa. Hence, this study will be important as it provides new findings to advise the NDP and to gauge the extent of what remains to be done for South Africa in achieving its NDP goals (Maas and Herrington, 2007:175; State of the Nation Address, 2016:23).

The literature review indicates that most of the research and studies conducted on governance have been limited to research which sought to understand the definition of the concept, the importance of constructing a single definition of governance, the importance of measuring governance, the effects of comparing indices and the challenges which have marred the legitimacy of governance measurements. However, this study will be different from the other studies as it aims to determine the effects which WGI have on nation states.

The primary aim of the study is to determine the impact of the reports of the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) on state behaviour in South Africa. It will seek to assess the effects of WGI reports on the South African nation state. It also seeks to study how state officials exercise authority after the release and publication of WGI reports.

The core objectives of the study are the following:

- (i) to discuss the theories used by the WGI of governance;
- (ii) to identify the extent to which governance assessment reports are recognised by South Africa;
- (iii) to identify the differences between the governance index recognised by SA in comparison with others;
- (iv) to determine the impact of governance indices on state behaviour; and
- (v) to determine to extent to which governance reports can improve the ability of civil society to police SA.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A research methodology is a section of a study which illustrates the techniques used and steps taken to conduct an enquiry. It describes each procedure and nature of the enquiry. It illustrates how the data collection of the study is conducted, the planning of the data collection process, the selection of data collected, the protection of the data collected, the

method of analysing the data and it also explains how the method of enquiry maintains objectivity and validity (Babbie, 1996:176; Creswell et al., 2011:243).

1.6.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design is a plan outlining how the researcher plans to conduct a scientific inquiry into a phenomenon (Mouton, 2005). A research design may take the form of three methods, namely the quantitative method, the qualitative method and the mixed-method approach. Selecting and determining which research design to use depends on the nature of the study which is informed by the objectives of inquiry. Furthermore, the research design is usually determined by the number of resources available, such as money and time. The reason for this is that other research studies may be costly and require long periods of time to complete (Babbie, 1996:165; Creswell et al., 2011:87; Cant et al., 2011:108). The following section discusses two main types of research methods, namely the quantitative and qualitative methods.

1.6.2 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The stud used a mixed research method. It includes both qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative research is a design which uses statistics in the collection data and analysis of data. It is based on the use of numbers and mathematical calculations to describe and predict the phenomenon studied (Cant et al., 2011:53), while a quantitative research study is based on the statistical analysis of data (Creswell et al., 2011:44).

A desktop study formed the strategy of the research study. A desktop study involves the use of secondary data. This means the study involves the analysis and comparisons of existing documents, reports, and previous literature as sources of data inquiry (Creswell et al., 2011:56). Secondary data refers to the use of previously collected data, that is, data that already exists in the time of the study. Secondary data is a contrast to primary data (Bhattacharjee, 2012:78).

A mixed research methodology was employed for this study. The early stages of the data inquiry resembled a quantitative analysis but later a qualitative method was used to explain the data results. The advantage of using a mixed methodology is that while a quantitative method helps in measuring the frequency of a phenomenon, a qualitative design strengthens the research because it helps in explaining the relationship between study variables (Creswell et al., 2011:62).

It is appropriate for the study to refer to data sources which report on the governance efforts taken by South Africa. The secondary data sources used in this study are academic journals, World Bank reports, the Worldwide Governance Indicator, the South African Parliament Hansard, the Office of the Presidency annual reports and the State of the Nation Address speech. These sources are ideal for the study because they have the capacity to answer the research questions of the study. In addition, it is important to note that the strength of using these documents as the primary source of data collection for the study is that they make the study replicable because all these sources of the data are available online to the public at no cost.

Content analysis was the data collection technique used to study the data sources for the study. Content analysis is an established data technique for analysing texts, words, reports, phrases, rhetoric, and conclusions of articles e.g. newspapers, magazines, annual reports, and scholarly studies. This technique is popularly used in fields such as sociology, medicine, psychology and journalism (Stempel, 1989:167; Mayring, 2000:280). The key strength of content analysis is that it is capable of analysing the length and frequency of a phenomenon. For example, by analysing the South Africa Parliament Hansard, one could calculate how many times a topic on governance was raised in Parliament to determine the extent of state officials' concern about governance.

There are rules which must be applied by the researcher to make the use of content analysis an effective research technique. The validity and reliability of content analysis are dependent on the consistency of the method of selection employed.

The researcher must be consistent with the method content analysis from the start to the end of data collection. The proportion of information which the researcher includes and excludes must be consistent throughout the research so as to ensure that it is replicable. Reliability is a valuable attribute of any study because it is what makes research to be regarded as a scientific inquiry.

The challenge of lacking consistency is that it compromises the study and establishes bias. For example, without consistency, a researcher will only record information which supports his or her individual assumptions. Krippendorff (1980:48) asserts that to limit the forms of subjectivity in content analysis, the researcher must allow for the emergence of new themes or categories from the data (Kaid, 1989:188).

However, content analysis has been criticised for ultimately focusing more on the quantification of data instead of the connotation of data. This is the reason why most studies which use content analysis usually supplement it by making use of qualitative methods to help explain the statistical results achieved in content analysis (Creswell et al., 2011:167).

1.6.2.1 RESEARCH STRATEGY

The study aims to answer the following four questions: (i) What is the extent to which governance assessment reports are recognised by South Africa? (ii) What is the difference between the governance indexes recognised by SA in comparison with others? (iii) What is the impact of governance indices on state behaviour? (iv) What is the extent to which governance reports have the ability to police South Africa?

(i) What is the extent to which governance assessment reports are recognised by South Africa?

The researcher conducted a content analysis of the South African Parliamentary Hansard to determine the frequency with which governance indicators were highlighted or discussed in Parliament. The Hansard is a verbatim record of all the discussions which take place in Parliament. Copies of Hansard are freely accessible and can be accessed at the Parliamentary Monitoring Group website (www.pmg.org.za). Copies of Hansard are also available on the South African Parliament website.

(ii) What is the difference between the governance indexes recognised by SA in comparison with others?

(iii) What is the impact of governance indices on state behaviour?

iii) What is the extent to which governance reports have the ability to police South Africa?

Copies of the South African Parliament Hansard were analysed to assess which governance indicator is recognised.

A content analysis was conducted to identify the efforts by South Africa to improve its government index. The following were analysed: The Presidency's annual reports and the State of Nation Address. The two can be accessed free on the website of the Presidency. For example, the number of progressive laws put in place, the number of the times anti-corruption measures

put in place can be retrieved. The items which were recorded are those which reflect the six dimensions of governance as described by Kaufmann (2008:127; 2010:128).

This question will be answered by comparing the WGI report on South Africa and the findings established from the above.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter indicates the motivation and background of the study, the research problem, research questions, research objectives, preliminary literature and the research methodology of the study.

Chapter Two: The Origin and Evolution of Governance

This chapter discusses the origin and evolution of governance. It discusses early scholarly work on governance and the emergence of the contemporary concept of governance. The chapter takes the form of a chronological order of the emergence of governance.

Chapter Three: Exploration of Governance Indices

This chapter discusses the different examples of governance indexes and measurement criteria globally. It points out the limitations and the strengths of the indexes.

Chapter Four: Governance in South Africa: Legislative Framework and the Application of Governance Indexes

This chapter discusses the pieces of legislation which foster good governance in South Africa. It indicates South Africa's governance position on the different governance indicators.

Chapter Five: Research Findings and Discussion of Results

This chapter presents the data collection findings and discusses the research findings. It also presents the findings from the content analysis of the South African Parliamentary Hansard, the Presidency's Annual Reports and the State of Nation Address. In addition, the findings of the assessment of the WGI reports on South Africa are discussed.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter discusses the study findings and conclusions of the study and suggests recommendations.

1.8 CONCLUSION

The chapter has introduced the study. The general background and the importance of the study together with the problem statement have been explained. A preliminary literature review regarding the concept of governance and use of governance indexes has been discussed. In addition, the chapter introduced the research questions and research methodology of the study. Lastly, this chapter indicated the structure of the entire study, which summarised what each chapter of the study entails.

The following chapter will discuss the emergence and the evolution of governance.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF GOVERNANCE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter traces and discusses the evolution of the origin of the concept of governance from a historical perspective. It starts by pointing out the difficulty in tracing the true origin of governance in the world, as there were several civilizations across many continents. The chapter discusses the concept of governance in Ancient Greece, Ancient India, and in India after the Spanish voyage to India in the 15th century. In addition, the chapter also examines governance in feudal England which was enforced by King William and King Henry in the 1000s and 1200s. In addition, the chapter discusses the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 and its influence on international governance, the formation of the League of Nations and the influence of the United Nations on international governance. Furthermore, the chapter examines the emergence of governance in the 20th century. It mentions the adoption of the New Public Administration in the public sector and the promotion of the neo-liberalism policies and discourse by international organisations and Western nation states. In conclusion, this chapter considers the influence of the World Bank in the contemporary concept of governance.

2.1 ISSUES TO CONSIDER IN THE TRACING OF THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNANCE

It is difficult to trace the true origin of governance because there were many parts of the world which had not been discovered by European voyagers in their pursuit to discover unrevealed territories. In addition, it is also difficult to pinpoint governance in ancient history because of the definition of governance. The literature available on governance explains that governance as a concept has undergone a process of evolution. The concept of governance has taken on the character of the social issues which are time-bound, meaning that the character was dependent on the issue in the popular discourse (Arndt and Oman, 2006:4).

The evolution of governance was impacted by a process known as ‘framing’. Framing is a term used by constructivists to describe the process by which global actors narrate the character, the

extent of importance and essence of a global problem (Ballam and Dillman, 2016:106). The global actors narrate the cause of the problem, what the problem involves the consequences of the problem and the methods of solving the problem (Ballam and Dillman, 2016:106). This suggests that globalisation is a phenomenon which has played a pivotal part in the evolution of the concept of governance. Globalisation led to the demise of the Westphalian state and the rise of influence of non-state actors in the international community. This implies that non-state actors gained significant influence which allowed them to also narrate an agenda in the international arena (Heywood, 2013:421).

Furthermore, this suggests that the evolution of the concept of governance can be understood if one uses the constructivism theoretical framework. Ballam and Dillman (2016:102) define the constructivism theory as a theory which argues that ideas, norms and beliefs in the international arena are shaped by nation states, state officials and international organisations.

Although it is a new perspective, constructivism is an alternative perspective of international political economy (IPE). Constructivists dismiss the traditional perspective that military and economic capacities of nation states can explain and predict the events which happen in the world or the character of nation states' interaction. The constructivist theory states the actions of nation states depend on the ideas and beliefs that the nation states have about the issues being acted upon. The theory says these beliefs and ideas are constructed by the way the nation state interacts with other international actors. Scholars of constructivism argue that the beliefs and norms in the international arena are socialised by the spread of values, norms and ideas of how the world should work. This socialising of ideas and norms is carried out by transnational advocacy networks (TANs), epistemic communities and international organisations (IOs) (Grindle, 2010:55).

TANs are defined as actors who tackle issues in the international arena or in nation states. These actors are bound by shared values, goals and a common discourse in their agenda. These actors include international organisations, non-profit organisations (NGOs), the media, religious groups, trade unions, social movements, and influential individuals. These actors work to influence nation states to accept new interests and norms in the international arena. For example, former Vice-President of the US, Al Gore, is an individual who worked to persuade nation states to accept the importance of conserving the environment by framing the need to combat global warming (Ballam and Dillman, 2016:106). Epistemic communities are

professionals who are recognised to hold expertise and competence in particular issues, such as scholars, researchers, scientists and practitioners (Keck and Sikkink, in Ballam and Dillman, 2016).

2.2 GOVERNANCE IN ANCIENT GREECE

Wagener (2004:128) maintains that the concept of governance can be traced back to Ancient Greece in 600AD. Greece was divided into city states and Athens was the central city state. Furthermore, the role of each state was to ensure welfare provisions for its citizens and the administration of the policing, politics and public policy of the state. The division of Greece into different city states was the first form of government decentralisation (Pomeroy et al., 1999:137). Decentralisation is a feature of administration where autonomy is dispersed from the top to the bottom. In Ancient Greece government power was transferred from the central government to local governments (Heywood, 2013:84). This type of government decentralisation still exists in contemporary nation states (Schmidt, 2008:147).

According to Dithmar cited in Wagener (2004), at that time the form of governance in Greece was characterised by Christian virtues, Christian conduct and civilization. Wagener (2004:130) maintains that Greece as a state wanted to be known to be a "graceful state". This suggests that the policy goals of Greece state officials were to make Greece to be perceived in a positive light by outsiders and its citizens. The Greeks wanted to transform Greece into a utopia for ancient civilisations (Wagener, 2004:140).

Among the different civilisations in ancient times, Greece stood out because it was the first human civilisation to practise democracy. Greece introduced the world to the first form of democracy termed 'classical democracy' (Heywood, 2013:93).

Classical democracy was a form of direct democracy which was first practised in Athens, a Greek city state. It existed during the fourth and fifth centuries BCE. Its core characterisation was its natural system of citizen participation in the affairs of the state. The governance was practised through conducting mass meetings with citizens (Heywood, 2013:93). Classical democracy is also known as the Athens democracy. It is important to note that this form of direct democracy has little application in the contemporary world given the enormous size of populations in cities. This ancient form of democracy has laid the fundamental foundations of the modern forms of democracy such as referendums (Heywood, 2013:83).

A referendum is an official political activity used to make decisions on a nation -states' policies or laws (Heywood, 2013:200). A referendum resembles a mini-survey questionnaire where citizens of a nation state are asked a single or several questions which they have to answer individually (Heywood, 2013:200). The results of the referendum are counted and the decision is taken by the number of votes each choice is given by the citizens who took part in the referendum. An example of a recent referendum is the 2016 British referendum which was carried out to decide Britain's departure from the European Union (Landale, 2016). South Africa had a whites-only referendum in 1992, where whites in South Africa were asked to decide whether they supported President De Klerk's political reforms which encompassed the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of political parties and the end of the apartheid regime (Kraft, 1992:10).

2.3 GOVERNANCE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Governance in Ancient India was characterised by three different empires, namely the Mauryan Empire, the Verdic Empire and the Gupta Empire. The three will be discussed below. Furthermore, governance in Ancient India was also marked by the Spanish discovery of India. A narrative by Spanish voyagers of governance in ancient India will also be discussed below.

2.3.1 THE MAURYAN EMPIRE'S GOVERNANCE

The origin of governance may also be traced back to some civilizations in Ancient India. The Mauryan Empire (322 BCE - 185 BCE) was a period characterised by good governance in Ancient India. Kaushik (2000:43) maintains that the Mauryan was the largest empire in Ancient India with an impressive administration. The Mauryan Empire had a clear hierarchy in its government. The king was the head of state and enjoyed all executive, legislative and judicial power. The king divided the kingdom into provinces where he appointed provincial leaders to administer each of these (Kaushik, 2000:44).

2.3.2 THE VERDIC-ARYAN EMPIRE'S FORM OF GOVERNANCE

Another notable origin of governance was in Ancient India during the Verdic period, namely 500 BC (Kaushik, 2000:45). Kaushik (2000:4) argues that the Verdic-Aryans were the first

group of people to practise governance in Ancient India. They practised a form of governance where a king and a number of members in the general assemblies were responsible for the administration of the tribe. The Verdic king had the autonomy to maintain law and order in the tribe. Another feature of governance which existed in the Verdic period was security and the rule of law. A group of spies were hired by the Verdic king to manoeuvre among citizens so as to ensure that rules and duties were effectively and efficiently implemented and adhered to. This type of monitoring by the Verdic king still exists in some form in contemporary society. It is a norm in modern governments to employ spies to protect the nation states and to obtain political and military information. It is known as espionage (Miller, 2003:10).

In addition, another feature of governance which existed in the Verdic period in Ancient India was collective decision making. Decisions were discussed and carried out by the king and members of the general assembly (Hermann and Rothermund, 1998). This type of governance is similar to the present type of governance in the modern world, for example, in South Africa a president embarks on a collective decision-making process with members of the Parliament (Heywood, 2013:255). This is similar to modern religious regimes where religions doctrines are used to govern citizens, such as Iran. In the Verdic period, the Buddhist scriptures were used to guide the virtues of governance in ancient India (Kaushik, 2000:48).

In the Verdic period, the king enjoyed supreme executive, military and judicial authority in the Verdic kingdom. This is similar to modern governments where a president or prime minister enjoys the highest executive and military authority. However, in contrast to the Verdic period, in most modern governments the president or the king does not hold supreme executive judicial power. In modern governments the separation of powers has been implemented to maintain the rule of law, even among executive state officials. The separation of powers is a democratic sentiment which can be traced back to Ancient Greek when Aristotle asked Plato, "Who will guard the guardians?" (Heywood, 2013:95).

2.3.3 GOVERNANCE UNDER THE GUPTA EMPIRE

The Gupta Empire was a kingdom which covered northern, central and parts of southern India between 320 and 550 CE. The period was known as the Golden Age of Ancient India. It was characterised by significant progression in the arts, architecture, sciences, religion, and philosophy. It was known to have the best of form governance in the history of ancient India.

Indian Emperor Chandragupta, the first ruler of the Mauryan Empire, used the Arshathastra to run the activities of the empire (Kaushik, 2000:48).

The Arthashastra was the title of a handbook for running an empire, written by an Indian statesman, philosopher, chief advisor and prime minister of the Indian Emperor Chandragupta, the first ruler of the Mauryan Empire. The handbook contained detailed information about topics that are relevant for rulers who desire to run an effective government. It contained notes on how to conduct diplomacy and tactics of war. Although diplomacy and war were what the handbook mostly covered, it also included recommendations on law, politics, agriculture, trade and how to collect tributes. Furthermore, the king maintained social order via bureaucratic practices. Crimes such as theft were unheard of and judicial punishment was very light; there was no capital punishment or torture. People who worked for the kingdom were paid in the form of land which they could cultivate and earn an income (Hermann and Rothermund, 1998:65).

2.4 FIFTEENTH CENTURY GOVERNANCE IN INDIA: SPANISH VOYAGES TO ANCIENT INDIA

Anghie (1996:322) also highlights a document called “De India”, the work of Francisco de Victoria, a Spanish priest. The work by De Victoria is regarded as one of the earliest works which influenced international law. The work presented the legal issues faced by the Spanish in their discovery of India. The Spanish acknowledged that governance was practised by rulers in Ancient India. De Victoria wrote that Ancient India had its own form of governance which already existed before interaction with Europe.

However, despite the existence of forms of governance in India, the Spanish constructed a new form of governance which was imposed on native Ancient Indian territories. The enforcing of new forms of governance in India by the Spanish was to make Ancient India adopt international norms and to rescue some parts of India from tyrannical rule. This introduction of international norms to native lands would be repeated in the 20th century during the scramble for Africa when Europeans imposed international norms of governance in Africa in 1884-1885 (Baylis, Smith and Owens 2014:313).

The new laws which were imposed by the Spanish related to property rights, sovereignty, legal personality, trade and other forms of commerce. This gave the Spanish the right to travel across Indian Territory for the purpose of trade. The Spanish believed since they had discovered India they alone could move through India as they desired; they felt it was their natural right to have access to Indian territories (Anghie, 1996:333)

The Spanish also brought the concept of a “just war” (Anghie, 1996:336). A just war is a traditional doctrine for the conduct of war. The doctrine says that for an entity to go to war, the purposes must be morally justifiable. A just war became an international norm for entering a war as many nations abided by this doctrine (Guthrie and Quinlan, 2007). However, the concept of a just war by the Spanish in Ancient India was subjective. If the natives in Ancient India opposed any Spanish travelling into the territory, that was be treated as an act of war by the Spanish and regarded as a just reason to start war (Anghie, 1996:339).

Furthermore, this introduction of international laws in Ancient India set the tone for and, promoted governance in non-European territories. This was also subjective because these international laws were put in place to serve European interests in their pursuit to expand their reach in commerce to facilitate and protect European trade. The adoption of international laws such as the right to acquire new territories in native non-European countries saw the rise of European companies such as the Dutch East Company, the East India Company, the Imperial East Africa Company, and the British South African Company (Anghie, 1996:888).

2.5 GOVERNANCE IN FEUDAL ENGLAND

Governance in feudal England is characterised by the reign of King William in the 1000s with the enforcement of the nomad law, the jury in the court system and the adversarial system. Furthermore, governance in feudal England was also characterised by King Henry’s pledge to oblige in the Magna Carta. These will be discussed below.

2.5.1 KING WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR’S ENFORCEMENT OF THE NOMAD LAW

King William the First was the first nomad king of England. He ruled England from 1066-1087. King William’s enforcement of the common law in feudal England is evidence of early practices of governance. After being crowned the King of England on 25 December in 1066,

King William enforced the Norman law in parts of Europe because no written law existed in the aftermath of the collapse of the Roman Empire (Dam, 2006:3). The Norman law refers to the customary law of the Dutch of Normandy, who were the native people to whom King William belonged. This legal system was at its peak between the 10th and 13th centuries (Hudson, 1996:16).

The Norman law is one of the longest standing legal systems. It survives today as it is still acknowledged in Jersey and other Channel Islands. King William sought to homogenise the native territories of England by Norman law so as to better govern the native lands. Thus, the Norman law changed all bureaucratic structures of courts and laws of feudal systems into Norman law customs. This included land inhabited by Vikings. King William put judges in place who worked for the Crown. These judges would travel across England to monitor whether common law was being abided by (Dam, 2006:5).

This law was known as the common law because it became common throughout England and royal judges were employed with the mandate to make the law common in England. The law required judges to follow past decisions on the same questions of law and fact so as to ensure consistency of the legal system. This was known as the *stare decisis*. The individuals on whom this was vested, who held expert knowledge in the common law and who represented citizens with legal problems in English courts became known as lawyers (Baker, 1990:30).

2.5.2 Introduction of the Jury in Feudal England

William is credited with setting an enhanced blueprint of royal political authority in England. He created the practice of collecting national tax and a system of governance whereby all leaders of communities owed their absolute allegiance to the crown, including feudal lords and Viking kings. King William also diminished the legal authority of the feudal lords by encroaching on the jurisdiction of the manorial courts. King William furthermore enforced the custom of shires that English kings had devised in the eleventh century. The shire system and legal authority were upheld by a royal officer called the shire reeve (Sheriff) (Hogue, 1966; Dam, 2006:11).

More significantly, King William is remembered for integrating the jury into the English legal system. Under the jury system a royal minister, who was usually a clergyman, would go out into the country to assess the wealth of the manorial estates for the purpose of taxation. The

minister selected a group of twelve free men and requested them to testify under oath about the value of each estate. This assembly of free men was called a jury. Eventually the role of jury grew and became the body responsible for finding facts and issuing verdicts in civil and criminal cases. In the contemporary world the jury system is still practised. The USA legal system is an example (Heywood, 2013:343).

2.5.3 The Adversarial System in Feudal England

The English also developed an adversarial system. Under the adversarial system the parties to a dispute argued their cases in front of a judge and a jury. Unlike the modern practices of the jury system, in the early centuries of the jury system the judge and jury were actively involved in looking for evidence for court cases. The jury could even ask questions of the parties and witnesses in a trial.

Over the years the judge and jury gradually became more independent and left trial procedures and the location of evidence to the parties and their lawyers. The judge took on the role of an umpire who decided questions of law. The jury became primarily responsible for deciding factual questions (Hogue, 1966).

2.5.4 Magna Carta: The Origin of the Rule of Law

In the thirteenth century a significant amount of political and legal power had been successfully transferred from feudal lords to the Crown through the use of royal courts. King Henry I, for example, established a permanent council called the Court of the Exchequer. This was a group of royal advisors who were responsible for collecting taxes, paying for government expenditure and auditing the minor officials who handled the nation's money (Baker, 1990).

The Court of the Exchequer was the first of several special portfolios or departments created to deal with specific affairs of the state. During the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries several groups began to resent a centralised monarchical authority (Haque, 1966). In 1215 nobles, clergymen, and commoners staged a revolt against King John and forced him to accept an agreement which has come to be known as the Magna Carta (Great Charter) (Baker, 1990).

In this agreement King John pledged that he and his successors would follow the rule of law

in dealing with their vassals and subjects. The Magna Carta was ground-breaking because it implied that there was a law higher than that of the kings' will and that the nobility had a legal right to force the king to abide by the law of the nation. Article 39 of the Charter also established the principle of due process, the premise that the state cannot take away an individual's property or freedom without a fair and impartial hearing in a court of law. The English would come to conceive of the Magna Carta as the foundation of liberty and constitutional principles. In fact, the rule of law and the idea of due process became the foundations of the contemporary concept of governance. All the features of governance centre on the rule of law (Baylis, Smith and Owens 2014:547).

2.6 GOVERNANCE IN THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM: THE BERLIN CONFERENCE IN 1884-1885

The Berlin Conference in 1884-85 was an event which can be credited for the origin of governance in the age of imperialism. The conference discussed the form of government which must take place in non-European states. As European nation states scrambled for colonies in the new-found continent called Africa, to avoid further tension which could escalate to war, the Berlin Conference was a form of diplomacy which set rules and laws for the conduct of European countries in partitioning territories in Africa. The motivation by Europeans to gain colonies was solely because of imperialism and nationalist pride. The German Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, argued that European imperialism was not just a mechanism for economic exploitation and social subordination of native people in non-European states, but rather that imperialism was guided by the desire by Europeans to bring civilization to the shores of Africa. This suggests that imperialism was a method of bringing Western experiences to African lands (Anghie, 1996: 904).

2.7 GOVERNANCE IN THE FORM OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN 1914

The League of Nations was a multi-lateral international organisation formed in 1914. Its headquarters were in Geneva, Switzerland. It was formed after the First World War so as to create a platform to resolve international disputes among nation states. It was proposed initially by President Woodrow Wilson as part of his Fourteen Point-plan to maintain peace in Europe. President Wilson believed it was in the best interests of the United States that there was peace and order in Europe. Although the United States never became Europe's biggest creditor, it provided European nation states with loans to rebuild Europe's infrastructure after World War II. President Wilson believed that another war would risk the ability of European nation states

to back US loans; hence avoiding another war was the best way to protect itself (Baylis, Smith and Owens, 2014:34).

Furthermore, it is important to know that the League of Nations was significant in world affairs because it was the first international organisation the principal mission of which was to maintain peace in the world. Its primary goals were to prevent wars through collective security, steering disarmament of rogue armies of nation states and settling disputes through negotiations and arbitration. However, despite US President Wilson's influence on the formation of the League of Nation, the US did not join the league (Yearwood, 1989:4).

The league had 42 founding member states at its formation before some withdrew from the league and before it failed. However, at its peak between 1920 and 1939 the league had 63 member states which were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, the British Empire, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Irish Free State, Ethiopia, Italy, Liberia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia/Iran, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the Union of South Africa, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Venezuela, Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, Luxembourg, Albania, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Ireland, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Turkey, Iraq, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Afghanistan, British Raj, Syria and Ecuador (Baylis, Smith and Owens, 2013:16).

2.8 GOVERNANCE IN THE POST-WORLD WAR 2: THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations was formed in 1945 after the failure of the League of Nations to maintain order and peace in Europe, which resulted in the Second World War. The US had a significant influence in the formation of the United Nations. Roosevelt initially gave the UN the name "Associated Powers", to refer to allied nations. However, the United Nations became the chosen name (Ndulo, 2011:10). Furthermore, President Roosevelt was among the heads of state who drafted the Declaration by United Nations. Another head of state was the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill. The United Nations had 51 signatories at its official formation on 26 June 1945. The United Nations is rather a perfected model of the League of Nations. It was composed in a manner which allowed it to be a more effective form of government than the

League of Nations. Its purposes were to cultivate cooperative security; fight genocides; end wars, hunger and poverty; and foster development in developing countries (Ndulo, 2011:12).

2.9 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE EARLY 1900s: WOMEN AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

The social movements which led to universal suffrage in the period known as the "age of rights" are also acknowledged as events which led to the origin of governance (Anghie, 2000:895). Universal suffrage means the right to electoral equality. The concept of universal suffrage requires the right to vote to be granted to all its citizens of a country. Prior to the 21st century, several countries did not grant all citizens the right to vote. New Zealand became the first country in the world to grant active universal suffrage by giving women the right to vote in 1893 (Dieter, 2001:14). The social movement in Britain to gain women's suffrage was one key pivotal event towards civil rights movements (Pugh, 2000:23). This led to the Conservative government passing a law called the Representation of the People Act. This law granted women the same electoral equality as men (Derek, 2006:9).

The civil rights' movement in the 1950s in the United States was also pivotal in the pursuit of universal suffrage (Finkelman, 2009). The movements led to mass protests against racial segregation and discrimination in the United States. Martin Luther King Jr. was a prominent figure who led the civil rights movement. His role led to his being awarded the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize for the part he played in the movement (Jeffery, 2002:4).

The women's suffrage movement and the civil rights movement reflect directly on one of the features of good governance, which is political equality and human rights (Santiso, 2001:7; Merry, 2011:5; World Bank, 2014:7). This influenced leading nation states and international organisations to steer the agenda on civil rights across the world. During the apartheid regime in South Africa, the USA and Britain pressurised the South African government to abolish the apartheid regime which was racially discriminatory. Britain and the USA believed that there was no longer a place for racism and electoral exclusion in the world, hence, through the veto power they enjoy in the United Nations, they imposed economic sanctions so as to pressurise South Africa to change the regime to a democracy (McCullers, 2013:153). This was significant because it was one of the first incidents where multi-lateral international players had a direct influence in the developing world.

2.10 EMERGENCE OF GOVERNANCE AT THE END OF THE 20TH CENTURY

According to Anghie (1996:3), the contemporary concept of governance owes its emergence to the lack of governance in developing countries. Good governance was a concept which developing countries are supposed to desire to achieve. Hence, one would argue that good governance was a Western phenomenon and bad governance was a phenomenon of the developing world. In fact, Anghie (1996:885) maintains the concept of governance was created for the purpose of relating and applying it to the developing countries, especially African nation states. Its sole mandate was to provide a moral and intellectual compass for development in the developing world. By the end of the Cold War, good governance had become a concept synonymous with development. The two were a unit and they formed a formula which indicated that for development to take place in a nation state, good governance practices must have been effectively implemented. However, this development was one of a Western paradigm: it promoted Western ideas of economic concepts for growth such as democracy, rule of law, free market and capitalism. This pursuit of the adoption of Western principles in developing nation states was done with the belief that it would bring the same prosperity to the developing country as in the Western world (Anghie, 1996:826).

The rapid increase of globalisation and the demise of the Westphalian state significantly contributed to the origin of the concept of governance. The period after the demise of the Westphalian state led to more non-state actors' interaction in the international system. Non-state actors such as international organisations (IOs), NGOs, and multinational corporations became recognised as equal players in the international arena. Non-state actors became as influential as nation states. These events led to a growing argument that the realism theory had become obsolete in the post-Cold War period. Realism theory is a traditional theory on international relations which emerged after World War II (Baylis, Smith and Owens 2014:87). The theory implied that nation states were the only recognised actors in the international system and that nation states are always interested in increasing their power so as to position themselves in a monopolistic order in the international system (Heywood, 2013:408).

The non-state actors who are credited with the emancipation of the concept of governance are the IMF and the World Bank. However, the World Bank was the champion of the concept of

governance. The World Bank as a financial institution was concerned about whether the money it was funding to developing countries was being used in an accountable and responsible manner. Hence, the World Bank believed that the latter could be achieved if the institutions which foster good governance existed in developing nation states. The World Bank reacted with an aggressive campaign to promote good governance (Anghie, 1996:894).

Other practitioners of the governance concept said that the concept was coined so as to liberate citizens of the developing world from oppression from dictators. The existence of dictators has become the norm phenomenon in Africa. As of 2016, out of the 30 most long-serving dictators in the world, 14 are in Africa. This suggests 47 per cent of the world's dictators reside in Africa (Heywood, 2013:86).

2.10.1 Governance through the Emergence of the New Public Management (NPM)

The emergence of the contemporary concept of governance is linked to the emergence of the New Public Management paradigm. The New Public Management made significant contributions to the mainstream concept of governance. Haque (2002:3) says that the New Public Management paradigm started in the late 1970s when the developed capitalist nation states moved towards a neo-liberalism ideology. The neo-liberalism ideology is a socio-economic ideology which rejects the need for a welfare state and cuts government funding for social programmes. Furthermore, neo-liberalism criticised bureaucracy in the public sector and sought to reduce the size of governments. Neo-liberalists believe the inefficacy of the government was caused by the large sizes of government, meaning government was too big to be managed. Hence, the neo-liberalist argues for government to be reduced to a more manageable size. This included giving most public service responsibilities to the private sector. This argument was strengthened efficient in the provision of services than the public-sector organisation. Examples of where public services were a success with privatisation are Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States (Haque, 2002:40).

Furthermore, the New Public Management (NPM) also led to governments adopting features of private sector management. In the 1980s, nation states began decisive campaigns to increase public service delivery through new methods which were of a private sector character. The NPM features were to make organisations more customer-orientated and bring the doctrine of

value for money into the public sector and business management to foster competitiveness in the market (Haque, 2002:38). There was the Fiscal Management Improvement Programme in Australia in 1984, the Public Service Reform Act in Canada in 1992, the Next Steps programme in 1988, the Modernization Programme for the Public Sector in Denmark in 1983, the Programme of Advancing Modernization in 1992 in Greece, the Renewal of Public Service in 1989 in France and the Functionality and Efficiency of Public Admission in 1990 in Italy (Haque, 2002:45).

The NPM, like governance in the 1980s, was promoted and reinforced as a new blueprint for the improvement of service delivery in the developing world by the World Bank, the IMF, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the Asian Development Bank and the UNDP. These major international organisations were all set to promote and implement market-based neo-liberal policies in the developing world (Arndt and Oman, 2006:56).

In addition to the international organisations listed above, prominent head of state of leading countries in the Western world also promoted the implementation of NPM in public governments. Margaret Thatcher and John Major of the UK, and Ronald Reagan and Al Gore of the US led campaigns to reform the public sector by adopting NPM. For example, Al Gore led a campaign in the US called Reinventing Government which aimed at using 21st century strategies in the public sector. In fact, Al Gore held a conference which 150 politicians, head of state, academics and state officials attended to encourage the emancipation of NPM across the globe (Rosenbaum and Shepherd, 2000:270).

The emergence of NPM is like the emergence of governance. The latter came as a solution to help the under-development in the developing world. Similarly, the NPM was formed for the same reasons, which were to save governments from acute under-performance in the provision of public services. Just as the advocates for governance stated that the sole purpose of governance was to save the developing world from tyrannical rule (Dam, 2006:34), the advocates for the NPM stated that sole purpose of the NPM was to save citizens from the traditional monopolistic unmanageable size of government. Just as how corruption was rife in tyrannies, similarly, there was excessive corruption in governments because of their unmanageable sizes (Heywood, 2013:367).

Another important factor regarding the NPM is that it brought innovation into the public sector: it made the public-sector use more efficient methods of service delivery and led to the demise of the traditional methods which had characterised the public sector as being slow and ineffective. Haque (2002:45) says the NPM was made more popular in the 1980s by politicians who used the NPM rhetoric for electoral campaigns. Some politicians put the blame for socio-economic conditions on inefficient public servants and presented the public sector as the enemy of progression in development.

It is accurate to say that the NPM contributed to the contemporary concept of governance. However, it is not quite appropriate to say the two concepts are synonymous, since governance is citizen-oriented while the NPM is profit-oriented. According to the NPM, public organisations take the form of corporations and corporations have a tendency of focusing on the achievement of profit and ignoring social and environmental issues which affect the livelihood of citizens (Heywood, 2103:367).

2.11 THE WORLD BANK: THE CONTEMPORARY CONCEPT OF GOVERNANCE

The modern concept of governance came from a pattern of scientific survey studies which were conducted by World Bank senior researcher, Kaufmann. Kaufmann carried out a survey study on 200 countries. In this study he collected data for a period of eight years to analyse how the economic growth of a country is affected by governance. The study showed that there was a direct link between the foreign direct investment (FDI) a country receives and the level of governance. Furthermore, the study showed that macro-economic and neo-liberalism policies were regarded as vital pre-conditions for growth to take place (Dam, 2006:26). The term 'governance' was first used by the World Bank in a document titled Governance and Development in 1992. This document confirmed that the concept of governance was adopted from institutions which promoted neo-liberalistic blueprints (Dam, 2006:99). This is similar to Anghie's (1996) assertion as discussed above.

The rise of neo-liberalism in the 1980s and 1990s also marked the rise of the modern concept of governance. The demise of the USSR at the end of the Cold War marked a new world order, where the USA became the only world power and which represented a capitalist state. Communism was regarded as a subpar solution to economic progression and neo-liberalism was regarded as the blueprint for the modern economic progression in nation states. The NPM,

the rise of neo-liberalism popularity and governance all reached a significant peak between the 1980s and the 1990s (Heywood, 2013:436).

The World Bank's concept of governance became more popular when regional bodies such as the EU and the other international organisations acknowledged governance as a global issue. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, governance became a popular topic of discourse among many influential international bodies, such as the OECD, the IMF and the UN. However, it is important to note that although each organisation looked at governance, each organisation had a particular focus on a feature or features of globalisation. For example, the World Bank advocated for accountability, transparency, the rule of law and efficient service delivery in the public sector as a blueprint for rapid progression in the developing world. On the other hand, the IMF advocated for accountability and transparency in the public sector, economic stability and environmental regulations in nation states. The OECD advocated for the establishment of effective legal and policing institutions, transparency and stakeholder participation in policy issues (Dam, 2006:37).

Governance as a concept had to have macro-economic features because it was derived from the World Bank, an organisation which is primarily committed to financial objectives (Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi, 2010:4). The focus on economics by the World Bank was evidently obvious since the World Bank is a financial institution which borrows money from and lends money to nation states. Hence, it would serve the Bank's interests and reduce the risk of bad debts if the loans were used for good programmes and were used efficiently. In 1997, the appointment of a new Chief Economist, Joseph Stiglitz, at the World Bank was pivotal in the Bank's solidifying its position on neo-liberalism. Stiglitz emphasised the need to build institutions which would help the efficient function of a free market economy. Stiglitz advocated for transparency, openness and private ownership and the participation of a more thriving civil society (Dam, 2006:35).

In 1999, the World Bank released a report titled *Entering the 21st Century: Development Imperfections*. The report reflected on development and solutions which are needed to foster rapid sustainable development. Like the World Bank's document titled *Governance and Development* in 1992, the former also advocated for more transparency, and the participation of the three sectors, namely the private sector, public sector and civil society. In addition, the

document advocated for a thriving effective judiciary system and efficient governments (Kaufmann, 2010:22).

2.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the origin of the concept of governance. It has shown that the concept of governance can be traced back to Greece and India in ancient times. In the Middle Ages during the feudal times, the concept of governance can be traced back to the 1000s after the coronation of King William the First, when King William enforced the Nomad law, the jury system, the adversarial system and the Magna Carta. In the age of imperialism, the concept of governance can be traced to the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 where a form of governance was agreed upon to oversee the partitioning of Africa. The post-World War 1 international organisation, the League of Nations, and the post-World War II international organisation, the United Nations, were the two pivotal organisations which set the trend for international governance so as to maintain world peace. The 20th century saw the development of the discourse of the contemporary concept of governance by capitalist nation-states, international financial institutions, other regional bodies and the adoption of the New Public Management in the public sector.

The findings in this Chapter are valuable to the study because they helped to ascertain the dynamics of the concept governance. It was revealed that the concept of governance is relative to time and geographic region, as there was someone with a distinct understanding of governance in each of the periods discussed in the chapter, similar to the concept of development which is heavily contested. However, the chapter also revealed that the rule of law is one feature of governance which is recognized as a fundamental feature for governance, as it appeared in each of the different periods discussed in the chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

EXPLORATION OF GOVERNANCE INDICES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The governance indices encompassing concepts such as voice and accountability, political stability and government effectiveness, which were originally articles of academic curiosity only, have become tools for use in conducting developmental dialogue and discussing the allocation of external assistance and foreign direct investment (Iqbal and Shar, 2010:7). They are important measurement tools used by donors, investors and researchers to rate a country's general performance. Kauffman and Aart (2010:10) state that the dire conditions in Africa reflect the desperate need for the monitoring of nation state performance, the establishment of anti-corruption institutions, government accountability and democratic institutions. This chapter critically discusses the importance of the governance indexes and their measurement criteria globally. In addition, it discusses the limitations and strengths of each governance index model. The chapter concludes by considering an argument by Brewer and Choi (2007:669) that the foregrounding of the inevitable relationship between good governance and successful development has led to a global drive for the monitoring of governance. South Africa, as a third-world country that needs economic and general investment from abroad, is no exception.

3.2 THE NEED FOR GOVERNANCE INDICATORS: WHY MEASURE GOVERNANCE?

Governance indicators make it possible to measure country-specific aspects such as the participation of citizens in the selection of political representatives and their political stability (Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi, 2009:19). The importance of governance indicators lies in their making it possible to measure governance. Campbell (2013:19) states that the main use of the indicators by international organisations and donors is to incentivise developing countries to improve their governance and thus to increase their chances of obtaining aid. This

increases the need for more measurements of governance, although some developing countries tend to resist producing indicators because of the foreign origin of the system.

Governance refers to the ways (both formal and informal) in which decisions are made in the public sphere. This means that public administration is a constituent pillar of governance. The UNDP (2009:3) further defines governance as "...the system of values, policies and institutions by which a society manages its economic, political and social affairs through interactions within and among the state, civil society and private sector". Basically, society is then able to organise itself to make and implement decisions, achieving mutual understanding, agreement and harmony. Maurseth (2008:4) states that governance refers to how authority is created, shaped and changed. The public sector takes a leading role in the interaction with civil society and the private sector.

The governance indicators are there to assess and compare the institutional quality of countries, thereby assisting in research as well as policy-making. Initially, governance indicators were used by academics in analysing economic growth and evaluating performance in the public sector. More recently, however, governance indicators are being used by donors and aid agencies the world over to evaluate decisions about conditional development assistance (Arndt, 2009:35).

The measuring of governance quality in nation states is of great significance. Because a number of different indicators are used by different organisations, it is thus difficult to draw conclusions from the data collected. Some indexes are deemed to be more reliable than others (Brewer and Choi, 2007: 704). The 'good' governance indices are important for a number of reasons. Firstly, donors and reformers take into consideration the governance indexes when assessing the impact of the policies of a country. Secondly, upon its determination in any potential investment zone, the investment climate then allows entities such as the World Bank, the IMF and any other interested parties to access this important information about any country in the world in which they intend investing. This helps these entities to assess the level of governance in the countries.

A Working Paper by the United Nations (2007:7) states that governance can be examined on three levels. The global level is the most critical for comparisons. These involve the use of indexes such as the worldwide governance indicators, and the application of standardised

approaches to diverse cultures, economies and political systems. Brewer and Choi (2007:703) state that standardised governance data can allow for robust benchmarking among countries using a common form of analysis. On a national level, governance can be analysed more comprehensively, thanks to the national features (Brewer and Choi, 2007:700).

As questions around the impact of governance on economic development arise, the need to measure the quality of governance has become of paramount importance (Thomas, 2010:49). A number of measures are now available, and this chapter focuses on the discussion of their efficacy. Among these measures are the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), which rank countries on six aspects of good governance. Some critics have focused on the ranking problems of bias or comparability that raise questions about the usefulness of the indicators (Thomas, 2010:50). However, a more fundamental question is whether the indicators have construct validity when they are used.

The quality of governance in a country or the extent of the differences in governance between countries is difficult to measure owing to the many disparate areas of life involved: social spheres, family or friendship circles, markets, the bureaucratic sphere or the so-called socio-political sphere (Maurseth, 2008:22). In addition, governance can be measured through the quantification and categorisation of the different governance models around the world. It follows that there is no one preferred yardstick for measuring governance across the world. As policymakers and researchers focus more on the question of the impact of governance on economic development, the quality of governance becomes more important. Thomas (2010:52) dismisses the notion that the governance indicators are of no use because of their so-called failure to demonstrate the “construct validity” of their submissions.

The Worldwide Governance Indicators is a prominent model which measures governance. These indicators have been used by researchers as well as foreign aid donors such as the United States, who use the indicators to allocate aid packages of hundreds of millions of dollars in aid money the world over.

3.3 EXAMPLES OF GOVERNANCE INDICATORS

Governance indicators owe their origin to the work of Iqbal and Shar (2010:10). These authors developed an index of good governance which aimed at measuring governance outcomes. This

was followed by the work of World Bank writers Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2009) who had their primary focus on governance processes, clustering large data sets and aggregating them so that they made econometric sense.

Over the years there have been different attempts to measure government performance across the world. A study by Maurseth (2008) delves into governance and the various forms of measurement adopted over the years. The following are some models of governance indexes:

3.3.1 The Freedom House Index

The Freedom House Index is used to measure certain attributes of governance which are related to individual freedoms in nation states. It has been used to measure freedom in 193 nation states. The index was founded in 1941 by an organisation known as the Freedom House, which is listed as a non-governmental organisation. However, it is significantly funded by the United States government (Freedom House, 2017:3).

Wendell Willkie and Eleanor Roosevelt served as its first honorary chairpersons. Willkie was a lawyer and a Republican nominee for the presidency of the US in 1940, while Eleanor Roosevelt was an activist and the First Lady of the US, the wife of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the 32nd US President (Ruby, 2014:5). The organisational goal of Freedom House is to advocate freedom and democracy. The survey does not rate governance, but it amounts to something like a governance indicator in that it measures how freedom is experienced by people in respective countries. In the end, a score is awarded based on a country being “free, partly free or not free” (Högström, 2013:206).

Freedom House conducts research and provides advocacy on democracy, political freedom and human rights. It assesses and reports on the extent of political freedoms and civil liberties in nation states on a yearly basis. It uses a scale from 1 (most free) to 7 (least free) to assess the degree of civil and political rights in nation states. Nation states with values from 1.0 to 2.99 are “most free”, while those nation-states classified as between 3.0 and 5.0 are considered "partly free", and those with values between 5.5 and 7.0 are "not free". For example, in the Freedom House 2004 report, the United Kingdom was considered “mostly free” with a score of 1.0. It was given a mark of "1.0" in civil liberties and a "1.0" in political rights, which means that it was totally free with respect to its practice of democracy. North Korea, on the other hand,

was considered “not free”, with a score of 7.7. This corresponds with the judgments expressed in several media reports which state that North Korea is under draconian rule and that press freedoms have been criminalised (Ruby, 2014:14).

The data analysis and ratings process by Freedom House are conducted by a panel of twenty-four researchers and policy analysts and twelve renowned academic professionals. The panel also involves several research consultants who conduct research on individual country reports. A comprehensive range of sources of information is used, including primary and secondary data, ranging from foreign and domestic news articles to academic reports and data derived from visits to the territories under scrutiny.

The Freedom House has been criticised for its lack of transparency, which is caused by the nature of its funding. A significant amount of its funding is given to it by the US government, 65 per cent, to be specific. This has led to the questioning of the transparency and independence of Freedom House. It has been criticised for being an agent to cover illicit activities by the US in Iran, having received funding by the State Department for this purpose. In addition, a Russian MP, Sergei Markov, accused Freedom House of being biased when it considered Russia to be “not free”. Markov says that Freedom House did so to serve US interests (Treisman, 2011:342).

3.3.2 The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG)

The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) is an indicator which annually assesses the level of governance in the African continent. The IIAG is funded by Mo Ibrahim, a Moroccan billionaire. It was founded at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University by Prof. Robert Rotberg and Dr Rachel Gisselquist (Iqbal and Shah, 2010:10). The IIAG defines governance as the level of responsibilities conducted by a government in a nation state. These responsibilities are the political and socio-economic goods expected by citizens from governance. The IIAG uses four categories to measure the level of governance. These are Safety and the Rule of Law, Participation and Human Rights, Sustainable Economic Opportunities, and Human Development (Arndt, 2009:50).

Under the category Safety and the Rule of Law, the IIAG assesses national security, public safety, judicial independence and efficiency, and corruption. It rates Critical Legal Norms by

evaluating whether the government is involved in armed conflicts, the number of battle deaths, the number of civilian deaths due to one-sided violence, the number of refugees and asylum seekers originating from the country, the number of internally-displaced people, the ease of access to small arms and light weapons, the ratification of core international human rights conventions, the enforcement of international sanctions, the protection of property rights, the efficiency of the courts based on the length of pre-trial detention, the number of days taken to settle a contract dispute, and the extent of public sector corruption (Arndt,2009: 53).

Under the category Participation and Human Rights, the IIAG assesses participation in elections and respect for civil and political rights by evaluating whether there are free and fair executive elections, opposition participation in executive elections, free and fair legislative elections, opposition participation in legislative elections, respect for physical integrity rights, respect for civil rights, press freedom and women's rights in a nation state (Farrington, 2009:256).

Under the category Sustainable Economic Opportunity the IIAG assesses wealth creation, macroeconomic stability and financial integrity, and what it calls the arteries of commerce by evaluating the GDP per capita (PPP), the GDP per capita growth, inflation, government surplus/deficits as a percentage of the GDP, the reliability of financial institutions (contract-intensive money), the business environment (the number of days it takes to start a business), the density of the paved road network, the electricity installed capacity per capita, the number of telephone subscribers per 100 inhabitants, and Internet usage per 100 inhabitants (Rotberg and Gissilquist, 2004:14).

Under the category Human Development the IIAG assesses poverty, health and sanitation, and education by evaluating life expectancy at birth, child mortality, maternal mortality, undernourishment, the immunisation rate for measles, the immunisation rate for diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus (DPT), HIV prevalence, the incidence of tuberculosis, the number of physicians per 1,000 people, nursing and midwifery personnel per 1,000 people, access to improved sanitation facilities, access to drinking water, the adult literacy rate, the female primary school completion rate, the primary school completion rate, female progression to secondary school, the ratio of girls to boys in primary and secondary education, and the pupil-teacher ratio (Rotberg and Gissilquist, 2008:16).

The IAG is regarded as the most articulate of the models which assess governance in Africa. It assesses the provision of service delivery and the effectiveness of policies in a nation state. The Ibrahim Index of African Governance is in effect used to support decision-making in nation states (World Bank 2006:44).

The Institute of Security Studies reports that in the 2013 IAG report South Africa scored 71,3 out of 100 in democratic governance. The 71.3 score ranked South Africa high in relation to governance among African nation states. In 2013 South Africa was ranked fifth in the IAG report, after Cape Verde, Mauritius, Botswana and Seychelles. However, the Institute of Security Studies states that as of 2006 the level of governance in South Africa has been declining, while the overall level of governance in Africa has risen (The Institute of Security Studies, 2014:56).

The Ibrahim Index report in 2015 ranked South Africa fourth in Africa in its index ratings. The rise in South Africa's rank from fifth place in 2013 to fourth place in 2014 was due to an improvement in the Safety and Rule of Law category. In 2014 South Africa ranked fifth with a score of 73 out of 100, which was comparable with that of Mauritius, which ranked first with a score of 79,9 of 100 (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2016:37).

A study by Awojobi (2014) evaluated the level of governance in Nigeria from 2007 to 2013 using the Ibrahim Index. The study revealed that Nigeria performed poorly in the four categories measured by the IAG. Between 2007 to 2013 Nigeria scored an average of 43,3 out of 100. This score was similar to that of Zimbabwe, a country which has been marred by several human rights abuses and the absence of the rule of law. Awojobi (2014:4) says it is appalling that even after 15 years since Nigeria had elected (?) its first democratic government in 1999, the level of governance was in a dire state and declining.

3.3.3 The International Country Risk Guide

The International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) is a governance model which assesses economic, political and financial risk in 140 nation states. It was initially created in 1980 by several editors of international reports, but in 1992 its editor and analysts moved from international reports to the PRS Group, becoming an integral part of the company's services to the international business community. It is regarded as a rating agency and produces monthly

ratings of the political and financial risk of nation states. It is administered by the Political Risk Division (PRS) of Frost and Sullivan Inc. This means that the International Country Risk Guide is an independent organisation, as it is privately owned. However, the fact that this rating agency is a business suggests that its objectivity may be tempered by economic factors and the interests of various parties. It offers analyses of events that affect the risk ratings (Hoti, 2014:3; The PRS Group, 2016:5).

The researchers at the ICRG use over 30 metrics to assess risk, which ranges in type from risks of turmoil, equity restrictions, taxation discrimination and exchange controls. Within the three categories of the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) assessments, namely political, financial, and economic categories, there are 22 variables in three subcategories. A separate index is created for each of the subcategories. The Political Risk index is based on 100 points, the Financial Risk on 50 points, and the Economic Risk on 50 points. The total number of points from the three indices is divided by two to produce the weights for inclusion in the composite country risk score. The composite scores, ranging from 0 to 100, are then broken into categories from Very Low Risk (80 to 100 points) to Very High Risk (0 to 49.9 points) (Tusalem, 2010:350; The PRS Group, 2016:16).

Under the Political Risk category, the variables rated are government stability, socioeconomic conditions, the investment profile, internal conflict, external conflict, corruption, the military in politics, religious tensions, law and order, ethnic tensions, democratic accountability and the quality of the bureaucracy (Hoti and McAleer, 2002:4; The PRS Group, 2016:14).

Under the Economic Risk category, the variables measured ranged from the GDP per head, real GDP growth, the annual inflation rate, the budget balance as a percentage of the GDP, and the current account as a percentage of the GDP (The PRS Group, 2016:15).

Under the Financial Risk rating, the variables measured are foreign debt as a percentage of the GDP, foreign debt service as a percentage of the export of goods and services, the current account as a percentage of the export of goods and services, net international liquidity as months of import cover, and exchange rate stability. One advantage of the ICRG model is that it allows users to make their own risk assessments based on the ICRG model or to modify the model to meet their specific requirements (The PRS Group, 2016:24).

3.3.4 The Global Integrity Index

An index that measures governance across the world is the Global Integrity Index. It was formed in 1999 as a development initiative of the Centre for Public Policy, a non-profit organisation based in Washington D.C. The goal of the Global Integrity Index was to further efforts to examine and evaluate corruption patterns in nation states and the actions of states (Hipper, 2015:4). It is a popular governance index, as its reports are published by several newspapers around the world. The data it produces is used by other organisations to measure governance, advise policy and aid allocation, for example, by the World Bank, USAID and the Millennium Challenge Corporation. Unlike other popular governance metrics, the Global Integrity Index does not use perception surveys, but it uses only local expert data (Global Integrity Report, 201:10).

The Global Integrity Index focuses on government effectiveness in combating corruption. Furthermore, it views the accessibility of a nation state's mechanisms such as institutions for combatting corruption as being integral to a nation-state's capacity to progress its integrity and transparency. It is important to note that the Global Integrity Index does not measure corruption *per se*. Instead, it focuses on institutions and actions taken by governments in nation states to prevent corruption. However, the Global Integrity Index is marred by several limitations. Firstly, it measures only national frameworks and does not consider subnational frameworks, and the index disregards private sector corruption as it does not significantly record it in comparison with public sector corruption (Hipper, 2015:8).

The integrity indicators are organised into six main categories, which are Civil Society, Elections, Government Accountability, Administration, Oversight and Regulation, and Anti-corruption and the rule of law. The six categories measured by the Global Integrity Index are made up of twenty-five dimensions, which are civil society, public information and the media, civil society organisations, public access to information, elections, voting and citizen participation, election integrity, political financing, government accountability, executive accountability, legislative accountability, judicial accountability, budget processes, administration and civil service, civil service regulations, whistle-blowing measures, procurement, privatisation, oversight and regulatory mechanisms, the national ombudsman, the supreme audit institution, taxes and customs, financial sector regulation, business licensing and regulation, anti-corruption mechanisms and the rule of law, anti-corruption law, anti-corruption

agency, and law enforcement. The results are scored on a 0-100 scale that is grouped into five tiers: Very Strong (90-100), Strong (80-90), Moderate (70-80), Weak (60-70) and Very Weak (Below 60) (Global Assessment Portal, 2017:5).

3.3.5 Worldwide Governance Indicators

The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) is a nation-state governance assessment model of the World Bank. The WGI were formed at the World Bank Research Department in the 1990s by Daniel Kaufmann. The WGI define governance as the culture by which authority is achieved and exercised in a country. This means that when authority is misused, that is described as poor governance, and when authority is used positively to foster development or democracy it is described as good governance. The WGI assess nation states' governance using six categories: Voice and Accountability; Political Stability; the Absence of Violence and Terrorism; Government Effectiveness; Regulatory Quality and the Rule of Law and Control of Corruption. WGI reports are released annually and are measured as aggregate scores from 441 single variables accounting for the different proportions of governance from 35 various sources created by 33 different organisations (Kaufmann et al., 2008:4; Kaufmann, 2010:10).

The Voice and Accountability category is defined as the level of citizen participation in governance. The key freedoms of association, media and expression are important indicators of a country's level of conformity to the governance indicators. The process of government selection and relative processes in the political system are used to measure the concept of voice and accountability. The protection of civil liberties, the political rights of citizens and the free media are also important facets of the accountability of the government. Ikome (2017:6) describes accountability as the ability of citizens, civil society and the private sector to scrutinise public institutions and government and hold them to account.

Voice and Accountability can also be used to measure the level and quality of institutional development. The citizen monitoring or maintaining an oversight on the political processes is a key component of the accountability process. Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2009:20) give a clear insight on the first component of voice and accountability. The authors advocate for formal institutional change focusing on the passing of national legislation aimed at protecting social, economic and political freedoms. Relative judicial reforms in a country that strengthen democratic accountability are also important. Informal institutional change is also important, with a focus on cultural norms. This process entails community sensitisation, public

awareness and the inclusion in political processes of citizens who were previously excluded (Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi, 2009:20). An example drawn from South Africa would be the rejection of the apartheid government's exclusion of certain persons and races from participating in the country's political processes. The removal of barriers in respect of the government's vertical responsiveness to citizens' issues also is crucial to achieving proper accountability structures.

The Political Stability Category assesses the level of stability and the likelihood of destabilization in a nation state by unconstitutional means such as the use of violence, a military coup, terrorism or civil war. It also assesses the capacity of a government to ensure that stability is maintained using constitutional means. Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2009:12) view the Political Stability category as a key index of the first component of governance in the monitoring of governments. There is a direct link between economic growth and political stability in a nation state. Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2009:15) argue that the quality of political and governance institutions, is part of the investment climate of a country, since investors require a stable and secure environment to secure returns on investments. Furthermore, Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2009:29) state that the existence of effective institutions which foster political stability, helps diminish economic uncertainties and improves socio-economic conditions in nation states. This means that the perceptions of the likelihood that a government in power will possibly be destabilised or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including the threat of violence and terrorism, are key risks that may result in political instability.

The Government Effectiveness category focuses on the measurement of the quality of public services, civil services and the degree of the government's independence from political pressures. The quality of policy formulation, implementation, and the credibility of a government's commitment to policies are also key components of Government Effectiveness. A country is evaluated on the government's ability to manage political alterations without drastic policy changes or interruptions in government functions. Kaufmann (2010b:23) also argues that the quality of transportation infrastructure, telecommunications, healthcare and general services are also key components of Government Effectiveness. Effective coordination mechanisms ensure policy consistency across departmental boundaries and thus stronger administrative structures. There is also the need to review government decisions consistently to ensure efficiency in implementation, to monitor that the hiring and promotion of people in

government are based on merit and performance, and to ensure that ethic remains a priority. Effective tax implementation, together with proper budget formulation, is also regarded as key to any government's effectiveness.

The Regulatory Quality category requires that a government must be able to monitor and prevent the occurrence of market-unfriendly policies such as price controls or inadequate bank supervision. Kaufman (2010b:25) states that when governments excessively regulate markets, that hampers the development of business in nation states as it discourages competition which thrives in a free-market economy. Mercantilist practices such as trade barriers make a nation-state less favourable for investment attraction. The World Bank evaluates this category by assessing the prevalence of regulations, administrative requirements and the softness of trade policy (World Bank, 2016:9).

The Rule of Law Category measures the extent of the adherence to the laws of a nation state by government officials and elite individuals. It looks at the efficiency and objectivity of the police and the courts, and the extent to which individual rights to property, civil rights and human rights are enforced. If the rule of law is disregarded, this results in a society that is ungovernable, and may in extreme cases lead to anarchy. The perceptions of citizens of the prevalence of crime, the effectiveness of government's security agents and the impartiality of the judiciary are indicators of the existence of the rule of law in a society. Brewer and Choi (2007:701) state that it should be the aim of any government to ensure the eradication of crime, to prevent xenophobia, and to prevent the establishment of black markets, as these are obstacles to foreign direct investment as well as preventing a good governance rating for a country.

The Control of Corruption category is an important indicator that aims to capture perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and major forms of corruption. The capture of the state by elite politicians and private citizens is a key indicator of corruption (Ikome, 2017:12).

If a government can control these factors, its rating will be better than that of others.

3.4 LIMITATIONS, CRITICISMS AND THE STRENGTHS OF THE GOVERNANCE INDICATORS

The WGI that are employed as indicators of governance by many international organisations and donors are not uncritically received. Thus, there is a body of literature which criticises the

WGI and other governance indicators. This is usually based on the methodology of the indexes, which entails estimates and aggregates. Some critics argue that WGI are ill-suited to comparisons between countries as they lack transparency in a sense and suffer from bias as there is a high likelihood of correlated errors in the sources used. Langbein (2010:350) argues that the WGI do not measure distinct concepts of the control of corruption, the rule of law, political stability, or voice and accountability. Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2009:36) hold the view that there are inherent limitations in the measure of governance which must be understood by those using the governance indicators.

Kaufmann and Aart (2010a) further argue that key issues measured by the WGI must be understood by users of the governance indicators, as all governance indicators have weaknesses. This makes measuring governance a complex process that presents no single orthodox solution. However, to counter the conundrum of governance indicators, Kaufmann and Aart (2010a:45) argue that policy makers must view the different indicators as complementary rather than as competing with one another.

Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2009:40) assert that several critics of governance indicators have raised the possibility of bias and a lack of comparability in the governance indicators. This raised pertinent questions about the utility of these indicators. The criticism is valuable because it has foregrounded the fundamental question of whether the indicators have construct validity. Furthermore, the links between indicators and outcomes are complex, there may be many gaps, and they may sometimes not be well understood. These problems complicate the interpretation of the rules-based indicators, as in some cases the rules are largely descriptive and are not effective in application. Brewer and Choi (2007:5) state that governance dimensions must be geographically and culturally contextualised so as to make more meaningful impacts. For example, what accountability is in Europe could be wholly distinct from how it is viewed in Africa or in Asia. Thus, there may be a need for more cross-continental studies, especially in under-developed regions. Brewer and Choi (2007:6) further stated that contextualising the governance dimensions geographically would be difficult, since inter-country comparisons of government effectiveness are impeded by the differences in data collection methods and the definition of variables from one country to the next.

Iqbal and Shah (2008:33) argue that the WGI are flawed in many instances, mainly because of their use of aggregation techniques and the fact that they do not consider the basics.

Furthermore, Iqbal and Shah (2010:34) state that the governance indicators capture mostly Western business perspectives on governance whilst neglecting the fact that governance may differ in many aspects from continent to continent, especially when one compares the experiences of the developed world and the developing world. In addition, Iqbal and Shah (2010:37) assert that most academics have not subjected the WGI to the scrutiny they truly require; hence the reviews of the WGI have been more positive than they ought to be. Iqbal and Shah (2010:22) quote some disturbing findings which need further scrutiny, as the WGI found that "...voice and accountability are worse in China than in Zimbabwe" and also that Botswana is more politically stable than Norway and Sweden.

In addition, the most widely used governance indicator datasets are composite perception-based indicators (Kaufmann and Aart, 2010b:25). As such they lack transparency and comparability over time, suffer from selection bias, and are not well suited to helping developing countries to identify how to improve the quality of their governance effectively.

Some critics have taken issue with the definitions of governance and thus with the assignment of individual governance indicators to the six aggregate WGI. As there is no consensus on the definition of governance, there cannot be any right or wrong definitions or corresponding measures of governance (Brewer and Choi, 2007:700). That said, most reasonable definitions of governance cover similar broad areas, and aggregate indicators capturing these broad areas are likely to be similar. Moreover, as virtually all of the individual indicators underlying the WGI are publicly available on the WGI website, researchers can easily construct alternative indicators corresponding to their preferred notions of governance (World Bank, 2016).

The criticisms of the governance indicators are not perceived by the users of the governance indicators, which mean that the criticism is nullified. This includes the criticisms that the governance indicators lack transparency, are not conducive to comparability over time, are biased and are incapable of assisting developing countries to identify how to improve the quality of their governance effectively. The users of governance indicators are mainly international investors, official national and multilateral aid agencies, development analysts, academics and people located outside developing countries (Arndt, 2009:56).

Furthermore, the criticisms of governance indicators are not entirely unjustified. Firstly, there is no clear evidence of a trend in one direction or another in the global averages of governance

in any of the underlying individual data sources (the overall evidence pointing to general stagnation). The choice of a constant global average is therefore no more than an innocuous choice of units. Secondly, changes in the set of underlying data sources on average contribute only minimally to changes over time in countries' scores on the aggregate WGI; most of cross country comparisons using the aggregate WGI are based on a substantial number of common data sources. Thirdly, the presence of explicit margins of error in the WGI is an important advantage, serving as a useful antidote to superficial comparisons of countries' ranks or countries' performance over time that are often made with other governance indicators.

A substantial fraction of cross-country and over-time comparisons use the WGI results and produce statistically significant differences, suggesting that the WGI are informative. Several critics have alleged various biases in the data sources underlying the WGI, including an excessive emphasis on business-friendly regulation on the part of some data providers; ideological biases such as a bias against left-wing governments on the part of some data providers; and 'halo effects' whereby countries with good economic performance receive better-than-warranted governance scores. However, convincing empirical evidence in support of such biases has not been provided. Empirical work by Kaufmann and Aart (2010b:44) suggests that these biases are quantitatively unimportant.

Virtually all governance indicators have some attributes of subjectivity. However, it is important to note that perceptions-based data are extremely valuable, because they capture the views of citizens who act based on holding these views.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the need for governance indicators and the several types of governance indicators. The various governance indicators discussed were the Freedom Index, the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG), the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG), the Global Index and the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI). The comparison of the various indicators is important for the study because it provides the different narratives of the term 'governance' by different organisations. However, it is important to note that political stability, political freedom, rule of law and human rights were four key features of governance which appeared in all the five governance indicators discussed in this chapter. The WGI is most comprehensive indicator of governance because it analyses governance data from several sources, including other indicators of governance. However, it must be noted that all

the governance indicators are subject to some form of subjectivity. The chapter has also discussed the limitations, criticisms and the strengths of governance indicators in general. The next chapter will discuss the legislative framework regulating governance in the Republic of South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR

Governance in South Africa: The Legislative Framework

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine all the pieces of legislation, government frameworks and government programmes used to foster good governance in South Africa. It will demonstrate that South Africa has impressive comprehensive legislation and institutions designed to ensure the practice of good governance, and national programmes which help to accelerate the achievement of good governance. It will also discuss the South African Constitution of 1996, and the pieces of legislation which foster the Rule of Law and the Respect for Human Rights in South Africa, such as the Bill of Rights, Section 195 (1) of the Constitution; Good Governance through the Separation of Powers; the adoption of pluralism in the South African Parliament; Good Governance through the Restitution of Land; Good Governance Practices within South African non-profit organisations (NPOs); Good Governance in Local Government; the Integrated Development Plan (IDP); the Batho Pele Principles; Performance Management in the Municipalities; Government Programmes in South Africa that Build Good Governance; and Regional Governance via the South African Foreign Policy. The aim is to establish extent of South Africa's the legal framework which helps to uphold good governance.

4.2 THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1996

The South African Constitution of 1996 is regarded as the supreme law of the Republic of South Africa (De Jager *et al.*, 2015:39). The Constitution lays the foundations for good governance, democracy and development (De Jager *et al.*, 2015:39). A constitution encompasses the essential guidelines of the political system of a nation state (Tamanaha, 2004:11). It defines the functions and powers of the different institutions of a country and it sets the parameters in which the powers of the institution may be exercised. The South African Constitution sets the guidelines that protect the rights of the people inside the country, and the obligations of the state institutions to assure adherence to these guidelines (Constitution, 1996). Edgar and Msuza (2015:22) assert that the Freedom Charter may be credited as the document which led to the framing of 1996 South African Constitution because it enunciated a vision for a free and fair South Africa in which all races may live in peace and harmony. This vision was the foundation of the Interim Constitution of 1993. The Interim Constitution allowed for the

holding of the free, fair and open-to-all elections held in April 1996. Hence, the Freedom Charter is regarded as a key document since it steered the formation of the current democratic constitution in South Africa. The Freedom Charter was agreed upon in Kliptown in 1955 (De Jager et al., 2015:24).

4.2.1 The Rule of Law and the Respect for Human Rights

The Constitution of South Africa is an impressive document in that it fosters good governance in many ways. What follows below is a discussion of how the Constitution is an instrument used to determine and achieve the rule of law.

The rule of law is a critical feature in the assessment of good governance by various governance indicators and judicial systems, as discussed in Chapter Three. The existence of the rule of law helps the state to avoid tyranny, state capture and elitism. It assures that all elite individuals and high-ranking government officials comply with and are held accountable to all the laws of the country (Tamanaha, 2004:11; Langbein and Knack, 2010:20; Kaufmann, 2010:38).

4.2.2 The Bill of Rights

The Constitution is a key instrument for good governance because it obliges the state and government to make the state directly answerable and accountable to the citizens of the country. It aims to enforce and protect the rights of citizens regardless of race, ethnicity, geographic region and class (Dugard, 2008:4). It provides for the respect of human rights and civil rights for individuals. The respect of civil and human rights is provided for in the Bill of Rights in Chapter 2 of the Constitution (Constitution, 1996).

There are currently 32 rights which are afforded in the Constitution which serve to protect the civil freedoms and rights of all people in South Africa. They aim to promote human equality, diverse opinions, the utmost respect for life, and dignified livelihoods for all. De Jager et al. (2015:207) assert that the Bill of Rights is the equivalent of a code of conduct for South Africa, because it determines whether a piece of legislation or an action is lawful or unlawful. If a new piece of legislation is not consistent with the Bill of Rights, the new legislation is affirmed to be null. Amongst the 32 rights, the most important are the right to life; the right to be treated equally; the right to a secret vote in free and fair elections; the freedom to form political parties or associations, trade unions and other organizations; freedom of expression for individuals and the media; the right to access information from government; and the right to get

(obtain/request?) reasons for government decisions that affect one personally (Constitution, 1996; De Jager et al., 2015:207).

In addition to the provisions of Chapter 2 of the Constitution, Section 9 provides that all individuals, groups, institutions and organizations must adhere to the principle of equality. Section 9 emphasises the principle of equality and it states that it is the obligation of state institutions to assure and preserve equality for all people. In Section 9 the Constitution states that all people are equal before the law and must have equal rights.

4.2.3 Section 195 (1) of the Constitution, RSA 1996

Section 195 (1) is a part of the Constitution that obliges municipalities to practise good governance via a performance management system for municipalities. Section 195 obliges municipalities to show several functional features that are synonymous with the features of good governance. These features must inform procedures which must guide and form the fundamentals of the functioning public organisation. These are efficiency, responsiveness, representativeness, transparency, and accountability.

Section 195 also refers to the primary features of good governance such as equality and citizen participation. These are the key features assessed by governance indices, as discussed in Chapters One and Three of this study. Section 195 obliges public organisations to deliver public services in an unprejudiced, equitable and fair manner. In addition, Section 195 requires that every developmental initiative must be people-centred so as to benefit the people of the country. Lastly, Section 195 mandates the right of the public to access information. It states this must be seen as an important right because its implementation fosters greater transparency in government and public organisations.

4.2.4 Good Governance Through the Separation of Powers

According to Kende (2014:10), the functions and the distinctiveness of the three branches of the state are provided for under the 1996 Constitution. The Constitution resembles many other constitutions around the world in this respect, the separation of powers being an acknowledged means of protecting the democracy of a country. The legislature, which comprises the members of parliament, the provincial legislatures and the local councils, makes the laws and policies.

The executive branch comprises the president, deputy-president and ministers, and its function is to execute the laws and policies determined by the legislature, while the judiciary administers the processes that preserve justice (De Jager et al., 2015:102).

In practice, this means that each branch of the state keeps watch over the power of the others. The courts can make judgments on the actions of the legislature and the executive but have no authority to pass laws. The legislature can create laws but has no power to hand down judgments or take executive action. The policies, programmes and actions of government are administered, monitored and overseen by the executive in the persons of the relevant Cabinet Ministers. The separation of powers is important because they support the rule of law and the provisions the Bill of Rights, all of which are virtues of good governance. For example, the separation of powers allows for the protection of individuals if their rights are being infringed upon by the government or state officials (Parpworth, 2017:233).

In terms of the separation of powers, each branch of the government must be independent of the others. The judiciary should not be politically controlled or be influenced by any pressure from outside and should work only to sustain and defend the laws of South Africa, as per the constitutional democracy. This means that the judiciary has the autonomy to instruct the government to create laws or implement policies to preserve the objectives of the Constitution, such as protecting the human rights of South Africans (Constitution, 1996).

The judiciary carries out its constitutional mandate through the courts. The courts are autonomous, and their sole purpose is to preserve the Constitution and the law impartially. They are given their power by the Constitution, which states that no individual or organ of state may impede the working of the courts in any form or manner. The South African judiciary consists of six different courts, namely the Magistrates' Courts, the High Courts, the Supreme Court of Appeal, the Constitutional Court, and special courts. The South African judiciary has recently played a pivotal role in advocating the rights of emerging minority groups (Parpworth, 2017:246). For instance, the Constitutional Court ordered Parliament to create and enact laws to protect the rights of gays and lesbians and to legalize same-sex marriages (Bilchitz and Judge, 2008:3).

The separation of powers in South Africa was first established under the Constitution of 1983, where a tri-cameral system for electing the president was established. It comprised a House of

Assembly for whites, a House of Representatives for coloured people and a House of Delegates for Indians. In Parliament, the whites had the majority of 50 seats, the coloured people had 25 and the Indians had 13. Under this system the president was chosen by the majority vote of the three houses. It is important to note that although this tri-cameral parliamentary system was pluralistic in that it gave voice to three different racial groups in parliament, this parliament was still not representative of South Africa as the majority of blacks were not recognized in parliament (Dugard, 2008:13).

Furthermore, the selection of the parliamentary representatives was not democratic and did not adhere to the principles of good governance, as it functioned on discriminatory racial grounds only. The racial exclusion and separation in the parliament in the 1980s characterised of South African at that time, where all social life was based on racial distinctions in health services, housing, education, social welfare and local government (Freund, 2007:665).

Chapter One of this study asserted that the term ‘governance’, like the term ‘development’, is contested and does not have one accepted definition. However, several studies have shown that there are notable features which are consensually agreed to in relation to good governance. These are the efficient provision of public services, an independent judicial system, a legal framework that is enforceable by state institutions without bias, and reverence for human rights and the law in all spheres of government.

4.2.5 Pluralism: An Avenue for Good Governance in the South African Parliament

The chapter identified the 1996 Constitution as the supreme document which fosters good governance in the country. The study asserted that the 1996 Constitution was essential for good governance because it defines the functions of the different institutions in South Africa and the powers of the specific institutions, and it sets the parameters in which the powers of the institution may be exercised. The way power is exercised by public officials and institutions in a nation state is what determines the level of good governance. Furthermore, the Constitution provides for the upholding of the rule of law, the respect for human rights and presented the Bill of Rights which provides the civil liberties needed by citizens to experience utmost (total democracy).

The Constitution also makes provision for the establishment of functional of local government public agencies such as municipalities. Section 195 (1) of the Constitution obliges municipalities to practise good governance via a performance management system for municipalities.

The chapter also asserted how the pluralism of government power was a key feature for effective good governance and democracy. The pluralism of government power in South Africa is practised by the exercising of the separation of powers provided in the Constitution. The latter mandates that the Judiciary, the Executive and the Legislature arms of the government are distinct, independent and autonomous.

The chapter also provides evidence of how South Africa has displayed commitment to practising pluralism by allowing a diverse parliament comprised of representatives of from holding majority votes and minority votes.

The chapter concluded that in South Africa there is a pluralist liberal democracy that promotes visible rivalry amongst competing political groups and freedoms for competing interest groups to ensure that political power is widely distributed. Considering the historical unfair distribution of land in South Africa during colonial times and the apartheid regime, the chapter argued that the more effective processes in the restitution of land were a key form of good governance. Most of the land is occupied and owned by white people in South Africa; hence this unfair disparity has worsened the socio-economic inequality in South Africa.

The Constitution of South Africa provides for a government characterised by a form of governance that promotes healthy citizen participation in the affairs and activities of the government. The Constitution provides for the political participation of citizens, which is a feature of a liberal democracy as it is based on electoral competition and the existence of a clear distinction between civil society and the state. Furthermore, the Constitution provides for the highest degree of liberal democracy, which includes pluralist liberal democracy. A pluralist liberal democracy promotes visible rivalry amongst competing political groups and freedoms for competing interest groups so as to ensure that political power is widely distributed (Heywood, 2013:275).

The parliamentary system in South Africa is one of the most representative in the world (Lodge, 2003:11). The Constitution provides for proportional representation in parliament. It provides not only for the representation of the majority political party but also for the representation of minority political parties. The current parliament in South Africa has representatives of 13 political parties and a total of 400 seats in all. The ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), has the majority of 249 seats and the opposition, the Democratic Alliance (DA) has 89 seats.

Among other parties represented in the parliament which have a considerable number of seats are the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) with 25 seats, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) with 10 seats, the United Democratic Movement (UDM) with 4 seats and the Congress of the People (COPE) with three seats (IEC, 2014). It is important to note that here are several other parties in South Africa which have significantly fewer seats compared to the parties mentioned above. These are the National Freedom Party, the United Democratic Movement, the Freedom Front Plus, the Congress of the People, the African Christian Democratic Party, the African Independent Congress, Agang SA, the Pan Africanist Congress, the African People's Convention, the Al Jama-ah, Minority Front, the United Christian Democratic Party, and the Azanian People's Organisation (IEC, 2014).

In addition, the Constitution provides for free and fair electoral processes. Regular multi-party elections are fundamental for democracy to take place and for democracy to be maintained. Democracy is based on political action whereby citizens have an opportunity to vote for the government of their choice. South Africa's transition to a democratic dispensation occurred in 1994 when the ANC came into power. This was achieved through a free and fair electoral process in which the ANC won the majority of the votes. It can be ascertained that South African politics takes the form of a pluralistic democracy. The fact that the elections were racially inclusive, peaceful and were declared by the international community to have been free and fair, suggests that good governance was upheld in the 1994 electoral process in South Africa. (Heywood, 2013:197; De Jager et al., 2015:23).

4.2.6 Good Governance Through the Restitution of Land

Langford and Moyo (2010:145) assert that land reform in South Africa is a vital process which has to be conducted to redress the injustices of the unfair land distribution perpetrated by the

apartheid regime. During apartheid, native Africans were forcibly removed from their homes and forced into homelands. This coercive distribution of land was unfair, unequal and based on the racist policy of isolating black South Africans Langford and Moyo (2010:155).

The dispossession of black South Africans of their land started when the first colonials arrived in South Africa in the 1600s. However, the rapid and systematic dispossession of land was triggered by the Native Land Act of 1913 (Dickson, 1970). This Act embodied a national policy enforced by the British and the Afrikaners that displaced African natives from their land while increasing the size of and uniting areas of white settlement (Dickson, 1970; Parpworth, 2017:33).

However, after 1948, when the National Party won the elections, it spent much of its time imposing a national segregation programme which was far grimmer than any previous segregation initiatives, including the Natives' Land Act. This grim segregation programme was known as the Group Areas Act. Although it was totally immoral, the segregation of the races was made a legal policy under the apartheid regime.

This national segregation programme was the opposite of all the principles which equal good governance (Harvey, Feinber and Horn, 2009:50). The core principle of good governance is equality and the main indicator that a government upholds good governance are the actions it takes to foster economy development among its citizens regardless of race or ethnicity (Ndedi et al., 2015:10).

The separation of the races was mandated by the Group Areas Act which was implemented through the creation of the homelands. Under this Group Areas Act, selected areas of the country were designated for specific groups of people. It has been approximated that in terms of this Act about four million people were relocated between 1955 and 1980. The outcome of this was the resettling of people in other areas (the displacement of black people from Sophiatown to Soweto, for example).

This is an indication that the anti-good governance practices were being formalised by legislation in South Africa during the apartheid years, which rendered any good governance efforts as hopeless because they would be fighting institutionalised practices (Deegan, 2001:40).

Inequality in South Africa is rated among the worst in the world, mostly owing to the continuing unequal distribution of the land (Manyaka and Sebola, 2012). The current disparity in land distribution between blacks and whites is appalling. Although the blacks constitute the majority of South African citizens, they hold only 15 per cent of the land, while whites still hold a massive 85 per cent (Kleinbooi, 2011:8; Aliber *et al*, 2013:4).

This suggests that nothing much has really changed in this respect since South Africa transitioned into a democracy in 1994. Hence, this means the state of good governance in South Africa is currently under threat given the above statistics because in Chapter One of the study it was asserted that governance carries an enormous economic responsibility associated with standard of living in a nation state (Aminuzzaman, 2007:12).

However, the Constitution in South Africa has provided for the implementation of a Land Reform programme for the redistribution and restitution of land to its rightful owners. Furthermore, as mandated by the 1996 Constitution, the state has created a Commission on Restitution of Land Rights and Land Claims courts to facilitate the quick return of ancestral land to natives. The two organisations promote good governance with regard to land in South Africa as they are instrumental in the equal distribution of land and redressing the injustices caused by the apartheid government. The White Paper on South African Land Policy of 1997 had the objective of returning the land to those who had been dispossessed under the Groups Areas Act.

4.2.7 Good Governance Practices within South African NPOs

In South Africa, good governance has been recognised as a code of conduct and institutional practice that must exist in all three sectors: the public sector, the private sector and the non-profit sector. Non-profit organisations (NPOs) make up an important sector in South Africa as they contribute significantly to the country's GDP and assist the government with social welfare, which is evidently needed. The NPO sector currently employs over a million South Africans, contributes 15 billion rands towards the GDP and as of 2013 the number of NPOs increased to more than 100 000 (Stuart, 2013:345).

The Department of Social Development is mandated by the Constitution to play a significant role in fostering an environment in which NGOs can thrive, under the 1997 Non-profit

Organization Act 71. The Department has indeed played a meaningful role. Thus in 2001, with the Department of Social Development, the Directorate of NPOs issued the Code of Good Practice to motivate NPOs to self-regulate. These Codes of Conduct list the requirements for the good governance of NPOs as per the Constitution. In addition, they emphasise the expected standards of accountability and transparency.

However, a study by the Department of Social Development (2009) revealed that there are still numerous NPOs which fail to comply with the NPO Act or adhere to the Code of Good Practice. However, as of 2016, The Mail and Guardian newspaper reported that South African NPOs have been put under notice to improve their accountability through appropriate registration processes which are compliant to legislation and 23000 NPOs had been deregistered owing to non-compliance (Pather, 2016:1).

The fact that the South African government is facilitating the function of important socio-economic institutions such as the NPOs is a form of good governance. Good governance is not only about maintaining the level of governance but also implies that the government in a nation state takes several actions to improve the functioning of institutions in the country. NPOs are vital in that they complement the work of civil society to hold the government accountable. The activism of civil society is vital, especially in diverse societies, because it serves the purpose of fostering the interests of minority groups and of the public. South Africa is a diverse nation. It has 11 official languages spoken among a population of over 54 million people, comprising blacks, whites, coloured people and Indians.

The blacks make up most of the population, amounting to 70 per cent of the people, while whites and coloured people make up most of the rest, each amounting to less than 10 per cent. Asians make up approximately 3 per cent of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2015:201). Heywood (2013:275) asserts that having a robust civil society in a nation state is one indication that the government has an elevated level of pluralism, and therefore that it is a healthy democracy.

4.3 GOOD GOVERNANCE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local government is the most important sphere of government because it is closer to communities. Local authorities play a significant role in the upholding of good governance

because several basic public services are delivered by the local authority. For example, local ward councillors live and operate in communities. Hence, this suggests that good governance in local government must be prioritised for South Africa to achieve the goals of its National Development Plan (NDP). South Africa has three spheres of government, namely the local sphere, the provincial sphere and the national sphere.

The 1996 Constitution states that the local sphere is paramount to the NDP goals because it is the sphere in which local communities in South Africa enter into engagement (Reddy, 2010:89). Hence, it is of importance to review the frameworks and strategies which foster good governance in South African local government. The following discussions will pinpoint the pieces of legislation which mandate for good governance in South African local government.

4.3.1 The Integrated Development Plan (IDP)

Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) are provided for under Section 35 (1) (a) of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000. The Constitution of SA defines the IDP as the chief strategic planning mechanism which guides and advises all decisions about the planning, administration and development of a municipality. A municipality's IDP is valid for a period of five years, in order that the plans may be realised over time and to ensure the achievement of the strategic development objectives of the municipality (Rabie, 2011:4).

Municipalities in South Africa are advised by their IDP on all the procedures and processes by means of which good governance can be upheld in the pursuit of achieving its five-year plan. Hence, the IDP must be explicit on how it will assure accountability, transparency, economy development, equality and citizen participation in decision-making processes. For example, an IDP describes the implementation of all the processes of a municipality's performance management system. A performance management system safeguards citizen satisfaction by ensuring that municipal officials continue to work towards achieving set targets and goals as per community expectations (Quinn, 2013:21).

Furthermore, the IDP fosters citizen participation which is one of the key indicators of good governance. Nwabuzor (2005:121) asserts that the description of good governance involves the positive qualities of a nation state such as efficiency, citizen participation and economic prosperity. In addition, the OECD advocates for the establishment of effective legal and

policing institutions, transparency and stakeholder participation in policy issues, which are synonymous with the processes of the IDP (Dam, 2006:97). Section 35 (1) (a) of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 stipulates that local government develop IDPs in a participatory method that will allow for community representatives to participate (Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2016:7).

4.3.2 The Batho Pele Principles

Local government is also regulated by the Public Service Act of 1994 and the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service, (White Paper, 1995:10).

The White Paper is important because it is consistent with the human rights and efficient service delivery indicators which are features measured by governance indices, such as the Global Integrity Index and the WGI. The Public Service Act of 1994 lays out the *Batho Pele* (People First) principles, which are a form of code of good conduct for the public sector. The principles are consultation, service standards, access, courtesy, information, openness and transparency, redress, and value for money (Manyaka & Sebola, 2012:310). The *Batho Pele* principles are congruent with the functions of a government that upholds good governance. The respect for human rights and citizen-centred governance are two features which are fundamental in upholding good governance. Hence, this suggests that the public agencies in South Africa engage with citizens according to good governance practices.

4.3.3 Performance Management in Local Government

Furthermore, the White Paper aims to reform the function of public sector organisations into lively, active and high-performance outcome-based institutions which render service to citizens. Like the aims of the White Paper, the Constitution of South Africa obliges municipalities to develop and implement performance management systems (PMS) as instruments with which to evaluate the efficiency of their organisations. A performance management is a system through which an organisation assesses and improves the functioning itself by performance evaluation, appraisal, and feedback and capacity development. One of its objects is to ensure that the organisation achieves the best outcomes from its human resources (Swanepoel, 2003:374). De Waal and Covert (2007: 368) assert the importance of using PMS models which are effective and efficient so as to help transform the public sector in South Africa, as many PMS models within South African municipalities have been crippled

by bad implementation such as a lack of consistency. Section 152 (1) (a) of the Constitution states that “...the objectives of local government are to afford democratic and accountable government for local communities”

This shows that it is the constitutional responsibility of municipalities to guarantee the implementation of performance management systems, as it is in the best interests of citizens to have an accountable and performance-driven local government.

4.3.4 The Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act 56 of 2003

The main objective of the Municipal Finance Management Act 56 of 2003 (MFMA) is to institute “...thorough and sustainable management practices of the monetary and expenditure undertakings of municipalities by enforcing customs and principles for ensuring transparency, accountability and appropriate usage of municipal financial resources”. Section 17 (3) of the Act provides that municipal annual budgets must be complemented by “measurable performance objectives” which must be reciprocally reflected in municipalities’ IDPs. Section 53 (1) (c) of the Act orders municipal mayors to take measures to ensure that annual performance agreements are established and connected to measurable performance objectives and that they attain approval by being aligned to the budget and budget implementation plan.

The Act also provides for the right of citizens to access information. For example, Section 53 (3) (a) states that the mayor is obliged to ensure that service delivery targets and performance reports for each annual quarter are published for citizens to freely review. This shows that the Municipal Finance Management Act is a piece of legislation which complements the achievement of good governance in local government. This showcases the Act’s ability to enforce transparency, accountability and the appropriate use of public funds.

4.4 GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMES IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT BUILD GOOD GOVERNANCE

Since its democratic dispensation in 1994, South Africa has developed multiple national strategies in pursuit of improving the living standard of its citizens, fostering development and alleviating poverty. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) and the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) are notable in this regard. These three strategies will be discussed below.

4.4.1 The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is a South African social and economic policy framework which was implemented by the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994, under the Nelson Mandela administration. The RDP was an integrated, comprehensive socio-economic policy framework that sought to mobilise all citizens in South Africa as well as the country's resources toward the annihilation of apartheid and the building of a democratic, equal society. The RDP was implemented after long periods of consultation, negotiations and discussions with civil society and some organisations which were aligned to the ANC, such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party. The ANC's principal aim in mounting and implementing the Reconstruction and Development Programme was to address the enormous socioeconomic dilemmas caused by the apartheid regime, the predecessor of the first democratic government of South Africa (Reddy, 2010:34; Rabie, 2010:10).

The fundamental objectives of the RDP were to alleviate poverty and socio-economic inequality, and to address the immense inefficiencies of service delivery in the country's public sector. The RDP assumed that a combination of neo-liberal macroeconomic policies and socialist policies was the key to economic prosperity in South Africa. It attempted to combine measures to boost the economy, such as limited fiscal spending, lowered taxes, a reduction of government debt, trade liberalisation, and the provision of social services in order to address economic inequality (Krickova, 2015:61).

Heywood (2013:69) asserts that South Africa is regarded as a social-democratic state because it intervenes in the economic and social life of the nation state by regulation to correct the inequities and injustices of a nation state in a market economy.

Visser (2004:3) asserts that the strategy of the RDP was based on a rational assumption that accomplishing poverty alleviation and economic growth are two intensely interconnected and equal objectives. The argument was that socio-economic development without economic growth was unsustainable and that it would be inevitable for economic growth to fail without the necessary social and economic institutions to foster development and radical economic transformation in South Africa (Visser, 2004:7).

The RDP can be regarded as a government programme that was used to foster good governance in South Africa, because its features and objectives were synonymous with the definition and indicators of good governance as described by Dam (2006:10) and Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2010:13) in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

In Chapter One it was revealed that Kaufmann (2010:21) asserted that the six dimensions of governance as defined by the WGI are Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and the Absence of Violence/Terrorism, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, the Rule of Law, and the Control of Corruption. This indicates the RDP was developed with significant consideration to uphold the features of good governance. Court, Fritz and Gyimah-Boadi (2007:5) asserted that good governance principally involves an improvement in development and the attraction of aid from donors.

In addition, the objectives of the RDP are also in accordance with donors' notions of good governance. Court et al. (2007:29) reveal that donors regard good governance as a precondition for combatting poverty, assuring the accountability and effectiveness of the state, and fostering conditions in which democracy and the rule of the law may prevail.

Firstly, the RDP was a national programme that mandated for the participation of individuals, communities, organs and organisations of the nation. The RDP recognises that for its objectives to be achieved it requires the three spheres of government to work together productively. In addition, it recognises the importance of the participation of civil society and the private sector to achieve its objectives (Krickova, 2015:67).

The RDP recognised that meaningful development would only happen with active and comprehensive citizen participation to foster citizen empowerment. This means that the framers of the RDP understood that it would not reach its true potential with passive citizen participation in the socio-economic activities of South Africa. Hence, the RDP obliges the government to develop several platforms to foster citizen dialogue with the aim of addressing South Africa's socio-economic dilemmas (Kang'ethe and Manomano, 2014:6).

Good governance also requires the achievement of political stability and an absence of violence (Kaufmann, 2010:16). These two dimensions of governance are also provided for by the RDP,

as the secondary objectives of the IDP are to bring an end to the prevalent violence within South Africa by embarking on a nationwide initiative for the peace and security of the country. The RDP also recognised the Constitution as the supreme law in South Africa. This means that the RDP provided for the rule of law, which is fundamental for good governance. The rule of law is a dimension recognised by several recognised governance indices, for example, the Freedom Index, the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG), the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG), the Global Index and the Worldwide Governance Indicator (WGI), as mentioned in Chapter Three.

The RDP called on all parties to work in accordance with the IDP to foster nation-building. The RDP stated all citizens must recognise that South Africa is a single economy which functions within a constitutional framework to achieve its objectives, which include the protection of minorities and the promotion of diversity to build unity and promote national sovereignty in South Africa (Heymans, 1995:57; Richards et al., 2007:4).

The efficient and effective provision of public services is another determinant of a nation state with good governance. The RDP provided for the improvement of efficient public services in South Africa. The RDP connected development, progression, reconstruction, re-distribution and re-reconciliation which made it a comprehensive programme to meaningfully improve the various public service institutions such as refuse collection, housing, electricity, water, telecommunications, transport, health, and the education and training sectors (Reddy, 2010:9; Department of Water and Sanitation, 2012:4).

Although the RDP had its own shortfalls, it managed to achieve several success stories to advance South Africa's quest for development and socio-economic redress. Over one million cheap housing units were built between 1994 and 2001, which provided accommodation for five million citizens who did not have proper housing. In some instances, RDP housing delivery led to violent conflicts within communities (Visser, 2004:45).

Since the first democratic dispensation of South Africa in 1994 the number of houses being built has increased. As of 2017 over 4.5 million houses have been built which helped over 20 million South Africans to have a roof. The ANC has promised to build 1.5 million more homes by 2019 (Steenekamp, 2012:35).

However, the housing situation in South Africa may be regarded to be in a dire situation as millions of South African is still living in informal settlements (Osman, 2017:41).

In 1998 the Minister of Water Affairs stated that since he had taken office more than three million people had been afforded access to fresh, safe water. By 2000 a total of 236 projects had supplied clean piped water to nearly five million people, most of whom were inhabitants of former homelands created by the apartheid regime. By May 2000 around two million homes had been connected to the national electricity grid and supplied with electricity, while the provision of electricity grew from 11 per cent to 42 per cent in rural areas. Although the number was comparatively small, by 1999 some 39,000 families had been settled on 3,550 sq. km. of land (Visser, 2004:18).

Presently the South African government aims to increase the number of households with access to fresh water from 85 per cent in 2013 to 90 per cent by 2019. As of 2015, 89 per cent of households in South Africa had access to piped or tap water. However, the water situation in South Africa is in a bad condition as there are continuous disparities in the accessing of water and sanitation, especially between urban and rural areas and provinces without big cities such as Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2017:1)

4.4.2 The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR)

The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR), like the RDP, was a macro-economic policy programme with the main mandate to trigger economic growth in South Africa. Its primary aim was to achieve economic equality in South Africa through the promotion of the equal distribution of wealth. Equality is a key feature of good governance. The extent of inequality is one measure which determines whether a nation state is developed or not, or whether the government of the nation state is able to provide public services and secure employment for all (Kalley, Schoeman and Andor, 1999; Klug, 2000:30).

Heywood (2013:74) and Balaam and Dillman (2016:89) assert that the developing world is characterised by immense levels of poverty, inequality, and an absence of governance. In fact, Dam (2006:33) argues that the contemporary concept of governance owes its emergence to the lack of governance in developing countries. It was created for the purpose of relating it and applying it to developing countries, especially African nation states. Several nation states with

immense economic inequality have been scored low on many governance indices (Abebe, 1998:12).

The South African government has sought to attain radical economic transformation so as to redress the injustices of the past caused by the apartheid regime in South Africa. The apartheid government was an undemocratic and tyrannical government which respected the human rights of only the white racial group (Heywood, 2013:97). During the apartheid years, most of the land and wealth of the country was in the hands of white people, while black Africans were systematically and constitutionally excluded from the economy. In addition to aiming at redressing this gross imbalance, GEAR also aims to combat socio-economic challenges such as poverty and health. It aims to help citizens to be able to meet their basic needs, and to provide economic opportunities for citizens to thrive.

GEAR was aligned to the economic policies of the World Bank and the IMF, as discussed in Chapter 2. The World Bank believed that the New Public Management paradigm was the only solution to the economic woes of the developing nation-states. In fact, Haque (2002:32) asserts that the New Public Management model made significant contributions to the mainstream concept of governance. Haque (2002:33) says that the New Public Management paradigm encourages nation states to move towards a neo-liberalism ideology.

The neo-liberalism ideology is a socio-economic ideology which rejects the idea of establishing welfare states and cuts the government funding of social programmes. This neo-liberalism programme attacks what it sees as bloated bureaucracies and seeks to reduce the size of governments (Heywood, 2013:81). A more detailed discussion of the New Public Management can be found in Chapter Two of this study.

Gear attempted to address the challenges faced by the public sector in South Africa, such as poor human resource management. The public sector has been sullied by accusations of corruption and nepotism (Reddy, 2010:78), which are regarded as the top two challenges facing the country today (Gossel, 2017:91). Corruption is one of the key dimensions used to measure good governance in terms of the governance indicators. The International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) and the WGI are notable governance indices measuring corruption. This issue was discussed in Chapter Three of this study.

GEAR was premised on the view that economic transformation in South Africa would only have been achieved if there was an increase in citizen participation in the economic activities of the country. Citizen participation is another determinant of good governance in a nation state. This suggests that the GEAR was a programme which was used by the government in South Africa to achieve good governance. Furthermore, the improvement of the dire state of inefficient service delivery in South Africa was one major challenge which GEAR was developed to tackle. GEAR aimed to reform the South African State-Owned Entities by integrating the public sector with the private sector and civil society. It sought to do this through the implementation of a neo-liberal policy which is aligned with the New Public Management paradigm discussed in Chapter Two. The New Public Management paradigm came about because of the inefficiencies of the traditional model of administration in the public sector.

4.4.3 Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA)

After the GEAR, the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) succeeded it in 2006 as the key national programme to prompt an improvement in the socio-economic situation in South Africa. The AsgiSA was not a policy like the RDP and Gear; rather it was a list of projects which would be conducted by the government (Moyo and Mamabolo, 2014:95).

AsgiSA's aims were synonymous with the goal of the NDP which is to reduce poverty in South Africa. The AsgiSA lapsed in 2014. However, AsgiSA aimed to reduce the poverty in South Africa by half by 2014. The government realised that to achieve this, more balanced growth needs to be achieved. The AsgiSA was economically oriented as it focused on initiative fiscal strategies. AsgiSA was characterised by major consultations with stakeholders and communities in South Africa. (Moyo and Mamabolo, 2014:106)

The AsgiSA involved a cohort team headed by the Deputy-President and several government executive officials such as the Ministers of Finance, Trade and Industry, and Public Enterprises, as well as premiers of provinces and mayors of cities. There were several discussions and panel meetings to foster further engagement with civil society, international officials and communities (Munyeka, 2014:11). Despite these programmes and socio-economic development initiatives, South Africa continues to experience several socio-economic

challenges such as improving service delivery, eradicating poverty, reducing inequality, creating jobs and delivering housing.

4.4.4 The National Development Plan

Although this is not discussed in detail in this chapter, it is important to note that the South African National Development Plan 2030 is another strategy, like GEAR and the RDP, that should promote good governance in the country and generate micro-economic solutions to trigger socio-economic growth. The Plan, in accordance with the tenets of good governance, encourages the active participation of citizens because it sees the process of holding government accountable as being achieved by active citizens (Heywood, 2013:172).

The Plan recognises the imperative nature of democracy and good governance in the country. Hence, it asserts that to realise good governance, the South African government must reinforce accountability, advance its administration practices and actively combat corruption. In Chapter One of this study it was asserted that the term ‘governance’, like the term ‘development’, is a contested term and has no one definite interpretation. However, several studies reported here have shown that efficiency, accountability and the effective combatting of corruption are among the features which are agreed to be essential to good governance.

4.5 REGIONAL GOVERNANCE VIA THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICY

South Africa has managed to maintain a significant level of regional governance in the Southern African region through its regionally oriented foreign policy. The current South African foreign policy was the brainchild of the former President Thabo Mbeki, who is regarded as one of the most phenomenal statesmen of his generation. The Thabo Mbeki administration saw the implementation of GEAR and affirmative action policies such as Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBEE). Mbeki was overly committed to positioning South Africa as a regional leader, so much so that he was often criticised for spending more time in solving regional problems in other nation states than in addressing the internal problems of the ANC (McKinley, 2004:80; Borer and Mills, 2011:80).

Geldenhuys (2011:89) and Hamilton and Langhorne (2010:165) assert that South African foreign policy during the Thabo Mbeki administration was based on an African Renaissance worldview and a globalisation paradigm. It is said that Thabo Mbeki was specifically interested in the growth of South Africa's and Africa's role in the international arena. South African foreign policy was focused on promoting human rights, building democracy, having absolute respect for the rule of law, and building cooperation in the Southern African region.

President Mbeki's vision for Southern Africa was one of reconciliation, peace, unity and egalitarianism. During his term he emphasised that nation states in Southern Africa had to aspire to make Southern Africa a war-free zone which would be characterised as a peaceful region (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2010:160). This suggests that the South Africa foreign policy is based on the principles of good governance because political stability, the protection of human rights and the rule of law are the key features of measuring governance by government indices such as the Freedom House, the WGI and the Global Integrity Index.

In fact, political stability and the absence of violence are two of the categories measured by the WGI in rating country's good governance. This is illustrated in Chapter Three of the study. Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2009:73) assert that a stable political environment is essential because it allows for other good governance objectives to be achieved such as the holding of legitimate elections. The argument is that free and fair elections may not be held in an unstable political environment or in warzone areas, as these would be conducted through intimidation and physical persecution as in Zimbabwe (Benyera and Nyere, 2015: 65).

South African foreign policy is focused on building cooperation in the world and making Southern Africa a zone of peace via the cultivation of solidarity with other Southern African nation states. Evidence of South Africa's constructive peacekeeping endeavours may be found in President Mbeki's intervention in the political impasse in Zimbabwe, which was caused by the controversial, heavily contested flawed electoral process in 2008 (Raftopoulos, 2010:706). Thabo Mbeki led an elite delegation and facilitated talks between the long-standing President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, and the opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai. These talks led to the formation of a unity government.

This intervention is credited with preventing a civil war and helping to establish a measure of political stability in Zimbabwe (Raftopoulos, 2010:706). This was an illustration of good

governance by the SADC to foster good governance, as governance includes several processes used to reach consensus to enforce decisions and resolve disputes in a nation state or between nation states.

Globalisation is one factor which may have influenced South Africa's pursuit of its foreign policy. Globalisation is a rapidly growing phenomenon in which parts of the world are becoming integrated and interconnected with other parts of the world (Baylis, Smith and Owens, 2014:97). It also involves the interchanging of diverse cultures and economic patterns.

This tendency suggests that South Africa should pay attention to events which occur in Southern Africa because any political or socio-economic crisis in the region would have significant impacts on South Africa. (Raftopoulos, 2010:711). For example, owing to the dire socio-economic conditions in Zimbabwe, South Africa has seen over three million Zimbabweans migrating into South Africa to seek refuge and greener pastures. In addition, the devastating floods in Mozambique saw South Africa being forced to accommodate thousands of people from Mozambique who had left their country to find refuge here.

Since South Africa has many foreign immigrants residing in South Africa, it would be wise for governance indicators and civil society groups to start measuring the respect for human rights and civil freedoms vis-a-vis refugees and immigrants in South Africa (Amit, 2012:20; Gordon and Maharaj, 2015:203). Furthermore, this has several implications for donors who may wish to allocate aid to South Africa. Since South Africa is accommodating millions of immigrants and refugees, donors should see giving additional aid to South Africa as a legitimate action, given the considerable number of people who would benefit from this additional aid.

South Africa's integration into the global economy has been through the building of regional relationships with key players. For example, South Africa is a member of the BRICS. The BRICS is a multi-lateral economic partnership of five-member states, namely Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (Besada and Tok, 2014:78).

South Africa aims not only to be just a regional partner but a leader. South Africa has increased its role in Africa significantly (Alden and Schoeman, 2013:115). President Jacob Zuma is currently the Chairman of Southern African Development Committee (SADC). The SADC is

an African inter-governmental organisation, whose objectives are the advancement of socio-economic cooperation and integration, political and security cooperation among the fifteen states located in the Southern African region (Grovoqui, 2011:570; Aniche and Ukaegbu, 2014:60).

The AU is an organisation (formerly known as the Organisation of African Unity [OAU]) which was formed to fast-track the social, political and economic advancement of the African continent; to stimulate and preserve African solidarity on issues affecting the continent; to establish harmony, peace and safety in Africa; and to build institutions of democracy, human rights and good governance (Engel, 2010:15; AU, 2010:1).

The development of the economy also plays a role in navigating South Africa's foreign relationships in the Southern African region. South Africa currently has the biggest economy in Africa, but the economy has regressed and will have to be resuscitated if South Africa is to retain its regional leadership (Omarjee, 2017:1; Ogunnubi and Ettang, 2016:299).

4.6 CONCLUSION

South Africa has a comprehensive legislative framework as well as government programmes which help to achieve and maintain good governance in the country. The chapter found that South Africa has coherent pieces of legislation but there are still gaps and weakness which hinder an effective implementation. The chapter identified the 1996 Constitution as the supreme document which fosters good governance in the country. The study asserted that the 1996 Constitution was essential for good governance because it defines the functions of the different institutions in South Africa and the powers of the specific institutions, and it sets the parameters in which the powers of the institution may be exercised.

The way power is exercised by public officials and institutions in a nation state is what determines the level good governance. Furthermore, the Constitution provides for the upholding of the rule of law, the respect for human rights and contains the Bill of Rights which provides for the civil liberties needed by citizens to experience total democracy. The Constitution also presents provisions for the functioning of local government public agencies such as municipalities, for example, the Section 195 (1) of the Constitution which obliges

municipalities to practise good governance via a performance management system for municipalities.

The chapter also asserted how the pluralism of government power was a key feature for effective good governance and democracy. The pluralism of government power in South Africa is practised by the exercising of the separation of powers as provided in the Constitution. The latter mandates that the Judiciary, the Executive and the Legislature arms of the government are distinct, independent and autonomous. The chapter also provides evidence of how South Africa has displayed commitment to practising pluralism by allowing a diverse parliament comprised of representatives of from parties holding majority votes and minority votes.

The chapter concluded that a pluralist liberal democracy exists in South Africa that promotes peaceful rivalry amongst competing political groups and freedoms for competing interest groups to ensure that political power is widely distributed.

Considering the historical unfair distribution of land in South Africa during colonial times and the apartheid regime, the chapter argued that the more effective processes in the restitution of land were a key form of good governance. Most of the land is occupied and owned by white people in South Africa; hence this unfair disparity has worsened the socio-economic inequality in South Africa.

The chapter accepts that the goals NDP cannot be achieved by the efforts of the public sector only; hence it argued that the work of NPOs must be recognised as NGOs contribute over one million jobs to the country's economy. The chapter specifically argued that the work of NGOs must be characterised by accountability and transparency. The chapter asserted that local government is the most important sphere of government because it is closer to communities and argued that it is imperative for this sphere of government to be prioritised to achieve the NDP goal of developing local communities.

In the chapter the IDP is depicted as the chief strategic plan used by local government to plan and co-ordinate all activities because of its explicit explanation of each process. The chapter argued that the IDP was a tool for good governance as it fostered citizen participation. The chapter asserted that various programmes have been implemented by South Africa to foster good governance, which indicates a serious commitment by South Africa to improving the

country, namely the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) and the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA)

The next chapter will present the analysis and discussion of results.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the data collection method and presents a discussion of the research. It depicts the analysis from the content analysis application of the South African Parliament Hansard, the Presidency's Annual Reports and the State of Nation Address. In addition, the assessments of the WGI reports on South Africa are discussed, with a comparison with other two nation states, namely Zimbabwe and Norway, to give a global relative assessment. The chapter shows how the concept of governance is perceived in Parliament and present the emerged themes associated with the concept of governance in Parliament. The chapter assesses and offers an interpretation of good governance in Parliament and in the State of the Nation Address (SONA). The chapter also shows the extent to which the South African government is taking steps to achieve the NDP goals and it reveals the link between good governance practices and the achievement of the NDP goals. Finally, the analysis provides evidence for the assertion that good governance can be best practiced and demonstrated in local government in South Africa.

5.2 THE APPLIED RESEARCH STRATEGY

This study used a content analysis approach to analyse the South African Parliament Hansard documents, the Presidency's Annual Reports and the State of Nation Address and to achieve the objectives of the study. Content analysis is a methodical interpretation and assessment of a body of texts such as words, sentences, paragraphs, images and symbols. It is a scientific method of "creating replicable and valid interpretations from texts" as defined by Krippendorff (2012:10). Creswell et al. (2010:60) state that content analysis is an established data technique for analysing texts, words, reports, phrases, rhetoric, and conclusions of articles e.g. newspapers, magazines, annual reports, and dairies. This technique is popularly used in fields such as sociology, medicine, psychology and journalism (Stempel, 1989:3; Mayring, 2000:1). The key strength of content analysis is that it is capable of analysing the length and frequency of a phenomenon.

The South African Parliament Hansard documents were analysed to achieve the first two objectives of the study, namely (i) to determine the extent to which governance assessment reports are recognised by South Africa and (ii) to determine the governance index recognised by SA in comparison to other governance indexes.

The Hansard is a verbatim record of all the discussions which take place in Parliament. The South African Parliamentary Hansard documents were assessed freely on the Parliamentary Monitoring Group Website (www.pmg.org.za). The Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG) is a non-profit organisation (NGO) established in 1995 as with the aim of providing Hansard for the proceedings of the more than fifty South African Parliamentary Committee sessions. The aims of the PMG are to provide precise, objective, and current information on all parliamentary committee proceedings in the form of detailed, unofficial minutes, official minutes, documents and sound recordings of the meetings. The PMG website was used to retrieve the Parliamentary Hansard rather than the Parliament Government website because it provided for easier filtering of key words which are critical for the process of content analysis. The PMG provided a search option where one can filter and be specific about what one is searching for.

Content analysis of the Presidency's Annual Reports and the State of Nation Address was used to achieve the objectives (iii) and (iv) of the study, namely, objective (iii) to determine the impact of governance indices on state behaviour; and objective (iv) to determine the extent to which governance reports can police South Africa. The main aims of the two objectives are to identify the efforts by South Africa to improve its government index. The Presidency's Annual Reports and the State of Nation Address were assessed on the website of the Presidency, for example, the number of progressive laws put in place and the number of the times anti-corruption measures were put in place. The items which were recorded are those which reflect the six dimensions of governance as described by Kaufman (2008; 2010) in the previous chapters of the study.

5.3 CONTENT ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE USED FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY HANSARD

The two objectives which the researcher aimed to achieve by analysing the Parliamentary Hansard are as follows:

(i) To determine the extent to which governance assessment reports are recognised by South Africa and

(ii) To determine the governance index recognised by SA in comparison to other governance indexes.

Firstly, the Hansard page on the PMG website was consulted and the text ‘governance’ used as a key word for searching for it on the search menu on the PMG website. When the text ‘governance’ was searched, it provided 710 matches (see figure 1 below). The number 710 represents the number of meetings the searched text identified in the Parliamentary Hansard. This would mean that the text ‘governance’ was brought up 710 times. However, it is important to note that when the text ‘governance’ was searched, the PMG website also matched it with the text ‘government’. Hence, all the Parliamentary meetings had to be reviewed which were indicated to have both texts ‘governance’ and ‘government’. The PMG provided parliamentary meetings from 2006-2017; however, the researcher only analysed the Parliamentary meetings for the period 2010-2015.

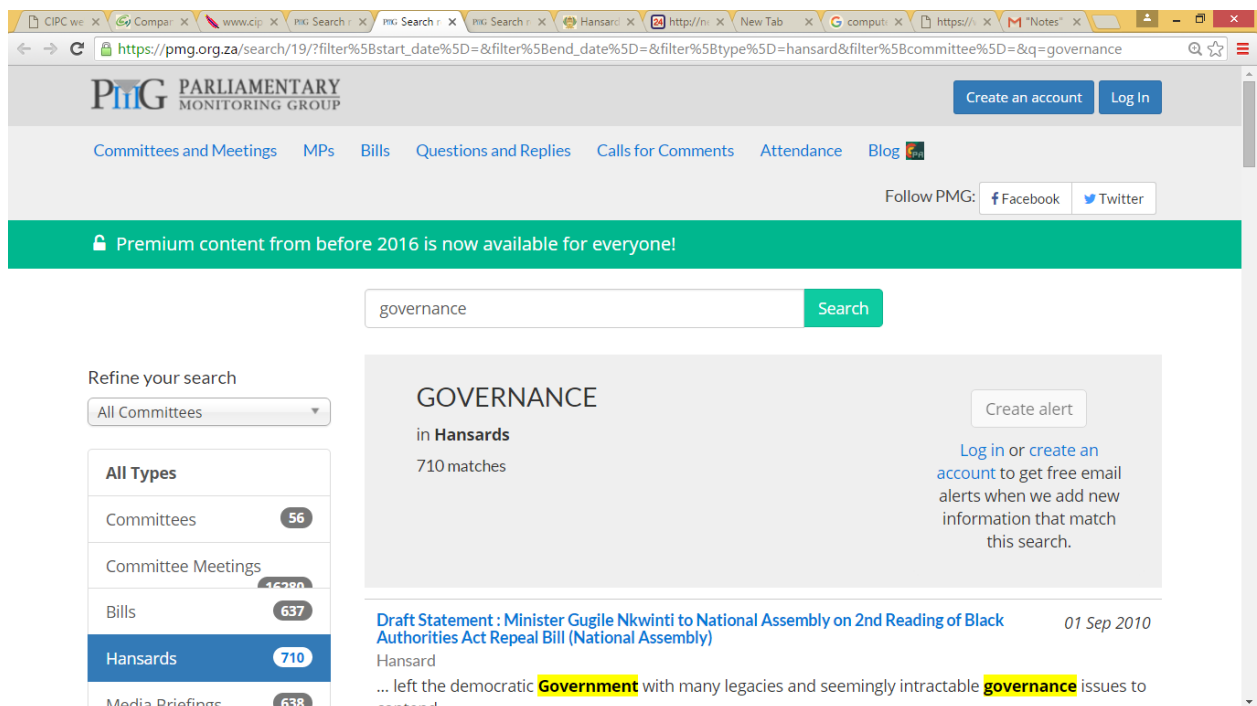


Figure 5.1: 1. A screenshot of the PMG website of the search results for the text ‘governance’

Source: The Parliamentary Monitoring Group Website (www.pmg.org.za)

Secondly, it is important to note that initially the aim was to assess the instances when the text ‘governance’ was identified only. However, the assessment of the Hansard revealed clearly

that there were no specific Parliamentary meetings which only discussed 'governance'. Hence, the researcher continued to analyse Hansard documents and allowed themes to emerge from the Hansard. The technique of making an allowance for the emergence of themes is a normal practice in content analysis. The degree of frequency of a text or texts determines whether a researcher makes the text or texts a theme to consider in the research (Webber, 1990:75).

Krippendorff (1980:9) states that the allowance for the emergence of new themes or categories from the data in a content analysis process helps to maintain objectivity when conducting research. Hence, the researcher applied this practice of allowing the emergence of new themes in the data collection. When the researcher analysed the text in the 710 Parliamentary meetings, it was found that although several Parliamentary meetings did not specifically discuss governance, the text analysis of the Parliamentary meetings showed that there were themes which were discussed which are related to or synonymous with 'governance'.

The definition of governance as presented in the WGI by Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi (2010:34) were used to determine which themes from the Hansard were related to or synonymous with governance. The WGI assesses governance in nation states using six dimensions (i) Voice and Accountability, (ii) Political Stability, (iii) Absence of violence and terrorism, (iv) Government effectiveness, (v) Regulatory quality, and (vi) The Rule of Law and control of corruption. Hence, the researcher identified themes which reflected the six specific WGI dimensions. Each theme which was identified was only considered by the extent of the frequency with which it appeared.

This resulted in the researcher identifying 24 categories. These are Governance/Good governance; Cooperative governance; Local government governance; Rule of law; Human rights/Civil rights; Women's rights; Equality, Participation in government; Corruption; Democracy; Education; Health; Public service development; Democracy; Socio-economic issues; Economics of country; Fiscal concerns; Bilateral and multilateral relations; Foreign policy practices; NDP; Credit rating; State security; Environmental issues; Social development and State capture. The discussions or presentations in the meetings were then coded through categorizing in the specific category among the 24 themes identified by the researcher.

5.4 OVERALL ANALYSIS OF CATEGORIES AND INTERPRETATION

Response to question: What is the extent to which governance assessment reports are recognized by South Africa? And what is the difference between the governance indexes recognized by SA in comparison to other governance indexes?

The study revealed that there was no instance where a governance index was discussed or highlighted in all five years on which the researcher focused, namely 2010 to 2015. This indicates that the governance indices reports are not considered to be of significance. Therefore, to answer the research questions “What is the extent to which Governance Assessment reports are recognized by South Africa? And “What is the difference between the governance index recognized by SA in comparison to other governance indexes?”, the answer is 0 per cent. The reason for this is that the assessment of governance has been mostly an international phenomenon, as it is generally practised by international organisations and donors (Court et al., 2007:29).

However, the analysis revealed there was a model for measuring a status of a nation state highlighted in Parliament. This index measured the fiscal and economic status of South Africa, and was coded under Category 21, namely “Credit Rating”. The analysis revealed that there were only four instances in which the credit rating of South Africa by agencies was discussed in Parliament. The credit rating was discussed once in 2013 and once in 2014. Although the number is low, this analysis reveals that the rating of economic viability of the country is regarded to be of more significance than the governance rating of the country. Further analysis of the latter and the other categories analysed will be discussed in more detail below.

5.4.1 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE CATEGORIES WITH THE TERM ‘GOVERNANCE’

Table 5.1: The top 10 ranking categories of the analysis of the Hansard Parliament documents 2010-2017

Rank	Category	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total	%
1	Governance	8	5	4	10	15	12	54	13%
2	Cooperative governance	8	1	4	7	11	4	35	8,4%
3	Rule of law	7	1	3	1	19	2	33	7,9%
4	Local government governance	6	2	3	7	8	3	29	7%
5	Human rights	3	3	6	5	4	2	23	5,5%
5	Foreign policy practices	2	2	3	4	10	2	23	5,5%
7	Fiscal concerns	4	4	3	2	7	1	21	5%
8	Socio-economic issues	3	1	1	1	12	2	20	4,8%
9	Public service development	9		4	1	3	1	18	4,3%
10	Education	2	2	7	1	4	1	17	4%

Source: Researcher’s own construction

Table 5.1 shows the top 10 ranking categories. The table shows that although the governance index reporting was 0 per cent or zero, this did not mean that the phenomenon governance was not regarded as something of significance. In fact, out of all the 25 categories in the study, the top three ranking categories were those with the term ‘governance’. Thus ‘governance’ appeared 54 times, ‘cooperative governance’ appeared 35 times and ‘local government governance’ was coded the most and it had the highest total, appearing 54 times. The percentages where ‘governance’ was the highest was 13 per cent, while ‘cooperative governance’ ranked second with 8,4 per cent.

The high ranking of cooperative governance was expected as the correlation and interconnectedness of the three spheres of governance are Constitutional obligations, namely the national, provincial and local spheres. This also indicates that there are two different understandings of the concept of governance among South African MPs. The MPs understand governance as being the way political and administrative authority is exercised in local government, which is synonymous with the definition of governance by the UNDP as discussed in Chapter One.

This suggests that the notion of good governance in the developing world is not solely a national level phenomenon, as evidenced by the tendency of aid donors to measure national governance but is centred on the ability of a government to practise good governance in local communities, such as municipalities and districts. This may explain the reason for the high ranking of the local governance category.

Furthermore, this indicates that although there were no governance indices which appeared in the Hansard, the South African Parliament has a high concern for governance in South Africa. Importantly to note is that the extent of governance in the interconnectedness of the three spheres of government is highly significant in the South African Parliament, thus, in the national sphere, the provincial sphere and the local sphere. This was indicated by 'cooperative governance' ranking second. In addition, 'local government governance ranked in the top three as well.

This indicates the significant amount of emphasis which the South African Parliament places on the governance in municipalities. This is aligned to the notion that the local government sphere is the most important section of government because it is the sphere which is closest to the communities. The citizens of the country have continuous daily, weekly, and monthly interaction with municipalities. Hence, emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of public services by municipalities is imperative to the South African Parliament. In one Parliamentary meeting the Hansard analysis revealed that local government was the centre of all the spheres of government and that there was a need for both the provincial and national governments to satisfactorily support and strengthen local government.

Furthermore, the Hansard analysis revealed that there was a discussion in 2013 in which ANC MPs presented a five-year plan of governance for the country and how governance had been

compromised at the provincial level by different provinces. This illustrates the concern for successful cooperation of the spheres of government. In many ways, the Hansard revealed that governance was regarded as the most effective way of curbing corruption in the public service. There were several incidents where improved governance was stressed as necessary in the procurement processes of public enterprises and agencies. In addition, the Hansard analysis also revealed that the executive branch of the government prioritised local government over all the other spheres.

This was illustrated by the hosting of a specialised conference for local government by the Office of the Presidency, namely the Presidential Local Government Summit held in 2015. The Hansard analysis also revealed that MPs regarded the absence of leadership in local government as one reality which had led to the collapse of governance in South Africa. Leadership is asserted by Charan et al. (2013:13) to be an important attribute needed for the success of an organisation.

Furthermore, the Hansard analysis revealed that there is a concern in South Africa about the governance of public enterprises, particularly the South African Airways. In Parliament it was described to be an enterprise in dire straits, experiencing frequent tumults in terms of its leadership and governance. Currently, there is an urgent need for a sustainable turnaround strategy for the South African Airways (SAA) since several strategies had been implemented before, but the SAA still costs the public purse billions of rand in losses annually (Ensor, 2017:1).

Similar to the South African Airways, another public enterprise which is frequently identified in Parliament as having a leadership and governance crisis is the South African Broadcasting Corporation. The public broadcasting entity has lost billions of rand in revenue as well (Independent Online, 2017:41).

In overall, all the categories with the term ‘governance’ still ranked the highest, appearing 118 times, that is 28 per cent of the overall categories. This suggests that there is a solid concern for governance in South Africa and that state officials believe that governance is a durable solution to achieving the NDP goals. In addition, the analysis also indicated that governance in South Africa is regarded differently by state officials; they see cooperative governance and local governance as more important than national governance. South Africa values local

governance, a sphere which is given its legitimacy and esteemed value by the Constitution Section 32 as the most important sphere of government since it is closest to the people.

5.4.2 Analysis and Interpretation of all other Categories Coded

Furthermore, the study revealed that several dimensions of good governance have also been discussed in the South African Parliament. The rule of law appeared 33 times during 2010-2015, which made it the overall fourth ranking category. The reason for the high ranking of the rule of law is the argument that there exists a consensus among legislators in South Africa that having a tradition of respecting the rule of law is one of the most effective and meaningful ways to curb corruption and to ensure good governance. Evidence of this is shown when the MPs from different political parties promote respect for the rule of law in Parliament.

In an article on state building, Totemeyer (2010:120) argued that any state can function under several regimes such as autocracy or democracy and still continue to be stable, resilient and have peace if a widespread respect for rule of law exists among citizens, and public and private institutions. Regardless of the kind of regime of a nation state, if the rule of law is equally and consistently enforced in all spheres of society from the elite to the marginalised, the nation state can make major strides in the pursuit of the good governance.

This indicates that the rule of law is regarded as an imperative feature in South Africa. Burlacu (2013:21) defined governance as the way power is used by the legislative, judiciary, and executive authority and how other state officials use or interact with authority. This suggests that governance comprises the following features: accountability, transparency, equity, performance of public institutions, citizen participation, rule of law, strategic vision, lack of arbitrariness, ethics, integrity and stability.

Among the least of features listed by Burlacu (2013:17) above, the rule of law is the most significant because it is the 'glue' that holds all the other features together which produce good governance. The reason is that without the rule of law, all the laws in a country, codes of good practice, ethics, integrity, and respect for human rights would not be upheld and the standards required maintaining stability would not exist.

Furthermore, the analysis showed that in each of the times when the rule of law was used in the parliamentary meetings, it was mostly used to argue the application of the separation of power, a constitutional mandate. The separation of powers was discussed in Chapter Four where it was asserted to be a tool which fosters good governance by constitutionally giving powers to each of the three branches of the government to check each other to avoid any one from assuming absolute power which would compromise democracy. Hence, the analysis served to enforce the notion that in modern governments the separation of powers has been implemented to maintain the rule of law to avoid the misuse of power and to hold all citizens accountable before the law.

In fact, the separation of powers is a democratic practice which has stood the test of time as it has been practised by several civilizations in past centuries. Heywood (2010:95) states that the separation of powers” can be traced back to Ancient Greece where Aristotle asked Plato "Who will guard the Guardians?" In addition, the World Bank WGI index rates the capacity of a nation state to develop an effective judiciary system because this helps to strengthen the successful application of the rule of law. The separation of powers helps to institutionalise the capacity of a judicial system to be effective and impartial. Hence, this indicates the importance of the category 'rule of Law'; as it is a decisive indicator for rating governance in a nation state. There were two fifth-ranking categories, namely 'human rights' and 'foreign policy practises which appeared 23 times between 2010-2015. The appearances of human rights was to be expected given the history of South Africa which can be characterised by the struggle for equal rights for all races.

Furthermore, the appearance of human rights in the top five rankings illustrates the fact that the South African Parliament has a good grasp of the broader context of governance which is to be conscious of the attributes which complement good governance, such as the level of human rights and other civic rights, the capacity of the state to provide public services and the effectiveness of the judicial system in a nation state (Aminuzzaman, 2007:3; Mungiu-Pippidi, 2015:30).

The Hansard revealed that there were instances where patriarchy and religious intolerance were addressed as unconstitutional and a need to emancipate the rights of women and tolerate different religious groups was highlighted. This indicates that in comparison to several other new democracies in Africa, South Africa has taken significant strides in promoting equal rights.

This makes South Africa one of the most progressive democracies as the practice of equal rights is not only limited to electoral processes and race but includes equality in sexual orientation and gender (Baker, 2012:5).

The significant focus on the protection of human rights in the South African Parliament is aligned with South Africa's foreign policy and foreign mission in the African continent. In addition, this is synonymous with the objectives of the AU to promote good governance in Africa (African Union, 2005:45).

The study argues that the high ranking of human rights is a strong illustration of good governance in South Africa because human rights are a fundamental feature in good governance. This notion was asserted in Chapter One of the study. Human rights were initially introduced to the World Bank as key concern by World Bank President James Wolfensohn who decided to reverse the World Bank's longstanding policy of staying out of politics as he saw the dire need to address cases of human rights abuses and corruption in 1996 (Oman and Arndt, 2006; Sharma, 2012:627).

The high ranking of foreign policy practises suggests that South African officials are interested in the strategic positioning of South Africa in the global economy and that South African officials have accepted the importance of partnerships with other nation states. Thus, when this category was being decoded, it was found that many of the meetings in the Parliament were of bilateral and multilateral partnerships with other nation states. Notable incidents were South Africa's role in BRICS. For example, President Jacob Zuma regularly visited Russia, Brazil, China and India to meet the presidents of the respective nation states. The Hansard analysis revealed that the latter nation states were prioritised very high on the list of the Foreign Ministry and the Department of International Relations and Co-operation.

Furthermore, under the foreign policy practices category, South Africa's partnerships with Lesotho, France, Cuba and Britain were notable, for example, the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding on police and other co-operation during the World Cup by South Africa and the UK. The Hansard analysis also highlighted how SADC has been established as a free trade area to further economic growth in the Southern African region. The Hansard analysis revealed there were incidents where the President and the Deputy-President led an envoy to North Africa

to mediate the conflict in Sudan and detailed how they also met with heads of the states of Uganda and Ethiopia to strengthen diplomatic relations.

This revealed that South Africa has no moral compass in the international arena. In its pursuit of achieving its foreign policy goals of being a regional leader in Africa, South Africa is willing to make friendships with rogue states which have showed no tolerance for political activism, political pluralism and diverse sexual orientation. These nation states are characterised by prevalent human rights abuses, but South Africa has not done anything decisive to show its commitment to the preservation of human rights, such as imposing sanctions on these nation states. However, a reason for South Africa's soft diplomatic relations with African nation states may be due to the national belief of the African Renaissance which Africa was urged to commit to by the iconic freedom fighter, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, at the Organisation of African Unity in 1964, which the Hansard analysis also revealed.

Furthermore, these findings assert the argument for the rapid growth of globalisation. Baylis, Smith and Owens (2014:14) have asserted that the rapid formation of multilateral and bilateral formations was caused by the rapid rise of globalisation.

The seventh and the eighth ranking categories were categories which are associated with the economic conditions and monetary concerns of South Africa. 'Fiscal concerns' was the seventh ranking category after appearing 21 times between 2010 -2015. The Hansard analysis revealed that there was concern among MPS that the Reserve Bank had reported that South Africa's current account deficit had been the highest in four years, indicating low economic growth and poor credit scores. The Hansard analysis revealed that MPs argued the latter was caused by subdued market conditions, especially in China and in Europe, which are South Africa's major trading partners and the MPs proposed to the President to increase South African trade with Africa. A recommendation was presented for the AU to implement a preferential trade tariff between African countries to grow the exports.

The eighth ranking category was 'socio-economic issues. This interpretation was expected as they represented the dire socio-economic conditions and the declining fiscal status of South Africa. The mining sector has been in the forefront of South Africa's socio-economic problems in the past five years. It started with the protest of low wages by miners. In Parliament, President Jacob Zuma addressed Parliament on prevalent and unprotected strikes in the mining

sector and the violence which marred the strikes. Furthermore, he spoke about the slow economic growth of the country which was influenced by the general global decline of economic growth.

The improvements of the socio-economic conditions in South Africa are a primary objective of the NDP and are the mandate of the 1996 Constitution. Furthermore, there were several service delivery crisis incidents which worsened the social conditions of citizens in South Africa, for example, Parliament was also concerned about the substandard work that had been done on a R49 million sewer reticulation network at the Govan Mbeki Municipality. This shoddy work led to persistent sewage leakages which exposed citizens in that community to health risks and hazards. Furthermore, there were discussions on the enormous burden which the health sector in South Africa must face due to the plagues such the blight of HIV/Aids and tuberculosis, the inadmissibly acute incidents of maternal and child mortality and the rise of road accidents.

In contrast, there were other positive actions taken by the government which were highlighted in Parliament which led to the socio-economic category being highly ranked, for example, the R800 million provided by the government for the development of water supply projects in the Eastern Cape Province. This initiative by the government was significant because it serves to curb the geographic development inequality in South Africa. Historically, the Limpopo Province and the Eastern Cape Province are the most deprived provinces in South Africa which have been marred by acute poverty and poor service delivery (Bhongo, 2017:1).

In addition, the MPs discussed the evidence that the government in South Africa has spent over R100 billion on employment programmes over the past five years so as to help curb the high unemployment rate in the country. The Hansard showed that the South African government had spent R41 billion on HIV and Aids programmes over the five years between 2009 and 2014 and R43,5 billion was budgeted for 2014-2017. In addition, R39 billion had been spent on 1 879 hospitals and other health facility projects.

The ninth ranking category was ‘public service development’, appearing 18 times during 2010-2015. In this category all the developments which were undertaken to develop the public service in South Africa were coded. This analysis indicates that South Africa understands the broader concept of governance as asserted by Aminuzzaman (2007:3) and Mungiu-Pippidi

(2015:10), who defined governance to mean the capacity of a state to provide efficient public services to citizens. It is important to note that the provision of efficient public services improves the livelihood of citizens. Hence, this means the category 'public service development' is interrelated to the category 'socio-economic issues'.

In addition, the World Bank WGI index rates the capacity of the government to achieve development and provide public services. Hence, this makes the category 'public service development' a crucial indicator for the rating of governance in a nation state. Furthermore, the high ranking of the 'public service development' category in the top 10 may indicate that the public sector in South Africa has adopted the New Public Management philosophy which promotes private sector management practices in the public sector. The New Public Management practices are focused on making organisations more service-user orientated to achieve efficiency by bringing the doctrine of value of money into the public sector and business management to foster competitiveness in the market (Iacovino and Cinquini, 2017:3).

'Education' was the tenth ranking category, appearing 17 times during 2010-2015. This analysis was expected as the provision for basic education for all is an objective of the UN Millennium Goals and the NDP in South Africa. Leibbrandt et al. (2006:11) stated among the many socio-economic challenges facing South Africa, education was among the top issues which needed attention. In 2016 the education crisis in South Africa reached a dire state where there were several student protests accompanied by violence and destruction of property demanded free education and aggressively confronted the ruling party to hastily address the education crisis in the country (Cummins, 2016:11).

In contrast, it must be noted that although South Africa's education system is seen to be in a crisis, it must be acknowledged that South Africa has taken significant strides in addressing the NDP objective of universal basic education access. For example, in Parliament it was revealed that eighty-six per cent of schools in South Africa have been declared no-fee schools and over nine million learners are benefiting from the National School Nutrition Programme.

The measurement of the level of education in a nation state is a standard practice of monitoring governance in the contemporary world. For example, the Ibrahim Index of African Governance measures education by assessing the Adult Literacy Rate, Female Primary School Completion Rate, Female Progression to Secondary School, Ratio of Girls to Boys in Primary and

Secondary Education and Pupil-Teacher Ratio in a nation state (Rotberg, 2014:15). Khodary (2015:402) asserts that education is vital for the continuity of governance; for example, the WGI dimensions such as the Voice and Accountability, Control of Corruption, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality and The Rule of Law need an educated population to be sustained. An educated population leads to the citizens' appointing officials who are qualified and have the capacity to effectively manage public resources and adhere to the rule of law.

Heywood (2013:67) says that citizen participation is essential for a progressive democracy. Education leads to a more informed citizenry and, thus promotes voice and accountability and it allows for steps to ensure that the nation's future is decided by citizens. At the local level education enhances the management of public agencies.

Furthermore, Al-Samarrai (2008:5) asserts that the ability to access information is influenced by education, for example, citizens will know where to access information and this will lead to citizens who act on information. Furthermore, education may lead to the social construction of citizen norms. Education can influence norms that either foster good governance or alienate it. Education can help build nationalism based on good governance principles which lead to citizens having a sense of government ownership.

This enhanced attachment can create higher expectations for the performance of government, such as honesty, efficient service delivery and economic growth. This may lead to less corruption and a high performing government in a nation state. In addition, education leads to higher productivity and helps officials and citizens to identify innovative ways to curb corruption. In addition, this leads to improved economic growth, helps to narrow the economic inequality and create wider conditions to foster economic equality. The pursuit of economic equality leads to enhanced citizen participation and the demise of elitism which is vital for pluralism (Lewis and Pettersson, 2009:31).

Furthermore, education is paramount to South Africa given its grim history of racial exclusion and separation during the apartheid regime where all forms of social life were based on acute racial distinctions in health services, housing, education and social welfare (Chehabi, 2016:687). Hence, several agendas on education in Parliament would help steer the right developments to address the cruel socio-economic exclusions in South Africa.

Another reason why education ranked highly was as a result of the experiences of students in schools. For example, there was an instance where corporal punishment was discussed in parliament. Legislators referenced the National Education Policy Act, Act 27 of 1996 as a piece of legislation that prohibits corporal punishment in South Africa. The issue was that many teachers were contravening this law and had cost the Department of Education millions in settling cases as it had been sued by parents.

Table 5.2: Categories ranked 11th to 24th in the analysis of the Hansard Parliamentary documents 2010-2017

Rank	Category	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total	%
11	Corruption	2	1	2	5	4	2	16	3,8%
11	NDP	2	3	1	2	6	2	16	3,8%
11	Economics of country	1	2	3	3	6	1	16	3,8%
14	State security	1	5	2	3	2	1	14	3,3%
16	Bilateral & multilateral relations			2	5	5	1	13	3%
17	Environmental issues		1		4	3	1	9	2,1%
18	Women's rights	3	1	2	1	3	1	11	2,6%
19	Equality	2	1	2		1	1	7	1,7%
19	Democracy	2	3	1	1			7	1,7%
21	Participation in government	1			3	1	1	6	1,4%
22	Social development	1		1	2			4	0,96%
22	State capture				1	3		4	0,96%
24	Credit rating				1	1		2	0,48%

Source: Researcher's own construction

Table 5. 2 shows categories ranked number 11 to number 24. There were three eleventh ranking categories, namely 'corruption', 'NDP' and 'economics of the country' which appeared 16 times during 2010-2015. The Hansard analysis revealed that the reason for the increase in corruption was that there were government officials conducting business with government which led to transparency inconsistencies. The cases of rampant corruption which were discussed in Parliament support the notion by the opposition in South Africa, and which is also

asserted by Cockcroft (2014:11), who states that the national government of South Africa has not put in place sufficient measures to fight corruption. The lack of transparency in public expenditure has been a major contribution to the rampant corruption. Several MPs and other public officials have been accused of having strong links with business and this has caused a conflict of interest and manipulations in public service procurement processes.

In addition, there are cases of unceremonious public appointments and the inconsistent application of the law by authorities has also led to the loss of confidence in the judicial system of the country. Leibbrandt et al. (2006:11) have also asserted that corruption and the dire state of the economy are the main challenges which have marred South Africa and need to be addressed.

There were reports discussed on the abuse of the overtime system in the Gauteng Health Care system which cost the Gauteng Province millions in inappropriate payments. This was an illustration of petty corruption which indicates that corruption happens at many levels: corruption is not just a phenomenon practised by ‘dirty’ politicians but it is any form of the disregard of the law or abuse of state resources. Kaufmann (2010) states that corruption is one of the six dimensions measured by the World Bank WGI: it falls under the ‘Rule of law and control of corruption’ dimension. Furthermore, in the context of Africa, Ikome (2017:17) emphasises corruption to be the most important dimension in governance and “...corruption is the main barrier for governance in Africa”.

Corruption is generally regarded to be an immoral practice in most societies. Hence, this means that South Africa needs to take significant steps in curbing corruption. Since corruption is not compatible with social norms it means it would be to fight corruption to be curbed. Tyler (2005: 1287) defined adherence as a condition where individuals of an organisation initiate self-regulatory practices such as voluntarily conforming to the laws, rules and procedures of a setting.

However, Tyler (2005: 1290) asserts that for employees to effectively adhere to the laws, rules and procedures of an organisation, the rules, laws and procedures of the organisation must be regarded to be impartial, rational, ethical, virtuous, and most importantly, they must be consistent with social norms. In order for a practice to be a norm it has to be institutionalised. In the case of curbing corruption in South Africa and the adherence to good governance by

public officials, the government, civil society and the private sector must work together and find ways to institutionalise good governance.

Institutionalisation refers to the customs and procedures in an organisation having become accepted and understood to be as the only correct way of performing tasks in the organisation (Theong, 2011:34; Najeeb, 2014:29). The institutional theory is one of the popular theories of public administration.

The theory asserts that for organisational practices to be regarded as accepted practices, they must be embedded into a broader institutional milieu of an organisation. The theory posits that practices and employee behaviour in organisations are usually a synonymous reflection of the historical norms, rules and structures of the organisation (Najeeb, 2014:67).

Furthermore, the institutional theory presupposes that the personnel of an organisation will only follow the rules and procedures of the organisation if they perceive them to be part of its acceptable norms and society. Hence, this suggests that good governance must be institutionalised as in all public organisations and in communities so as to make good governance highly regarded as a social norm.

The ranking of the NDP category as eleventh may be due to the NDP being currently the executive plan by government to develop South Africa and alleviate poverty. The NDP is the official executive strategic plan in South Africa to address all the political and socio-economic challenges in the country. The NDP has an expiry date of 2030; hence it is expected for it be brought up for discussion in its duration. In fact, the activities of the three spheres of government in South Africa, namely the local sphere, the provincial and the national sphere, must be aligned to the achievement of the outcomes of the NDP.

Chapter Four showed that the NDP was the current executive set of actions implemented and planned to be implemented by the government in South Africa to build good governance. In some of the discussions in Parliament, the Hansard analysis of 2013 identified development of the transport infrastructure in South Africa as one aspect which was imperative to producing economic growth and alleviating poverty, as per NDP objectives. In 2015, the Hansard analysis revealed that in 2015 the South African government had spent R51 billion on new rail rolling

stock and R4 billion on new hybrid locomotives for the next five-year period. This illustrated the commitment which the government must achieving the NDP goals.

The Hansard analysis also revealed the South African government is still making progressive steps to strengthen governance, for example, the Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation in the Presidency and the National Treasury combined conducted expenditure reviews to identify inefficiencies and poorly performing programmes in order to prioritise legitimate areas to redirect resources. Furthermore, the Hansard analysis revealed that the Presidency also worked together with departments to carry out evaluations of major government programmes with the aim of enhancing their efficiency and impact. In addition, the Hansard also revealed that capacity was being built in the Presidency to carry out comprehensive socioeconomic impact assessments of both new and existing legislation and regulations to ensure that they are aligned with the National Development Plan and will decrease the risk of unpremeditated consequences.

The fourteenth ranked category, which was ‘state security appeared 14 times and the sixteenth category was ‘bilateral and multilateral relations which appeared 13 times during 2010-2015. This analysis asserted the classical international relations theory, the Realism theory. The realism theory states that the most important priority for nation states is to protect its sovereignty; hence, the strengthening of state security is a means to this achievement. Among other matters of interest to nation-states under the realism theory are the achievement of power and the protection of national interests (Baylis et al., 2014:539).

Adelmann (2004:250) argued that the strengthening of bilateral and multi-lateral relationships could help boost the economy of South Africa which is currently ailing. Furthermore, several lateral relations were expected as South Africa has the biggest economy in Africa (Adelmann, 2004:250).

“Women’s rights’ was the seventeenth category which appeared 13 times. The study’s analysis asserts that human rights in South Africa are regarded to be paramount as the category ranked high at fifth. However, South African social and economic life has been characterised by inequality. The inequality gap in South Africa is very wide with minority groups suffering the most, such as women, disabled people and black people. Addressing the marginalisation of women through women empowerment initiatives is one core component of the NDP. There

were incidents revealed in the Hansard analysis where the opposition accused the ruling party of failing the women and children of this country, citing the evident inequalities. The eighteenth ranking category was 'Environmental issues' which appeared 11 times during 2010-2015. This indicates that the South African Parliament is aware of the importance of environmental governance, which entails taking protection and conservation measures to sustain the environment.

There were two categories which ranked nineteenth, namely 'Equality' and 'Democracy', while the two twenty-first ranked category were 'Participation in government'. There were two twenty-second ranked categories, namely 'Social development' and 'State capture'. These categories indicated that there is a concern for the exercise of liberal democracy in South Africa, as they emphasise equality for all, democracy and participation in government. Furthermore, the coding of 'State capture' shows that South African Parliament was concerned with the protection of its sovereignty; hence, cases of state capture had to be addressed.

The 'participation in government' was ranked 21st. The 24th ranked category was 'credit rating'. These four categories were the least ranked categories, indicating they were the least frequent themes discussed in the Parliamentary meetings. The reason for the low ranking of these categories is that they are contemporary issues which only recently emerged in the past two or three years. State capture is a concept which became popular in South Africa recently when the Guptas landed their private plane on a national airfield and when their relationships with the President became controversial (Winkler, 2016:7).

Credit is also a new concept which recently became popular when South Africa was relegated to junk status by a foreign financial credit rating organisation. These new emerging issues may be due to framing. Framing was discussed in Chapter Two, a term used by constructivists to describe the process by which global actors or media can narrate the character, the severity of a phenomenon and essence of a particular global problem. Framing and propaganda may be mistakenly considered to be synonymous; however, framing is usually used to explain the promoting of global issues for a worthy cause while propaganda is done for selfish political interests. In South Africa, the rapid emergence of the concept of state capture has been argued by the ANC and the EFF to be a concept being pushed to serve the purpose of white monopoly capitalism, while the issue of credit rating has been an issue whereby global powers want to

narrate the future of South Africa by discrediting the current government of South Africa by rating it as a failed economy, thus “junk status” (Davies, 2017:1).

5.5 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE WGI SIX DIMENSIONS REPORTS ON SOUTH AFRICA 2010-2015

The study analysed the World Bank WGI annual reports for six years, namely 2010-2015. In addition to South Africa, two other nation states were analysed, namely Norway and Zimbabwe. These two nation states were selected because they represent two distinct socio-economic situations. Norway is regarded as a highly developed country and has the highest Human Development index while Zimbabwe is arguably regarded a failed state with one of the lowest Human Development indices in the world. South Africa is developing country and its Human Development index is in the mid percentiles.

Hence, conducting a comparison of the three nation states assisted the researcher to come up with a relative analysis. These reports were accessed on the World Bank interactive website. The analysis of the governance was guided by the six dimensions of governance asserted by Kaufmann (2010:68). The six dimensions are Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of Law and Control of Corruption.

5.5.1 Control of Corruption Dimension Analysis of South Africa 2010-2015

Worldwide Governance Indicators

Indicator	Country	Year	Number of Sources	Governance Score (-2.5 to +2.5)	Percentile Rank (0 to 100)	Standard Error
Control of Corruption	Norway	2010	8	2.1	97.1	0.2
		2011	9	2.2	98.1	0.2
		2012	9	2.3	98.6	0.2
		2013	9	2.3	99.1	0.2
		2014	9	2.2	99.0	0.2
		2015	9	2.3	99.0	0.1
	South Africa	2010	15	0.1	61.4	0.1
		2011	16	0.0	58.8	0.1
		2012	16	-0.2	54.5	0.1
		2013	16	-0.1	55.9	0.1
		2014	15	-0.1	54.3	0.1
		2015	15	0.0	58.2	0.1
	Zimbabwe	2010	14	-1.3	4.8	0.2
		2011	14	-1.4	3.3	0.2
		2012	15	-1.3	3.8	0.1
		2013	15	-1.4	2.4	0.1
		2014	13	-1.4	4.3	0.1
		2015	14	-1.3	7.2	0.1

Figure 5.3: The WGI reports on the Control of Corruption

Source: <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/#reports>

Figure 5.3 shows the annual WGI reports on the Control of Corruption governance dimension of South Africa, Norway and Zimbabwe during 2010-2015. The diagram shows that South Africa's average for control of corruption for 2010-2015 is 57 per cent. This means that the level of control of corruption from 2010 to 2015 in South Africa was moderate, as it is ranked in the mid-level. If South Africa's 2010-2015 average is compared to other developing countries in Africa, one can conclude that South Africa has taken great strides in addressing corruption in comparison to other African nation states. South Africa and Zimbabwe are very similar Africa states: they share a similar history as they are both former colonial nation states, both have developing economies and both have multi-party elections and democratic constitutions.

However, Figure 5.3 shows that South Africa's control of corruption is significantly much higher than that of Zimbabwe. The control of corruption in Zimbabwe is acutely low with an average of 4,3 per cent. However, although South Africa's control of corruption is significantly

higher than many developing nation states, it is still significantly lower than the control of corruption in developed nation states. The diagram shows that the control of corruption in Norway was almost perfect with a very high average of 99 per cent in 2010-2015. This indicates that there is a direct link between the socio-economic conditions of a nation state and its capacity to curb corruption and the incidence of corruption. Norway has more socio-economic equality than South Africa and South Africa in turn has more equality than Zimbabwe.

This suggests that socio-economic inequality in a society diminishes the extent to which marginalised groups in society can hold the government accountable: the elite are able to get away with corruption and manipulate the judicial system with their economic status. Norway has a better functioning government and effective judicial system than both Zimbabwe and South Africa. Hence, this suggests that the control of corruption is dependent on the capacity of the state to run the country.

In many ways this analysis suggests that South Africa still lacks the capacity to curb corruption comprehensively. A lack of sufficient capacity to run a state can rapidly lead to an unstable and weak state. If South Africa becomes an unstable state, this could compromise its foreign policy goals, compromising its position as a regional leader and peace zone region, as discussed in Chapter Four of the study. Furthermore, Anassi (2004:39) compares corruption to a virus which thrives in a weak bodily immune system. This suggests that corruption will continue to rise if the South Africa governance systems and practices remain weak.

Furthermore, Anassi (2004:39) asserts that another problem which makes the fight against corruption in South Africa difficult is the lack of a vibrant civil society Africa which plays a pivotal role in a country's ability to fight all forms of corruption. This assertion by Anassi (2004:275) may explain why South Africa and Zimbabwe had higher reports of corruption than Norway, a European country. For example, in Africa, citizens offer public officials gifts such as money for a drink or lunch in return for free public services or as a gratitude for a free public service delivered by a public official: this is considered to be completely normal and acceptable, making the concept of corruption of principles of good governance such as transparency difficult to grasp for many societies in Africa.

5.5.2 Rule of Law dimension analysis of South Africa 2010-2015

Worldwide Governance Indicators						
Indicator	Country	Year	Number of Sources	Governance Score (-2.5 to +2.5)	Percentile Rank (0 to 100)	Standard Error
Rule of Law	Norway	2010	10	1.9	99.1	0.2
		2011	11	1.9	98.1	0.1
		2012	11	2.0	100.0	0.2
		2013	11	2.0	100.0	0.2
		2014	10	2.0	99.0	0.2
		2015	10	2.0	98.6	0.2
	South Africa	2010	17	0.1	57.8	0.1
		2011	18	0.1	58.7	0.1
		2012	18	0.1	58.2	0.1
		2013	18	0.1	58.2	0.1
		2014	16	0.2	63.9	0.1
		2015	16	0.1	59.1	0.1
	Zimbabwe	2010	16	-1.8	0.9	0.1
		2011	16	-1.8	0.9	0.1
		2012	17	-1.6	1.9	0.1
		2013	17	-1.6	2.3	0.1
		2014	14	-1.4	3.8	0.1
		2015	15	-1.3	6.3	0.1

Table 5.4: WGI reports on the Rule of Law

Source: <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/#reports>

Table 5.4 shows that the rule of law in South Africa is higher than the control of corruption. The average rule of law in South Africa for 2010-2015 is 59,3 per cent while the control of corruption was 57 per cent. This indicates that South Africa's rule of law is moderate and still needs to be significantly improved. This may reflect South Africa's impressive Constitution of 1996, the independence of the judicial system and the practice of the separation of powers as discussed in Chapter Four. However, in comparison to Zimbabwe, South Africa still has a significantly higher rule of law than Zimbabwe which had an average of 2,7 per cent for 2010-2015. In comparison to Norway, South Africa's rule of law was significantly lower, as Norway has 99,1 per cent, a near perfect score on the rule of law.

Totemeyer (2010:143) asserts that an effective way to safeguard the respect of the rule of law is the establishment of the constitution as the supreme law of the country and the existence of judicial institutions and a thriving civil society to ensure and foster the rule of law. Hence, the variations in the rule of law by Norway, Zimbabwe and South Africa may be because of the

number of effective institutions to foster the adherence to the rule of law in each nation state. This indicates that Norway has more effective institutions than South Africa.

The analysis also indicates that South Africa has judicial institutions in place that foster the rule of law. However, the effectiveness of these institutions is derailed by capacity, such as financial resources and political will regarding the adherence to the rule of law. Lastly, the analysis indicates that there are no existing institutions in Zimbabwe that foster the rule of law. This condition of Zimbabwe is an expected result for a failed state. A failed state is a country where the government has lost its legitimacy in the public's eye to provide the basic public services and is characterised by massive human rights abuses. Other notable failed states are Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan (Nogueira, 2017:439).

5.5.3 Regulatory Quality Dimension Analysis of South Africa 2010-2015

5.5: The WGI reports on the Regulatory Quality

Worldwide Governance Indicators						
Indicator	Country	Year	Number of Sources	Governance Score (-2.5 to +2.5)	Percentile Rank (0 to 100)	Standard Error
Regulatory Quality	Norway	2010	7	1.51	92.82	0.24
		2011	8	1.60	94.31	0.22
		2012	8	1.54	92.42	0.22
		2013	8	1.66	94.79	0.22
		2014	8	1.64	92.31	0.23
		2015	8	1.63	92.31	0.22
	South Africa	2010	11	0.36	62.20	0.16
		2011	12	0.40	63.98	0.15
		2012	12	0.38	63.98	0.17
		2013	12	0.42	64.93	0.16
		2014	12	0.30	62.98	0.17
		2015	12	0.30	63.94	0.16
	Zimbabwe	2010	10	-2.06	2.39	0.16
		2011	10	-1.92	2.37	0.16
		2012	11	-1.88	1.90	0.17
		2013	11	-1.84	2.37	0.17
		2014	10	-1.90	2.40	0.18
		2015	11	-1.65	3.85	0.17

Source: <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/#reports>

Table 5.5 shows that the regulatory quality in South Africa has an average of 64,2 per cent which is moderate. This rating of South Africa indicates that regulatory quality in South Africa is still moderate. In comparison to Norway and Zimbabwe, the regulatory quality in South Africa was significantly higher than that of Zimbabwe which had a rate of 2,4 per cent and significantly lower than that of Norway which had an average of 93 per cent from 2010-2015.

In Chapter Three, regulatory quality was described as the capacity of a government to monitor and protect the country from unfriendly market policies and the extent of trade facilitation by a nation state. This analysis was expected for a nation state which is attempting to engage in the global arena as an emerging economy. South Africa is still attempting to find its place in the global economy and given the unpredictability of the global economy, it is not easy for developing countries to identify sustainable blueprints to enforce regulatory quality. In the contemporary world, free trade tariffs and global trade dynamism are predominant which leaves several developing nation states not sure about the place of mercantilism today because of the desperate need for developing nation states to attract foreign investments to boost economic growth. This causes a serious economic dilemma.

5.5.4 Government Effectiveness Dimension Analysis of South Africa 2010-2015

Worldwide Governance Indicators						
Indicator	Country	Year	Number of Sources	Governance Score (-2.5 to +2.5)	Percentile Rank (0 to 100)	Standard Error
Government Effectiveness	Norway	2010	7	1.86	97.61	0.22
		2011	7	1.84	97.16	0.22
		2012	7	1.91	98.10	0.22
		2013	7	1.88	98.10	0.21
		2014	7	1.81	96.63	0.23
		2015	7	1.86	98.08	0.23
	South Africa	2010	12	0.39	66.03	0.18
		2011	12	0.41	66.35	0.18
		2012	12	0.35	63.98	0.18
		2013	13	0.44	66.35	0.16
		2014	13	0.34	65.87	0.17
		2015	13	0.27	64.90	0.17
	Zimbabwe	2010	11	-1.50	3.83	0.18
		2011	11	-1.36	6.64	0.18
		2012	11	-1.33	7.11	0.19
		2013	12	-1.27	9.48	0.17
		2014	11	-1.19	11.54	0.19
		2015	12	-1.15	11.54	0.17

Table 6.6: WGI reports on Government Effectiveness

Source : <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/#reports>

Table 6.6 shows that the government effectiveness in South Africa was moderate as its average during 2010-2015 was above 66 per cent, while the average for Norway and Zimbabwe from 2010-2015 was 97, 7 per cent and 8,1 per cent respectively. This finding indicates that South Africa has higher government effectiveness than Zimbabwe but significantly lower government effectiveness than Norway, a developed country.

Government effectiveness in South Africa may be derailed by the difficulty in effectively implementing the separation of powers in the three spheres of government and the separation of powers among the three branches of government, namely the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature, respectively. In South Africa the implementation of the separation of powers is not as easy and practical to implement effectively. The reason is that public officials such

as MPs and the executive in South Africa are voted into their positions and some are deployed by their specific political parties. Hence, this causes a dilemma for public officials in deciding who they work for: the citizens of the country or the political party (Reddy, 2010:200).

In South Africa, many public officials have been accused of practising political partisanship while compromising their public duties. This has led to calls for the demise of the traditional public administration practices and the emergence of the New Public Management. Walker (2000:126) asserted that the New Public Administration emerged as a model to address the deficiencies of traditional public administration models.

The New Public Administration is of the supposition that public service delivery would be more efficient and effective if public organisation is operated as public-sector organisation. The New Public Management emerged in the late 1980s partly as response to traditional bureaucracies which marred the public service with inflexibility and poor client-orientated practice inefficiencies (Hughes et al., 2008:5). This led to the public service being characterised by incompetent officials and appalling inefficiencies. This suggests that instead of selecting political figures to manage and administer state affairs and public organisations, qualified managers and practitioners must be put in their place.

Walker (2000:291) argued that management is a science and has procedures and practices which need to be exercised by the best candidates to achieve the best results. Hence, qualified managers should be given the responsibility to manage the affairs of the state instead of political party cadres. In the day-to-day activities of delivering public services, the New Public Management offers significant benefits for citizens because it removes the rigid practices based on hierarchical configurations of organisations by the delegation of authority.

Furthermore, the New Public Management leads to better quality services delivered to citizens because it is based on a model of competition in the delivery of services (Lacovino and Cinquini, 2017:63). The Hansard analysis has revealed that South Africa has taken significant steps to address bureaucracies in the public service. For example, in 2010 a Tax Administration Bill (B11-2011) was passed to foster effective tax administration and to promote adherence to tax obligations in society. Hence, the bill was put in place to simplify law, diminish red-tape and restructure the administration to provide a better service to taxpayers, whilst strengthening enforcement and compliance

5.5.5 Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism Dimension Analysis of South Africa 2010-2015

Table 5.7: WGI reports on the Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism

Source: <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/#reports>

Table 5.7 shows that the Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism in South Africa recorded an average of 43,6 per cent during 2010-2015. This indicates that

Worldwide Governance Indicators						
Indicator	Country	Year	Number of Sources	Governance Score (-2.5 to +2.5)	Percentile Rank (0 to 100)	Standard Error
Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism	Norway	2010	8	1.30	93.84	0.24
		2011	9	1.32	95.26	0.24
		2012	9	1.31	93.84	0.22
		2013	9	1.33	94.79	0.22
		2014	9	1.11	89.05	0.19
		2015	9	1.15	89.52	0.20
	South Africa	2010	8	-0.02	46.45	0.24
		2011	9	0.03	48.34	0.24
		2012	9	-0.02	43.13	0.22
		2013	9	-0.04	45.02	0.22
		2014	9	-0.13	40.00	0.19
		2015	9	-0.18	38.57	0.20
	Zimbabwe	2010	7	-1.12	14.22	0.24
		2011	7	-0.95	19.43	0.24
		2012	8	-0.79	21.80	0.22
		2013	8	-0.68	24.64	0.23
		2014	8	-0.68	23.33	0.20
		2015	8	-0.58	25.71	0.20

political stability in South Africa is at low but higher than Zimbabwe's average which was very acutely low with an average of -0,68 per cent which suggests that there is no form of any political stability at all in Zimbabwe. However, political stability in Norway was still very high with an average of 92,1 per cent. These results were expected in South Africa because there are thriving opposition parties in South Africa, namely the DA and the EFF. The EFF was formed by former ANC stalwarts; hence their branching out of the ANC caused some political uncertainty to a significant degree. Furthermore, there is robust citizen activism in South Africa which dates to the apartheid times (Langfield, 2013:298).

In addition, there has been considerable discontent with the current president in South Africa. Several corruption allegations have been made against him and there have been several calls for him to be voted out through a vote of no confidence in Parliament (Allison, 2017:1). Any occasion where there is a possibility for a president to be asked to step down as head of state leads to significant forms of political instability.

5.5.6 Voice and Accountability Dimension Analysis of South Africa 2010-2015

Table 5.8: WGI reports on Voice and Accountability

Worldwide Governance Indicators						
Indicator	Country	Year	Number of Sources	Governance Score (-2.5 to +2.5)	Percentile Rank (0 to 100)	Standard Error
Voice and Accountability	Norway	2010	11	1.6	100.0	0.1
		2011	12	1.7	100.0	0.1
		2012	12	1.8	100.0	0.1
		2013	12	1.8	100.0	0.1
		2014	10	1.7	100.0	0.1
		2015	10	1.7	100.0	0.1
	South Africa	2010	18	0.6	66.4	0.1
		2011	19	0.6	66.2	0.1
		2012	19	0.6	65.7	0.1
		2013	19	0.6	65.7	0.1
		2014	15	0.6	68.5	0.1
		2015	15	0.6	69.0	0.1
	Zimbabwe	2010	16	-1.5	8.1	0.1
		2011	17	-1.5	8.0	0.1
		2012	18	-1.5	7.0	0.1
		2013	18	-1.4	8.5	0.1
		2014	13	-1.3	12.3	0.1
		2015	14	-1.2	15.3	0.1

Source: <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/#reports>

Table 5.8 shows that voice and accountability in South Africa is moderate with an average of 67 per cent for 2010-2015. Norway had a perfect rating of 100 per cent for voice and accountability for 2010-2015. Voice and accountability in Zimbabwe was very low with an average of 9.6 per cent for 2010-2015. This dimension measures the institutional capacity of a

nation state to foster good governance. Hence, this means that this dimension results are solely based on the rule of law in the country and the effectiveness of these institutions.

Chapter Two of the study revealed how the term ‘governance’ emerged as response to the lack of capacity to foster good governance in developing countries. Grindle (2010:89) asserted that good governance was a concept which developing countries are supposed to desire to achieve because the conditions of good governance are a Western phenomenon. Hence, this assertion by Grindle (2010:169) explains why Norway, a Western nation state, rates higher on the WGI Voice and Accountability dimension.

5.5.7 Comparison of Six Governance Dimensions Annual Scores for South Africa During 2010-2015

Table 5.9: Comparison of the six governance dimensions annual scores for South Africa during 2010-2015

Governance Dimension	Score out of 100
Voice and Accountability	66
Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism	43,6
Government Effectiveness	66
Regulatory Quality	64,2
Rule of Law	59.3
Control of Corruption	57
<i>Overall Governance average</i>	<i>59,3</i>

Source: Researcher’s own construction

Table 5.9 shows that the total level of governance in South Africa is moderate, as the average score of all six governance dimensions is 59,3 per cent. The table also shows that of all the six dimensions of governance, the highest dimensions of governance in South Africa were Voice and Accountability and Government Effectiveness which both had an average of 66 per cent. The lowest governance dimension for South Africa was Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism. This means that South Africa has a thriving public service and functioning government which is performing relatively well for a developing nation state.

The fact that South Africa is a developing nation and a young democracy suggests that the capacity of the state must be supposedly weak. However, it is performing moderately, indicating that South Africa has the potential of being a developed nation and a regional leader to be reckoned with. Earlier in the chapter it was revealed that that the political instability in South Africa was mainly caused by the widespread discontent with the current government leadership. Hence, this means that South Africa's future and ambitions of being a regional leader characterised by good governance is dependent on the selection of a pool of leaders of integrity by the voting electoral.

5.6 CONTENT ANALYSIS FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS 2014-2015

The section will provide the content analysis of the South African State of the Nation Address (SONA) for 2014 and 2015. The SONAs for each year were accessed on the website of the Presidency(<http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/>).

5.6.1 The State of the Nation Address 2014 Content Analysis

The content analysis for the SONA 2014 reveals that governance indicator reports are not recognised, nor do they have an influence on nation state behaviour. However, the content analysis reveals that the Office of the Presidency is more concerned with the working and living conditions of mine workers, improving the electricity supply by Eskom, infrastructure, youth employment, provision of water, creating employment through the agriculture sector, food security, land restitution, creating a national framework for people with disabilities, curbing corruption, the peace-keeping mission in Africa by the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), diversity, and South Africa's business investments in Africa (Zuma, 2014:1-100).

5.6.1.1 Notable items from SONA 2014

- (i) One trillion rand was reported to be invested in new infrastructure to provide water, energy, transport, sanitation, schools and clinics and Internet connections to the people of South Africa.
- (ii) The construction of Mzimvubu Dam in the Eastern Cape and the Clan William Dam in the Western Cape was planned.
- (iii) The number of internship positions in the public sector would be expanded.

- (iv) An employment tax incentive scheme was to be introduced whereby 133 000 employees benefited and in which 11 000 employers participated.
- (v) Four million work opportunities were created in the previous five years.
- (vi) The Environmental Youth Services programme was reported to have grown.
- (vii) Land restitution actions were considered to accelerate the settlement of remaining land claims submitted before the cut-off date of 1998 and
- (viii) An Inter-Ministerial Task Team on Service Delivery was formed by the President.
- (viii) The Disability sector was invited to participate to identify key areas of concern
- (x) The National Disability Rights Policy and other the National Disability Rights Framework were finalised.
- (xi) The Special Investigating Unit, the Anti-Corruption Task Team, the Asset Forfeiture Unit and the Hawks made notable progress to combat corruption in society and in the public sector.
- (xii) The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) participated in peacekeeping missions in Africa.
- (xiii) The President emphasized the importance of tolerance, reconciliation and the need to fight racism, xenophobia, homophobia and all related intolerances.

This content analysis of the SONA 2014 indicates that the achievement of the NDP goals are not just an interest of local government but also of the Executive branch of the government, as has been highlighted by the Office of the Presidency. This also indicates that the South African government is taking various steps to achieve the NDP goals, from micro projects to the undertaking of large developmental projects. This also indicates that the fundamental issues which face South Africa are youth employment, the restitution of land to achieve socio-economic equality, the improvement service delivery, curbing corruption, and regional foreign policy ambitions.

5.6.2 The State of the Nation Address 2015 Content Analysis

The content analysis for the SONA 2015 reveals that governance indicator reports are not recognised, nor do they have influence on nation state behaviour. However, the content analysis reveals that the Office of the Presidency is more concerned with local government governance than any other form of governance. This may be because of the assertion by Reddy (2010:66) as mentioned in Chapter four of the study that local government was the most valued sphere of government as it was the closest authority to communities. This analysis was similar to the

content analysis of the 2010-2015 Hansard of the South African Parliament presented in the earlier parts of this chapter. The SONA 2015 significantly highlighted the socio-economic initiatives and success which the government had achieved as well as other economy-diversifying measures such as the growing of the ocean economy under Operation Pakamisa.

Other items highlighted were a long-term energy security master plan for Eskom, job opportunities, education, agricultural development, crime, roads, access to education, youth internship schemes, water conservation, support for small businesses, corruption, equality, youth development, South African heritage, tourism, public housing, multi-lateral relations via BRICS and better service delivery by municipalities (Zuma, 2015:5). This indicates that SONA 2015 is a direct report and review of the government's level of achievement in its pursuit of executing the NDP.

5.6.2.1 Notable Items from SONA 2015

(i) The release of draft National Disability Rights Policy by Cabinet for public comment so as to advance and improve the lives of people with disabilities.

(ii) The launch of a service delivery initiative entitled "Back to Basics" to promote good governance and effective administration through cutting wastage, spending public funds prudently, hiring competent staff, and ensuring transparency and accountability in municipalities.

(ii) The signing of the Public Administration and Management Act into law by the President so as to combat corruption and promote ethical governance in local government. This Act prohibits public servants from doing business with the state.

(iii) The promotion of socio-economic equality by the restitution of land by reopening the second window of opportunity for the lodging of land claims. This opportunity was aimed at marginalised groups such as people who live and work on farms. Fifty (50) farming enterprises would be identified as a pilot project.

(iv) Establishing the Office of the Valuer-General in terms of the Property Valuation Act to increase the pace of the land redistribution process. Once implemented, the law will stop the reliance on the willing buyer-willing seller method in respect of land acquisition by the state.

The content analysis of the SONA (2015) indicates that the fundamental issues facing South Africa are the need to address the emancipation of disabled people, the need to promote good governance in South African public services to achieve efficient service delivery, fighting corruption, and the restitution of land to achieve socio-economic equality. This suggests that

South Africa is still committed to the achievement of the NDP goals but has a long way to go to achieve them, as there are several socio-economic and institutional issues which have to be addressed.

5.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has described how the research of the study was conducted and illustrated the research strategy. The chapter points out that no governance indexes were discussed in Parliament, indicating that the measurements by other entities are not of interest for state officials in South Africa. However, this does not mean that South Africa is not interested in governance, but the chapter asserted that governance was still an important feature for building a better South Africa.

The chapter has shown that the concept of governance is understood as the effectiveness of a government to curb corruption and enforce efficient service delivery in local government. Governance in local government is prioritised more than any other sphere of government. South Africa's governance practices in the international arena have not been of interest among MPS; it is only the affairs which affect communities which are of interest. The chapter pointed out that South Africa is committed to achieving the NDP goals.

The chapter also indicated that South Africa primarily aims to achieve the NDP and the achievement of good governance is a secondary objective. Attaining and institutionalising good governance practices were revealed to be the key to achieving the NDP goals. In addition, the chapter indicated that significant steps had been taken and continues to be taken by South Africa to foster good governance and achieve the NDP goals but a lack of capacity and robust institutions to ensure the latter still exists.

The chapter also showed that the level of governance in South Africa is relatively high for a developing country, as levels of governance in other developing countries were non-existent while in South Africa the level of governance was above moderate, with strengths shown in voice and accountability, governance effectiveness and regulatory quality. The chapter also showed that South Africa has weak political stability caused by widespread discontent with the current government leadership in the country.

The next chapter will be the last chapter of the study and will present the summary of the entire study, as well as offering recommendations and drawing conclusions relating to the study.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented the analysis and discussion of the results of the study. This last chapter of the study provides an executive summary of the entire study. A summary the study will be shown, the findings derived from the data analysis will be presented. The chapter will offer recommendations, draw a conclusion and highlight possibilities for further research.

6.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study was to determine the impact of the governance indicators reports on state behaviour in South Africa. It was imperative that such a study should be conducted because of the dire socio-economic conditions and public service functioning in South Africa. Over the years South Africa introduced various policies and programmes to address the issues of poverty, development, equality and governance, such as the RDP, GEAR, BBEE and the AsgiSA). These policies were specifically introduced to address the problems which were inherited from the apartheid regime.

However, as of 2017 South Africa still faces acute socio-economic and political challenges such as unemployment, poverty, corruption, upholding independence of the judicial system, efficiency of public institutions state capture, poor education, health services. The South African unemployment rate is currently very high which has made unemployment epidemic in the country. The latter problems are all seen as the consequences of a lack of effective good governance in South Africa. The study argued that effective good governance will help to solve some of South Africa's public service operational challenges and alleviate the acute socio-economic conditions (Abedian, Ajam and Walker, 1997; Leibbrandt et al., 2006:11).

The measuring of the level of governance by governance indices is one particular action which can influence nation states to practise good governance. The literature review stated that governance indices must be able to influence nation state policy on development and democratic efforts effectively to improve the level of good governance (Court, 2006). Nation states must view governance index reports as an opportunity to effectively shape policy to facilitate further good governance. Hence, the study assessed whether good governance in South Africa was influenced by the WGI reports to determine the above assertion by literature.

The argument provided in the study is that if governance indices continue to release annual reports on the level of governance in South Africa and the level of governance in South Africa does not improve, this would suggest that there is gap which needs to be identified on the relationship between governance indices and efforts by a nation state to address issues of governance. In addition, this could mean that the governance indices are solely effective for aid allocation by donors.

The study assessed the effects of WGI reports on the South African nation state. It also seeks to explore how state officials exercise authority after the release and publication of WGI reports.

Chapter One introduced the study by presenting the motivation and background of the study, the research problem, research questions, research objectives, the preliminary literature and the research methodology of the study. This chapter developed the following research objectives to guide the study:

- To identify the extent to which governance assessment reports are recognised by South Africa;
- To identify the differences between the governance index recognised by SA in comparison with others;
- To determine the impact of governance indices on state behaviour.

Chapter Two highlighted the origin of the concept of governance and asserted that each period and society had its own acceptable forms of governance to maintain order. The means that the study has asserted that governance is relative as it has existed in different periods. However, law was identified as the most common feature which characterises every form of governance. The chapter showed that the concept of governance first existed in Ancient Greece and Ancient India. In the feudal times, the concept of governance can be traced back to the 1000s after the coronation of King William the First, who enforced the Norman law, the jury system, the adversarial system and the Magna Carta.

The chapter also showed that governance was paramount in the international arena and that maintaining peace is an important feature of governance. For example, in the Age of Imperialism the concept of governance can be traced to the Berlin Conference 1884-85 where a form of governance was agreed to oversee the partitioning of Africa. The post-World War 1 international organisation, the League of Nations and the post-World War 2 international

organisational, the United Nations, were the two pivotal organisations which set the trend for international governance to maintain world peace. The 20th century saw the development of the discourse of the contemporary concept of governance coined by capitalist nation states and international financial institutions, which is solely based on neo-liberalism and the rule of law. The chapter has shown that that governance in local government is characterised by the adoption of the New Public Management paradigm.

Chapter Three outlined several reasons which assert the need for governance indices, the most important of which are the measurement of country-specific aspects of governance and the maintenance of democracy. The chapter findings indicate that aid donors and international organisations have played a significant role in maintaining the relevance of governance indices in state affairs and politics.

The chapter indicated that the conduct of the public sector in nation states is paramount in determining the level of governance and democracy which is like the research findings of the study. The chapter also highlighted the several types of governance indicators, namely the Freedom Index, the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG), the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG), the Global Index and the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI).

The chapter indicated that the WGI is most comprehensive indicator of governance because it analyses governance data from several sources, including other indicators of governance, and it includes all the dimensions measured by other several governance indicators. The chapter findings indicate that political stability, political freedoms, rule of law and human rights were the four dimensions of governance which were common among most governance indicators. These findings reveal that as much development is important, the respect of civil rights is regarded as more valuable than economic conditions.

Chapter Four argued that South Africa has a comprehensive legislative framework and government programmes which help to achieve and maintain good governance in the country. The chapter found that South Africa has coherent pieces of legislation but there are still gaps and weaknesses which hinder an effective implementation. The chapter identified the 1996 Constitution as the supreme document which fosters good governance in the country.

The study asserted that the 1996 Constitution was essential for good governance because it defines the functions of the different institutions in South Africa and the powers of the specific institutions, and it sets the parameters in which the powers of the institution may be exercised.

The manner in which power is exercised by public officials and institutions in a nation state is what determines the level good governance. Furthermore, the Constitution provides for the upholding of the rule of law, the respect for human rights and presents the Bill of Rights which provides the civil liberties needed by citizens to experience complete democracy.

The Constitution also presents provisions for the functioning of local government public agencies such as municipalities, for example, the Section 195 (1) of the Constitution which obliges municipalities to practise good governance via a performance management system for municipalities.

The chapter also asserted how the pluralism of government power was a key feature for effective good governance and democracy. The pluralism of government power in South Africa is practised by the exercising of the separation of powers as provided in the Constitution. The latter mandates that the Judiciary, the Executive and the Legislature arms of the government are distinct, independent and autonomous.

The chapter also provides evidence of how South Africa has displayed commitment to practising pluralism by allowing a diverse parliament comprised of representatives of from parties holding majority votes and minority votes. The chapter concluded that in South Africa a pluralist liberal democracy exists with visible rivalry amongst competing political groups and freedom for competing interest groups so as to ensure that political power is widely distributed.

Taking into account the historical unfair distribution of land in South Africa during colonial times and the apartheid regime, the chapter argued that the more effective process in the restitution of land was a key form of good governance. Most of the land is occupied and owned by white people in South Africa; hence, this unfair disparity has worsened the socio-economic inequality in South Africa. The chapter accepts that the goals NDP cannot be achieved by the efforts of the public sector only, hence it argued that the work of NPOs must be recognised as NGOs contribute over one million jobs to the country's economy. The chapter specifically argues that the work of NGOs must be characterised by accountability and transparency.

The chapter asserted that local government is the most important sphere of government because it is closer to communities and it is imperative for this sphere of government to be prioritised to achieve the NDP goal of developing local communities. In the chapter we learn of the IDP as the chief strategic plan used by local government to plan all of activities because of its explicit explanation of each process.

The chapter argued that the IDP was a tool for good governance as it fostered citizen participation. The chapter asserted that various programmes have been implemented by South Africa to foster good governance, which indicates a serious commitment by South Africa to improving the country, namely the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) and the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA).

In chapter Five the data collection results were presented, and the research analysis discussed. The content analysis results of the South African Parliamentary Hansard, the Presidency's Annual Reports and the State of Nation Address were discussed. In addition, the chapter included an analysis of the WGI reports on South Africa. The chapter highlighted that the concept of governance is understood as the effectiveness of a government to curb corruption and enforce efficient service delivery in local government.

Governance in local government is prioritised more than in any other sphere of government. South Africa's governance practices in the international arena have not been of interest among MPS: it is only the affairs which affect communities which are of interest. South Africa's commitment to achieving the NDP goals was emphasised. The chapter indicated that South Africa primarily aims to achieve the NDP and the achievement of good governance is a secondary objective.

Chapter Six offers the executive summary of the study, the findings and conclusions of the study and suggests recommendations. The chapter will present the findings and draw conclusions under the respective research questions of the study.

6.3 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The study has shown that the scholarly work in the topics of political science, public administration, public governance and development studies are significantly linked. The study used several scholarly concepts from each of the latter fields. Public administration has evolved to become the New Public Administration and development has been asserted to be relative to a context and region.

The concept of governance is evolving and is understood way in South Africa. The study suggests that good governance cannot only be achieved by actions taken by government, but every citizen is required to hold themselves equally responsible for the achievement of

governance. Citizens must stop being willing participants of corrupt actions and must aspire to be good law-abiding citizens.

The study findings show that governance indices are irrelevant in South Africa as they are not recognised in Parliament. However, this does not mean governance is not valued or regarded as important in the South African Parliament. The research findings show that governance is very much valued and is identified as a paramount feature to achieve the NDP goals because the study convincingly asserted that South Africa is committed to achieving the NDP goals (See Chapter 5.4: Overall Analysis of Categories and Interpretation. This suggests that the NDP is a most important initiative in South Africa.

The study has asserted the NDP to be the executive plan for achieving development and enforcing governance. In many ways measuring the success of the NDP will be synonymous with measuring the extent of good governance in South Africa as the two have similar features and the output for each is parallel with the other. The findings show that the NDP is the currency used to assess the performance of the state which is different to the currency used by the international community, which is that of governance.

This suggests that as much as the WGI was asserted to be the most comprehensive governance indicator in Chapter Three, it is still not an accepted instrument to trigger public debate in the South African Parliament. Chapter Three revealed that governance indicators were there to influence the behaviour of government: however, from the overall findings of the study the use of governance indicator is overstated and overrated in influencing nation states. They surely can influence donors and aid providers as these take the governance index reports more seriously and are part of their operations in determining giving aid. The fact that governance indicators did not appear at all in the Parliamentary meetings analysed by the researcher confirms that they do not influence nation state behaviour.

The current discontent around the political leadership in South Africa puts the country at risks of falling into a bad governance spiral characterised by undemocratic features such as disrespect for the rule of law and corruption. (See Chapter 4.5) Regional Governance via the South African Foreign Policy asserted that South Africa has the most progressive level of governance and democracy in the Southern Africa region and arguably in the whole African continent.

However, the country's public service is being marred by several incidents of corruption and a crisis in service delivery put the country at risk of falling behind, thus weakening its statehood. The current perpetuating weakening of political leadership, public service management and accountability in the public sector holds serious implications for South Africa with regard to political stability, human rights, legitimacy of government, the rule of law, and the level of governance. This is shown in 5.4.1: Analysis and interpretation of the categories with the term "governance".

Furthermore, the study findings show that the state behaviour has not been influenced by any governance indicator in South Africa. However, significant strides have been taken to foster good governance in South Africa by efforts to achieve the NDP goals. (See Chapter 5.6.2: The State of the Nation Address 2015 content analysis). The study finds that lack of capacity still exists for the current institutions to foster good governance and the researcher argues for the need for more robust judicial, civil society and public service institutions.

The study found that the WGI indicate that the level of governance in South Africa is 'moderate' which is relatively high for a developing country. The study found the WGI rates South Africa to have strengths in Voice and Accountability, Governance Effectiveness and Regulatory Quality, while the WGI indicated that South Africa was weak in Political Stability which is caused by widespread discontent with the current government leadership in the country (See Chapter 5.5.7: Comparison of the Six Governance Dimensions annual scores for South Africa during 2010-2015).

The study showed the weak political leadership in South Africa is the cause of the many issues which derail good governance efforts in the country. In chapter 5.4.2, the analysis and interpretation of all the other categories coded showed that the current political leadership is identified as lacking accountability and transparency and is seen to be abusing state resources.

The Jacob Zuma administration has been marred by cases of corruption and leadership in state entities has been characterised by the mismanagement of funds.

The study has identified leadership as a key concept which influences nation state behaviour. It assumes that the executive arm of the government significantly steers the character and the actions taken by the nation state in the manner of the functioning of the government. Hence, this asserts that good governance is a political activity; it is not solely an economic and a performance affair but incorporates all the latter. Electoral processes play a significant part in the attainment of good governance because that is where individuals who make up the leadership of a nation state are elected by citizens.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study suggests that governance index reports be discussed in Parliament so as to place the governance discussion on a platform which can directly influence the nation state. Hence, this study can be used to motivate Parliament to mandate the discussion and reflection on the level of governance in South Africa as prescribed by governance index reports such as the WGI.

The study recommends that South Africa must accelerate its pursuit of achieving its NDP goals as they are congruent with good governance. South Africa needs to put in place more institutions and strengthen the institutions which foster good governance by providing more resources and effective methods of auditing performance.

The study recommends that there must be an open performance management system for the political leadership of the country. Currently the political leadership is only reviewed through the electoral ballot which happens every five years. The study recommends that political leadership has a performance review quarterly or annually, similar to executives in the private sector or corporations. The study recommends that South Africa takes significant steps to address public service delivery and ways to curb corruption.

The upholding the rule of law was identified as a key feature for good governance among all the good governance indicators in the study. The strengthening of institutions which uphold the rule law is imperative in the efforts to eliminate corruption completely in South Africa. A recommendation is that law makers create a coherent legislation that will protect whistle-

blowers and offer incentives to expose corrupt officials or any unlawful acts which derail the public good. If whistle-blowers' laws are enforced and reward ethical behaviour is rewarded, this will lead to a positive reciprocal outcome because it would reinforce the work being done by officials in enforcing ethics in the public service. For example, a Witness Protection Bill will need to be discussed by law makers and put forward for public consultation on how it would work to ensure good governance is achieved.

Furthermore, the study recommends the access to public information by citizens in South Africa be made easier and be guaranteed. This would be useful in providing the civic education to the public on how to request information held by the state. The idea is that any individual regardless of economic status should be able to request any information from a public organisation such as the process followed to procure goods and services.

The Promotion of Access to Information Act; however, needs to be reviewed so it identifies areas which can make it more effective. A positive factor for South Africa currently is that the Constitution provides a powerful legal framework to safeguard the freedom of expression and the press freedom. South Africa has several media houses, newspapers and other media outlets and these have been critical of powerful figures and institutions. This has helped to steer debate on the functioning of the state so as foster good governance.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The study suggests that good leadership is vital for the advancement of good governance. The study asserts that good governance starts at the top: the executive branch of government must be true and faithful ambassadors of good governance as is expected of any ordinary citizen. Based on the findings, the study concludes the NDP is the executive government initiative which forms the basis of and extent to which governance is measured in South Africa. In addition, governance in South Africa is aligned to the vision and goals of the NDP.

The study argues that governance indices must be able to influence nation state policy on development and democratic efforts effectively to improve the level of good governance. Nation states must view governance Index reports as an opportunity to effectively shape policy to facilitate for further good governance. The concern over the level of governance in Africa has not just been the concern of citizens and state officials. The study has shown that the

concern about the level of governance is a concern for Parliament as governance is synonymous with the national development policies such as the NDP in South Africa.

The study concludes that state behaviour in South Africa is not influenced by governance indicators but by the need to address the dire socio-economic situation in South Africa. The study clearly identified an existing gap which needs to be addressed on the relationship between governance indices and efforts by a nation state in addressing issues of governance because the study has revealed that the governance indices do not influence the behaviour of a nation state. However, this must not derail law makers and nation state officials: efforts for the progression of good governance must be continued and accelerated.

Furthermore, the study concludes that as much as there are significant gaps in achieving effective good governance, South Africa has taken significant strides as it is performing better than several other developing nation states. The World Bank WGI has been assessing governance in South Africa for several years and the study has proved this assertion. Hence, it is imperative that South Africa values the reports by the governance indices: it would prove to be of great benefit to the citizens of South Africa as this will lead to South Africa's being a nation state which practises more good governance efforts consistently.

The WGI must continue to assess the level of governance as there are on-going cases of corruption, service delivery protests, education protests, doubts about the fairness of the judicial systems, class and racial inequalities, the health crisis, crime, xenophobia, police brutality, media repression, socio-inequality and unemployment which all remain prevalent in South Africa. Clearly there is an existing gap which needs to be addressed on the relationship between governance indices and efforts by a nation state in addressing issues of governance because the study has revealed that the governance indices do not influence the behaviour of a nation state.

6.6 Possibilities for Further Research

This study suggests that there should more research conducted on identify effective methods to improve political leadership and curb corruption. In addition, the study suggests more similar studies must be conducted on other developing countries to identify similarities and gaps to identify opportunities for learning for South Africa.

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