

GLOBALISATION AND REFLECTIVE POLICY-MAKING IN SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Since 1994, the need to address the effects of globalisation in South Africa has been placed at the centre of the nation's agenda. Several measures have been undertaken through the introduction of a range of policy and strategic changes aimed at addressing some constitutional and socio-economic issues which could create bottlenecks for the young democracy, especially on the urgent need of re-integration of South Africa into the global terrain. The integration of South Africa into the global system after its first all-inclusive general elections, coupled with its first democratic government is of great importance towards a *reflective public policy-making* in the present globalisation era. The purpose of this paper is to provide a deviation from the current globalisation debate by exploring some constitutional frameworks and measures that may have been instrumental to a remarkable transformation of the South African public policy-making process from the previous apartheid regime to the present democratic government, and further profile how these changes may have impacted on South Africa's universal acceptance into the global community.

INTRODUCTION

The principles governing the new democratic government in South Africa ranges from freedom of speech and association, freedom of assembly respect to life and property to maintaining civilized standards and discipline within the society, were made possible by the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996* (herein after referred to as the Constitution). Similarly, the 1993 Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993 established a reflective public policy-making process by introducing a significant change in the national political thinking at the time. This was a comprehensive deviation

from the policies of the apartheid regime, whose Parliament was the supreme authority in South Africa. In the present dispensation, Parliament is subordinate to the Constitution which can be considered as the supreme authority. The aftermath of the reflective public policy which was provided for in the 1996 Constitution underscored the government's intention to re-integrate South Africa into the global community. This could be described under the following principles:

- promotion and protection of the national interest;
- promotion of African integration and support for African unity;
- promotion of international co-operation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations ;
- respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication; and
- promotion of a just world economic order.

These principles and their application within the policy-making process are good indications of a *reflective constitutional policy-making and reform*. This led to changes presently enjoyed in all spheres of government. It is also important to note that from 1994 till the present date, over one hundred green papers and two hundred white papers have been presented as proposed policy reform thereby giving constitutional legitimacy to the concept of reflective policy-making in South Africa.

In this paper therefore, attempts will be made to determine the process of constitutional reforms through reflective policy-making that aligned South Africa with the international community requirements in the present globalisation era.

GLOBALISATION, PUBLIC POLICY AND POLICY- MAKING

For the purpose of this paper, globalisation which will be defined in more detail in the later paragraphs implied that South Africa needed to re-enter the global terrain after its attainment of a democratic state. National policy directives designed to facilitate transformation which had to align with the international requirements and demands placed some heavier burden on the new democratic government, and consequently the public policy-making process and policy decisions.

Globalisation

According to Colliers (1998:1), the term *globalization* is essentially the process of integration in products and financial markets in the 1990s. Similarly, Pape, (2000:2), defines globalisation as a process of restructuring the world economy with an aim of finding new ways for business to maximize profit. Calitz, (2000:564) offers a broader definition, he considers globalisation as the accelerated integration of economies throughout the world through trade, financial flows, the exchange of technology, information and ideas,

and the movement of people. People view globalisation from several perspectives and therefore, it means different phenomena to different people. A critical view of the above definitions may term the concept to be *slippery or ambiguous* and therefore subject to misunderstanding as a result of political manipulations, hence the need for a review of the term globalisation. Globalisation as defined earlier tends to contain the following attributes, Baylis and Smith (2001:15); as a process that embodies a transformation of the spatial organisation of social relation and transactions, as a 'new form of colonialism, as an omnipresence market place for firebrand ideas, products and service, as a network or web umbrella aimed at harmonising the world into one *global village*, globalisation brings many communities, states and regions closer in contacts even though many kilometers of oceans and highlands could physically separate them.

The above attributes on globalisation imply that there is an advantage in global unity. When globalisation is seen from the positive perspective of solving global policy problems impacting on public governance through a common platform such as the United Nations and its agencies; some global social challenges will be reduced or eradicated. Some of these global challenges may include poverty, underdevelopment, human rights violation, economic recession, refugee migration, uncontrolled capital flow, pressure on scarce resources, environmental degradation and global warming. Generally, it has become needful for all countries to align themselves with some form of regional or international co-operation and interdependence among countries.

Public Policy

The appropriate roadmap towards understanding the concept of *policy* may be to conduct a comprehensive policy diagnosis. But before attempting to define policy, it should be noted that no administrative action can take place if specific goals and objectives have not been set. The empirical explanation of this implies that objectives need to be set for each public institution. The determination of goals and objectives, as well as the *guidelines* or policy, to follow to reach particular objectives. Similarly, in the course of duties, public officials and political office bearers would become aware of the need of the society and areas of interest to government in terms of service delivery priorities. These needs assessment and information would make it possible for the public officials to conceptualise public policy and identify its corresponding policy objectives.

It is important to note that public policy decision-making is one of the key elements of good governance. *Policy* refers to a higher, more general, strategic level of plans and actions. *Policy* nowadays refers to any higher-level decisions or orientation of a group, organisation, or even an individual (Ijeoma 2008:14). The new public management of the 1980s and 1990s is used to emphasize the plans and actions by and for the political community; typically (but not exclusively) it refers to a level of government. *Policy* is derived from a political authority (though influenced and sometimes determined by other actors), but the resulting programmes and activities can be implemented through non-governmental agencies (Auriacombe 1999:129). The new public management comprises general guidelines, for example, it allows the public manager to use his or her discretion

without being subjected to specific restrictions; policy can also be manifested in the form of precedents. In the case of a political office bearer, the example of a decision made in a particular situation under similar circumstances may be allowed in subsequent policy-decisions.

Public policy refers to government intentions designed to deal with various social challenges, such as those related to foreign policy, environmental protection, crime, unemployment, and numerous other problems (Ijeoma 2008:14). Similarly, policy actors may share a primary interest in the policy area, but pursue different specific goals. Policy, in its most general sense, may describe the pattern of action that resolves conflicting claims or provides incentives for co-operation.

The above definitions were given within the broad term *Policy*, and two features stand out. *Firstly*, policy is a social practice, not a singular or isolated event. For example, when a country's president is assassinated, it is an event and not an issue requiring a policy resolution. If it occurs, then policies may be put in place to ward off future re-occurrence. *Secondly*, the definitions portray policy as occasioned by the need to reconcile conflicting claims or to establish incentives for collective action among those who share goals but find it irrational to co-operate with one another. It is a summation of people's demands, or an expression of goals, in ways that can be settled neither spontaneously nor through some co-incidental operation of natural laws. *Finally*, the policy-making process needs a successful way of co-operating to obtain set goals. Policy should be considered as an outcome of an effective decision backed with action.

Policy-making

Perhaps the best-known and most widely accepted theory is the comprehensive rationality approach to policy-making developed by Charles Lindblom (1968:80). The main characteristics of this theory are that, it involves reasoned choices about the desirability of adopting the different courses of action to resolve public problems. Yet, any form of rational comprehensive theory is difficult to realise fully in most policy-making settings. In the late sixties (Lindblom 1968:80) pointed out that in fact, for choices to be rational and comprehensive at the same time, they would have to meet the following conditions, which are described as the rational-comprehensive theory of policy-making:

- a policy maker must identify a policy problem on which there is consensus among all relevant stakeholders;
- there is a need to define and consistently rank all goals and objectives whose attainment would represent a resolution of the problem;
- policy alternatives must be identified to contribute to the attainment of each goal and objective;
- policy-maker must forecast all consequences that will result from the selection of each alternative;
- each alternative must be compared in terms of its consequences for the attainment of each goal and objective; and

- policy-maker must choose that alternative which maximises the attainment of objectives.

Firstly, in considering the South African government's integration into the global community, for these and similar reasons it may appear that the process of making policy recommendations is not and cannot be *rational*. Tempting as this conclusion might be, the inability of the policy-maker to satisfy the conditions of the simple model of choices available within the global terrain does not mean that the process is rational. *Secondly*, if *rationality* is a self-conscious process of using reasoned arguments to make and defend advocative claims, it indicates that many choices are rational; but will also imply that most choices may be *multi-rational*. This means that there are multiple rational bases underlying most policy choices.

For the purpose of analysis, the comprehensive-rationality policy-making has two common characteristics namely, choices and comparison in any given set of alternatives. In the context of this paper, this could take several dimensions.

- *Firstly*, technical rationality can include choices that will involve South Africa's participation in highly specialised technical issues at the global level such as choices between solar and nuclear energy technologies. However, owing to several public governance challenges such as unemployment and poverty, it may not be a wise choice for South Africa to be involved in such a venture as there are more urgent pressing needs.
- *Secondly*, in considering economic rationality, an example could be a comparison of alternative medical care programmes in terms of their total cost and benefits (when there is little or no problems in gaining access to quality medical care as against the high cost of medical expenditure of individuals or households, and yet without quality medical facilities). South Africa may need to harmonize its medical costs and benefits. Expensive medical care may not necessarily produce a high benefit. In considering this policy-decision, it may be necessary to bring other needs of the people on board before such a policy-decision is finally made.
- *Thirdly*, an example of the legal aspects of comprehensive rationality is that choices have to be made regarding the awarding of public contracts according to whether institutions comply with relevant legislation (laws against racial and sexual discrimination) have been promulgated for one primary reason. That was to correct the imbalances of the past and to empower the blacks against racial and sexual discrimination. Because of the historical past of the South African nation, racial and sexual discrimination are emphasised in the present Constitution. But as the globalisation process recognises it, there is a need for the government of South Africa to do more towards addressing the issues in this regard.
- *Fourthly*, one of the best examples of social rationality involves the extension of rights to democratic participation at work. The new multi-party democracy derived its strength from the Constitution of South Africa, 1996. Therefore, democratic approaches in public decision-making are already in place in most public and private institutions. The government needs to see this as contributions by civil society and non-

governmental organisations to public decision-making and, not as a force competing with government.

- *Finally*, for the rationality model to be seen as *substantive*, one can draw an example from the fact that many issues of government information policy involve questions about the usefulness of the costs in policy implementation and benefits that may accrue to the members of the public. To address such questions, policy-making processes must ascertain the legal implications for rights to privacy and its consistency with the constitution before any effective policy implementation can take place.

FROM POLICY REFORM TO REFLECTIVE POLICY-MAKING

At the wake of the new democratic government, it became apparent that the development of a comprehensive policy reform would be necessary to enable the new government take the country forward. Apart from pushing for a more egalitarian and all inclusive society, government was faced with so many challenges of meeting the immediate needs of the black majority, meeting these needs were contingent upon effective provincial and national government delivery in important sectors, such as health, education, housing and welfare. However, policy reforms play an important role in creating an environment conducive to the appropriate targeting and delivery of such services. Policy reforms can be described as where a government, and consequently all the public executive institutions, virtually have to start from the beginning, where the underlying vision, mission and strategy are under scrutiny. Real policy reforms can only be successful when the majority of individuals in political and executive institutions change their mindsets, behaviour and corporate culture is being re-born (Roux 2002:409).

In contrast to policy reforms, and broadly speaking, reflective policy-making is a planned or unplanned response to pressure and forces from the environment within which a political or administrative system operates. Reflective policy-making may be regarded as a complex strategy intended to change informal beliefs, attitudes, values and structures that characterised public institutions during the apartheid government (change from the past procedures and processes towards meeting the current policy demand of the new society, organisation or the state) so that they can better adapt to new technologies, markets and challenges. It is about changing the public institution's strategies and operations, planning and implementing alternatives and/or streamlining current standards in order to be more productive and effective in its goals and achievements (Swanepoel *et al.*, 2000:753).

Similarly, it is important to note that policy is not meant to be static. Policy should always relate to current issues in society (for example, the continuous process of change, reforms and globalisation which are taking place in South Africa since 1994). Policy should constantly be adapted to reflect the impact of environmental variables and influencing factors. Policy should therefore be dynamic, including influencing factors such as the following (see Cloete, 1981:58-64 and Botes, Brynard, Fourie and Roux 1996:308-309):

- circumstances which include the total environment as determined by time and place;

- technology developments;
- population increase and effect of urbanisation;
- natural disasters;
- international relations and trends, as well as the effects of globalisation;
- economic and industrial developments;
- public needs and aspirations;
- party political dynamics;
- views of actors and pressure groups;
- research and investigations by commissions and committees; and
- personal views of public officials and political role players.

Following the change in government policies and programmes, reflective policy-making became apparent for the new democratic government aimed at ensuring a reflection of government projects and programmes within the public policy-making process. One of the major consequences of reforms of public policy from the former apartheid government into the reflective policy-making process will be *to reflect the policies and programmes of the new democratic government*. This entails a comprehensive review of all structures and systems of government, management styles, core competencies and worker profiles, even core outputs required. Policy reformation therefore, entails the creation of a completely new way of doing business in government aimed at ensuring that the ultimate recipients of government services include all South Africans as against the services of the former apartheid government which was bias along racial lines.

INSTRUMENTS OF REFORM

South Africa's integration into the global scene required some policy changes which were designed to facilitate transformation to reflective policy-making. These were required to align policies and programmes with international requirements and standards. This placed the government under pressure to change legislation which will pave way for the new Constitution and its application into the body politic of the country. Such changes affected virtually all the functional fields of government and consequently redefined the patterns of policy-making in the new South Africa. Some of the outstanding policy instruments that paved the way for constitutional reform towards a reflective policy-making of the present day South Africa are:

- Chapters 1, 2, 8 and 9 of the 1996 Constitution
- *White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service* (1995)
- *White Paper on Human Resource Management* (1997)
- *White Paper on Affirmative Action* (1995)
- *Labour Relations Act, 1995* (Act 66 of 1995)
- *Employment Equity Act, 1998* (Act 55 of 1998)
- *Skills Development Act, 1998* (Act 97 of 1998)
- *White Paper on Reconstruction and Development Programmes* (RDP)
- *White Paper on Growth Employment and Redistribution* (GEAR)

The white papers, legislation and documents identified above outlined major departmental programmes. It is important to note, that these policy documents indicate that they have specific impacts on particular areas of interest. As the first seven policy instruments dwell more on meeting the international standards of service for South Africans and its international counterparts, the last two on RDP and GEAR define the nature of and the direction economic growth should take in the country.

Against this backdrop, it is necessary to consider the operations and dealings between South Africa and the rest of the world, as far as the common development endeavours such as human capacity development, community and rural development and general sustainable local economic development are concerned. It became apparent for all agencies of change and development in South Africa to be strategically and practically repositioned towards addressing the unfolding globalisation trends. To this end, one principle of an effective new economic order demanded that South African government should bring strategies to harness all resources in coherent and purposeful efforts that can be sustained at local, provincial and the national spheres of government. This can only be effective if and when all policy-making stakeholders and pressure groups are made part of the policy-making process.

PRESSURE GROUPS IN PUBLIC POLICY-MAKING

By definition, a pressure group may be described as one group of actors that exceeds the internal boundaries of the organisation with a view towards making their voices heard for the purpose of serving the interest of its group members and stakeholders. The policy community seems to rest firmly on the notion that the particular policy of the moment is processed within a context of recognition that there are, and will be in the future, other issues which also need to be dealt with. In a policy *community* a specific item of business is transacted within a context in which the participants already have mutual needs, expectations, and experiences. Pressure groups in the public policy process are characterized by social relationship between actors.

The actors and pressure groups may come from different ethnic backgrounds, geographic regions and socio-economic levels which also have some reasonable influence in the public policy-making process. They include, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs), news media, political parties, commissions of inquiry, interdepartmental and departmental committees, parliamentary committees such as the Standing Committee on Public Accounts (SCOPA), central directive and coordinative institutions, international organisations, research institutions and many others. For the purpose of this paper, only a few will be discussed. They include family, religion, academic institutions, occupational and class-based organisations, ethno-regional cleavages and government.

Family

The foremost institution through which the individual becomes politically socialised is the family. As the infant grows into a child, the child into an adolescent, and the adolescent into

an adult, it is the family that is the first link to the outside world. The family attempts to instill values. The family passes on the culture as a whole. The family also attempts to inculcate in the individual its own view of both the society and the political system through which the society is governed. The generation gap concept of the globalisation debate has resulted in a general assumption that children tend to rebel against both parents and authority. For example, during the anti-Vietnam student riots in 1968-1969, many people assumed that the students were rebelling against authority, both parental authority and governmental authority. But a surprisingly large number of the leaders of the student revolt were the sons and daughters of politically radical parents (Kenniston 1998:16).

In the new global order, families have been a major factor in forming pressure groups and participating in the public policy-making process. Conversely, the family values and opinions are formed as well to influence political class decision in the course of public policy. Therefore, globalisation initiatives in South Africa will not be different in terms of family orientation and role in understanding the global political stage.

Religion

American public opinion analysts, Erikson and Luttbeg, in their research discovered, that the Jewish community tends to be liberal on most issues, both economic issues and those concerned with liberties and rights. Catholics tend to be liberal on economic issues but less so on the others. Protestants tend to be more conservative on the full range of issues. Jews are overwhelmingly Democrats. Catholics also tend to be Democrats, while white Protestants in the North tend to be Republicans in their ways and approach to public issues and opinion (Ijeoma 2002:52). Whether it is the church, mosque, temple, shrine or the already discussed family units that instill religious values, those values also have an effect on political attitudes. One notable development, which indicated the evolution of a more nationally, oriented pressure group in South Africa was the emergence of the church as a major pro-democracy pressure group. Church leaders such as Archbishops Desmond Tutu, Ndongankhulu and many others are long-standing human rights activist, as well as bodies like the Catholic Bishops' Conferences and the Christian Association of Southern Africa, play leading roles as pressure groups by advocating democratic system of government and condemnation of white supremacy of apartheid. These roles contributed significantly in shaping the new democratic South Africa.

During the apartheid regime in South Africa, religious leaders were vocal against the problems facing the country. They also had international alliances and collaboration which influenced the international community for both economic and political sanctions against the regime and, at the same time calling for democratic elections. Similarly, the Islamic Organisation Conference (IOC) South Africa, made up of several Islamic Associations, have strong bonds that unite them. These bodies influence most public policy decisions in some South African political constituencies such as non-violence against women and children, political and religious tolerance in South Africa. This implies that religious groups form part of political pressure groups that often influence public policy-making process.

Academic institutions

As a pressure group, schools, as one would expect, play a major role in political socialisation and public policy-making. No society would tolerate having its schools teaching its children that some other form of culture or social and political system is better. The spectrum of teaching ranges from deliberate indoctrination on specific issues to a rather general inculcation of positive attitudes toward the particular country, its government, its main cultures and attitude system. Apart from the influence of schools both junior schools and tertiary institutions in shaping the cultural and sometimes religious beliefs of an individual they also play some significant roles in calling any erring government to order. Tertiary students and lecturers are public opinion-makers, their concepts and contributions in the policy-making process range from seminars, debates to conferences and publications (Ijeoma 2008:27). They could hold the state and the government to ransom resulting in a political impasse in the country. Higher schools and universities sometimes express their opinions by rioting or negotiating with government to address social problems.

Occupational-based organisations

It is important to note that apart from the fact that groups can inform the public policy-making process, people can also associate with each other in a variety of ways, by class, strata, groups, elites and even systems. Sometimes these associations are actually in the form of organisations. In South Africa and other parts of the world, people do organise themselves into groups, and one can readily identify these groups and how they operate to influence public policy-making. Some examples of associations in this category in South Africa are, The Council for South African Trade Unions (COSATU) , the Health Professional Council of South Africa (HPCSA), Medical Association of South Africa (MASA), the South African Lawyers Association (SALA) and the Council for Built Environment of South Africa (CBESA) , to name a few.

COSATU as an example remained the main forum for civil society actions in the present democratic South Africa. Their riots and protests on privatisation of public assets in 2002, protests against high unemployment levels in 2005 and 2006 and protests against high cost of living in 2008 provide an outlet for dialogue on socio-economic challenges facing the country. These organisations function to some extent to counteract some of the forces, as could be seen in the frontline roles played by labour unions, professional associations, students' organisations and other groups within the South African body polity.

Ethno-regional cleavages

It can be argued that the nation-state and nationalism arose from a marked increase in social communication over a wider area than in former times. It resulted in shared states, such as Switzerland, which do not share a single language but may still have a

single nationalism. Even though the Swiss speak four languages, they are still one nation (Deutsch 1953:75). It can further be argued that, because each of them has enough learned habits, preferences, symbols, memories, patterns of land-holding and social stratification, events in history and personal associations, all of which together permit the indigenes to communicate more effectively with other Swiss than with the speakers of his/her own language who belong to other linguistic and cultural groups.

In South Africa, it may be argued that ethno-regional royalty is gradually creeping into public policy-making process. This may be one of the reasons for the failure to actualize the Polokwane 2007 expectations of President Mbeki third term ambition as the President of the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC). The sectoral character of the demands for the actualisation led to the resurgence and strengthening of the irreconcilable Mbeki and Zuma factions of the ruling party. There seems to be emerging ethno-regional pressure groups in the present South African politics and may become centres of power in the South African future political system. It may also be argued that these emerging ethno-regional cleavages are dominated by the Zulus and the Xhosas who are considered as the two major populous ethnic groups in South Africa. They may use lobbying and other means available to them to influence most national public policy-making in the coming years.

The danger in the afore-going developments is that, the fight against the apartheid regime in South Africa was won without given credence to any particular ethnic group. Some of the ethno-regional groupings that worked with the ANC and other liberation movements, which influenced the international community to put pressure on the apartheid government, were not given recognition. The aim was to build non-racial and non-ethno-political positions in the new republic.

Government

One of the most important members of the public policy community is the government. The unique role of the government becomes apparent when one considers that actions by governmental organisations are characterised by an orientation towards precision, legality, legal protection, democratic justification and legitimacy (Bekke, 1990:16). Although the government is not an absolute ruler, it still has a distinct position, role and responsibility within the community. It owes its distinct position to its duties, the structures of networks in which it operates, and the rules, which apply within these networks.

As the custodian of public culture and interest, government is the most important stakeholder in public policy-making. It is the traditional role of government to deliver services and uphold the provisions of the Constitution, its activities involves initiation of policies and programmes that are considered priorities to its development agenda. Given the centrality of the state's power and dominance in the policy community among other pressure groups, the way out of the decline of public opinion at the domestic level lies in the resolution of key issues and problems that will not be an impediment to ensuring that public policies in South Africa will be a reflection of the majority opinion.

FUTURE OF REFLECTIVE POLICY-MAKING

The complex nature of modern day affairs and to the rapid expansion of all facets of public policy with respect to the fast-growing globalisation initiatives make it more difficult to determine clearly what decisions must be taken. However, policies made today are more far-reaching and more irrevocable in their consequences than ever, in the history of South Africa. The strategic elements that constitute effective public policy-making do not by themselves make policies.

Indeed, every policy involves risk-taking judgment. But, unless reflective policy-making is used as a stepping-stone, right and effective decisions will not be made in any given circumstance. Therefore, before a consideration is given to a reflective policy-making process with respect to globalisation initiatives, it is important to note that in every given scenario, there is sequence of steps as identified by (Drucker 1988:249):

- The classification of the problem. Is it generic? Is it exceptional? Or is it the first manifestation of a new genus for which a rule has yet to be developed?
- The definition of the problem. What are we dealing with here?
- The specifications, which the answer to the problem must satisfy. What are the *boundary conditions*?
- The decision as to what is *right* rather than what is acceptable, in order to meet the boundary conditions. What will fully satisfy the specification before attention is given to the compromises, adaptations, and concessions needed to make the decision acceptable?
- The building into the decision of the action to carry it out. What does the action commitment have to be? Who has to know about it?
- The feedback, which tests the validity and effectiveness of the decision against the actual course of events. How is the decision being carried out?
- Are the assumptions on which it is based appropriate or obsolete?

With the above steps as a guide in the reflective public policy-making process, right and effective decisions may be arrived at. In practice, the formulation of the reflective public policy rests mainly with the legislative institutions at different levels and spheres of government and administration, political functionaries, leading public officials, pressure groups and interest groups. These institutions and people, however, cannot play a central role in policy-making process if adequate information relevant to policy is not made available. It is mainly in this context that public officials, who perform their duties on a daily basis at grassroots level, are in position to provide valuable information for the development of reflective policy-making process.

CONCLUSION

The present South African government's policy instruments have been tailored to respond to address the economic and social imbalances created by the apartheid regime. It also developed many policies and programmes such as the RDP and

GEAR to encourage domestic socio-economic development and at the same time satisfy the requirements and standard of the international community which preceded the country's participation in the globalisation process.

Apart from the *reflective public policy-making concept* established in this discussion, the study also reveals that working principles of the reflective policy-making of the future would require continuous and regular structural, functional and cultural reforms of government policies and programmes in order to always reflect the need to offer solutions to the present and future public policy challenges at local, provincial and national levels of government in South Africa.

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