

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION WITHIN THE DISCIPLINE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Public policies on good governance are assumed to have originated from the international organisations, such as the League of Nations (1919), the United Nations (1945), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (1963), the African Union (AU) (2002), the South African Development Community (SADC) (1992), the World Bank (1946), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (1946), and the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) (2002). Organisations, such as the World Bank and the IMF, however, tend to impose their own version of good governance through Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). However, the focus was mainly on the Third World countries, which had just emerged from colonialism and apartheid government systems.

The many States of the Third World were characterised by autocratic and military governments; while the international world wanted to promote justice, freedom and prosperity in Africa. This would be done through the enhancement of legitimacy in public institutions and political systems (Human and Zaaiman 1995: v).

The World Bank and the IMF were the organisations that channeled financial support to the Third World countries through Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAPs). In South Africa, they were self-imposed by the apartheid government, which constitutionally marginalized the black majority of the population. However, they failed to achieve much, because their programmes were externally imposed without the participation of the recipient countries. Policies were determined externally, and were expected to be implemented without the consultation of recipient countries, which meant to gain from the policies formulated at the World Bank and the IMF (Deng 1998:39-40). The World Bank and the IMF adopted the top-down theory, and clearly followed the separation of policy formulation from the implementation process (Walt 1994:126).

The study by Kleemeier (1984:171) that was conducted in Tanzania, a recipient of projects to end poverty found that 77- 89% of the World Bank's integrated development rural projects had failed to achieve their goals.

The failure to achieve the goals of poverty-reduction in Tanzania was attributed to a top-down policy, which excluded the recipients of the aid from the participation process (Prah and Ahmed 2000:30). Therefore, traditional authorities have to be involved in the formulation and implementation of policies, particularly the IDP policies, which aimed at improving their communities otherwise the policies fail.

This chapter presents an overview of public administration in the international and national arenas. It also provides the theories of implementation, the IDP policy, and the participation of traditional authorities in such IDPs.

3.2 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

The definitions of concepts which are used in this study are listed below.

3.2.1 Traditional authorities

The definition of traditional authorities is a complex one, and does not have any universal form, since in Africa, Asia and Latin America it refers to the leaders of traditional communities who are generally referred to as chiefs and elders (Lutz and Linder 2004:12). In Europe, these leaders are referred to as kings (Lutz and Linder 2004:12). Tettey **et al.** (2003:242) argue that traditional authorities encompass kings, other aristocrats holding offices in political structures that pre-date colonial states and post-colonial states, as well as the heads of extended families and other political religious offices in decentralised polities that also date back to the pre-colonial period. Traditional authorities are generally viewed as the representatives of the poor (Materu **et al.** 2000:8).

The leadership of traditional authorities is not a product of the electoral process; but it is inherited or appointed, and its legitimacy is solely rooted in tradition and culture; while that of modern democracy is a product of the electoral process. The modern leadership derives its legitimacy from the electoral process, which is the product of the constitutional principles (Lutz and Linder 2004:13). Chiefdoms have evolved over time from a complex stateless society.

Traditional authorities were not only manipulated by colonial governments, but also by the modern countries as well. This view is corroborated by Chiweza (2007:61), who found that in Malawi they were simply being used to solicit support from the rural communities. This could have been a strategy they might well have used to survive over the years. The study by the Economic Commission for Africa Southern Africa, (2007) has revealed that traditional institutions have survived because of their resilience; and consequently, they were legally recognised and protected by new governments.

The same study also revealed that, while they are recognised in some countries, their role is limited to advisory and lobbyist functions. Their advisory role and the inability to have their own independent resource base have curtailed their ability to promote service delivery (ECASA 2007:x).

From the above definitions, it becomes clear that there is a convergence on the definition of traditional authorities. The only difference depends on the terminology used in various countries. In Europe they are called kings, while in Africa they are referred to as chiefs and leaders, kings, aristocracy, heads of extended families and representatives of the poor.

However, there are the following discernible distinct features in each of the above concepts.

- In Africa, Asia and Latin America, they are leaders of traditional communities, who are chiefs and elders;
- Representatives of the poor;
- Kings, other aristocrats holding offices in political structures that pre-date the colonial State and the post-colonial states, as well as the heads of extended families and other political or religious institutions;
- In Europe they are kings; and
- They perform an advisory role in government, but do not have their own independent resource base.

From the above, traditional authorities could be defined as institutions of leaders, kings and chiefs – who are democratically elected through the process, which is embedded in customary values.

Their manner of election makes them representatives of the poor people in their communities, as they are part of them traditionally. Their origin is way back in time and space; and furthermore, it is boundless, since they pre-date the colonial eras and are also leaders of huge families. Because they have ruled their communities since before the dawn of democracy, modern democracy may only gain legitimacy by being sleeping partners of traditional authority institutions, which remain the true representatives of traditional values.

3.2.2 Definition of public administration

The study of public administration is broad, and it comprises both theory and practice (Henry 1986:26). The following section discusses theory and practice.

3.2.2.1 Theory of Public Administration

Public Administration has emerged as a field of independent field of study and practice. The theory is used to refer to formal university-based professional education. Yet, it is important to remember that the study of public administration was there even before it became a field of study at the universities (Hiling 1966:320). It originated from the field of political science, before it became an independent field of study (Henry 1986:27).

The study of Public Administration is attributed to Woodrow Wilson, where his ideas were published in the Political Science Quarterly in 1887 in America. Wilson had discovered that there was a need for the American nation to know what administration was all about. The study of administration would enable the nation to know what government was capable of, and how it would be able to perform its functions in an efficient and effective manner. According to Wilson, the purpose of the study was to provide knowledge on the functions of government – and also what was needed for government to be efficient and effective.

The study of administration assists public administration, referred to as 'civil service' in that time, to improve personnel, organisation and methods of government offices. Wilson was concerned that up until his time, writers were more interested in the constitution of government, the nature of the State and the prerogative of kings, amongst other issues.

What bothered Wilson even more, was who was going to make laws, and what was going to be the nature of that government. But of great importance was the question on, "Who was going to administer the law with enlightenment, with equity, with speed and without friction" (Wilson 1886 available at

<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=465>: Accessed 1.10.2012). Wilson had also seen how government alone was responsible for administration, without consulting anybody; but he also saw that the tasks of government were becoming more and more complex, and as such, government functions had to be studied, hence the science of administration. It was on this question of science that Pfiffner and Presthus (1967:4) wrote that Wilson and Frank Goodnow perceived Public Administration as being part and parcel of political science; while Goodnow saw policy and administration as being two separate processes.

Wilson wanted an administration that could be Americanised, whilst he also and promoted decentralisation. He was concerned that, for example, the German Bluntschli promoted the separation of politics from administration. His actual words were: "This discrimination between administration and politics is now, happily, too obvious to need further discussion". Its focus then was on the following academic field of principles of administration:

In the Legal-Historical Approach, public administration is studied, in order to understand the relationship that exists among all three branches of the government. Theoretically, policy and administration are not treated as being integrated fields, but as separate. The study of public administration helps one to understand that at the beginning it was integrated into the field of political science, and was not seen as an independent field of study, as it currently exists today. However, in the Structural-Descriptive Approach, public administration is studied, so that students may understand the scientific management assumptions.

They are taught the strategies of management within an organisation. What is important is that they study that an organisation does not exist alone, but must have personnel, finances and controls (Pfiffner and Presthus 1967:11-12).

In the Behavioral Approach, the study is about the code of conduct of employees within an organisation. The action of bureaucrats has to be consistent all the time, in order to avoid conflict. The study inculcates leadership styles to be exercised within the organisation in order to achieve the desired organizational goals (Pfiffner and Presthus 1967:13).

Public administration as an academic field of study is concerned with the means for the implementation of political values (Pfiffner and Presthus 1967:6). The means with which the academic study is concerned may be found in the dimension of public administration, which is the practice of public administration concerned with making the government execute its functions (White 1955:10). This practice of public administration is discussed in the next section.

3.2.2.2 The practice of public administration

The study of Public Administration provides the knowledge about the locus of public administration, which is in the government bureaucracy (Goodnow 1900, quoted in Henry 1986:29). The study of the professional field contributes to the administrative functions of government (Hilling 1966:320). Public administration is responsible for policy formulation and policy implementation. These fields were perceived to be separate, until there was a paradigm shift that recognised the role of stakeholder participation. Government alone was responsible for policy-making, based on top-down theory, and bureaucrats for the implementation thereof (Brans 1997 available at: <http://hp.sagepub.com/content/9/3/389.short>.accessed on 5.1.2012).

Policy implementation has failed – largely because of the lack of understanding that during implementation, there is a need for constant feed-back to take place (Meek 2010:1-2). Therefore, it is clear from the above, that government alone – or any other agencies – should not hope to achieve any meaningful policy implementation through the top-down approach.

There is, consequently, a need to involve all the stakeholders; and these would include traditional authorities who should be able to link modern administrative policies with traditional values.

Cloete, who is perceived as the father of public administration in South Africa, describes public administration as comprising generic processes or functions, such as policy-making, organizing, financing, staffing, workplace procedures and control (Cloete 1981). White (1955:1) was of the opinion that public administration comprises all of those operations whose purpose is the fulfillment or enforcement of public policy. Pfiffner and Presthus (1967:6) viewed public administration as a field that is mainly concerned with the means for implementing political values.

It is clear from the above, that although each scholar has a different definition of public administration, all implies a certain degree of public administration. All the above definitions imply:

- Government activities;
- Government functions;
- Enforcement of public policy;
- Implementation of government policies;
- Executive functions of government;
- Administrative functions of government;
- That policy formulation and implementation are integrated; and
- Policy formulation is an interactive process.

Therefore, from the above, public administration could be defined as the executive and administrative functions of government – utilised with the sole purpose of implementing government policies in an integrated manner. It could also refer to all government activities, which government carries out, in order to address identified social problems within society. However, what is critical is to acknowledge that policy formulation is not a privilege of the chosen few, but that it needs various stakeholders to participate, in order to make it a success.

3.2.3 Development

Development is a concept that also fails to have a uniform consensus in its definition, and according to Rodney (1972:9), development in human society is 'a many-sided process'. The concept entails sustainable development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED 1987:43). The concept of development refers to the process whereby human life is improved, in order to unleash their potential to enable them to build their total humanity (Mushala, as quoted in Prah and Ahmed 2000:1).

It is also used to refer to economic growth, which promotes the expansion of economic activities and to higher average incomes; while economic development refers to growth, which results in the improvement of the people's lives (Fitzgerald **et al.** 1997:234).

The other dimension of development is modernization, which is defined as the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that originated in the highly industrialized northern community and then parachuted down to the Third World countries (Eisenstadt 1966:1, as quoted in De Beer and Swanepoel 2000:32).

All the above definitions show that development promotes top-down theory, and not bottom-up theory. However, development should promote bottom-up theory, though the participation of stakeholders – with the goal of empowering them to participate in their own future development policies. The envisaged development should be a product of policy formulation and implementation – as a single process.

In the light of the above, development could be defined as a participation process by stakeholders who are empowered to articulate their problems and propose solutions to those problems, so that they are in a position to formulate and implement and orchestrate policies, which will improve the welfare of the citizens of that society.

3.3 INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

FRAMEWORK

The end of the Cold War ended the bipolar international systems that had dominated the world since the end of the Second World War; and it ushered in a New World Order. This has since then left only one unipolar system that has been dominated by America (Yilmaz 2008:44). Yet, Harrison (2004) suggests that America is alone on this leadership race to lead the international affairs, since there is the European Union and the Organisation of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation with other nation-states, which do not fall within this basket. The new order has certainly needed a new approach of governance that was no longer based on military competition.

The New World Order needs new governance, and that requires collective effort. In the eyes of the World Summit for Social Development of (1995) in Copenhagen, new governance could promote the elimination of poverty, through collective international effort in Africa, together with other countries in the Southern hemisphere. However, in order to achieve this goal of poverty-alleviation, there is a need for decentralisation in developing countries, which could also promote the delivery of administrative services to the citizens. The World Bank has adopted decentralisation as one of the tools for the democratization process in the African continent (Materu **et al.** 2000:2). This has taken the approach of influencing governments to promote participatory, local governance and decentralised co-operation (Materu **et al.** 2000:7). Public administration could be assumed to be central in the process of decentralisation, together with the formulating of those policies which will promote service delivery that eradicates poverty. If properly exercised, decentralisation could have the potential to mobilize stakeholders who should be positioned to gain from the processes of decentralisation through active participation.

The European Center for Development Policy Management (ECDPM), the Municipal Development Programme (MDP) Eastern and Southern Africa, and towns and Development workshop in Kenya in 1999 debated the benefits of the implementation of joint action. The consultative workshop was to discourse in the lessons learnt through the joint action of local governments and civil society organisations (Materu **et al.** 2000:2).

In his *Rethinking African Development*, Deng (1998:2-3) was of the opinion that Africa needs a new strategy of policy formulation, in order to address economic reform, democratization and to effectively attack poverty. This section suggests that in order to rid Africa of lack of development, there is a need to come up with policies, which are dictated by the needs of the African people.

This also proposes that Africa should stop formulating policies, which serve the interests of their colonial masters. Of particular importance is that in the process of policy formulation, there must be stakeholders that could participate – unlike in the past, where government had the monopoly on policy formulation.

Deng (1998:13) concurred with Prah and Ahmed. According to him, the lack of participation by the masses characterises public administration in the Third World. Deng (1998:54-55) was of the view that without the proper participation of stakeholders – which should also be seen as the empowerment of the masses in all the aspects of public administration – this would achieve little. Effective participation should involve participation in the design and implementation of development policies (Ndulu and van der Walle 1996:11, as quoted in Deng 1998:57).

In supporting their view, Prah and Ahmed (2000:30) are of the opinion that Africans who are the recipients of development aid ought to participate in identifying, designing, implementing and evaluating the programmes, which are aimed at helping them.

Participation in the above policy formulation activities is the fulfilment of the democratic principle of equality, where all the citizens take part in the activities of their government (Nyerere 1968:5). This echoes Chapter Two of the Bill of Rights of the **Constitution of the Republic of South Africa**, 1996. It provides that all people are equal before the law – thus inviting all sections of the community, and in this case traditional authorities, to participate in all those activities that affect their lives.

In terms of the democratic principle of democracy, as was mentioned by Nyerere (1968), the co-operation between traditional authorities and democratic institutions legitimizes the latter, since traditional authorities represent the rural people. Rural people are skeptical about the ability of modern elected leaders to deliver services.

If they see that there is co-operation between the traditional leaders and the democratically elected leaders, they would start trusting the latter (Davidson 1993:52, as quoted in Deng 1998:78). The United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) even recognises the active role of traditional values, institutions and knowledge property in environmental matters, because in order to succeed, local people should have a buy-in into their own programmes (UNEP 1994:1).

In the view of the researcher, traditional values, institutions and knowledge systems would also be able to complement the ability of public institutions, thereby disseminating information to their communities.

Since public administration institutions are crucial in policy-formulation processes, they need to be democratized and restructured, to allow stakeholders, such as traditional authorities, who are symbols of local organisations, to participate in government structures (Deng 1984:87-88). The inclusion of chiefs in government structures would produce a system of governance that responds to the dynamics of the communities that are represented by traditional authorities, and who are trusted as symbols of society (Deng 1984:90-91). Having discussed public administration at an international level, it is prudent to also discuss it within the South African context.

3.4 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

In order to position stakeholders at the strategic position of policy formulation, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) framework (ANC 1994:5) sees those as resourceful who can determine their path of development through active participation. As a strategy to actualize this active participation, Section 152 of the **Constitution of the Republic of South Africa**, 1996 compels municipalities to ensure that stakeholders participate in the municipal affairs. In corroborating this, the **Municipal Structures Act**, 1998 directs that traditional authorities should also be invited to participate in the formulation of IDP policy. In the light of the above, it is obvious that South Africa has entered the new era of bottom-up approach, by involving various role-players in the formulation of policies. Of course this does not only refer to traditional authorities, but also to other stakeholders available in their areas of jurisdiction. This could suggest that public administration should not be a monopoly of government, but of all the affected stakeholders.

In South Africa, public administration is associated with Cloete (Hanekom **et al.** 1978:59). Cloete's model of public administration is based on generic administrative functions. Those administrative functions are policy-making, organisation, financing, staffing, work procedures, and control (Cloete 1981). For the purpose of this study, only policy-making will be discussed below.

3.4.1 Policy-making

The process of policy-making is central to all public administration. Off course, the definition of policy is rather ambiguous.

The policy-making process is always discussed together with policy implementation and policy analysis (Cloete 1981:79). The policy-making process encompasses formulation, approval and the implementation of government programmes (Sharkansky 1975:5).

For policy-making to take place, there should always be a partnership between community stakeholders and the officials of government – through public meetings and through forums formed, in order to offer advice (Cloete 1981:91). Policy-making is viewed as an activity that is undertaken before a goal can be formally articulated. The policy which is closely related to the process of policy-making is seen as the result of the policy-making process.

Public policy is thus seen as the process of the allocation of values, a course of action, and a framework for interaction. In order to come up with a process of policy-making, one must be able to identify the need. Once the need has been identified, then a policy must be formulated. When all these are done, the policy is implemented (Hanekom and Thornhill 1993:47).

Both public and private sector bodies are involved in the policy-making process. These bodies include political office bearers, leading public officials, interest groups, trade unions, and professional institutes. All these bodies should be playing a role in the implementation of public policy (Hanekom and Thornhill 1993:47).

3.4.1.1 The definition of public policy

The meaning of public policy is a complex one, since there is no consensus on a universally acceptable single definition (Sharkansky: 1975:4).

Public policy may refer to a proposal, the programme, and the goals of a programme, or alternatively, the impact of a programme on a social problem. For example, Sharkansky (1975:4) defined public policies as the important activities of government. Anderson (2003:2-3) defines a policy as a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor, or set of actors, in dealing with a problem.

However, Dye (2000:1) describes a policy as anything government chooses to do, or not do. Public policies involve the role of public agencies (Hogwood and Gunn 1984, as quoted in Turner and Hulme 1997:59).

Hanekom (1978:7) refers to a policy as, "...a policy statement as the making known, formal articulation, declaration of intent, or the publication of a goal to be pursued...". Public policy is seen as the formal articulation, statement or a publication of a goal, which government aims at pursuing with the society (Hanekom and Thornhill 1993:63).

The definition by Sharkansky (1975) would imply that public policies are the activities and objectives, which underline the very existence of government.

The definition given by Anderson (2003) refers to a carefully designed course of action, which government takes to solve an identified problem. The implementation thereof is relegated to officials who should ensure that the target is actually achieved.

The definition given by Dye (2000) means that government has the prerogative to decide what it should do, or not do, in terms of what should be implemented, to resolve any problem the society faces. In other words, this implies that government is the sole initiator of policies, but this is always supposed to be done in the interests of the community.

Hogwood and Gunn (1984) imply that policy is an action that involves community stakeholders. This is the place where traditional authorities and other interest groups may participate in the formulation and implementation of policies.

The definition by Hanekom (1978) could be interpreted as having government first putting its aim into writing for a specific issue. This should not only be in writing, but it should be made public to promote knowledge. The intention is to also clarify the objective of the policy to be achieved.

Hanekom and Thornhill (1993) implied that government should be transparent in whatever actions it decides to take. It must pronounce the problem that should be capable of being resolved by a particular policy that has been formulated. It should also ensure that the public knows the policies and the clarification of the objectives to be achieved.

The above definitions, as defined by each scholar, have an element of a policy even though there is no consensus amongst them. Therefore, the definition that may be constructed, and which would be used in this study, refers to policy as a course of action by government to solve the identified societal problem, through the participation of community stakeholders – and by publishing of such policy – so that the public is aware. Now that policy has been defined, policy-making will be discussed below.

3.4.1.2 The participants of policy-making

Policy-making is a complex process since scholars debate on whether a particular approach is linear or integrated. There are those who argue that it does not follow a linear pathway, since policy-making cannot be separated from its implementation arm. Yet, Walt (1994:45) presented the following sequence in policy-making.

- Problem identification and issue recognition

Problem identification refers to identifying issues that are construed as problems that are faced by the particular society.

- Policy formulation

In policy formulation, government, officials and stakeholders participate. The initiative comes from the government, which invites stakeholders to participate. Policy formulation produces a policy, which government then publishes in writing – for the public to know – and also to be implemented by government officials and other stakeholders.

- Policy implementation

Once the policy formulation has given birth to a policy, which is a particular course of action, it should be implemented with resources, such as staff, budget, organisation that supports implementation.

- Policy evaluation

This phase is crucial in policy-making. It demystifies the policy-making process. This phase may be regarded as an intervention one in policy-making. When the policy is being implemented, it must be consistently evaluated, to ensure that it is achieving its objectives. The unintended objectives should also be checked and appreciated, of course.

From the above features, the problem identification, the policy formulation, the policy implementation and its evaluation are discernible. During this phase, inputs can still be made by stakeholders to ensure that implementation achieves the targeted objectives. Policy-making does not take place on its own, but there should always be stakeholders for this purpose.

3.5 PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

3.5.1 A definition of public policy implementation

The implementation of policies is a more daunting task than policy formulation, since it includes features, which may apply universally. Policy process involves a number of actors rather than relying on a single actor (Walt 1994:153). However, the features of policy formulation make the implementation process complicated, confusing; and they also render the implementation slow (Ripley and Franklin 1986:19). Those features are: the bureaucrats, the units of various levels, bargaining, multiple government bureaucracies and a multiplicity of role players (Ripley and Franklin 1986:219-220).

Traditional public administration theory has been of the view that public officials merely implement policies, which are formulated by the elected leaders and officials, the congress and the president. However, contemporary view demands that public officials and the public should participate in the influencing and shaping of public policies (McNabb 2010:141). According to Hanekom (1991:61), policy implementation refers to an enforcement of legislation.

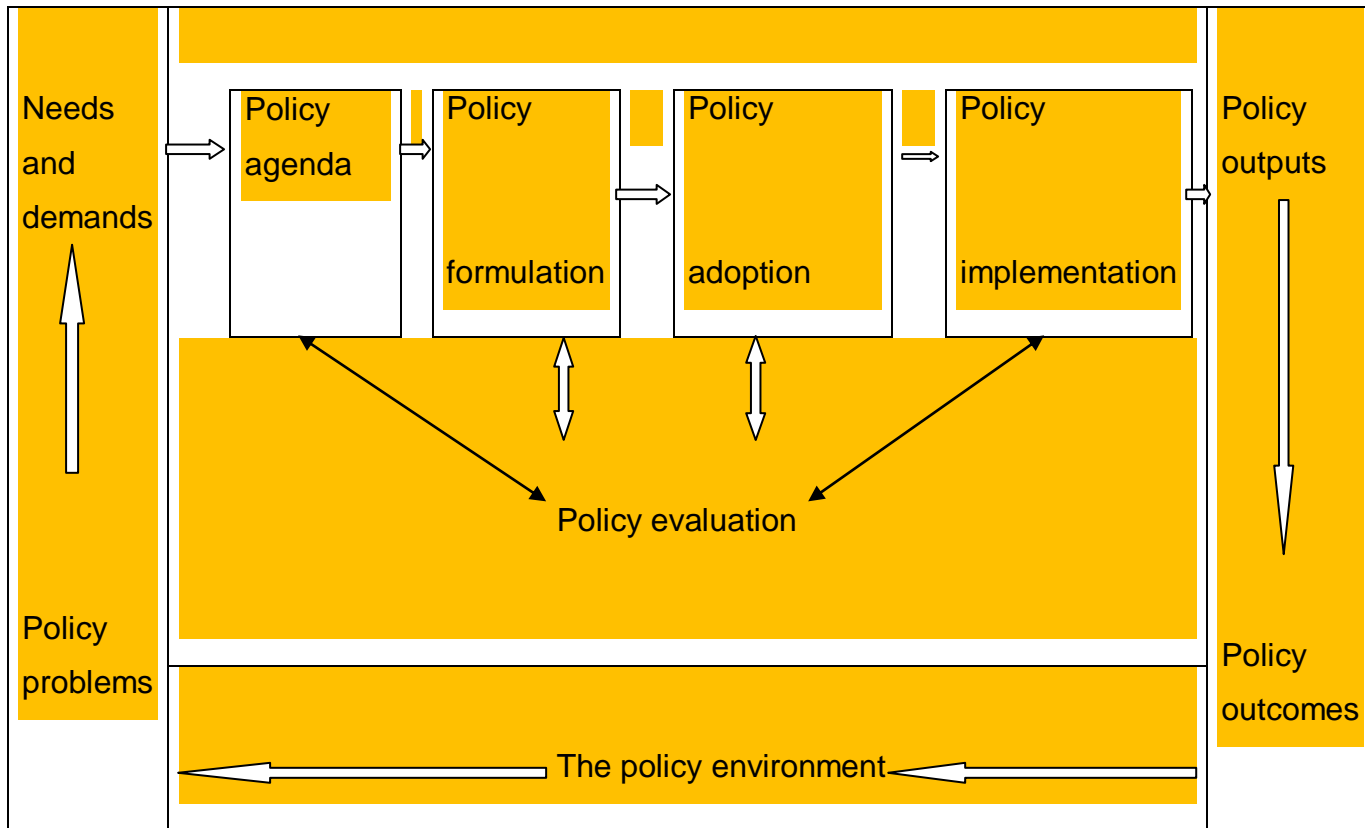
Grindle and Thomas (1990) view implementation as part of whole policy-making procedure. The view is also expressed by USAID (2001:2) that policy implementation is not a linear process. In concurring with Grindle and Thomas, Calista (1994:117), argued that implementation is a critical part of the policy-making process.

To conclude this thinking, Pressman and Wildavsky 1973:143) were also of the view that implementation should be viewed as interwoven with the formulation of the policy, since it cannot be separated from policy implementation. According to Hanekom (1991:70), policy implementation and policy-making are invariably interrelated.

According to Brynard (2005:6), three generations of research are in existence in policy implementation. The three generations will now, therefore, be briefly discussed. The first generation assumed that implementation would automatically follow the pronouncement of policies. The second generation came as a response to the first generation. It was of the opinion that implementation is a political process, which is more complex than policy formulation. The third generation, which is also known as the classical generation, did not focus on the limitations of implementation, but was concerned more with the understanding of how implementation functions, and how it can be improved (Brynard 2005:6).

Once governments have analyzed the situation, they assess what their resources are and how they can be mobilized to promote the successful implementation (Turner and Hulme 1991:79). Both Grindle and Thomas (1990) presented the alternative model of implementation to the linear model. This may be seen in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 An integrated model of policy-making



Source: Van Niekerk **et al.** (2001:99)

This diagram shows that policy implementation is an integrated process, whereby policy-making and implementation are fused into one, and are not to be seen as a linear process. This study concurs with the following scholars who maintained that policy-making and implementation cannot be separated.

According to Van Meter and Van Horn (1974:447-448), policy implementation includes the actions of public or private individuals (groups); and they are formulated to attain objectives, which have been set forth in prior policy decisions.

Pressman and Wildavsky (1973: xii-xv), defined implementation as also do Webster and Roget: to ensure that policies are executed, in order to achieve the goals and objectives, which the State or organization has put in place. The policy is that which is to be implemented. Before there is any talk of implementation, there has to be something that must be implemented.

According to Williams (1971), as quoted in Mudacumura **et al.** (2006:432), policy implementation is a process that ensures that an organization links policy formulation and implementation in a cohesive organizational unit, in order to carry out the organization's stated objectives. Policy implementation is seen as a process that does not need a single actor, but takes place within a multi-organizational context.

From the above definitions, Grindle and Thomas (1990), USAID (2001), Calista (1994) and Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) all implied that policy-making is integrated with the implementation thereof. Brynard presented three generations of research that are in existence in policy implementation. The first generation implies that policy does not need resources for its implementation, but will happen on its own. This is in contrast with the view that implementation should be interwoven in policy-making. The second generation implies that implementation is done by government; and therefore, it does not need participation by stakeholders. The third generation suggests that implementation is an interactive activity.

Van Meter and Van Horn (1974) suggest that policy implementation includes the actions of public or private individuals (groups); and they are formulated to attain objectives, which are set forth in prior policy decisions.

Williams (1971) implies that without policy implementation, organizations fail to link policy formulation and implementation in a cohesive organizational unit, to carry out the organization's stated objectives. In these definitions, there is a major convergence of opinions by scholars. The above definitions show the following features:

- Policy-making is integrated with implementation;
- Policy does not need resources for implementation, but will happen on its own;
- Implementation is usually interwoven with policy-making;
- Implementation is done by government.
- There is no need for participation by stakeholders;
- Implementation is an interactive activity;
- Policy implementation includes the actions of public or private individuals (groups);

- Policies are always formulated to attain objectives, which are set forth in prior policy decisions; and
- Policy implementation supports organizations to link policy formulation and implementation in a cohesive organizational unit – to carry out the organization’s stated objectives.

This study concurs with the definition that policy implementation is interwoven with policy-making; and that they cannot be divorced from each other. This is perhaps the only way to achieve the objectives within an organisation. This further promotes bottom-up theory through an interactive process that includes stakeholders, as opposed to a top-down theory. Government cannot be the sole role-player in policy implementation, because it exists to provide services and goods to its citizens, and as such there must be collaboration, and Government cannot be left alone, thereby promoting the top-down approach..

3.5.2 Theoretical models of public policy implementation

There are probably many theories to policy implementation, but the three most prominent are top-down, bottom-up and bargaining and negotiation models.

3.5.2.1 The top-down theory

The early theoretical models regarded policy-making as a linear exercise, which separated policy formulation from policy implementation. The focus of these models was on the political part of policy formulation and policy-making was located within the government structures; while the implementation thereof was the responsibility of the management or administration (Walt 1994:153).

Therefore, in a top-down theory, national governments are perceived to be the sole role-players in policy formulation; while in the international arena, it takes place between the donors and the national policy-makers (Walt 1994:153). (Sabatier and Mazmanian, as quoted in Hill and Hupe 2009:48-49) are the exponents of this approach; although Sabatier at a later stage withdrew from this position.

Hambleton (1983:406) referred to top-down as a classical approach. In the case of the IDP policies, decisions of municipal council politicians are relegated to

administrators for implementation by municipal councils. In such a case, they could have been either involved or not involved in policy formulation.

However, Sabatier (1986:37) acknowledges some of the advantages of the bottom-up approach – for its effective incorporation of the study of networks and its strength in evaluating influences on policy outcomes, other than the government programmes, and its value in the interactions of policy programmes.

Sabatier (1986:30) further acknowledged that the top-down approach did not go far enough in providing a good conceptual vehicle for predicting the change of policies with time. His main concern was that the top-down approach did not accommodate the contribution that other actors could make in policy formulation. In his theories of the Policy Process, Sabatier (2007:3) appeared to embrace the bottom-up approach, as he argued that the policy process depended on a multiplicity of actors, various layers of government, and debates about the policies. From the above, it is clear that the top-down approach excludes the participation of stakeholders; and this has resulted in the failure of the poverty-alleviation projects of the World Bank and the IMF in the Third World countries. This failure has necessitated a paradigm shift of stakeholder participation, which could be linked to the need for the bottom-up approach.

3.5.2.2 The bottom-up theory

In the case of the bottom-up theory, which is in contrast to the top-down that is a product of the linear approach to the policy process, the role of implementers is crucial in the whole implementation-policy process, since implementation is an interactive process. As a result, implementers ensure that all the activities that contribute to the successful implementation are utilised to achieve the goals and objectives intended to be achieved (Walt 1994:155). The view that implementation the process should be seen as an interactive process is corroborated by Hambleton (1983:405), who regarded the bottom up theory as an integrationist approach.

The views of Walt and Hambleton were summarized by Frawley (1977:14-15), as views that are seeking to integrate policy-making and policy implementation. The bottom-up theorists like Hjern and Porter, (1981); Hjern, (1982); Hull and Hjern (1987); and Lipsky, (1980) are of the opinion that the goal of implementation is to

facilitate service-delivery through the participation of stakeholders at grassroots level. The bottom-up model is based on a decentralized model, in which the central government's control is decentralized to State or local government – through bargaining, conflict or a compromise.

According to Lipsky (1978:397), the most important actors are the street-level bureaucrats and lower-level implementing officials, whose decisions and actions influence the outcomes rather than policies and programmes made by the politicians in the upper echelons.

In the case of the IDP policy, the municipal councils should involve traditional authorities in their formulation and implementation processes. The two processes are a single unit, because traditional authorities have a better understanding of the social and economic problems faced by their communities.

Traditional leaders had led their communities before colonialism and apartheid, and communities relied on their guidance for service delivery. Modern elected leaders are usually not trusted by communities, who are still too rural to trust modern democratically elected leaders; and as such, policy implementation may only be effective if they are involved.

This view of the researcher could be corroborated by the **Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act**, 2003, which requires that municipalities and traditional authorities should establish partnerships and work together.

This study, having observed that municipal councils, government departments, traditional authorities and other structures represented in the ward committees, participate in various fora of the IDP policy process, supports the view that policy formulation and implementation are involved in an interactive process, rather than a linear process. The study that was carried in the Sudan showed that the representation and participation of Dinka chiefs, youths, farmers and women in the management structure of Abyei Development Project Authority (ADPA) for the Ngok Dinka people of Sudan (Deng 1984:87-88), enabled the British Colonial Administration to effectively implement public work schemes, such as roads and public buildings (Deng 1984:91).

3.5.2.3 Bargaining and negotiation models

However, the debate between top-down and bottom-up has now largely been harmonized, and Brynard (2005:9) is of the view that there is an agreement, or sufficient consensus, on the convergence of top-down and bottom-up theorists. This view of convergence is also reinforced by Sabatier (2007:3), who argues that the policy process consists of a multiplicity of actors, various layers of government, and debates about the policies. His approaches are based on an advocacy coalition, which more or less refers to actors from all the different layers.

The consensus reached between the top-down and the bottom-up approach may be perceived to have culminated in the model of bargaining and negotiation. Consequently, a new model has now been proposed.

The bargaining and negotiation model presents an alternative to the top-down and bottom-up theories. The argument for this model is that local government is not subjected to any other level of government; but policies and their implementation are rather the product of negotiation and bargaining with top and bottom theorist (Barrett and Fudge 1981:13). This model suggests that the inputs by stakeholders should be put at the centre of any formulation and implementation. However, the model takes the political view of implementation, in that it is maintained that stakeholders should be involved in policy implementation at local level (Barrett and Fudge 1981:29). Bargaining and negotiation holds that policy formulation and implementation and the outcome are all interlinked, and they are not discreet stages (Ingram 1990:471).

From the above three models, the implementation of IDP would be best implemented if there were bargaining and negotiations with the municipal officials. There should be consultations with ward councillors, officials and other politicians on how best implementation could be accomplished. This could also pave the way for their participation in municipal council meetings, and not just their attendance.

The formulation of policies and implementation does not take place automatically; but there should be prerequisites that should be in place to facilitate the successful policy implementation. Sharkansky (1975:294-5) enumerates those prerequisites as factors for policy implementation. These will now be discussed below.

3.6 FACTORS CRUCIAL TO POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

3.6.1 Communication

Communication is important for effective implementation. Those who are responsible for implementation should have a clear understanding of the intention of such policies. Communication should follow a clear directive from politicians; and such policies should be consistent with the human resources. If policy implementation is to be effective, there should not be any ambiguity. Communication must be clear, so that those charged with the implementation can know what is expected of them; how they must do it; and when to do it (Sharkansky 1975:295-297). According to Pressman and Wildavsky (1973:134), communication is related to co-ordination, which is vitally important to policy implementation.

Co-ordination promotes cooperation among people who hold different views on a particular process (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973:134). From the above, it may be deduced that communication is a mode that promotes an interactive process, so that the role-players understand each other on what should be done. It would be advisable for communication to be effective, since it needs to be two-way communication.

3.6.2 Resources

Resources are important in the implementation of policies. Decision-makers should provide resources to personnel, in order to enable them to implement the policies. Unless resources are made available, decision-makers should take an equal share of the blame for failure of implementation (Edwards and Sharkansky 1978:41). Resources may be divided into: human resources; information; and authority. Each of these will be discussed below (Edwards and Sharkansky 1978:41). It is important to realise that no public administration can make an impact on the implementation of its policies – without the necessary resources. Although money is not the only resource, it certainly remains central to facilitating the availability of others (Human and Zaaiman 1995:11).

According to Weber in SAIPA (1991:234), government officials do not own the resources that are critical for delivering the services. The case study conducted in Same District in Tanzania by Lerise (in Materu **et al.** 1986:59) found that local chiefs there in partnership with District, had played a significant role in mobilizing the

necessary resources for the implementation of community-development projects just before independence. When they were sidelined with other stakeholders, so was the communal input; and this led to government failing to promote local development. This would suggest that stakeholders, including traditional authorities, might well assist government in its management of the public administration, in order to mobilize the resources plan for development, as was seen in Same District.

3.6.3 Human resources

Human resources refer to the staffing of the organization, which is responsible for the implementation of public policy. Without the human resources, policies would be made for their own sake, and would not achieve anything of significance. It is not enough to have staff alone. The staff that is responsible for policy implementation must be well-trained (Sharkansky 1975:303). From this, it may be inferred that the availability of staff is not an end in itself, but should such staff must be trained to acquire skills and knowledge of the job, so that they would be able to assist in policy-making and its implementation.

This would assist them in the participation and in the implementation of policies, thus promoting the bottom-up approach, and also bargaining and negotiation.

3.6.4 Information

Information is generally equated to power, because those who have access to information are regarded as standing a good chance to know what do with it. In addition, such people might have the knowledge of the information, which their peers do not have. According to Sharkansky (1975:204), information is critical for policies dealing with technical matters. New programmes which have not been there before are now required for the training of those who must implement them. This means that if there is no training, the chances for the successful implementation of policies are low. The implementation of public policies requires staff to have information on the compliance of any relevant organizations, or individuals with government standards.

What is critical here is that there must be information on every aspect of a programme, such as how to implement policies, how to bench-mark success, how to evaluate, how to assess, and how to monitor.

Usually, what is seen is the passing of one policy after the other; while the staff does not know what or who informed such policies.

3.6.5 Authority

Staff members in the organisations usually find themselves in a dilemma, when they lack mandates to implement any decisions. In order for them to do certain things, they need a definite mandate, which may take a long time to come by. According to Sharkansky (1975:206), authority is a resource that is of paramount importance for the implementation of policies. The authority that is given to staff empowers them to implement any policies, as planned. However the study in Abye Development Project Authority shows that when stakeholders are represented and participate in the organisation, they take responsibility and have authority to take decisions, as the Ngok Dinka chiefs showed in Sudan (Deng 1984:87-88).

Yet, participation enhances the sense of responsibility, because participants have a vested interest in the solution of the problem that needs to be resolved (Human and Zaaïman 1995:x). In the light of this, it could be deduced that participation and representation increase the level of authority of the participants, thus making it easier for them to take a decision there and then, without waiting for anyone to give them permission to solve the problem.

3.6.6 Disposition of the implementers

The disposition of the implementers is an important issue to take note of in the implementation of policies. Organisations may have trained staff in abundance, but it must be clear that this is not an end in itself. Sharkansky (1975:308) stated that there must be a willingness to carry out policies by such personnel. This is necessitated by the fact that there are two arenas: one for those who make; and another for those who implement policies. Those who make policies are not the ones who implement them, and as such, those who are employed to implement, should be prepared to implement them; otherwise, this could achieve the very opposite of the intended goals.

There is a notion of independence on the side of staff; and this should lead to discretion. Usually, if the staff feels that the policies that they should implement clash with their interests, they will not implement such policies. This can happen in three ways: through the selective perception of instructions, an implementer ignores some of the directives received.

Secondly, when those who are supposed to implement such policies do not support them, they ignore them instead of implementing them. Finally, implementers feel that they know better than the original decision-makers.

3.6.7 Follow-up

Follow-up is crucial in policy implementation, as a way of monitoring the success of the policies. Senior officials or decision-makers give orders; and leave these instructions to bureaucrats for their implementation. Those who give directives trust that such policies have been implemented. When this trust is abused, this unleashes the negative results of implementation. Sharkansky (1975:317) proposed a follow-up strategy to ensure compliance. Follow-up must take place at every level, so that all staff members can start taking responsibility of their actions. This may suggest that if there is no follow-up conducted, the chances are that the implementation may achieve little or nothing.

3.6.8 Co-ordination

The ANC's RDP that became government policy framework in 1994 proposed that for implementation to take place, there must be structures for the co-ordination and monitoring thereof. This must also take place between departments and among the various tiers of government (ANC 1994:138). The case study conducted in Mombasa in Kenya by Nginyi and Kinyua (in Materu *et al.* 1986:111) in the Joint Action History of Mombasa found that without effective co-ordination, it became difficult to implement any development projects. This therefore, suggests that the co-ordination of stakeholders has a chance of guaranteeing the effective implementation of the various development projects.

3.6.9 Programme implementation

The implementation of policies should not be complicated; rather it should be made easier by taking a few simple steps. This enhances the chances for the successful implementation of the policies. Policy implementation has to be directed on target, in order to be successful. The implementation of policies should not be ambiguous, if it is to be effective. Simplicity becomes the key to successful implementation (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973:147). The training of the population is important, if government policies are to be effectively implemented and achieve their set goals of service delivery (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973:151).

Training equips personnel with knowledge and the skills to be effective in service delivery. Programmes or policies must be able to define clear goals. For example, projects must contribute directly or indirectly – either to the creation of new jobs – or to the alleviation of poverty (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973:153). Of course, these are the goals for the implementation of Integrated Development Planning (IDPs) in South Africa.

The successful implementation of policies hinges on strong staff, assertive leadership, and stringently enforced rules. If leadership is not strong, there is no way that policy implementation could be successful. Leadership that does not provide direction will fail to inspire its followers via the enforcement of rules to the achievement of goals (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973:169).

In public administration, implementation is referred to as “the end-product of administrative efforts, or as being co-existent with public administration itself” (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973:171).

Barrett and Fudge (1981:254), suggested the linkages between groups and agencies that are involved in the implementation of policy. Yet, those involved are not organized in any formal organizational structures or hierarchical arrangement. Since these groups that cooperate for the implementation of policies do not have any formal relationships, their co-operation leads to the creation of new chains between policy and action. Public policy development and implementation require various institutions, in order to be functional.

In South Africa for example, traditional authorities, municipalities, and national government are some of the institutions dealing with public policy development and implementation. However, the focus of this study is mainly on traditional authorities, local government policy development and its implementation. It is, therefore, crucially important to have a thorough understanding of these institutions, and particularly traditional authorities, as the main focus of this study.

3.7 THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

It should be noted that despite the fact that they are recognised in some of the African States, there is still no consensus on the integration of traditional authorities into modern democratic structures; while local municipalities and district councils do not have the capacity to implement policies alone (Materu **et al.** 2000:18). Two arguments are presented, which either support or oppose their integration within modern democratic structures. These arguments are based on the neo-traditionalist and neo-liberal theories.

3.7.1 The neo-traditionalist argument

Traditional authorities have presided over social, economic and political systems, which ruled over societies before colonialism came to the continent of Africa. They developed and implemented policies, which enabled them to promote good governance in the society. Through the revenue base that they controlled, they were able to promote the development of their communities (Sakyi 2003:131).

The case study in Same, Tanzania by Lerise (in Materu **et al.** 1997:59) has shown that the participation of local chiefs contributed to the effective implementation of development projects before independence; but when they were marginalized after independence, government failed to implement those projects alone because it lacked the capacity to do so. Another study in Sudan by Deng (1984) showed that when local chiefs participate in the development projects, there is frequently a success in the implementation of such projects.

This implies that the participation of traditional authorities in policy implementation is crucial, as the case study in Tanzania and Sudan has shown. In Swaziland, Botswana, Nigeria and Mozambique traditional leaders continue to work with government in the development of their areas, to improve the lives of their citizens.

A study that was conducted in Ghana revealed that 79% of the 214 respondents who were interviewed thought that traditional authorities were effective in their performance in local governance. This is clearly shown in the next sections. From the above examples, it could be deduced that traditional authorities could play a positive role in the area of policy implementation in South Africa – beyond their mere attendance of municipal council meetings as ex-officio members.

3.7.2 The neo-liberal argument

There are some scholars who, despite the fact that traditional leaders have played such roles in the past, still feel that traditional governance structures should not be involved in the modern governance structures, since, by virtue of their hereditary nature, which according to them did not promote democracy, they have compromised on democratic principles (Mamdani 1996, Ntsebenza 2005, Rugege 2002). The following section discusses the participation of traditional authorities in policy implementation. Neo-liberals agree that traditional authorities have played a positive role in their communities, but base their argument on constitutional matters.

However, it could be implied that traditional leaders are elected leaders, who are elected in terms of the customary values, which are not similar to those of modern leaders. The election of Chief Mamitwa of the Valoyi traditional authority in Limpopo could be a case at hand. The Baloyi traditional authorities could have discussed the matter, but failed to finalize the matter, and the Constitutional Court had to study the protocol employed when appointing a chief, and then make an award.

3.8 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN SOME SELECTED CASES OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

While there might be several countries where the institution of traditional authorities is still active with regard to local government practices, this study recognises that considerable literature exists that reveals that countries, such as Botswana, Ghana, Mozambique, Nigeria and Swaziland have more of this institution. In addition, the study focuses on South Africa, which is closer to some of these countries; and it assumes that the characteristics of traditional authorities in these countries might be reasonably closer to the traditional authorities in South Africa. There is an abundance of literature, which the researcher could utilise for the study.

3.8.1 Botswana

The **Constitution of Botswana**, 1966, provides for the institution of traditional authorities with a judicial, ceremonial and developmental mandate. It further provides for the House of Chiefs, whose function is to advise National Assembly and the Executive (Constitution of Botswana, 1966). The House of Chiefs comprises 15 members. Of this, eight are ex-officio members, being chiefs from the eight tribes that are recognised by the **Constitution of Botswana**, 1966, four elected members, being sub-chiefs elected by their fellow sub-chiefs from the four settlement districts of Botswana; and three especially elected members being members elected by the ex-officio members of the house.

It is important to note that the first President of Botswana, Seretse Khama, apart from being a lawyer and a devout liberal, was a chief himself. He was a prince of the Bangwato chiefdom. His son, Ian Khama in 1998, retired from the army to take over as chief of the Bangwato. Being a chief enabled him to mobilize voters for the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) and to thereby keep it in power. Mr Khama was subsequently appointed vice-president, to after the election as a token of recognition for his role in the election. In doing so, he held positions of chieftaincy, MP and vice-presidency at the same time (Melber 2003:96-97).

The elite both from majority and minority ethnic groups have created associations to articulate their commitment to their traditional culture, and to their chiefs. For example, the Society for the Promotion of Ikalanga Language, Pitso Ya Batswana, and Kamanakao attests to this (Nyati-Ramahobo 2002, Webner 2002a, 2002b, Mazonde 2002 quoted in Melber 2003:98). Various examples also show how chieftaincy and democracy in Botswana can be dynamic.

In Botswana, the local authorities consist of the Tribal Administration, the District Council and the Tribal Land Board. All these institutions have equal status; and as a result, they work together in implementing the rural development agenda. Before Botswana became independent, primary health care, the provision of primary education, the settlement of disputes, water supply and road maintenance comprised the mandate of Tribal Administration. Currently, these functions are jointly carried out by both government departments and the Tribal Administration (Mijiga 1998:12).

To give effect to the **Constitution of Botswana**, 1996, Botswana has incorporated traditional authorities into its government system, based on the Westminster model. Botswana is one of the four protectorates that were never colonized; and as such, the chiefs were responsible for governance when Botswana was still called the Bechuanaland British Protectorate. It was not until 1966, when Botswana became independent, that a House of Chiefs was formed as the upper house of the legislature. In 1987, they were transferred and placed under the Minister of Local Government, Lands and Housing. Their mandate, amongst others, was for public consultation, disseminating government information, and acting as a judicial institution in those cases that relate to traditional and modern law (Beall and Ngonyama 2009:6).

Botswana has a dual character – in that democracy and chieftaincy work together. This has resulted in engagement, where both chieftaincy and modernity have emerged as winners (Melber 2003:110-111). This case study provides a good lesson to other countries, like South Africa, where traditional authorities should not get a window-dressing participatory status, but be involved in the developmental agenda of the country.

They should be full members of municipal council after all the elected leaders have been brought under these same traditional authorities in which they live. Elected leaders are the subjects of these traditional authorities.

Consequently, in Botswana, chieftaincy and modernity make democracy work. Therefore, chieftaincy is not regarded as being inferior to modernity, since the two blend into liberal democracy in Botswana.

3.8.2 Ghana

Traditional Authorities (TAs) and their indigenous knowledge formed the basis of social and economic development in Ghana at the local level. A study was undertaken in Ghana, where it was revealed that 79% of the 214 respondents who were interviewed thought that traditional authorities were effective in their performance in local governance. On the relationship between traditional authorities and Unit Committees of the District Assembly, 95% of all the respondents thought that there were harmonious relationships.

The high percentage suggests that there is a baseline for building on this relationship to formulate policies, in order to enhance this. Traditional authorities were rated 96% in terms of their role in the upliftment of the lives of their communities. The reasons were based on the maintenance of peace and discipline, being the custodians of land, providing leadership and direction, facilitation of development, preservation of culture, and societal values and maintenance of family cohesion (Guri and Kwesi 2008).

The survey by Center for Indigenous Knowledge and Organisational Development (CIKOD) and the University of Cape Coast found that TAs felt that they were being marginalized during the planning and implementation of projects in the district. However, the TAs have agreed that the District Assembly (DA) has put in place structures for participation, such as community forums, and also TAs that are included in the DA committees (Guri and Kwesi 2008).

While the survey that was undertaken by CIKOD found that there was a barrier between TAs and government institutions because of the mistrust and fear of competition, it, however, revealed that the two structures were willing to co-operate together at the sub-district level (Guri and Kwesi 2008). TAs in Ghana influence the economic, socio-cultural and political matters through the land that they control (Crook 2005: 2).

In local government, the Afrobarometer survey shows that 42% of the respondents wanted chiefs to be elected; while 16% said they should be appointed. However, 29% showed that TAs should not have any role to play in government (Hoffman 2010:15). In South Africa, traditional leaders do not participate – even if they are members of municipal councils because of their non-partisan nature (Municipal Structures Act 1998).

Ghanaians still trust and support the institution of traditional authorities, because they view these as being representatives of their roots, and being the source of social advancement (Tettey *et al.* 2003:270). Traditional authorities are regarded as those institutions that are closest to the people, and who know the needs, aspirations, and the mechanisms required to achieve the needs of their people (Osabutey 2009:1).

This assertion is supported by the empirical evidence that in Ghana at least 90% of ordinary Ghanaians (both rural and urban) believe and depend on a traditional authority system for organizing their lives (Guri and Kwesi 2008).

The 2002 pre-election study results showed that 43% of the respondents in Ghana wanted their traditional authorities to participate in local governance, while 56% indicated that chiefs played an active role in educating the voters, and they created the needed awareness amongst other things (Osabutey 2009:1). According to Osabutey (2009:2), traditional authorities were not involved in all the phases of policy implementation, such as the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and the management of natural resources. From this case study, it could perhaps be implied that the popularity of traditional authorities means that they are trusted by their communities; and as such, they could legitimize any policy implementation.

3.8.3 Mozambique

Traditional authorities are recognised in Mozambique; and they are represented there by their traditional leaders in the local government; and they also participate at the meetings of the local council. This inclusion encourages the local population to participate in municipal activities, because their traditional leaders are recognised (Lutz and Linder 2004:29).

The recognition of traditional authorities creates a smooth path for the acceptance of policy implementation. If traditional authorities are recognised, it becomes easier to implement government policies.

This is because the people follow their traditional leaders, and not the government. Therefore, local government relies on traditional authorities to implement their policies (Lutz and Linder 2004:29).

The case study on Mozambique is a good example that there is room for co-operation between local government and traditional authorities – even when they participate in council meetings. In fact, the benefit is that local government is assisted by traditional authorities – to implement policies without any resistance from the people.

3.8.4 Nigeria

In each of the local government authorities in Nigeria, there are traditional councils of chiefs. The Local Government is responsible for all the policy-making. The traditional councils comprised traditional office bearers and the chairperson of the Local Government authority. The traditional council was responsible for discussing and making suggestions to the Local Government authority on matters affecting them. The traditional council was also responsible for advising on customary laws and practices on various issues that relate to land (Olanipekun 1988:2-4). The Local Government was responsible for the maintenance of order and good government. It is of paramount importance to note that Local Government acts as a tool of development and as a training ground for the administration. However, there is a financial problem for the carrying out of Local Government work. The other challenge is that of the lack of skilled human resources, and the need for regular training through training courses and via the workshops of Local Government staff (Olanipekun 1988:7-8).

The case study in Nigeria proves that traditional authorities can partner with local government structures; and together they could help in shaping those policies that have improved the lives of the rural people.

3.8.5 Swaziland

The monarchy is a dual system presided over by the King and the Queen Mother (Indlovukati). The King is head of the government. He is advised by the Cabinet Ministers, Swazi National Council and the Swazi National Council Standing Committee (Brown 2011:20). The chiefdoms are responsible for the running of local government. The study by the Economic Commission for Africa Southern Africa, (2007) has revealed that while traditional governance is recognised all over the Sub-Saharan Africa, it is however highly integrated into the State institution in Lesotho and Swaziland (ECASA 2007:x). Swaziland is a traditional system that is underpinned by its monarchy. There are dual systems of governance in Swaziland. The western parliamentary system and the traditional systems operate parallel to each other. The traditional system, called Tinkhundla, is a local government administration centre. Each Inkhundla comprises 10 chiefdoms (Imiphakatsi). The Tinkhundla is responsible for the implementation of government activities (Brown 2011:18).

Swaziland has a system that incorporates the Western system and Tinkhundla, in which the electorates are provided an opportunity to elect their parliamentary representatives in their own constituencies (Brown 2011:18). Tinkhundla are grouped into four districts, namely: Hhohho, Lubombo, Manzini and Shiselweni – under the Regional Administrator. They are responsible for the administration of the town councils and town boards, which serve as municipal governments (Brown 2011:19). Local government does not have any challenges for project implementation because in Swaziland, land is held communally in trust by the King (Brown 2011:13). From the case study of Swaziland, it could be deduced that traditional authorities are best suited to complement local government on policy implementation.

3.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed and shown how public administration has originated from international bodies, and how the World Bank and the IMF developed top-down policies to assist newly independent Third World Countries. Those policies and the subsequent programmes failed because the recipients of the development programmes were excluded from participation in planning and implementation. The failure to usher in a new approach of bottom-up, had sought to solicit the participation of all the rural stakeholders. From this international perspective, Africa – and South Africa in particular – developed its public administration, based on the administrative generic functions. The generic functions have now created a platform for the participation by stakeholders in policy formulation and implementation, thereby promoting a more bottom-up approach. The **Municipal Structures Act**, 117 of 1998 and **Municipal Systems Act**, 32 of 2000 require that municipalities should formulate and adopt IDPs and that the formulation should involve traditional authorities. Traditional authorities should also attend and participate in municipal council meetings; yet, they only attend without participating because they are given only an ex-officio status. This is also a norm in Malawi; but in Mozambique, traditional authorities attend and participate in debates in municipal council meetings. However, in Uganda they are independent of the state, and do not participate in government institutions. The participation of stakeholders, particularly by traditional authorities, has the potential to pull community members to support government policies because these communities support the traditional authorities more than most other modern leaders.