

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS

#### 1. Introduction

Chapter three outlined what public administration entails and factors that influenced the crafting of the assessment policy and how it is implemented. This chapter examines policy analysis and selected policy models. Factors that have an influence on policy implementation and the South African approach to policy formulation are described.

In South Africa after 1994, a number of policies were developed that reflected the wishes of the democratic government to ensure that the needs of the communities are met. A concerted effort had to be made to stimulate public debates and deliberations aimed at ensuring clarification of issues, models to create public engagement and develop participation, and identification of stakeholders that play an influential role in policy development. To implement these policies in the context of the South African public administration environment, characterised by political, economical and cultural issues, created fundamental challenges in terms of services delivery in the public sector, particularly in the provision of education and the curriculum to be followed. The success of any policy should be evaluated on its ability to address the majority of needs of the

intended target. Addressing the interplay between policy intentions and policy implementation will be the central theme in this chapter. The chapter seeks to highlight what transpires during a policy process and models in the South African context.

## **2. Policy statement**

Any democratic government cannot afford to turn a blind eye on the plight of the society it represents, Dye (1978:6). It should take measures to improve the lives of its citizens, Hanekom, Rowland and Bain (1996:25). This could be done “if the government has well-defined policies pertaining to each and every aspect of its intended actions”, Hanekom, Rowland and Bain (1996:6), know the resources to be used and the role-players in policy-making (such as the legislature; executive councils and committees; cabinet committees; internal auxiliary services and staff units).

It should be borne in mind that there are different levels where policies are developed. (i) The political party policy level: the ruling party would develop policies and get these policies implemented through government structures. In the case of education these policies and activities are directed primarily to transforming the education system and to provide effective means of improving the quality of education for all South African Constitution, (1996).

### 3. Policy definitions

There are as many definitions and explanations of the concept ‘policy’ as there are authors, depending on the context and meaning that is conveyed. Hereunder are some examples of the policy definitions:

Richard and Baldwin (1976:122) define policy as “formulation of rules, norms and prescriptions intended to govern the subsequent decisions and actions of government.”

“Public policy is the broad framework of ideas and values within which decisions are taken and actions, or inaction, is pursued by governments in relation to some issue or problem.” Brooks, (1989:16).

“Commitment to a course or plan of action agreed to by a group of people with the power to carry it out.” Dodd and Michelle, (2000:2).

“A broad guide to present and future decisions, selected in light of given conditions from a number of alternatives; the actual decision or set of decisions designed to carry out the chosen course of actions; a projected program consisting of desired objectives (goal) and the means of achieving them.” Daneke and Steiss (1978).

"proposed course of action of a person, group or government within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or purpose.” Frederich, (1963:79).

“Whatever governments choose to do or not to do.” Dye, (1972: 18).

Heclo (1972) in Parsons (1997:13) points that:

To suggest in academic circles that there is general agreement on anything is to don crimson in the bull-pen, but policy is one term on which there seems to be a certain amount of definitional agreement. As commonly used, the term policy is usually considered to apply to something ‘bigger’ than particular decisions, but ‘smaller than general social movements’. Thus, policy, in terms of level of analysis, is a concept placed roughly in the middle range. A second and essential element in most writers’ use of the term is purposiveness of some kind Heclo, (1972).

Hanekom (1987:7) argues that policy is an indication of ‘a goal, a specific purpose, a programme of action that has been decided upon. Public policy is therefore a formally articulated goal that the legislator intends pursuing with society or with a societal group’

Hogwood and Gunn (1984: 23) define public policy as:

“.....a pattern of related decisions to which many circumstances and personal, group and organisational influences have contributed. ... The aims or purposes underlying a policy are usually identifiable at a relative early stage in the process but these may change over time and, in some cases, may be defined only retrospectively. The outcome of policies requires to be studied and, where appropriate,

compared and contrasted with policy-makers' intentions.....” For a policy to be regarded as “public policy” it must, to some degree, have been generated or at least processed within the framework of governmental procedures, influences and organisations.

“Policy is a statement that provides a guide for decision-making by members of the organisation charged with the responsibility of operating the organisation as a system”, Bates and Eldredge (1980:12).

In this study, policy shall mean broad guidelines or statement of goals for a course of action that should be followed in an institution to address a particular problem or a set of problems in order to provide consistency in decision making. These rules, norms and prescriptions should be translated into actions that will address the needs of the intended beneficiaries and this process is referred to as policy implementation. It could be deduced from these definitions alluded above that policy is aimed at something that is desired and agreed upon by a group of people with an aim to satisfy the needs of a particular group; that there should be a plan of action for implementing the intention as well as measures of evaluating the impact thereof. The people who develop this policy should in essence have the power to carry it out and when required, they may enforce it. In the case of public policy as a sum of government activities there should be a broad framework of ideas and values within which decisions should be taken in order to maintain accountability and authenticity. The general plan should state the aims to be achieved as well as the processes to be followed, to achieve the stated goals in a manner that should sustain the interest of the stakeholders. It would be required of government to apply its mind to those issues that are problematic to society and develop programs to correct the

situation. This statement of goals should be translated into a plan or program by specifying the objectives to be obtained. In order to enforce the plan the policy should be presented in the form of a law, regulation or report that it can articulate, and that gives direction to action. In the case of the NCS, the learner has to pass what is regarded as compulsory, elective and core subjects in order to be awarded the National Senior Certificate. The school has to provide evidence that the learner was assessed during that current year. Each subject has also a minimum number and forms of tasks that should be completed. To ensure that the learners are assessed, they should compile evidence of performance.

The decisions and choices that are made by governments should guide subsequent actions in similar situations. The implementation of such decisions could be managed by an institution, either private or public, depending on the context and content of policy. In a democratic state the body politic ensures and creates an environment in which such decisions are taken. However, to just assume that policy is always an ‘intended’ course of action could be misleading, since a policy could also be something which is not intended, but nonetheless carried out in the process of implementation. A policy should be based on a line of argument that rationalizes the course of action of a government, a social group or individual which might eventually be adopted as a plan of action to address a specific need, Bates and Eldredge (1980: 13); Hogwood and Gunn (1984). This suggests that the elected officials should have political discernment to make a good judgment on what would be best for the citizens; have diplomacy in the management of public affairs; be sensitive

to the needs of the communities that elected them to positions of power and sometimes have the craftiness to take decisions that would otherwise be unpopular. These officials should be aware of the choice between two main alternatives for steering society. Simultaneously, a distinction should be made between ‘administration’ and ‘policy’ as well as between ‘policy’ and ‘politics’, so as not to confuse functions of administrations (the persons or committees or departments who make up a governing body and who administer the affairs, programs and policies of the state. While ‘politics’ would include social relations involving authority, power or the opinion you hold with respect to political questions, or the profession devoted to governing and to political affairs. Even though in most case policies are driven by politics, the development of the Outcomes Based Assessment should have been informed by scientific investigation to determine the need and type of policy that would have addressed the identified need.

## **4. Policy impact**

Policies could have a positive or negative impact. The impact of the policy could have an intended or unintended effect.

### **4.1. Intended Effects**

The context in which the policy is made has a great influence on its goals and these will vary according to the organisation. Generally, social policies are instituted in order to avoid negative effects that have been noticed in the organisation, or to seek positive benefit. However, the development of most policies is undertaken in an environment that is influenced by

political contestation, creating power relations which in turn put pressure on policy-makers.

The South African government policy on “no-fee schools and nutrition programme” provides an example of benefit-seeking policies. The numbers of learners, particularly in rural primary schools has increased dramatically; in part because of change in policies which indicate that learners in schools, who are found in poor municipalities, are exempted from paying any school fees and learners in primary schools should be fed. In this case, the organisation (provincial government) created an effect (increased attendance) through policies (no-fee schools and nutrition program) benefits.

#### **4.2. Unintended Effects**

In some instances policies yield unintended consequences or have side effects. This is due to the fact that the environments that policies seek to influence or manipulate are typically complex and could be regarded as systems that should adapt to the demographic conditions, because at times policy change can have counter-intuitive results. As in the case of the NCS, the intended effect was to address the segregated education system and to move away from pen-and- paper type of assessment. The Outcomes Based Assessment requires learners to show a variety of skill, knowledge and values. However, people like Kgosana and the President of NAPTOSA believe that the NCS has a strong examination component but fails to produce learners who can read and write.

It is not always possible to assess all possible impacts that a given policy might have, due to the fact that governments and societies operate in complex systems that required some form of adaptation. The process of formulating policy should include an attempt to assess as many areas of potential policy impact as possible, to lessen the chances that a given policy will have unexpected or unintended consequences. However, how people perceive the impact of policy will be influenced by their perception of reality and the value that they attach to outcomes of that policy. Therefore, policy-makers and public managers who occupy higher levels in the hierarchy are obliged to stimulate public debates in order to help clarify ambiguities that may occur. The process in policy-making provides models for participation. The key question could be: in the policy-making process, where and when does public participation take place? How does the public assess the effectiveness of the assessment policy and how it is managed at school? It would then be necessary to discuss policy cycles.

### **5.1. Policy phases**

The first phase in the policy cycle begins with public awareness of a problem or when office bearers and other interested groups identify an issue and make demands that the issue be addressed. This stage of policy-making according to Barkenbus (1998:2) and Peters (1993) could be referred to as policy formulation. This is reflected by Hayes and Jones. During this stage decisions on what should be done to solve the problem should be made according to Van Niekerk, Van der Waldt and Jonker, (2001:95). Values held by the society on the issue will influence how the problem on which action needs to be taken is defined. What eventually gets the attention of decision makers does so on the basis on which people perceive and

construct reality and in some instances these perceptions are weighed as much as reality itself.

Once the problem has been defined it then forms part of the political decision-making agenda (Barkenbus 1998:2). The policy issues at this stage will be introduced to the political stage by different governmental institutions, individuals, interest groups, or specific events, Barkenbus (1998:4). Certain individuals, such as the president by virtue of his/her public office, are able to get key issues on the agenda. This suggests that issues that appear and remain on the policy agenda should either have sufficient scope, where a number of people are affected, or its intensity is high or it has been an issue over a long time. This implies that during this stage of *agenda setting* a decision regarding who will deal with the problem - when and in what form - has to be made. Such decisions are guided by a set of rules laid down by the individual political system and by the protagonists in order to come up with a political position. Van Niekerk, Van der Waldt and Jonker, (2001) suggest that various alternatives to address the problem should be assessed, using measures such as costs and benefits to determine the feasibility of the cause of the intended action. In the context of assessment policy, the policy-making process (policy formulation) is essential as it facilitates the understanding on how Outcomes-Based-Assessment as a National policy was conceived as well as comprehending what the costs involved in the implementation of the new policy, including the problems that needed to be addressed.

It could be concluded that the policy formulation process ends with policy creation; that is the laying down of a valuable authoritative assignment in the form of a law; a program or a provision. The law or program is then given to

the administrative structures for implementation. The results and effects of these policy and implementation decisions finally create political reactions of either a positive or negative nature, which in turn, are also implemented politically and which lead to the continuation, change or end of the policy (*restatement of policy, policy termination*). In practice, a vast majority of policy decisions reflect only minor changes to the status quo because of the nature of policy development. As was discussed in Section 4, the key stakeholders or members of the policy community often see the status quo as the most beneficial scenario and are able to work effectively to maintain it (Smith, 2003). However, Theodoulou and Cahn (1995:86) suggest that there are commonly agreed upon stages for public policy formulation which consist of:

<b>Stages in policy formulation</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
1. Issue identification and problem definition:	During this stage attention is drawn to circumstances that are potential issues requiring attention of policy makers.
2. Setting the agenda:	The issue has generated enough attention to warrant further action.
3 Policy formulation	Steps are suggested as to how the problem could be addressed; which tools and instruments could be used and which institution could be the best place to address the problem.
4. Policy adoption:	Alternatives are considered and one is selected that could be used in addressing the issue.
5. Policy implementation:	Action to give effect to the chosen alternative is taken.
6. Policy evaluation:	The impact of the policy in delivering the desired result is examined.

## **6. Policy content**

MacLean (1996) as quoted in Venter and Landsberg (2007:163) indicated that there is no politic without policy. The practice of governance and the content of government are influenced by public policy-making. Venter and Landsberg (2007) further argue that policies guide and influence the behaviour of actors in a policy-making arena, such as government agencies, officials, legislature as well as activities in education, land reform, the provision of low cost housing, child grants and setting of tax threshold levels for the poor. Central to this argument is that policy content is developed in an environment that is always in state of flux that requires the policy entrepreneurs to have room for adaptation when implementation begins.

### **6.1. Policy-making context**

The environment in which a policy-making process takes place cannot be separated from the physical and social context. In most cases local conditions and the views held by both policy-makers and policy implementers influence what eventually is implemented. Sutherland (2007:6) refers to that as an ‘implementation gap’. The implementation gap between policy intentions and its outcomes come about as a result of changes due to situational factors and Moore (2003:46) calls this process ‘domestication of policy’. Sometimes domestication of policy is brought about by resistance to change, as indicated by Moore (2003:46) that staff members could respond to national policy by re-interpreting and

reconstructing it, on the grounds ‘using strategies’ that effectively change the policy and thereby its direction. It becomes necessary to explore conditions that make certain policies prevail over others. The government departments develop numerous policies which are influenced by historical content; political; social and economical and global contexts, as explained below.

### **6.1.1. The Historical Content**

The policy actors in SA prior to 1994 developed policies that addressed the needs of the political office bearers at that time, guided by political decisions of the ruling party at the time, Venter and Landsberg (2003:163). After 1994 the political actors changed. These changes brought along new political actors who influenced the policy-making process. This policy development arena necessitated according to Venter and Landsberg (2007:164) in changing the process of taking political decisions; realignment of the policy-making process to the priorities and goals set forth by government; trying to link the time-frames within which changes were manifested, to expectations of beneficiaries. New policy-making processes evolved in line with the **Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996**. The Bill of Rights is one such an example that provided people equality in terms of Section 9.1(a). The Bill of Rights addresses some of the practices that De Waal; Currie and Erasmus (2001:190) aptly pointed out when they state:

“the apartheid social and legal system was squarely based on inequality and discrimination. Black people were prevented from becoming owners of property or even residing in areas classified as ‘white’; which constituted nearly 90 per cent of the land mass of South Africa; senior jobs and access to established schools and universities were denied them, civic amenities including transport systems; public parks, libraries and many shops were also closed to black people.” Erasmus (2001:190).

Policies were developed to maintain the imbalance and to protect the government of the day. The democratic government that was formed in 1994 ushered in a new dimension to the policy-making process. The changes that were made accommodated processes that allowed participation of a majority of people who were excluded by consultations and *Imbizos*. For the first time the voiceless were given a chance to influence policies that affected their lives. Notably changes during this era were the rate and speed at which policies were adopted and implemented. Venter and Landsberg (2001:164) concur that in many of the policy domain, policy adoption had therefore been followed by successful implementation. This was possible because political policy represents the policy of the political party in power. According to Hattingh (1998:55), the elected government develops policy that shows their relevant value preference as prior to 1994.

### **6.1.2. Political Environment**

The Political component affects every facet of administrative activity because these activities are directly or indirectly influenced by factors such as laws and regulations governing the behaviour of persons and the system of government. The political milieu affects and dictates the public administration functions since the authority of the state regulate the structures and processes within the state, including the political climate and the concentration of political power, Van der Waldt and Du Toit (1999:104). The deployment of party loyalists to key positions is one of the strategies that the ruling party uses to ensure that policies of the party are implemented.

### **6.1.3. Social Environment**

The social environment under which policies are formulated is influenced by values and ethics held by the community for whom the policy is intended. In a country like South Africa there are many different groups with diverse cultures. Due to cultural influence people may react differently to government initiatives and policy, Van der Waldt and Du Toit (1999:112). One such area is in relation to linguistic diversity that affects the policy communication. Language forms part of cultural, demographic and social setting. If the policy reflects the values and beliefs that are common and shared, and if its intentions are able to harness the values and beliefs held commonly and shared by the cultural group that the policy is intended for, its acceptance could be enhanced.

Public perceptions and opinions determine the boundaries and direction of public policy. Therefore policy-makers should at all times be sensitive to the social system and dynamics in order to garner the support for their policies and give legitimacy to the policy, ensuring public participation. Central to communications is how policy - as a means to teach - could use language to inform different linguistic groups on HIV and AIDS policies. The development of policies on AIDS does not only influence language considerations. It would affect the provision of infra-structure such as clinics and hospital, provision of staff and medications, and would add a burden to the authority, van der Waldt and Du Toit, (1999:115). It is therefore apparent that the economic environment shall be affected by social policies. However, the allocation of resources shall to a large extent be influenced by the economically powerful group. Because of their economic power, this group is able to determine which programs may be pursued. They also determine the level of priority for certain policies.

The interest groups cannot make any meaningful contribution if they do not understand. Since social programs are aimed at improving the general wellbeing of the citizens, there is the need for creation, reform, and restructuring of those institutions that make it possible for citizens to understand and make their voices heard concerning the choice and implementation of public policies that affect them, Van der Waldt and Jonker (2001:106).

#### **6.1.4 The economic and global environment**

The influence of economy and the role played by international actors could not be over-emphasised. Prior to 1994, South Africa, because of her policies of segregation was put under pressure by economic sanctions and sport isolation to the extent that she had to ‘un-ban’ political parties and amends the laws that allowed for political activities. Such as:

- Granting the rights to establish trade unions
- Opening public facilities to all races
- Scraping of the influx control
- Eliminating discriminating labour relations laws
- Granting of permanent residential rights to blacks who were living in white areas for more than 10 years, Van der Waldt and Du Toit (1999:105).

The repeal of such laws between 1981 and 1987 helped in keeping peace and opening up avenues for trade with foreign countries. At the same time SA had to borrow funds from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. These powerful international actors placed conditions she had to adhere to, including the use of technical support that indicated institutional reforms. Conditions attached to these loans to forced national states were to conform to internationally acceptable practices, Grindle and Thomas (1991:102).

## 7. Policy-making process

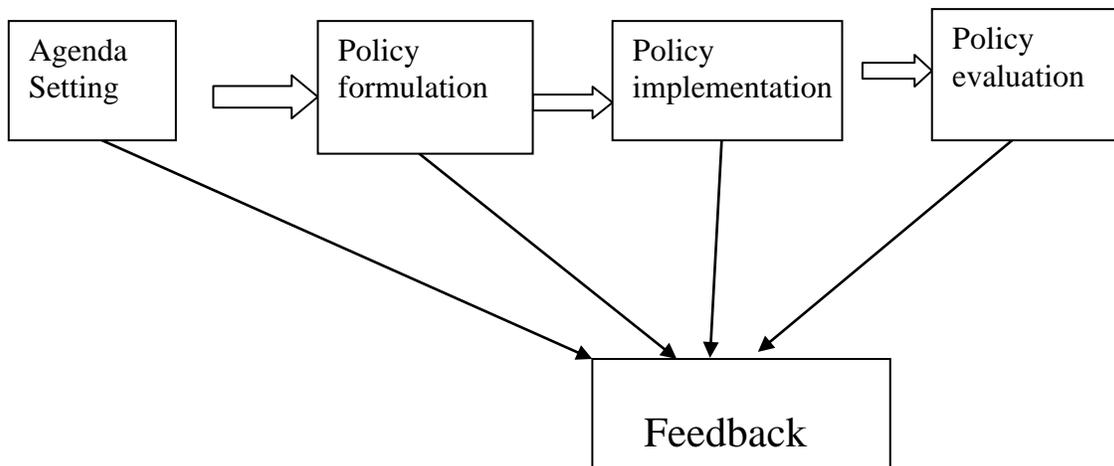
The government has to acknowledge that public problems should be identified in order that an agenda in policy-making could be prepared. When policy analysts investigate the causes, consequences and performance of public policies in order to create knowledge in policy process, they should know what the problem was. After the knowledge *in* policy process is created, it should be linked to knowledge *of*, in order to use the results of policy analysis to improve the policy-making process and its performance

The information relevant to the policy which would be generated will be useful in answering questions such as: what the nature of the problem is; which past and present policies were established to address the problem and what outcomes were achieved; were the outcomes valuable and did they assist in solving the problem; were there alternative policies that could be used to address the problem and what would likely be their future outcome; what alternatives could be employed in order to solve the current problem? These questions could assist in clarifying what policy problems are; what the future of the policy is; which actions should be undertaken; what would be the outcomes of the policy, and how the policy would perform. In generating information a series of intellectual activities are carried out within an environment which is politically influenced. These activities, which comprise of interdependent phases are described as the policy-making process and are arranged through time and comprise of: agenda setting, policy formulation, policy adoption, policy implementation, and policy assessment. Some literature indicates that the activities in the

policy-making process are non-linear and in some instances up to eight stages are identified, such as indicated by Hayes; Peter Bridgman and Glyn Davis's. The stages comprise of:

1. Issue identification
2. Policy analysis
3. Policy instrument development
4. Consultation (which permeates the entire process)
5. Coordination
6. Decision
7. Implementation
8. Evaluation

Barkensbus (1998:2) indicates only four stages in the policy cycle, which includes agenda setting; policy formulation; policy implementation and policy evaluation with a feedback loop. These stages in most instances are arranged sequentially as follows:



Source: Barkensbus 1998

Van Niekerk, van der Waldt and Jonker (2001:93) believe that in order to understand public policy-making processes, a theoretical framework needs to be established. Hogwood and Gunn (1984:43) indicate that administrators and politicians rely on theory as much as academic scientists do. The purpose of theorizing helps practitioners to explain and predict, simulate and experience as well as test hypothesis.

A simplified representation of selected aspects of a problem situation should be developed to help clarify a complex process. Through the use of policy-making processes it would be possible to trace policy performance from the time the idea is conceived, up to the stage the policy is implemented as a final product or service. Dye (1984:17) suggests that models could be used, (a) for directing inquiry into public policy; (b) to suggest explanations for policy decisions; and (c) simplify and clarify people's thinking about public policy.

A range of policy processes are available that could provide the context of theoretical framework for policy management that could assist in facilitating ability in designing and evaluating policy. The policy-making process highlighted hereunder provides insight into factors that had an influence on the choice of such of a particular approach such as (i) the policy driving forces in South Africa after 1994; (ii) the political climate and resources; (iii) the policy actors; and (iv) the massive institutional reforms that were taking place in the public sector. These factors had a huge impact on the development and implementation of public policy in South Africa.

It could be concluded that there are models that are based on the principle that policies evolve in phases. The beginning of such a phase would be when an issue is placed on the agenda and the cycle ends when the policy, product or service is evaluated to determine its impact on the beneficiaries. Some models look at policy from the inputs used and the outputs, while others are concerned with the process that was followed in order to come up with the system used. On the other hand, policy analysis could be viewed from analytic, prescriptive or descriptive points of view.

### **7.1. Descriptive models**

Models that are mainly concerned with elements that impact on policy-making are grouped as descriptive. These models are used to improve the understanding of the influence of politics and political processes in the process of administration in relation to public policy development and implementation. The purpose of descriptive models is to explain or predict the causes and consequences of policy choices. That is, the function of the policy. These include:

- The policy process model by Wissink
- Dunn's policy-making model
- Wissink's stage model as they could be fitted into the four categories of elite/mass; group; incremental; and generic process.

#### **7.1.1. Elite model of public policy-making**

The 'Kings and Kingmakers' model according to Cockrel (1997) depicts a power and policy relation as it plays out in the state and society or

community in policy-making. Kingmakers in this model are people who wield power in policymaking. Kingmakers occupy the highest rung in the hierarchy of policy-making and their influence is derived from the financial and intellectual resources they command. They might not be in the public eye but through their influence they are able to determine who gets elected, what should be placed on and what should be removed from the agenda. They also bless who gets appointment or elected as king.

Kings would be those who are policy-maker visible and active and occupying the rung just below Kingmakers. These levels comprise of the appointed and elected leaders in government as well as in organisations. This group has a desired and strong interest in public policy. The kings by virtue of their allegiance to Kingmakers are required to work in consultation with them.

Below the 'Kings' in the policy-making hierarchy are what Cockrel (1997) refers to as 'Actives'. This group consists of community members who are civic-minded. It includes groups like the Action Treatment Campaign who champion the plight of people living with HIV and AIDS. The Young Communist League, the Democratic Alliance Youth League, Clubs such as Rotary International, Special Interest Groups and National Organisations whose members are active in making their voices heard in public policy-making areas. The National Executive Council of the African National Council (NEC) could be regarded in this instance as Kingmakers and Actives because the council determines which policies should be implemented both in the organisation and in the government. The NEC has

an influence on the finalization of candidate lists to be voted for in the office.

The interested citizens are ranked below the Actives in terms of policy-making hierarchy. These are members of the community who are well informed on issues that affect the community, and the state. This group does not frequently participate in policy-making processes and are seldom heard.

Policies are developed to address specific needs of communities and majority of members of the community are not always actively involved in the development of policies aimed at addressing the identified needs. This target group is regarded by Cockrel (1997) as the ‘Apathetic citizens’ and they form the lowest rung in the policy-making hierarchy and their influence in decision making might be minimal. At best, their efforts will have little impact beyond their limited reach, DTI (1998:4). In reality they will probably achieve very little. They would need a strong framework of rules and incentives designed precisely to strengthen focused institutional capacity that could only be provided by government, DTI (1998). Only issues that are unusual in nature do sometimes arouse their interest to the extent that they participate.

This model of “Kings and Kingmakers” suggests that the policy agenda is set by “Kingmakers” while the “Kings” and “Actives” determine the agenda. This suggests that for the National Curriculum Statement to be successful it should have targeted the “Kings” as they are policy-makers, and the value of this new approach should have been aimed at the “Kingmakers” in order for

them to supply intellectual and financial resources as well as determining who should have driven the policy. At the same time the value of the National Curriculum Statement should have been communicated to the “Active Citizens” who are civic-minded. Howlett and Ramesh (1995:126) believe that by targeting the ‘Kingmakers and the Kings’ would have increased the level of participation and involvement of a broader spectrum of people than previously conceived. The involvement of different people would, according to Milward and Wamsley (1984), have increased the level of understanding of the sophisticated policy-making process and the South African dynamic political system.

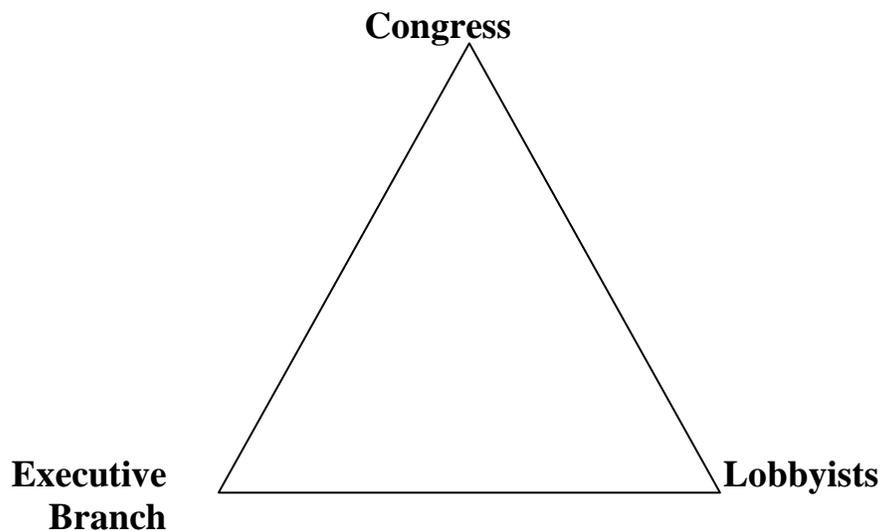
The focal point of this model is the selected few who have power to make decisions regarding policy. The few elite have the responsibility of the general welfare of nations and communities and are perceived as the establishment rather than servants. This model does not indicate how the mass might influence policy-making and regard them as the ill-informed. A typical example is the role that was played by the youth in 1976; youth who culminated in June 16<sup>th</sup> in Soweto when students demonstrated against the forceful usage of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. After the riots the government scrapped the then law and English was used as a medium of instruction.

The recent illustration of roles played by masses could be that of the residents of Khutsong who refused to be incorporated into North West Province and demanded to be part of Gauteng. The government in 2009 had to amend the Act that would have enabled cross-border municipalities to have an influence on the amending of the law that would make it possible to

be incorporated in the province of their choice. People were encouraged to voice their opinion about what progress the government was making to meet the basic needs of the citizens through the 2007 Community Survey, ANC Today (Volume 7). This is in contrast with the views expressed in this model that the public has only an indirect influence on public policy; that communication flows downward and that the powerful elite influence the masses.

### 7.1.2 The Iron Triangle Model

The Iron Triangle Model suggests that there are three points of power in policy-making processes which consists of the Executive, Congress and the Farm Lobby.



Source:IP-19

The Congress in the case of public policy-making in the Department of Education shall consist of chairperson of education portfolio committees

and sub-committees who have an influence on determining policy direction. A classical example is the role played by the National Committee on Education Support Services that investigated and made recommendations regarding the support services that should be provided to learners' who have educational specific needs, (White paper 6 page 5). Their recommendations influenced the legislations to provide all learners with a unified education and training system that was based on equity, South African Constitution (1996) Section 9(2) (4) and (5).

The Executive consists of the Ministers and Members of the Executive Councils, chief Directors and Heads of Department including administrators in the ministries. In the case of the education ministries, after the recommendations of the National Committee on Education Support Services, the department developed policies to address the laws that separated learners, based on the special education needs as well as racial lines (White paper 6).

The Lobbyists in respect of education provision could include the role played by different educational organisations and unions who influenced policies affecting the working conditions of teachers. Within this power triangle the National Education policies are developed and debated. The union and professional teacher bodies would use plebiscite to determine the policy direction and its agenda, determine regulatory measures and programs for implementation. The emphasis of these models is on the group as the source of power. It undermines the influence of public officials and environmental factors in policy making.

### 7.1.3. Power Clusters

The ‘Power Clusters’ model indicates that there are many actors who play a significant role in the development of public policy, Cockrel, (1997:2) indicates that this model was developed by Ogden in 1971 by expanding on the “Iron Triangle” model to include multiple groups that have an influence on the policy development, begging when it is formulated through to evaluation. Power clusters are formed when related groups influence public policy by acting together or independent of each other, Cockrel (1997: 2).

There are common elements that all power clusters contain. Cockrel (1997) identified the follow elements as common to the power clusters:

- Latent public
- Legislative committees
- Special interest group
- Administrative agencies
- Professionals
- Attentive public

According to Cockrel (1997), there are patterns of power that characterize the relationship within each power cluster and are characterized by five patterns of behaviour that shape the process of making policy consisting of:

- Close personal and institutional ties — key people communicate frequently.

- Active communication among cluster elements — intense communication characterizes the key actors in the cluster at varying times in the policy-making process.
- Internal conflicts among competing interests - although relationships within clusters are generally friendly, the various members may hold opposing views and frequently be in conflict with one another.
- Internal cluster decision-making - most policy decisions are made within the various clusters.
- Well-developed internal power structure — within a cluster, key leaders are well known and consulted on all major activities that affect their interests.

The Power Clusters focus on the groups as the sources of power in the policy-making process. It describes the roles that groups play as the central role and underestimation of the roles played by institutions and public officials. This model is not quite different from the Iron Triangle because both of them place emphasis on group power. The success of these group models depend on the forums that would ensure that interaction takes place to facilitate debates which would largely depend on institutional arrangements, for instance members of a particular portfolio committee would wield more power when they sit in commissions where policy pertaining to their field has to be developed regarding their line function.

**(i) Activities of the Opponents**

According to Cockrel (1997:1), this model acknowledges the activities of the opponents as they play a unique role by adding opposition forces in public policy-making process. The model indicates that at any stage of the policy-making process, there are a series of steps that are parallel to those that were advocated by policy actors but pulling in opposition to the actors. The final stages in policy development are regarded as authoritative decision, implementation and evaluation, Cockrel, (1972:1).

**(ii) Authoritative decision**

After the problem has reached the formal agenda, relevant authorities need to take a final decision. Once deliberation on the issue was done, for instances in relation to the National Curriculum Statement, after the advocates have proposed that the pass requirements be changed along with the subject combinations requiring all learners in grades 10, 11 and 12 to study mathematics or mathematical literacy. The relevant government authorities decided to adopt the proposals, while at the same time there were those who opposed and made a counter proposal. They cited that the new approach would produce certificated youth who are not educated. If a proposal is met with strong counter proposal the authority according to Corkrel (1997:1) should strive to get a compromise or refuse to take action and thereby retain the status quo.

### **(iii) Implementation**

Implementation can only be done once the formal decision has been taken to accept the proposal. The relevant department or agency is tasked with the responsibility to implement the decision. The responsible government entities would be required to develop regulations and procedures that should be followed on implementation. For example, in the case of the National Curriculum Statement the quality assurance section in the ministry of education had to develop promotion requirements and programs for assessing learner performance. Programs for evaluating the system to determine its effectiveness had to be developed.

### **(iv). Evaluation**

The evaluation of the policy could be through the formal means of data collection and analysis such as the systematic evaluation conducted in 2000, 2003, 2006 and 2008 for grades 1; 3; 6 and 9 respectively. Information generated from this evaluation revealed both strong points and challenges concerning the new approach to education. The results revealed that learners in those grades, particularly in rural schools, could neither read nor write. This warranted modification of the policy.

Lessons from the systemic evaluation indicated that there are multiple decision points in any policy-making process and that for every stage in the decision process when advocates develop a proposal for implementation, the opponents would present their counter proposal parallel to each stage.

## 7.2. The System Approach

The system approach to policy-making is useful in trying to link the policy process with a political system. The policy-making process according to Fox, Schwella and Wissink (1991:31) is a sub-process of a political process in the policy-making arena, as it focuses on the response by the political system to the needs and demands of the affected groups. The problems of the communities would enter the political system as inputs from the interested group via the political process. This process could be a proposal from advocates' or counter proposals from opponents, through debates and decisions. If modification of the proposal is made, consensus should be reached first on the policy in order to ensure that it would be implemented.

Using the system approach to policy-making makes provision for the influence of environment on the political policy process as well as the policy-making environment. The success of the political system to convert inputs (demands, resources and support) onto policy depends on the feedback and the quality thereof coming from policy conversion and policy outcomes. Hanekom (1987:8) indicates that the information given as feedback in the form of consequences, results or impact is incorporated when new policies or existing policies are adopted. Fox, Schwella and Wissink (1991: 32) pointed out that the systems approach to policy-making comprises the following elements: policy inputs, policy conversion, policy outputs and policy feedback.

The policy inputs which are regarded as information generation come in a form of demands from the interested groups, the resources that should be

used in addressing the problem and the support need. The policy conversion which comprise of consideration and decision-making process on demands to policy, what the political process in the political system is and the policy outputs would be in the form of policy statements or documents. These elements suggest that the policy- making process is a system that consists of inputs-processing-outputs. The monitoring of the processing of output as well as evaluation of the impact of the output will inform the initiation and generation of the policy inputs. However, this model does not describe how the transformation or conversion of the political sub-process in political system takes place. The role played by opponents and the influence of environmental factors is not accounted for.

### **7.3. The Institutional Model**

De Coning (199:142) points out that the premise of the institutional model is that public policy is a product of public institutions and that policy is legitimized by government since only government policies apply to all members in the society. The structure of public institutions has a direct bearing on policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. As pointed out by Fox, Schwella and Wissink (1991:31) that a policy-making process is a political sub-process, the structure of governmental institutions is a product of a political sub-process. The functioning of these institutions is also influenced by the political system and policies of the ruling party. A particular political system determines who makes the decisions since it allocated power, Venter and Landsberg (2007:169).

Anderson (1979:22) in De Coning (1995:142) argues that the institutional model could be used in policy analysis best by analysing the behaviour patterns of different policy institutions and their effect on a policy-making process. For example, the different departments at all three levels of government are lead by political heads and administered by political appointees to ensure that the policies of the ruling party are implemented. This arrangement describes the official duties of bureaus and their departments as depicted by the government's organisational chart.

It could be concluded that there are various models that are studied in Public Administration which assist in understanding policy-making processes as well as understanding the policy content that the prescriptive models focus on the analysis of policy itself; because these models are extended to establish whether the intended results shall be realised through the adoption of a particular policy and the consequences thereof. Other models focus on problem-solving or mediation in order to resolve conflict. Dye (1987:31) rightfully points out that prescriptive models focus on the analysis of policy itself, since these models are to establish whether the intended results shall be realised through the adoption of a particular policy and what the consequences shall be. Some models focus on solving a particular problem or mediation in order to resolve conflict. By explaining casual relationships and providing rules, some models are able to assist implementers attain the goals of certain policies.

In the economic environment, mathematical symbols which describe association and relations among variables use symbolic models. This model provides procedures and methods for attaining or solving a specified

problem. While the incremental model to decision-making would be appropriate during periods of developing policies that succeeded, in other situations this approach might not be suitable when innovative policies are to be developed (Venter and Landsberg, 2007:169). According to De Coning (1995:144) various policy-making models could be considered when developing policy and be used as a guide rather than following a particular model to the letter, as each model has its own limitations.

## **8. Public Policy-making in South Africa**

The South African context of policy-making process after 1994 presents a unique perspective to the policy-making process. The policy-making process and implementation of policies could have been influenced by the various approaches individually and collectively. With the advent of democracy and the overwhelming majority of votes that the African National Congress commended in the 1994, 1999, 2004 and 2009 general elections, the political landscape changed and so did the priorities of government which necessitated the shift of policies and policy-making processes that would address the needs of citizens. The conditions that prevailed between 1994 and 1999 were very uncertain and the policy-making process was aimed at redirecting the policies' frameworks to match needs, Hanekom and Sharansky (1993:94-119), Van Niekerk, Van der Waldt and Jonker (2001:154-159) ably pointed out that in the South African Defense Force, which later was referred to as the South African National Defense Force, had to refocus its attention from defending and enforcing compliance through a barrel of a gun, to defending and

protecting the Republic subject to the authority of Parliament and the national executive.

During 1976 and the 1980s the army was deployed with the police to suppress black violence, particularly in townships. To maintain the status quo the government needed personnel. According to Government Communications and Information Services (1999) 600 000 soldiers were needed and a conscript system was used. Of this number, black officers were less than 1%, only 136 000 were working full-time. While 4, 5% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was spent on the SANDF which amounted to 15, 6% of the total government expenditure, (Government Communication and Information Services, 1999). After 1994, the government adopted policies that made it possible to downsize the SANDF to 70 000 members that would be kept for peace-keeping purposes. Instead of conscription the SANDF relied on volunteers. The number of black officers increased to 31, 6% in 1999. The government expenditure dropped to 7% which accounted for 1, 5% of GDP on SANDF. At the same time departments and the government were facing major constraints on policy-making (Bekker 1996:18-19 as quoted in Venter and Landsberg (2007:174-175) cited four major challenges that are considered important as they had great influence in the formative state of democracy in South Africa. These challenges are:

- Policy innovations were limited because of the transitions that were taking place. The transitional arrangement pitted new civil servants with previous administration functionaries and they were required to work side by side. This relationship was characterized by mistrust as

the new political heads brought new values and ideologies, while the old had experience and a tag that made them appear to be frustrating development and sometimes as anti-new administration, Venter and Landsberg (2007:174).

The adoption of the new Constitution of South Africa in 1996 enforced government departments and institutions to comply with rules and regulations from institutions such as the Constitutional Court, the Public Protector, and the Attorney General. Principles of accountability, responsiveness and openness in the execution of government activities were enforced. Compliance and service-delivery were required of public officials and administrators.

Functionaries at times could not distinguish between party politics and administration. This separation is not easy to achieve; Van Niekerk, Van der Walt and Jonker (2001: 67). Bekker (1996:18) as quoted in Venter and Landsberg (2007:174) argue that at times the institutions like the Constitutional Court and the Public Protector are constantly called upon to defend their space and justify why certain policies could not be carried out. The introduction of forums which encourage community participation in the policy-making process requires functionaries and policy entrepreneurs to be transparent and inclusive in the process. The policy consultation in relation to Curriculum 2005, Revised National Curriculum Statement 2003 and National Curriculum Statement introduced in 2006 assumed a character of feedback and dissatisfaction were raised, Venter and Landsberg (2007: 174.)

The democratic approach of the South African government lead by the ANC provides a single nationhood while encouraging cultural uniqueness which could be linked to racial consciousness. This policy according to Venter and Landsberg (2007: 175) complicates the policy directive, as South Africa is culturally plural and with diverse values and interests.

The South African economy as well as politics is influenced by global factors. The fact that in order to attract foreign investments and be able to access funds from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, South African government has to comply with rules and regulations of world order which in principle clashes with the aims of redistribution policies of the ruling party.

Bekker (1996:18) as quoted in Venter and Landsberg (2007:174) states the rules imposed by these organisations put South African policy-makers in uncomfortable straight-jackets.

Due to the constraints, the end result is that not all policy objectives during that period could be realized. The problem was compounded by the incremental policy adopted by the South African government that affected service-delivery. Venter and Landsberg (2007:175) point out that the influence of the culture of political loyalty and the lack of opposition parties who command high levels of credibility and legitimacy, assisted in bridging the gap between reconstructive policy statement and policy realization.

The problem of the lack of state capacity to implement some of its programs led to the government realizing many pitfalls that helped shape

new policies. For example, the election manifesto of the ANC in 2009 indicated that the child grants will be extended to the age of 18. The reality is that government needs to raise money to cover the grants. The government has, besides state expenditure, to provide funds for no-fee schools and feed learners in those schools that were identified under the nutrition program, particularly in the historically rural areas. To fund such programs the government should develop policies or amend old ones in line with international trends.

Venter and Landsberg (2007:175-185) suggest that policy-making in South Africa should be viewed as ongoing and interactive and could be assessed in terms of the processes that lead to the realisation of policy objectives which include the policy context; directives for implementations, integrated action that are aimed at policy delivery and the adaptation that takes place while the policy process is in progress. In facilitating policy development process the following three approaches were suggested: (i) clearing houses of policy initiative, (ii) integrated stream approach to public policy-making in South Africa, and (iii) interactive clusters of policy actors.

### **8.1. Clearing houses of policy initiatives**

The wide range of institutions that direct the policy initiatives and dictate the stream of actions of those policies is regarded as clearing houses of policy initiatives, Venter and Landsberg (2007:83). Their influence begins at the identification of issues by policy entrepreneurs through to adoption, implementation and evaluation. Examples of clearing houses include national and provincial government departments where public hearing of

parliamentary portfolio committees is organised; cabinet and cabinet committees; the national assembly; the National Council of Provinces; Constitutional Court and provincial as well as local government institutions. These clearing houses arrange nation hearing and conferences to enable the public to participate in the shaping of public policies. The consultative summits and the *imbizo* or *lekgotla* could be used to dictate the stream of policy proposals. The most frequently used strategy by the ANC is ‘road-shows’ and ‘advocacies’. The use of specialist forms of academia as well as consultancies provides an objective view on policy direction. The advantages derived from this sector are its ability to alert politicians and other policy actors what the real policy issues are.

Of the clearing houses listed above, the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS) and Policy Coordination and Advisory Services (PCAS) structures within the office of the president advise on the passing, reconstructing or halting of particular policy at any point in the cycle. The Constitutional Court has the authority to make a final decision on (1) the Act of Parliament, (2) Provincial Act, or (3) the Conduct of the President - whether it was constitutional. An illustration of this role was evident in March 2007 when the Constitutional Court ruled in favour of ‘Hoerskool Ermelo’ on the choice of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction to be used at the school. This decision emphasized what Maynard-Moody, Musheno and Palumbo (1990) indicated when they said that policy implementation should be based on a flexible strategy that would allow the adoption of local conditions.

The clearing house approach is not confined to government administrative institutions only. For example, the ANC policy forums in particular and directives from ‘Luthuli House’, which is the ANC headquarters, have a huge impact on what was implemented. Berman (1980) suggests that policy changes should be in keeping with the values of implementing agents. The recall of the former President Thabo Mbeki in 2008 illustrated the power that the ruling party wields over the administration.

According to Venter and Landsberg (2007:175) at any stage of policy-making there are many influences that could change the direction of the policy, and that policy is made and shaped throughout the whole process. The policy actions are ongoing and consist of consecutive stages of documentaries that would include discussion documents, governmental directives, the White Papers, legislation, regulations and cabinet memoranda for implementation. Venter and Landsberg (2007:170) indicated that the early stages of the process, particularly in the extra-governmental domain, might be driven by petitions and communiqué that indicate the need for a policy which in turn could lead to production of various statutes.

The policy actors in an integrated approach, for instance, would be organised into communities, depending on the issue. Most participants might be interested in a particular issue. The organisations such as the Professional Education Union; South African Democratic Union and Suid Afrikaanse Onderwys Unie would be classified as belonging to a community of policy stakeholders who are interested in shaping policies affecting teachers, their remuneration and working conditions. The

participation of such groups in the policy-making process could contribute to the policy content and in some instances the group could resort to using resistance, picketing or striking in order to force policy direction.

## **8.2. Interactive clusters of policy action.**

The cabinet, parliament and the office of the presidency in any democratic government remains a key cluster of policy actors. The policies of the government are to a large extent driven by the ruling party. This suggests that the majority of policies and government programs are the ruling party's initiatives. The Mail and Guardian of May 2009 suggests that in President Jacob Zuma's administration, the power of the funding department shall be vested in the presidency and not in treasury. These new developments were due to the directive of the ANC's transition team. The team's main objective is to ensure that the budget should favour ANC's priorities, while Luthuli House plays a monitoring role in the performance of the government ministers. The "keeping a tight reign and pulling them back when they step out of line" policy that the ruling party plans to use in order to ensure that those deployed to parliament, toe the line, is one strategy that it plans using to ensure implementation of party policies. The final policy should therefore accommodate the ANC's constitutional structure, its policy desk, the wishes of its alliance, interest groups including business leaders, policies of the World Bank and IMF.

However, policy-makers do not only need traditional policy-making attributes such as laws and systems to making effective policies, they need to know and interpret the context within which they operate and the policy

that should be implemented well. They ought to understand how the organisational structures, culture, and processes influenced policy-making, including priorities that are required of them as ministers and employees of the party. They should constantly reflect on the importance of the constituency and how policies will play out in the real world and what the impact would be.

The following steps which are crucial in policy development, irrespective of the approach, should consist of (i) identifying the needs of intended beneficiaries, (ii) gathering of the necessary information that would assist in decision-making, (iii) evaluation of options to determine that which best addresses the problem, (iv) analyses of inputs and other transformational processes that have an influence on the construction of public policy, and (v) the intentions and operation of specific policy content should be determined, Roux (2002 : 418-436) .

The steps in policy development as approaches to policy process were described in order to provide an understanding of activities involved in the production of public policies. This information was crucial in the quest to determining the model best suited for implementation of Outcomes Based Assessment, and the techniques to be employed when managing the implementing of assessment in the Further Education and Training band.

## **9. Policy implementation**

The effectiveness of the policy could be determined by the ability of the implementers to put into practice the expected outcomes indicated in the

policy. Therefore public policies should be directed by practice. Barkenbus (1980:6) maintains that:

“Policy-implementation phase has always taken a back seat to the policy-formulation phase of the policy cycle. This is understandable because the public perceives the major policy battle as being fought over defining the policy itself. Scholars know better. They know that policies themselves are not self- executing and that the elaboration and setting forth of policy mark just the beginning, not the end, of a full policy cycle. The perils that face those actually having to implement policy are substantial”.

Policy implementation should be regarded as a means to test the assumptions that were made around the needs identified. The implementation of policy will rarely satisfy all stakeholders because optimum does not exist. The desired product will only be realised if appropriate combination of relevant inputs is realized.

Barkenbus (1980:7) argues that people should be surprised when there is any positive accomplishment arising from the policy itself because policy implementation is so difficult to achieve. Scholars of implementation research, particularly on government policies, beginning in the 1970s and starting with the work of Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), concur that there are problems in the implementation phase. Major challenges are associated with implementing judiciary policies while some educational researchers such as Hall (1995) and Newton (2000) echo the same sentiments i.e. that there is an implementation gap between national

policies and the implementation thereof. Lessons could be learnt from different authors who defined or explained what implementation is.

According to O'Toole (2000:263-288) and Henry (2001:295), policy implementation refers to the activities that take place between the establishment of a demonstrated aim on the part of a governmental institution and the ultimate impact in the world, which are carried out in the light of an established plan. Implementation refers to the process of converting financial resources, material and other activities in a formally coordinated way to produce goods and services for the benefit of the intended recipients. Edwards (1980) defines policy implementation as a stage of policy-making between the establishment of a policy and the consequences of the policy for the people whom it affects. It involves a wide variety of actions according to some definite plan or procedures such as issuing and enforcing directives, disbursing funds, assigning and hiring personnel.

The implementation of policy entails what should be done (performance). In most instances the government would be looking at improving the lives of the citizens; what the intended change should be (the impact of the policy of beneficiaries) and the interrelated activities such as providing funds, material and personnel that assist in ensuring that the apparent intentions are realised. This means that governments may implement policy in various ways. The ways employed are regarded as policy tools (including legislation, regulations, programs, grants, taxes, subsidies,

guidelines and standards) or instruments since they indicate the methods used to pursue the desired outcome. The outcome could be economical, educational, political or institutional.

Policy implementation should in essence imply bringing technical abilities, knowledge and skills of actualising the state, to the everyday running of government activities. All hands should be on deck. However, as Cloete and Wissink (2000:165) indicate, there is yet a common theory of implementation to be formulated. Some theoretical explanations are provided by scholars on the meaning of policy implementation. There are five interlinked variables that have been consistently identified by scholars in different disciplines such as health, environment, education and population development which could assist in understanding policy implementation. These critical variables are content, context, commitment, capacity, and clients and coalitions support.

Implementation is also indicated as a process that consists of various stages of decisions (inputs) and outputs of agencies for implementations, interest of the target group that should be complied with, the evaluation of the statutes that have been revised in terms of content influenced by the political system operating at the time, and actual impacts of those decisions, Mokhaba (2005:112). Brynard (2005) points out that it is not yet clear how many types of variables exist, or the beginning or end of the implementation process. There is a lack of common theory, particularly in South Africa because she is still in the midst of the implementation era, Brynard (2005). Majone and Wildavsky (1995:142) as quoted in Mokhaba (2005:113) indicate that policy implementation could be seen as a process

in which the right activities should be found. While Pressmen and Wildasky as quoted in Cloete and Wissink (200:166), regard implementation as the ability to forge subsequent linkages that in the causal chain would lead to obtaining the desired results. This suggests that policy implementation is a process of assembling certain elements that would yield the required output or actions that culminate in realizing the objectives or aims of the policy.

The standard dictionary defines the term implementation “as the act of accomplishing some aim or executing some order”; “to put into effect according to some definite procedure or plan”. One could assume that implementation of policy would require that those who are dedicated, loyal and interested career administrators would put into effect that which has been authorized. These sets of organised activities by government are deliberate and directed towards achieving the goals and objectives that were articulated in an official and formal policy statement; thereby trying to address what actually happened that warranted change. In addressing the casual implementation process, the missing link should be found. Hargrove (1975) in Cloete and Wissink (2000:166) points out that literature revealed that implementation research was too restricted in (i) time where the emphasis was on cross-sectional versus longitudinal analysis, (ii) the number, (iii) type of policy; (iv) defining of concepts of implementation, and (v) approach where there is over-reliance on either a top-down or bottom-up approach, instead of using both.

Certain literature highlights what has been done to clarify the complexity of the implementation process and indications are that it could be traced

through three generations of research conducted Brynard and Erasmus (1995:166). These generations of researchers are:

- Classical thinkers
- Critical thinkers who set out to challenge the assumptions of the classical thinkers
- Analytical thinkers.

Theorists who wrote on implementation agree on certain criteria that models on implementation should contain. According to Winter (1990:201); Goggin, Bowman, Lester and O'Toole (1990); Hasenfeld and Brock (1991) implementation should be a process that involves making decisions and/or actions that are directed towards putting policies into action. The emphasis should be placed on the measures to reach outcomes using the means at our disposal. The views of scholars on policy development could be in the first, second, and third generations of researchers who wrote on policy implementation.

### Generation I (A cog in the administration machine)

The first generation of policy analysts viewed administration and policy implementation as something that should be centralised at the top, and subordinates should carry out decisions made at the top. Their perception was that administration is 'scientific'; 'rational'; predictable and 'machine like', according to (Cloete and Wissink 2008:185). Their view was based on the assumption that once a policy was made by government (at the top) it will automatically be implemented and the desired result achieved will be similar, or close to that which was expected by policy entrepreneurs. (Cloete

and Wissink 2008:185) indicate that this approach to policy administration was based on three basic concepts that assisted in showing the natural linkages between implementation and the administrative machine.

Max Weber's view of the bureaucratic administrative system based on hierarchical structures which are rational, legal and have the authority to make decisions at the top, were responsible crafting policies. The second concept of administration was that by Woodrow Wilson where he argued that politics, which is the formulation of policy, should be separated from administration and policy implementation. He was of the opinion that administration should be done by civil servants who are apolitical, knowledgeable and neutral. The third concept is based on the work of Frederick Taylor (the principle of scientific management) which minimized the importance of implementation by providing principles of efficiency as a basis through which administrative performance could be evaluated. His model was based on organisational hierarchy, separation of politics from administration and efficiency, Cloete and Wissink (2008: 185).

### Generation 2. (complexity of implementation)

The second generation of authors questioned the idea of separation of politics and administration which was proposed by the first generation in the classical model. They argued that public policy did not work as efficiently and orderly as believed. This group indicated cases such as the Watergate scandal and the unsuccessful American intervention in Vietnam that emphasized the need for bureaucratic control.

Through cases that are studied in the United States in the 1960s, the scholars identified that policies were not working as they ought as indicated in the classical model and that there were many complexities in administration, policy implementation and politics as pointed out by Cloete and Wissink (2008:185).

### Generation 3 (The search for implementation theory)

Despite the fact that implementation received the recognition it deserved as a vital cog in the policy development cycle, there is still a need to gather information that could be compared with other theories and views on implementation.

Cloete and Wissink (2008:185) amply pointed out that:

Researchers do not agree on the outlines of theory of implementation or even on the variables crucial to implementation success. Researchers for most part, implicitly disagree on what should constitute implementation success; especially in the multi-actor setting. However, even among those who seem to share assumptions on this issue, for instance those who utilise an unambiguously top-down perspective and seek to execute the wishes of a central sovereign state, there seems to be considerable diversity.

The perception is that policy implementation is an administrative choice and that after the policy has been legislated it will automatically be implemented. However, how to determine the value or the effectiveness of

such policy is still a question as there is no common policy-analytic method or a common technique that could be used to measure such a policy.

The contributions made by this generation of implementation researcher were crucial in enhancing people's understanding of those variables that impact on implementation, Cloete, Wissink and Coning (2008:186), despite the fact that some researchers believe that the contributions made lacked a casual understanding, analytic approaches and conceptual models of organising framework on implementation theory. Barkenbus (1998:6) argues that implementation requires some technical expertise and that administrative agencies are charged with responsibility of carrying out the dictates of the policy. This makes them front-line organisations for implementation, and grants them the opportunity to influence policy directions. Since policy implementation is a phase of policy-making which lies between policy proposal and the consequences or impact on the people it affects, it is influenced by the approach or model used Makinde (2005:64). Sinclair (2001:79) says that models used to implement policy shall always be influenced by the political and social setting as well as actors who shape its content and their support of it. While Smith (1973:142) points out that:

“Models of policy-making have not taken seriously the importance of policy implementation in the analysis of public policy. For the policy process in the Third World nations, the implementation of policies is an acute phase in the process. I contend that we must re-evaluate the importance of policy implementation if we are to explain policy process or to seek to inform policy-makers on how they should go about making policy”, Smith (1973:142).

Policy implementation should be seen as the ability of the implementing organ to forge links between the intention of the state and the desired outcome of the proposed program. However, there is still lack of common theory on when implementation begins and types of implementation

According to Matland (1995:146) research on implementation revolved around two schools of thought which are regarded as most effective methods for describing implementation, namely top-down and bottom-up. Other models that would receive attention in this section are the “9- Steps Implementation”; and “the Pathways”.

### **9.1. Top-Down and Bottom-Up planning**

The Top-Down models as indicated by Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983:20); Brynard and Erasmus (1995:169); and Sabatier (1986) in Cloete and Wissink (2008:187) view implementation actions of officials and target groups to be in line with the goals embodied in the authoritative decision which is located at the central level of government. Where policy at that level should take decisions to address the following:

- To what extent were the action of policy implementers in keeping with the objective and procedure of a policy?
- To what extent were the objectives of the policy realised within a specified period?
- Which major factors affected policy outputs and impacts?
- How was the policy reformulated in order to make it more effective? (Cloete and Wissink, 2008:187).

The national authority which could be the cabinet is best placed to pass laws, statutes and regulations that are most relevant to produce the desired results and address the questions raised above. Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989) in Matland (1995:146) argue that the probability of successful implementation is dependent on: (1) tractability of the problem, (2) ability of statute to structure implementation, and (3) non-statutory variables affecting implementation. One such variable could be the political landscape at play, extreme stinginess or the reluctance to spend money on programs that could be viewed as unfruitful expenditure.

Those who propound top-down models tend to propagate policies that could be generalized, that exhibit patterns and have variables that could be manipulated at the top, Matland (1995:146). It is believed that by making policy goals clear and consistent; limiting the extent of change that is necessary; minimizing the number of actors and placing implementation in the agency that is sympathetic with the goals of the policy, will improve chances of successful implementation.

However, Matland (1995:147) points out that there are several challenges associated with this model to policy implementation, such as the strong desire to generalize. This would require that consistent recognisable behaviour patterns across different policy arenas should be found. The conventional top-down models on social policy should take into account the interest and needs of the community; the value system and the political factors that influence the perception on policy. As a consequence, top-down models usually lack details on current and future social and cultural options

which may be relevant for an appropriate assessment of social policy proposal.

According to Matland (1995:147) three sets of criticisms are leveled against top-down models to policy implementation, namely:

- Taking the statutory language as their starting point. This fails to take into account the contribution of actions taken earlier in the policy-making process which might constitute barriers to implementation process if not carefully studied.
- Their views of implementation as an administrative process and thereby ignoring the political implications associated with the policy process. Their insistence of clarity; formulation of rules that could be traced back to Max Weber's view on bureaucracy and the separation of politics from administration, could lead to the proponents of this model in trying to insulate a subject that is in itself embedded in politics, to be apolitical.
- Their over-reliance on the statute as key actors without recognising the contributions made by local actors. Local actors are merely seen as impediments to successful implementation and need to be controlled. In reality it becomes very difficult to control other agents in the policy cycle because the implementers have knowledge of the community for which the policy was developed, and that gives them an edge to modify the policy and thereby becomes street level bureaucrats.

## 9.2. The Bottom–Up Approach planning

There is a belief that to realistically understand implementation it would be best if policy could be viewed from the targeted beneficiary's point of view as well as the impact that the policy has on it. It should be borne in mind that implementation takes place centrally, e.g. where the National government would centralize programs and determine how the program would be managed. According to Matland (1995:146) this process of centralising policy management is called macro-implementation. The macro-implementation of policy would require clear rules and regulations; clear time lines; clear measures to evaluate the impact of policy which would be ideal in situations where bureaucratic control could be exercised. In the case where the administration is big with varied value systems and political tensions, the macro-implementations process would be exposed to exploitation and sabotage if the implementers are not in favour of the proposed policy, as they are expected to react to the macro-level plans. These reactions of local implementers could result in variations in the interpretation of the central plan.

When centrally planned programs are to be implemented at a local level and also on a large scale, environmental dynamics should be accounted for. Local implementers are members of their community; they are influenced by a local institutional setting, and they would develop their own programs to be implemented because they have local knowledge. Matland (1995:146) argues that contextual factors are found in the environment within which the macro-implementation takes place and determine what actually gets implemented; in the process altering rules

that were created at the top. Palumbo, Maynard – Moody and Wright (1994) in Matland (1995:148) point out that the macro-implementation process is likely to fail if local level implementers are not given the leeway to adapt the program guided by local circumstance.

The macro-implementation level is characterized by the need to understand the goals, activities and contacts of actors at local level in order to understand implementation. Proponents of the micro-implementation process indicate that policy influences and affects people at the micro level. In order to predict the policy effects, it would be necessary to evaluate the influence of policy on the actions of street-level bureaucrats, Weatherly and Lipsky (1978) in Matland (1995:114).

The major difference between the top-down and the bottom-up approaches is that the former is based on the need to prescribe what ought to be done by stating rules to be followed, while the bottom-up approach has a strong desire to describe what factors were instrumental in causing difficulties in the achievement of intended goals. However, the two approaches are mutually exclusive. They both have strong points and challenges but when combined they could offer an improved policy implementation process because both offer very useful insight into policy implementation. Policy implementation has, however, various challenges such as the control factor arising from the Public-Private-Partnerships. The non-government entities are sometimes required to implement public programs. The government on the other hand has limited control on the functions of non-public entities and the behaviour of non-public servants who are loyal to

their institutions, and clients could not be coerced to implement programs that would not lead to profit-making ventures.

There are various reasons why implementation might not succeed, such as indicated by the “9-Step Implementation” model that 9 out of 10 major change initiatives fail because of the following factors:

- i. inadequate communication and influence requirements that are associated with the project
- ii. the role changes resulting from the new programs that are instituted and not addressed in detail.

### **9.3. The Pathways Implementation**

This model of implementation suggest ways for identifying desired changes for successful implementation of content and process by developing 9 steps that describe the core activities associated with each step that should occur at certain points for the change to succeed. The 9 steps are grouped into those that relate to assessment, goal setting and planning. (Step 1–5) - change leadership and preparation for implementation (Step 6-7) - and implementation and monitoring (step 8-9).

#### **9.3.1. Assessment, Goal Setting and Planning**

The first step in this phase arises from the need for change that could have been brought about by a new policy or legislation. In the case of the National Curriculum Statement, the South African Government after 1994

decided to provide an education system that was based on the respect of “human rights”, “equality” and “justice”. There was a need to clarify why all children were to receive an education. The justification to offer a different education system was provided by Section 29 (2) (a) and (c) of the South African Constitution (1996). This section indicates that the State should consider equity and the need to redress the results of the past discriminatory laws and practices. Advocacy of the policy are required in order to inform the citizens on the need to align the education system with the constitution. The nine steps are discussed below on what could have been done to make assessment policies more relevant in the current schooling context.

STEP 1 of the Pathways implementation indicates an assumption that the relevant stakeholders had evaluated practices of existing policy or the needs of the beneficiaries, in the case of the education system, in order to propose change in the curriculum in the schooling environment that is highly politicized and perceived to be learner centered. The administrators, educators and other interested parties would be required during this step to understand the proposed change in order to develop plans that should meet needs and gaps that existed in the system. The proposed program should assist in the development of skills that are required by learners to contribute as citizens and consumers in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, DoE (2005). Other elements necessary to enable learners to become successful, had to be built into the new program.

STEP 2: Lobbying in some cases could be used to generate interest in the new program. In the case of the National Curriculum Statement, research

in international trends in education needs to be established in order to determine a benchmark to assist in setting initial goals and strategies. These benchmarks should indicate what worked and provide challenges in similar settings in order to guide best practices which have histories, Marrow (2001:87). Learning and knowledge should be based on every day practices in which they are embedded. When educators reach out to embrace the new approaches, they are influenced by what they already know and are comfortable with, Walkup (1997: 37-60).

In step 3 the level of preparation and the readiness of the people to accept the proposed change, are assessed. Feedback from advocacy meetings and road-shows could provide valuable information on capacity of infrastructure to implement the program; the ability of the implementers and their support for the proposed change is assessed. If systems and people in this step are not ready after being assessed, further capacity building processes should be initiated. In this step factors that could lead to non-implementation are reassessed and preparations for resources, plans to acquire the resources and means of addressing resistance to new programs need to be in place. Other priorities or initiatives that might compete with the proposed new program should be assessed in order to take appropriate measures. If feedback from step 3 suggests that the systems and people are ready, then step 4 might be skipped. Step 5 will be initiated in which goals and strategies are refined based on the support for change. The support for change should be aimed at reducing the emotional experiences experienced by educators. According to Hargreaves (2000) and Taylor (2007:557) when educators are not threatened by change their sense of efficacy and ability to provide quality education for learners may

be improved. The staggered phasing in of the new approach allowed for the refinement of the approach and changes from old practices.

STEP 6 and 7 concentrate on change leadership and preparation for implementation. According to the Pathways implementation model once the overall change, goals and strategies are clear a new government structure had to be put together that would define the roles of stakeholders that are involved in the project. The subject statement, subject assessment guidelines and the National Protocol on Recording and Reporting were provided to assist in ensuring that educators have a model to follow, a structure that would facilitate the attainment of the goals, created boundaries for teams to operate and standards that implementers were to be held accountable for, and against which the scope of activities are based.

In step 6 key activities of the project are indicated and step 7 points out requirements that could enable effective implementations which are:

- Leadership developed
- Communication and influence training
- Organisation design training and infrastructure development
- Creation of a measurement system for assessing the impact of the change and for making appropriate adjustment to ensure the project success
- The creation of a new role description for those whose task responsibilities are changing

- Professional development for those whose roles are changing as a result of the project.

Through effective leadership and guidance aimed at communication plans that would capture and influence buy-ins which are necessary to ensure success of the new program could be provided; teams established; purpose and functions of the teams outlined.

Step 8 could only commence once the leadership requirements are met. This suggests that implementation process and the success of the program are dependent on meeting the requirements of step 7, while step 9 is also based on step 7. It assesses the development of systems that were developed in step 7. If deviations are detected, adjustments should be made immediately. This step provides information that could be used in assessing and designing the required resources for the program; highlighting key factors for successful monitoring and identifying support structures that would ensure successful implementation, according Pathways to College Network

The nature of the policies that are developed in third world societies are new, and deviating from past policies in the same area of concern. It leads to development of policies that are ambitious and designed to bring about social reforms. This is especially true considering the RDP and GEAR. These programs were aimed at inducing changes in society that had varied value systems.

### **9.3.2. Challenges to the Pathways implementation model**

The assertions in the Top-Down implementation model was that the preconditions to successful implementation is a good casual theory and statutes which define the policy objectives clearly, Sinclair, (2001). According to Schofield (2004) it is not possible to capture the complex dynamic and evolutionary processes involved in policy-making. The bureaucratic processes in public administration which often lack capacity to implement have an influence on the ability of government to implement certain programs. Smith (1973) indicates that this is the challenge that is faced by third World Nations and is not usually found in Western Society. Smith (1973) believes that Third World nations lack qualified personnel to implement policy; there is insufficient direction and control from political leaders; corruption and opposition to policy itself. Despite the process followed by the government making the policy, whether the method was modern, elaborate and most rational, this will be meaningless if the administrators cannot implement it Smith (1973).

The theory and practice of policy is essential for successful implementations of policy, particularly public policy. The implementation models are numerous and not limited to the models discussed in this thesis. However, the Top-Down and Bottom-Up and Pathways implementation (9 steps) models are crucial, as they could clarify decisions for and how assessment in the further education and training band is implemented and managed.

## **10. The policy implementation process**

The purpose of a government policy should be geared towards changing established patterns within old institutions or to establish new patterns. By changing or creating patterns the government policy generates tension in society (Smith 1973), which causes strains and tension to those who should implement the policy and those affected by it. This tension might cause transaction patterns that require the establishment of institutions to assist in the implementation of the policy. According to Smith (1973) there are four components that are important in the policy implementation process; the idealized policy, the implementation organisation, the target group and environmental factors.

### **10.1. The idealized policy**

Idealized policy is based on the ideal patterns of interaction that the policy-makers are aiming to induce. The idealized policy comprise of four categories of variables that are relevant to the policy and included in these categories are: (i) The formal decision either as law or programs, statement or regulation that the government chooses to implement; (ii) what the policy tries to invoke in the society. Such as indicated in the Bill of Rights as stated in Section 7(1) in the South African Constitution (1996) which stresses the principles of human dignity; equality and freedom; (iii) The idealized policy could be classified into (a) either simple or complex; (b) organisational or non-organisational. Non-organisational policies are those that constitute interaction outside the

formal organisational context, (c) distributive, re-distributive, regulatory; and policies that are either intensive support; source of policy or a scope.

Idealized policies like any other policy are subjected considerations such as whether the policy was in the best interest of the public; how well it achieves the stated objectives and whether resources used in the implementation of the policy were well utilized; whether the policy is acceptable and politically viable. These factors are based on the values on which the policy on National Curriculum Statement should have been based. Calabresi and Bobbit, (1978:17) put this succinctly when they say: “..... for it is by the values that are forgone no less than those are preserved at tremendous cost that we know a society”.

Regardless of the type of policy, it would be ideal that a team develop such a policy in order to reflect their values and approval, in order to lessen resistance during implementation.

## 10.2. **The target group**

The target group in this instance refers to those who are required to adapt new patterns of interaction. This group is within the organisation or affected by the policy. Fullan (2001:108) cautions that the developers of policies should not assume that their version of the envisaged change shall be the one that could be implemented. Environmental conditions that implementers have to interact with will invariably shape how the policy gets implemented or modified. The adaptation of policy is influenced by the following factors:

- i. The leadership of the target group.
- ii. Experience on the group and their responses to past governmental policies.
- iii. The degree or institutionalization of the target group.

### **10.3. The implementing organisation**

Government policies are implemented in a unit of governmental bureaucracy which is characterized by:

- The structure and personnel. If the personnel who must implement the policy is unqualified and the administrative organisation is unstable the capacity to implement the policy shall be reduced.
- The maturity and style of leadership.
- The capacity of the implementing organisation and its ability to meet the objectives of the program.

The structure, nature of leadership and the capacity of the implementing organisation influence how the program eventually gets implemented and also how it is influenced by environmental factors.

### **10.4. The environmental factors**

There are factors which are key to implementing policy which constitute a constraining corridor that the policy must be forced through, Makinde (2005:63) and Smith (1973). These corridors could be tensions; transaction patterns; institutions and feedback. It should be considered that policy implementation process is continuous and that it is difficult to

predict the length of certain processes to become institutionalized. Enough time should be created for definite patterns to emerge. A methodology for determining whether the policy meets its objectives could be viewed from examining the patterns emerging from implementing the policy, and comparing them with patterns in the idealized policy proposal. However, the success of public policy according to Peters (1993: 91) is limited by the following factors:

#### **10.4.1. Policy issues**

Policy ambiguity arising from ambiguity of goals, which lead to misunderstanding and uncertainty sometimes leads to implementation failure. Matland (1995) suggests that policies should have a clear goal. However if goals of the proposed policy are clearer, existing actors might become aware of the threats to their domain and take action to limit the range or scope of the proposed policy (Matland 1995). This would result in maintaining their hold on existing patterns, including structure and bureaucracy.

If legislators have knowledge of causes of community needs and possible pitfalls, conflicts that could arise may be minimized and reduce the implementation problem that could result in widening the gap between policy intentions and results. The implementation gap arises when those who should implement it, do not know what they are supposed to do regardless of theories at their disposal. Erroneous decisions are sometimes taken that lead to increased conflict and non-implementation of policy in its original form. Such conflict could be attributed to the political

landscape in which the policy was crafted and the values and beliefs that implementers have which may have gone awry to the specifications of the policy.

#### **10.4.2. Political setting**

The government is formed by the party that won majority votes in the general elections. These electorates have to support the policy or program when it goes to parliament. The implication is that members of the ruling party and other parties, who have common and/or shared understanding on an issue, would be in a position to pass it. Politics have a huge influence on the formulation of legislation and the political process that leads to a decision. Sometimes this process may lead to ineffective implementation of programs passed in parliament. This is due to the trade-offs and conditions that have to be entered into before legislation is passed.

Mokhaba (2005) indicates that legislation is bound to be written in general language in order to accommodate concerns that are raised by political parties. This creates potential of running the risk of masking the intentions of the implementers. Peters (1993: 93-94) argues that this political process may plant the seeds of legislature destruction. Therefore it would be proper for policy designers to consider all relevant factors including the interest of social groups in policy development.

### **10.4.3. Legislation**

Implementation according to Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983:20) is the carrying out of basic decisions which usually are incorporated in statutes. The nature of the legislation affects the suitability and effectiveness of public policy and implementation thereof. The law regulations are the starting point in the authoritative decision and differ according to their specific areas of address. Their extent to binding individuals and organisations depend on the functionality of those units. This view is expressed best in Mokhaba (1995) when he stated that a policy is a chain of hypotheses which is determined by circumstances of adoption and the characteristics of the policy. The successful implementation of any policy shall be determined by the authority and political support for the program.

### **10.4.4. Time problems**

Makinde (2005:64) says that policy failure occurs when there is a sizeable gap between a policy decision and its implementation. This gap inhibits the ability of institutions to respond timeously to the needs of the beneficiaries. According to Makinde (2005:66) the implementation gap could be viewed from the time the implementing institution takes to respond to needs. If implementing institutions lag behind needs, this will be referred to as a linear time problem. A linear time problem occurs when implementing institutions base their responses on experiences from other policies rather than responding to the need guided by current conditions. This is typical of institutions that react to needs and sometimes responding to past crisis rather than addressing current and future crisis.

Other time problems are cyclical in which macro-economic policies are implemented. Because of the fluctuations in economic environment, there may not be sufficient information to predict the reactions in the market. Therefore policies should both be correct and on time in order to achieve the desired outcomes.

#### **10.4.5. Interest groups**

It should be noted that for policies to be successful, interest groups including beneficiaries, should be involved in the development and implementation. A participatory system could be a better option for government to follow, particularly when implementing complicated and ambiguous legislation Makinde (2005:65). Citizen participation in the development process would help in considering policy directions that would have huge impact on the community and to find a common ground. However, according to Privy Council Office (2000) citizen participation should be aimed at building capacity, foster commitment and should include trade-offs when the policy addresses issues that might result in conflicts of values.

On the other hand through Public-Private-Partnerships the Government, through relevant laws could make provision for interest groups to contribute to developmental policies. However, this could create an opportunity for interest groups to voice or frustrate policy initiatives that they do not agree with. Cloete (1998:148) indicates that sometimes interest groups might become a stumbling block to policy implementation when those policies are not serving their interest. On the other hand, if the

group is made to feel a sense of belonging they may commit themselves to implementing the policy.

#### **10.4.6. The institutional settings**

In my democracy, the governmental entities enact laws and allocate resources, including identifying the unit that should implement. Given the nature of policies that government had to develop and to have implemented, this pose challenges. There are various institutional dynamics which need to be responded to in order to create the desired pattern. These factors might affect the ability of institutions to respond in time to policy needs. For an administrative unit to implement policy successfully, it should have the following characteristics as indicated in (Peters 1993:36):

- Uniform norms and rules throughout the institution
- Perfect information and communication
- Adequate time to implement the program
- Unitary performance where it would be like an army marching to the same drummer
- No resistance to commands.

This is not always possible in an administrative unit which is characterized by street-level bureaucrats and public officials who are not apolitical. The principle of accountability would assist in holding functionaries responsible for their action. The Batho-Pele Principle could be another

way in which officials may respond to the needs of communities they serve, and in time reduce conflict arising from ambiguous policies.

#### **10.4.7. Institutional politics within public institutions**

The nature of governance requires interdepartmental corporation when policies are to be implemented. For example, when the Department of Education introduced no school fees, this required the department of finance to provide a budget for that and the South African Reserve Services had to collect funds for treasury to allocate. Problems could be encountered during implementation which would require that the units affected needed to have a common goal. If there is disunity of communication and divergent loyalty, the implementation of the policy could be threatened. Competing loyalties and lack of interest may have a negative influence on the performance of the policy. The situation could be compounded if private institutions were leading the process since their loyalty may be to their client. Factors such as limited resources and clearance points, in the case where more than once institution is involved needs to be addressed and agreed to before any policy proposal could be translated into action.

#### **10.4.8. Institutional disunity**

The ineffectiveness to implement public policy and unsatisfactory outcomes of certain policies could be attributed to the reduction of political pluralism to adversarial bi-partisan. Public institutions seldom have unitary administration, which is a cause to breed disunity in

institutional structures. If parties adopt confrontational and adversarial politics, then parties could try to block each other which would result in unstable, unsatisfactory politics despite the existence of a legislative majority.

The degree of central party control which could lead to disjunction between the parliamentarians and the National Executive Council in the case of the 'African National Congress' could influence implementation. If members in the field do not share values and goals with parliamentarians, implementation problems could occur. Start and Hovland (2004:58) contend that a change in the values and program is required when a change in leadership takes place. For example, in 2008 when the ruling party 'recalled' the then President Thabo Mbeki, some Ministers and public office bearers were perceived to be loyal to his policies. This caused disunity and discomfort to institutions tasked to implement policies. To lessen conflict arising from divergent views, Makinde (2005) argues that policy-makers should plan with the people rather than for the people, in order for a sense of ownership of the program to be forged.

#### **10.4.9. Institutional communication**

Communication is vital for policy implementation. Communication instructions which are clear need to be given to units that are responsible to implement. If the orders that are given to implementers are not consistent and clear, they may cause misunderstanding and confusion, Brynard (2005:21).

In effect, implementation instructions that are not transmitted, that are distorted in transmission, that are vague, or that are inconsistent may cause serious obstacles to policy implementation. While Edward III (1980) in Makinde (1995:65) suggest that directives should not be too precise because those that are too precise might hinder implementation, because of their ability to stifle creativity and adaptability and do not leave room for flexibility, where implementers could exercise their discretion, Makinde (2005:65).

Another factor that contributes to non-implementation could be the various levels that information has to be passed to. Between the policies initiator to the implementer there could be distortion due to random error or deliberately. When selective reporting takes place information may be lost. The information that has to be transmitted through hierarchical levels leads to distortion of information and inhibits the ability to implement.

Implementation could be affected by the amount of discretion that implementers have and their independence from supervision, who might be initiators of policy. Sometimes the complexity of the policy and classification of certain information as secret compromise the way policy should be implemented. A typical example could be the appointment of the Board of South African Broadcasting Corporation that the NEC wished to ratify, before the President had appointed it. This caused a conflict of interest in the ruling party.

#### **10.4.10. Standard Operating Procedures**

Learned responses of the institution to handle certain problems in order to assist the organisation to run smoothly are regarded as standard operating procedures for that department or institution. These standard operating procedures are followed in response to policy problems. The government was necessitated to follow strict guidelines to purchasing goods and services. The service-provider should be listed on the departmental data base and at least three quotations should be sourced before purchases or orders could be placed with a supplier. Although this practice is important as it curbs the inclination to buy from family and friends, the time taken to get quotations and the actual delivery of services might cause delay. Some potential suppliers who could offer a better service or product are not listed on the data base.

This is also true in the manner in which government departments have to develop operational policies. Standard procedures had to be adhered to, particularly when a new approach to current policy or a new policy is considered. The institution will continue to approach the problem or policy in the standard manner that is set, regardless of whether the approach or policy did not assist in implementing the proposal successfully. Sometimes adherence to standard procedures results in lag times in responding to problems because of bureaucratic red-tape which could become barriers to implementation. If standard operating procedures do not leave room for adjustment arising from local conditions, they could create stereotype reactions in response to situations and failure to respond appropriately to new challenges.

#### **10.4.11. Incomplete and inaccurate planning**

Nakamura and Smallwood (1980) in Cloete and Wissink (2001:172) acknowledge that the process of formulation of policy gives important clues about the intensity of demand, the size, and the degree of consensus among various stakeholders that implementers could use in planning for implementation. A number of challenges could arise during implementation if implementers or institutions develop incomplete or inaccurate plans. This could be due to the lack of insufficient information on the size of the problem; the intensity of the demand for change or the intensity of the conflict generated by the new proposal.

If the institution implementing the policy knows the intensity of demand and the size of the beneficiaries, it would be possible to identify possible pitfalls relevant to the policy and be able to plan ways to overcome them. If the program addresses social issues, it is recommended that a pilot project be used to determine the impact of the policy before it could be implemented on a large scale. The use of pilot projects will inform policy designers on how full scale implementation could be carried out from lessons learned in the pilot. However, due to the nature of some programs and the intensity of demand, the implementation of such programs might not warrant the need for piloting as valuable time could be lost during the pilot phase.

Although there might be gaps in the implementation research between the Western Europe and American scholars, through collaboration this is narrowed and South Africa could benefit from such ventures, Cloete; Wissink and De Coning (2008: 193). Various models of policy

implementation involving the collective approach which might be relevant to implementation are researched in developing countries. Brynard and De Coning (2008: 193), when trying to make sense of implementation gaps between the developed and under-developed economies, posit the following:

...it emanates, instead, from the always implied, often stated, never actually tested, and practically unchallenged assumption that not only local conditions but the very process, by which implementation occurs is fundamentally different in the developing and industrialized societies, Brynard and De Coning (2008: 193).

## ***11. Critical Variables in the implementation of public policy***

This assumption indicates that there are different implementation practices between the developed and developing societies. Even though there may be variations in how specifications manifest themselves in different societies, there are broad clusters of variables that shape the directions in which implementations take place. The process of implementations might be complex but scholars in different countries at various levels of economic development have identified common variables that are critical for policy implementation. According to Cloete, Wissink and Coning (2008:193) there are FIVE critical variables for studying policy implementation which they refer to as “the 5-C protocol”, comprising:

- Content
- Context
- Commitment

- Capacity
- Clients and conclusions.

Policy implementation should be understood as a complex political process which involves the alteration of resources and activities which Wittrock and De Leon (1986:55) in Cloete and Wissink (2000:178) indicates, that this process should not be neglected. When implementing policy it should be remembered that the FIVE critical variables are interlinked and influenced by others depending on the situation and conditions where the policy is implemented.

### **11.1. Content**

Lowi (1963) in Cloete and Wissink (2000:177) posits that policy is distributive; regulatory or redistributive. In general terms, distribution policies are those that create public goods for the general welfare and are non-zero-sum in character. Regulatory policy specify rules that should be followed or obeyed and those who do not comply are punished, while the redistribute policies are developed to change allocation of wealth or power of some groups at the expense of others, Cloete, Wissink and De Coning, (2008:197). Critical points about this assertion by Lowi is that politics are determined by policies, and that “the most significant political fact is that governments coerce”, Lowi (1963) in Cloete and Wissink, (2000:180). What then becomes policy content is determined by the amount of and the

extent to which the government coerce communities and societies. There are various means of power that are used by government to coerce, such as those that are remunerative and/or normative. These arsenals of influence are used to achieve the goals of policy. The importance of policy content is not limited to the means used to achieve the objectives of the policy only; how the goals are determined and the means to achieve those goals are as important as the achievement of the objectives of the policy.

## **11.2. Context**

Policies are not developed and implemented in context-free environments. There are policies that address specific areas such as economic, politics, social and legal settings. O'Toole (1986:202) in Cloete, Wissink and De Coning (2008:198) puts it succinctly when saying that implementers should pay attention to challenges emanating from contextual influence which impact on effective implementation processes; corridors through which implementation must pass and reflect the realities of the systems which shape the policy and its implementations. Sometimes implementers need to bargain, accommodate various perceptions, be threatened, display respect gestures and cajole in order to build effective working relations that would enable successful implementation processes.

In the case of the National Curriculum Statement, this policy provides a broad contextual framework that guides educators' plans, regulations, and

purposive objectives about all the essential elements of the new approach to education as occurring in a formal context provided by legislation.

### **11.3. Commitment**

The Word Web defines commitment as “the trait of sincere and steadfast fixity of purpose or the act of binding yourself intellectually or emotionally to a course of action”. Assuming that the government is committed to improving the well-being of its citizens, it could be concluded that in implementing its policies it has to show good governance. Cloete and Wissink (2000:178) argued that implementation includes all the activities that happen after the statement of policy. Those activities involve the exercising of political; economic; administrative and legal authority in managing the affairs of the nation, in order to improve the lives of its citizens.

Against this background we could judge the service-delivery or governance as good or bad. Good governance shall mean the achievement of most appropriate policy development to develop the society in a sustainable manner and to be responsive to their needs, while remaining accountable to the voters. In achieving the objectives of the policy those who are responsible should be willing to implement the policy.

Failure to implement policy could be attributed to negligence or willful refusal to apply correct techniques. The premise is that effective implementation requires commitment and that committed implementers need to be lead; subordinates’ skills need to be developed in order to

ensure effective policy implementation. This implies that the public service shall be effective when appropriate systems are in place, and that skilled public servants who implement policy have the correct attitude and traits of service; are steadfast; have fixity of purpose to act in the interest of the community. Lack of motivation and deficiency in leadership could contribute to slow policy implementation. There are two important commitment factors which reinforce key implementation variables as indicated by Cloete and Wissink, (2000:181), as follows:

- Commitment is not only important at “street-level” but all the levels through which policy passes. In case of international commitment, this includes the regime level, the state level, the street level and the levels in-between.
- Commitment will influence and be influenced by all four remaining variables: content; capacity; context; clients and conditions. Those interested in effective implementation cannot afford to ignore any of these linkages and are best advised to identify the ones most appropriate to “fix” a particular implementation process.

The corridors through which the policy passes should be conducive for professionals, clerks and administrators to accept their responsibility and acknowledge that the execution of policy will always take place in a political domain. While commitment is important at all levels of the process, effective and efficient bureaucratic structures should be established and developed to match the needs for implementation. Without commitment little shall be achieved, Warwick (1982:135).

## 11.4. Capacity

Successful implementation of public policies depends on the professional abilities, skills, interest and attitudes of public servants. These office-bearers - including managers and supervisors - are therefore appointed on the basis of their abilities to manage or supervise the duties of those reporting to them. The capacity of the public servants to deliver public policy should not be based purely on party political affiliations but rather on ability and knowledge of the policies involved. Capacity as viewed by Brynard (2001:181) could be generally seen as structural, functional and cultural ability to deliver the necessary service. The capacity to implement will include both tangible resources and intangible requirements. Brynard (2001:192) say that intangible capacity to implement would mean “the political, administrative, economic, technological, ethical and social environment within which action is taken” and must be sympathetic or conducive to successful implementation.

The way in which government could affect changes in response to resource shortages, as is the case in South Africa, could be through refocusing, prioritising and changing governmental structures that could influence the success on implementations. A possible approach in addressing capacity could be the way in which government changes from a system of centralized to decentralized planning, delivery and control of lower levels in the public sector; Cloete, Wissink and Conning, (2008:200). This is based on the assumption that those at the lower levels of implementation are committed and have the capacity to implement.

The government could outsource certain services instead of rendering the service itself. When the government outsources, it should facilitate and coordinate the implementation through a variety of ways. Cloete, Wissink and Cloete (2008) suggest “alternative service-delivery mechanisms” which might include:

- Assistance
- Decentralization
- Corporatisation
- Joint ventures
- Partnerships and alliances
- Privatisation
- Outsourcing
- Regulations.

The choice between outsourcing and using own staff to implement could be assisted by answering the following questions indicated by Cloete, Wissink and De Coning (2008:201). These questions should assist in determining whether a traditional public service agency could provide the service:

- At the required level (quantity, quality and cost-efficiencies)?
- In the required way (participatory, people centered)?
- With the required legitimacy and controls?

It is common knowledge that there is lack of capacity in public organisations to implement all policies. It would be advisable for

government to develop policy according to its capacity or take necessary steps to build capacity among staff. At times government could tap the alternative services delivery mechanisms in order to maximize success of delivery, Mokhaba (2005:130). The Private-Public-Partnership which provides joint partnerships between public, voluntary and private sector organisations could be a most effective means for policy implementations. At the same time governments should retain important policy-making, financing, coordinating and control functions at macro-level while transferring the implementation to a network of agencies, Cloete, Wissink and De Coning (2008:202).

Lessons could be learned from the South Asian Tiger club in creating the capacity for sustainable governance, which highlighted requirements for success as indicated by Cloete (1999); Root (1996); Campos and Root (1996); Lepziger (1997) in Cloete, Wissink and Coning (2008:202); and Brynard (2001).

### **11.5. Client and coalitions**

For effective policy implementation and in the interest of efficiency and efficacy the government should join coalitions of interest groups, opinion leaders, actors and parties who support a particular policy implementation process, Cloete, Wissink and De Coning (2008:203). The influence of outside influence should be considered as Rein and Rabinowitz (1978:314) in Cloete, Wissink and Coning (2008:203), cautioned that power shifts in the implementation process. It is crucial to determine the influence of the outside forces as it could be favourable or unfavourable.

Unfavourable influences could bog down the implementation process and reduce the impact that the policy may have. It is imperative then to identify those stakeholders with whom coalition should be formed, who may have a real effect on policy implementation, Quade (1975:4).

It is imperative to indicate that a number of policy implementation researchers agree that implementation is not always successful despite thorough policy formulation processes. However complex this process is, Brynard (2005:13) suggests that there are crucial variables for studying policy implementation and refers to them as 5-C protocol consisting of content, context, commitment, capacity, client and coalitions. These are variables interlinked and offer potential means to unravel and make sense of the inherent dynamics of the implementation process. After all, effective implementation should be geared towards end result of the policy. It is a function of the learning process where errors are detected and corrections made. Failure to apply correct techniques or neglecting to follow blue-prints and wilful refusal will always lead to implementation failure.

Various models for implementation were developed to assist administrators. Some political scientists suggest that policy tools could be positioned along a continuum which denotes the degree of choice accompanying the policy instrument. In a liberal democracy the government shall in most instances begin with an instrument which is least coercive and move to increased coerciveness only if compliance is not being achieved.

## 12. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to present literature on public policy analysis and describe an implementation framework that emerged from the literature and as well as highlight the policy implementation process in the South African context.

Various policies' definitions were highlighted. There are suggestions that policy development should be divorced from administration. However the policy development and policy analysis takes place in a political charged environment. The process of developing policies is a political process that involves various stakeholders. Significant development to policy process that implied radical changes took place after 1994. This paradigm shift has great impact on the study of public policy in South Africa.

The policy analysis should generate relevant information which will be useful in answering questions such as: what the nature of the problem is; which past and present policies were established to address the problem, and what outcomes were achieved; were the outcomes valuable and did they assist in solving the problem; were there alternative policies that could be used to address the problem and what would likely be their future outcome; what alternatives could be employed in order to solve the current problem? These questions could assist in clarifying what policy problems are; what the future of the policy is; which actions should be taken; what would be the outcomes of the policy, and how the policy would perform. In generating information a series of intellectual activities

are carried out within an environment which is politically influenced. These activities which comprise of interdependent phases are described as the policy-making process and are arranged through time and comprise of: agenda setting, policy formulation, policy adoption, policy implementation, and policy assessment.

Through the use of policy models it would be possible to trace policy-making processes from the time the idea is conceived until the policy is implemented. The next chapter shall concentrate on National Curriculum Statement and assessment policy.