Decentralisation and capacity-building

Paradigm shifts in local self-governance

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ABSTRACT

During the past two decades both developed and developing countries are delegating responsibilities to lower-level governments as a component of public service reforms. The earlier reforms emphasised decentralisation as improved administration at sub-national levels. In contrast, the most recent decentralisations are emphasising enhanced service delivery that demands capacitation of municipalities. The article endeavours to utilise the theoretical connection amongst decentralisation and capacity-building for a broadened analysis in a South African context. The article emphasises political, fiscal and administrative decentralisation in order to identify capacity gaps in the system. There are assumptions that "coupled with the inexperience and weak capacity of local governments, decentralisation is often blamed for not fulfilling its promises - and for not having a positive impact on development" (Yilmaz et al. 2010:286). Against this background the article analyses the relevant literature to argue that decentralisation can be considered as a causative factor to enhance local government capacities.

INTRODUCTION

The argument that is commonly presented is that local people do not have the requisite capacity for managing local governments and therefore functions, responsibilities and resources should not be devolved to them. In most cases such an argument counters efforts to decentralise. Admittedly, it is true that most developing countries, African countries in particular, present peculiar conditions of multiple weaknesses in the capacity of their public sector, civil society, and private sector are weak. Since the process of development is a process of capacity building, a country cannot afford to wait for local government capacity to develop. During the 1950s when Africa started clamouring for political emancipation, the colonial powers at the time were quick to respond that Africans had no capacity to govern themselves. The response from Africa was unanimous. Capacity or no capacity they had a



right to determine their destiny" (Kauzya 2008:7; Vyas-Doorgapersad 2010:51). The rationality behind decentralisation is, therefore, to devolve autonomy, authority and responsibility creating a local self-government that can satiate the needs of local constituencies.

Due to the decentralised status of local government in South Africa, a concern has emerged regarding how effective the municipal officials are to deliver services in meeting the required standards to the community members. In order to assess the levels of capacity-building, various review processes were conducted. The Ten Year Review of Local Government by the former Department of Provincial and Local Government (currently known as Cooperative Governance (COG), "locate the crisis in service delivery at the door of municipal competency (the shortage of skills argument)" (DPLG 2005:4). The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) submitted the assessment to the Policy Review Process on Provincial and Local Government, stating a diverse range of capacity challenges in municipal sphere, including: "under-investment in people, particularly where technical, management skills are required; assumptions that there are short cuts to acquire specialist skills except through required education and work experience; more creative responses are required to address scarce skills, such as partnering with civil society, private sector and shared services options; high turnover of staff due to changes in leadership, especially after elections; insufficient attention paid to skills required by politicians in terms of governance and associated accredited programmes to build such skills. Political influence in the appointment process results in politically acceptable appointments at the expense of technical competence. A poor municipal work environment is not conducive to attracting and retaining talented professionals" (Cooperative Governance (COG): Overview Report -National State of Local Government Assessments 2009:66). In order to assess the capacitybuilding requirements of municipalities, the Minister for Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, (late) Mr Sicelo Shiceka initiated the assessment process and compiled a consolidated National Report covering nine provinces entitled the State of Local Government in South Africa. The Deputy Minister of COGTA, Mr. Yunus Carrim, supported the assessment and admitted that "municipalities, unfortunately, don't have adequate capacity" (Fourie and Whittle 2011:100)

DECENTRALISATION AND CAPACITY-BUILDING

Decentralisation is a counterpoint to globalisation. Globalisation often removes decisions from the local and national stage to the global sphere of multi-national interests. Decentralisation brings decision-making back to the sub-national and local levels/spheres. In designing decentralisation strategies it is necessary to view the interrelations of these various dimensions – global, regional, national, sub-national, and local. The role of the nation-state gains increased importance as a mediating force between the forces of globalisation and localisation (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 1998:1). The rationale behind decentralisation in South Africa lies in the assumption that the "national government wants to relieve itself of existing, or potential, fiscal pressure and administrative responsibilities (Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa [SLSA] 2008:7). It requires South Africa to realise three conditions for effective decentralisation (compiled from Heller 2001:139) *viz.* "a high degree of strong central state capacity...to guarantee basic transparency, accountability and representation; a well-

developed civil society...to provide new sources of information and feedback; and a political project in which an organized political force...champions decentralization".

In terms of modern public administration, historically African countries have experienced fused, personalised and at best highly centralised governance systems and practices. In precolonial times kings or traditional leaders represented basically all authority. During the colonial and immediate post-colonial periods government was structured and practised in a highly centralised manner. During military dictatorships many countries replaced the immediate post-colonial governments resulting in governance being practically personalised. The search for inclusive, involved, and participatory government has taken the path of decentralisation. Political and administrative reforms in many countries in Africa, especially since the 1990s, have sought to break with the past through decentralisation of powers to local governments (Kauzya 2007:3).

In South Africa, decentralisation was an offspring of the struggle to dismantle the segregating local administration system of apartheid...decentralized governance as it stands today was demanded from the grass-roots black communities in its decision and implementation. The consultations about it were to determine what shape it would take...the negotiations were spearheaded by both the Local Forums and the national Local Government Negotiating Forum which eventually negotiated the *Local Government Transition Act* of 1993 forming three phases through which the post-apartheid local government system would be in place. The current decentralized governance system is part of the outcomes of the negotiated National Constitution (compiled from Kauzya 2007:8-9) that promoted local governments should provide democratic and accountable government for local communities, ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner, and promote social and economic development" (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

In order to achieve the aims mandated by the Constitution, municipalities were given authorities and responsibilities to restructure and rebuild local communities. The Integrated Development Planning (IDP) was, therefore, implemented as a process of decentralisation in order to provide short, medium and long term development at grass-roots level. The IDP, as a process and practice,

democratizes the decision-making process, promotes co-ordination between local, provincial and national government, is a strategic process to make the most effective use of the municipality's resources, and is implementation oriented process to achieve a better and faster delivery of services (COG 2009:1).

IDP has institutionalised participatory decision-making in municipalities and given a whole new meaning of political decentralisation going far beyond the election of leaders to embrace the ultimate purpose of local government which is economic development (Kauzya 2007:13). This has further institutionalised the concept of Local Economic Development (LED) as a decentralised practice in South Africa to capacitate local economy for sustainable development. LED is "an outcome based local initiative and driven by local stakeholders. It involves identifying and using local resources, ideas and skills to stimulate growth and development" (DPLG 2004:1). In order to restructure local government, the *White Paper*



on Local Government, 1998, Local Government: Municipal Structures Act, 1998 and Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 2000 were contextualised as decentralised processes and practices in South Africa.

Local government decentralisation assigns authority to lower levels/spheres hence require capacity-building at grass-roots level. The section explores the following dimensions of decentralisation that demand capacity-building:

Political decentralisation

Elections are one of the most common means for establishing downward accountability of local authorities (Ribot 2004:26). Parker (1995:26; Ribot 2004:26) argues that with open elections, locally controlled resources were redirected towards more micro-level public works - precisely because open elections make local politicians more likely to meet felt local needs. In South Africa, at the structural level, the municipal structures and electoral system were reformed, a new process of municipal demarcation was established and the voter's roll from the 1999 national and provincial elections was adapted to suit local circumstances (Nupen 2001:11). The high level of political decentralisation reforms forced the political parties to position appropriate strategies in their election manifestos considering issues of decentralisation that require efficient implementation of devolved authority with available resources at the grassroots level. Despite decentralisation reforms, there are some municipalities that are struggling to adopt the transformational process. The political office-bearers are still traditional in approach and are not ready for the metamorphosis of the political environment. They are not prepared to accept the fact that there is a need for capacity-building training for empowering them to take strategically-inclined and informed political decisions for municipal development.

Fiscal decentralisation

The objective of fiscal decentralisation in South Africa is to deliver basic services through alignment of municipal expenditure with local priorities based on community needs. The "degree of fiscal decentralization may be assessed in terms of a number of indicators such as the percentage of total government expenditure executed by sub-national governments given the size and nature of transfers, the level of revenue autonomy and the borrowing capacity of sub-national governments" (Elhiraika 2006:10). The revenue and expenditure of municipalities determine their ability to deliver services. Weakness in revenue and expenditure management could constrain the ability of a municipality to contribute to poverty reduction and economic development (Van der Waldt *et al.* 2007:186). In the 2006-2007 *Audit Outcomes of Municipalities*, the Auditor-General expressed concern stating that "many municipalities did not have the internal capacity to adequately manage their financial reports" (Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2012:1).

A report prepared by SALGA: Mpumalanga entitled *Input to the Local Government Standing Committee of the National Assembly* stated clearly that the municipalities within the Province received qualified audits due to the fact that "municipal finances are noncompliant with legislation, lack of internal audit units within municipalities, lack of capacity in the finance departments in municipalities" (SALGA 2012:3). This concern was also raised during the Gert Sibande District Municipality, Bushbuckridge Local Municipality:

Budget & Performance meeting where Mr Vincent Malepa, Director: Local Government, National Treasury, "was concerned about the ability of the Municipality to spend the budget" (Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2012:3). The capacity-building challenges related to municipal financial management, to some extent, are directly linked to the staff complements. Government departments are challenged with the delays in the recruitment process. The 2009 State of Local Government in South African: Overview Report - National State of Local Government Assessments by COG revealed that there is an "overall vacancy rate of 12% for senior managers in local government. It should also be noted that the competency levels for these critical (middle and senior municipal management) i.e. section 56 and section 57 (of the Municipal Systems Act, 2000) positions are not regulated (e.g. technical heads of infrastructure, CFOs). The consequences of poor council / management relations were demonstrated in one municipality where, citing a lack of confidence in the proficiency of the section 57 managers, the council outsourced posts to mentor the CFO and the municipal manager. This may have been genuinely due to poor capacity at local sphere, that is reflected upon in ineffective financial decision-making in municipalities.

Administrative decentralisation

The South African municipalities are provided with decentralised powers to fulfil the objectives of developmental local government, namely (White Paper on Local Government 1998): maximizing social development and economic growth; integrating and co-ordinating; democratising development; and leading and learning. Elaborating on the above four characteristics, the White Paper on Local Government (1998) states that municipalities are, for instance, not responsible for job creation, but rather for ensuring economic and social conditions conducive to the creation of employment opportunities (Van Dijk and Croucamp 2007:672). Due to democratisation, a new system is introduced and the administrative and the political structures dramatically re-engineered, a major challenge is posed to the new incumbents of the political and the administrative components. In the case of South Africa the matter was further complicated by the fact that the municipalities were racially segregated in the former regime i.e. before 1994. The staff component of most municipalities was recruited from the white community and most of the financially viable municipalities were in white areas, resulting in the councils also being from that community (Thornhill 2008:506). The democratisation followed by decentralisation broadens the skills gap where municipal staff and councillors lack the administrative skills to fulfil the responsibilities of a developmental local government. The need to capacitate municipalities emerged as a result of lack of fulfilment of delegated responsibilities by municipal officials. There are service delivery protests countrywide with most municipalities not able to utilise the budget and provide acceptable standards of services. This is a "clear case of capacity gap" (Maserumule 2008:441), which as Kanyane (2006; Maserumule 2008:441) puts it, necessitates skills revolution.

CAPACITY-BUILDING: METHODS AND INTERVENTIONS

Local government worldwide is facing paradigm shifts: from centralised to decentralised status; to efficient service delivery provisions; to be developmental; and to be capacitated



as an implementer of growth. In reality, it is difficult to envisage a local authority "being a facilitator, pacesetter and regulator of socio-economic development in order for them to contribute effectively towards the nation's competitiveness when it is unable to provide even basic financial accounts" (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific [ESCAP] 2012:2). South Africa is experiencing the inadequate implementation of decentralisation at the grass-roots sphere of government due to lack of skills, training, and capacity-building programmes. It has therefore been realised that one of the most important requirements for development is an adequately skilled municipal work force. In order to achieve the required capacities, the following measures are in place:

Open Distance Learning

Due to the decentralised status of local government, municipal officials are obliged to offer efficient and effective delivery of services to community members. This is a tremendous responsibility that requires knowledge and understanding regarding the local government milieu. The absence of preparedness on the part of these key personnel, who would be the agents of change, was perceived as a major constraint in engineering the process of social transformation. Keeping in view its limited capacity, it was impossible for the conventional training system to face the challenge of training these millions of peoples' representatives. Empowerment of the elected members (Empowerment of People 1997; Aslam 2010:47; Vyas-Doorgapersad 2011:58) of municipalities through capacity-building programmes should be prioritised as a strategic plan for action. The capacity-building for municipal officials therefore "calls for an innovative approach through the distance mode, which can, at one and the same time, address the different learning styles, varied preferences and lack of literacy skills of such a clientele. They need education and training at regular intervals. Since their number is large, it is not possible for the conventional system of training to reach all of them. Given the nature of their work, they cannot afford the physical dislocation caused by formal modes of training" (Aslam 2010:45). The University of South Africa, through distance learning mode, offers a programme entitled Short Learning Programme in Provincial and Local Government Law for transferring knowledge and understanding regarding the functionality of provincial and local government; issues of co-operative government; policyformulation; and enhancing adequate skills related to the roles, responsibilities and functions of the provincial and local government. The programme aims to capacitate members of the municipal councils, municipal officials and members of the National Council of Provinces.

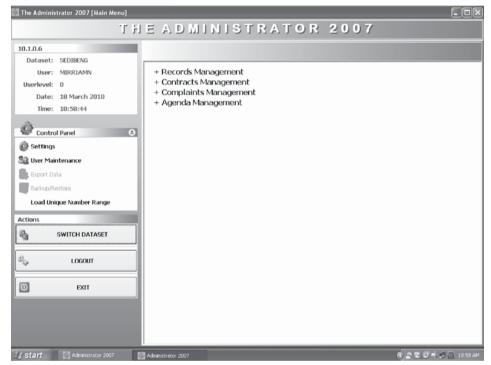
Workplace Skills Plan

The Local Government Sector & Education Authority (LGSETA) was established in accordance with the Skills Development Act, 97 of 1998. The aim of the LGSETA is to implement skills development programmes to capacitate municipal officials through a Work Skills Plan (WSP). The process of WSP includes consultation between Education and Training Department (ETC) and relevant stakeholders in order to establish the stages of the process (align with the requirements of LGSETA) within a stipulated timeframe. The WSP moreover needs to incorporate the objectives of the municipal Integrated Development Plan of each municipality with clear identification of training needs for capacity-building.

Information and Communication Strategies (ICTs)

The Management Programme has evolved to meet the challenges of the new technology. The new product has been branded *THE ADMINISTRATOR* (Figure 1). It is no longer the computerised mail register, filing and distribution register, but instead a sophisticated electronic document management tool, developed to meet and provide solutions to new challenges (Klopper 1988:1; Kwaledi 2011:29) regarding operational/functional areas of municipalities.

Figure 1 THE ADMINISTRATOR



Source: Sedibeng District Municipality (SDM) 2009.

The Sedibeng District Municipality currently has a staff of 900 employees. The staff complement includes general workers, administration staff, councillors and in-service training staff. A total of 120 employees were trained during 2007-2008 financial year, (the statistics of year 2009-2010 is not available as yet) who are able to utilise the system (personal interview with Nzunga 2010). The training programmes are offered under WSP for capacitating municipal officials with ICT skills, stated in table 1.

Short Courses

Due to the increased demand and need for capacitating municipalities, the tertiary institutions have been commissioned/assigned tasks to train municipal officials through short courses. The University of Zululand has established the KZN Institute for Local Government and Traditional Leadership to capacitate the prospective municipal officials. The Public



Administration Leadership and Management Academy (PALAMA) utilises the specialised scholars and practitioners in the related filed to facilitate short courses to municipal officials.

Partnerships: The tertiary institutions have developed partnerships with the municipalities to capacitate the municipal officials with required skills. This nature of partnership is established through a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). The North-West University (Vaal Triangle Campus) has signed a MoU with the Metsimaholo Local Municipality. The University under this partnership will conduct a Competency Assessment to identify the skills gap and the areas of capacity-building.

CAPACITY-BUILDING FOR TRADITIONAL LEADERS

While exploring the issues of local decentralisation, the concern of customary authority (chiefs, traditional leaders, big men, kings) in South Africa cannot be ignored. The major question is that in the era of democracy, whether customary authorities are "representative, accountable and legitimate? Are they appropriate institutions to conduct local public affairs?" (Ribot 2004:31).

In order to bring the traditional leaders into the mainstream of modern-state government, it is imperative to legislate for proper structures and authority for the traditional leaders and their structures. Treaties like Karioca Declaration of Indigenous Peoples, UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and Kimberley Declaration and the Indigenous Peoples' Plan of Implementation for Sustainable Development recognise the existence of traditional leadership. (International proceedings. UN Conference on Sustainable Development/Rio+20, Harnessing Traditional Governance in Southern Africa) held in (Johannesburg), and the International Conference on Traditional Leadership in (Durban) explored the incorporation of traditional leaderships in modern-state government. Indigenous leadership in countries like United States of America, New Zealand, and Canada have been incorporated into the mainstream public administration through treaties. It is however a crucial concern in most of the African countries.

Chieftaincy in Africa is not only an integral part, but is also a vital element in the social, political and cultural establishment of African communities. It is a dynamic institution that reflects and also responds to the evolving political and social transformations of society. The institution of chieftaincy and the institutions of the contemporary state are located along

Table 1 Work Skills Plan Training Interventions 2007 – 2008

Training Course	No. of Employees	Staff Levels
Customer Service	39	Clerk/Administrators
Quidity Software for Records	61	Top/Senior Management
Ms Office: Advance Excel	3	Clerk/Administrators
Records Management	5	Supervisors
CCTV Training	14	Supervisors
Administrator Xpress (Quidity)	120	Employees/Management

Source: SDM 2009:35.

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the line where the traditional world meets the modern state administration. Therefore, as Africa continues to develop its political institutions to serve the demands of a democratic government in the modern state, the position of chiefs will continue to attract the attention of policy makers (Economic Commission for Africa 2007:v). Question may arise regarding to what extent the traditional leaders in Africa are capacitated to be a part of current governance approach? This concern points towards the significance of capacity-building programmes to traditional leaders whereby they can play a vital role in local governance affairs.

The National House of Traditional Leaders (NHTL) has implemented a programme entitled *Capacity building programme for traditional leaders* in order to equip them with the required skills for development. The NHTL in collaboration with the Department of Traditional Affairs, LGSETA, and South African Local Government Association (SALGA), are in a process to address the training needs of traditional leaders. The "institutional leadership and healing are the custodians of the African Heritage and indigenous knowledge systems, which are prerequisites for sustainable community development and livelihoods... All three spheres of government should capacitate these structures by providing the infrastructure and the necessary human and financial resources. Then traditional institutions and government departments can form sound partnerships for community development and delivery of social services" (Motshekga 2007:12).

CONCLUSION

In order to improve local decentralisation, political, fiscal and administrative decentralisation are imperative. Following the notion of co-operative government, the political decentralisation should be aimed to guide the sub-national and local governments regarding the policymaking roles and responsibilities devolved to them as part of the decentralisation process. Furthermore, sub-national and local governments should obtain clarity about their functions and associated expenditure responsibilities and based on these, the proper assignment and design of tax instruments and transfer systems should be done. The rule that finance follows function appropriately defines this sequencing. In addition, to ensure service delivery and the exercise of devolved powers in general, administrative decentralisation should be implemented along with expenditure and fiscal arrangements. The notion that decentralised political bodies can deliver services more efficiently and more responsibly depends on adequate mechanisms for political and financial accountability. Wealthy countries with a long democratic tradition possess elements of accountability (e.g. educated population, media, administrative and judicial capacity and regularity of elections) that do not necessarily operate well elsewhere. In the absence of effective accountability mechanisms, there are dangers that decentralised resources will be improperly diverted and / or that the benefits of decentralisation will be nullified by unscrupulous participants. Lack of administrative capacity and of complementary resources may also prevent political efficiency benefits of decentralisation from being realised. To ensure successful implementation of decentralisation it is necessary for national government to ensure that the required capacities are instilled in municipalities to undertake and fulfil the assigned responsibilities. The arguments thus support the hypothetical statement that decentralisation is considered as a causative factor to enhance local government capacities / and that that decentralisation is also limited due to a lack of capacity at the local sphere of government.



Decentralisation strategy must take capacity into account, but it may not be a critical factor in deciding whether to decentralise in the short-term. In any case, government can reduce disruption if it has a clear view of existing capacity when taking steps to devolve functions. There are trade offs; government needs to address short-term problems with capacity at hand, but then make sure more appropriate capacity is being developed for long-term challenges. This requires pragmatic assessment of existing capacity and to focus on what is possible, in a phased and asymmetrical manner. A peer-learning and mentorship approach can complement any approach in building capacity for municipalities to function as local self-government.

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