



Evaluating the implementation of the Child Support Grant in South Africa: the case of KwaZulu-Natal Province

by

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my late father, Timothy Mthethwa, who was a pillar of strength. Caring and loving, he managed to offer me the best education possible. I thank God for his life, which was short, but full of blessings.

I also dedicate it to my late brothers, Moses Mthethwa and Bonginkosi Mthethwa, and my sister Nonhlanhla Mthethwa for inspiring me to advance my academic studies. Although you are absent physically, you will live forever in my thoughts, through all the memories. May your souls rest in peace.

I also dedicate this thesis to my beloved wife, Mrs Sithembile Mthethwa, my daughters, Charity, Simphiwe, Sihlelelwe and Neliswa, and my son, Okuhle.

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Abstract

The right to social assistance is entrenched in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996. In South Africa, all citizens are entitled to access to social security, including appropriate social assistance, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants. The Child Support Grant (CSG) is an important instrument of social protection in South Africa, reaching over 12 million South African children each month. The study investigated the implementation of the CSG policy in the Kwa-Zulu Natal Province. The research objective of this study was to describe, analyse and evaluate the effectiveness of the implementation of the CSG policy aimed at alleviating the effects of poverty and improving the lives of citizens.

Over the years, South Africa's social grant programme has evolved into one of the most comprehensive social protection systems in the developing world. Extending coverage of the Child Support Grant's criteria for eligibility include an increase in the age limit from seven to 18 years old, and adjustments to the income threshold to take inflation into account and improve equity. The process of policy implementation is unique to each situation. Hence, it is important to identify factors which shape the directions that implementation might take. It is important for the Department of Social Development (DSD) to address these factors. Thus this study focused on evaluating the implementation of the CSG policy by the DSD and the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA). The complexities of policy implementation can be seen as one of the reasons for ineffective implementation of the CSG policy.

The study used a mixed method approach to gather and analyse data. A case study research design was chosen, because the study intended to understand the situation in its natural setting. The methods of data collection included individual interviews with SASSA officials, and both interview and focus group for beneficiaries and document analysis. The study used semi-structured interview questions to interview public officials in the DSD who are responsible for implementing the CSG policy and beneficiaries (caregivers) who are benefiting indirectly from the CSG policy. The open ended questions were categorised into themes. The main reason was to gather relevant information about the implementation of the CSG policy, and about the subjective experience of that implementation, both from people involved in the implementation of the CSG policy and from beneficiaries. The data collected through the interviews provided relevant policy information which was previously unknown, and was instrumental in this investigation.

The findings revealed that the DSD and SASSA face many challenges in implementing the CSG policy. Analysis of the findings revealed that administrative issues, implementation issues, sustainability issues and corruption are some of the challenges encountered during the implementation of the CSG policy. The study made several recommendations to improve the implementation of CSG policy.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
BRIC	Brazil, the Russian Federation, India and China
BRICS	Brazil, the Russian Federation, India, China and the Republic of South Africa
CDG	Care Dependency Grant
COSATU	Congress of South Africa Trade Unions
CSG	Child Support Grant ¹
DA	Democratic Alliance
DG	Disability Grant
DSD	Department of Social Development
EPFO	Employees' Provident Fund Organisation
FCG	Foster Care Grant
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GIA	Grant in Aid
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICT	Information and communications technology
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSS	National Institute for Social Security
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NHI	National Health Insurance
OAG	Old Age Grant
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RAF	Road Accident Fund
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SACP	South African Communist Party
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SEWA	Self-Employed Women's Association

¹ From 1998

SMG State Maintenance Grant²
UIF Unemployment Insurance Fund
UN United Nations

² Until 1998, when the CSG was introduced

Chapter 1: Outline and introduction to the study

1.1 Introduction

The route from policy-making at the national government sphere to the implementation of a policy in the local sphere is long and complex (Brynard 2006a:837). Students of public policy therefore need to spend more time investigating policy implementation issues to assist the government in carrying out the policies under its jurisdiction.

It is usually assumed that policies are automatically applied – that whatever those who formulate a policy want is, in fact, implemented. However, in reality, the implementation is seldom straightforward, and the consequences of public policies are not always those that were intended. The mere formulation of a policy, such as the Child Support Grant (CSG) policy, does not necessarily mean that the purpose of the policy will be realised (Brynard 2006a:837).

After coming into power in 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) committed the government to specific goals in the area of social policy. These include eliminating poverty, achieving an acceptable distribution of income, lowering unemployment levels and increasing social assistance programmes (Guthrie 2002:11). The right to social assistance was entrenched in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996* (RSA 1996a, hereafter the *Constitution*). In South Africa, according to section 27(1)(c) everyone has the right to access “social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance” (RSA 1996a). Since 1994, the right to access social security should perhaps be seen as every citizen’s most important socio-economic right, by virtue of its historical and actual association with poverty alleviation, economic and political ideology, and morality. South Africa has therefore significantly extended its system of social grants in the last decade (DSD, SASSA and UNICEF 2012:3; Malan 2005:549).

The CSG is a tool of social protection in South Africa, and it reaches more than 12 million South African children directly or indirectly each month (DSD, SASSA and UNICEF 2012:3). This development coincided with a global trend of increasing transfers of publicly funded cash to the poor and vulnerable. Moreover, although there has been an increase in the global economy, the numbers of children suffering as a result of poverty have also increased

both across and within countries. The extent of the suffering of children because of poverty in developing countries requires appropriate policy responses. In tackling the problem, the South African government introduced the CSG in 1998. Its purpose is to serve as the main cash transfer to assist children suffering as a result of poverty. In the last two decades (1994 – 2014), South Africa’s social grant programme has evolved into one of the most comprehensive social protection systems in the developing world. Expansions to the CSG’s criteria for eligibility over the same period include an increase in the age limit from seven to 18 years, and adjustments to the income threshold to take inflation into account (DSD, SASSA and UNICEF 2012:3).

1.2 History of South Africa: facing the future

In considering South Africa’s social policy, it is important to bear in mind its history, starting with pre-colonial history, and to establish the sequence of events that have shaped the country. Even in the pre-colonial history of Southern Africa, pre-industrial and pre-literate communities dealt with constraints and possibilities, achievements and setbacks as they established their niches, lived and functioned in a variety of environments. Southern Africa has been consistently inhabited for thousands of years, and South Africa’s modern history traces back directly to the aboriginal Khoisan (Thompson 1995:2). Most of South Africa’s current Black population is descended from a mix of ethnic groups, including the Bantu, who migrated from elsewhere in Africa over the last 2500 years. Around 1200, the region became a centre for the gold and ivory trade, with trade routes stretching to India and as far away as China (Thompson 1995:2).

Portuguese explorers rounded the Cape of Storms (later known as the Cape of Good Hope) in the fifteenth century, attempting to open a route between Portugal and the Far East. Dutch traders arrived in the mid-1600s, building a stopover on the spice route between Europe and the Far East (Sagner 2000:524). Towards the end of the 18th century, the British supplanted the Dutch as the dominant mercantile power (Thompson 1995:2). After 1814, when the Cape formally became a British colony (South African History Online 2016), Britain assumed an increasingly large role in local politics and business, and the Dutch settlers migrated to rural areas, adopting the label *Boers* (the Dutch word for “farmers”) (Thompson 1995:2). They competed with local populations for space in the interior, and began to employ Black labour. The discovery of gold and diamond deposits in the late 1800s encouraged a significant rise in European immigration, further marginalising indigenous communities and fostering

increasing tension between the various groups of settlers (SAHO 2016). The race for land and commodities, along with issues of self-determination, gave rise to a number of disputes and wars throughout the 19th century among local ethnic groups, as well as between the Boers and the British, culminating in the South African War (1899-1902) (Pretorius 2001:10-36), in which Britain was ultimately victorious, placing all of South Africa under British rule. In 1910, the Union of South Africa was established as an imperial dominion (Collins 1996:142; Thompson 1995:2; South Africa Act, 1909).

The role of Black people in the political and economic domain was limited from the start of colonialism in 1652 until 1994. In 1948, the National Party came to power and it enacted a system of racial segregation. This apartheid system favoured the maintenance of White minority rule at the expense of the Black majority, and prompted opposition across other democratic countries (Sagner 2000:530). Domestically, the most active opponent of this Struggle was the ANC. Boycotts by Western nations, combined with ANC pressure and a moral shift, eventually led to the regime's decision to cede power and dismantle the system of segregation (Thompson 1995:2). In 1994, the first multi-racial elections were held, and an ANC-led government – an alliance consisting of the ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) – was voted into power, and Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as the country's new president (Collins 1996:142).

Post-apartheid, the country has embraced a new era of equality, and has made the transition from diplomatic and economic isolation to take up a new role as one of Africa's leading powers (Glaser 2001:30). Although South Africa has gained prominence by reaching some high-profile milestones, including the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the country continues to grapple with the imbalances of economic empowerment and unequal wealth distribution that are a legacy of decades of discrimination. After the end of apartheid, the four provincial governments (the Cape Province, Natal, the Orange Free State and Transvaal) were transformed into nine provincial governments: the Eastern Cape (EC), the Free State (FS), Gauteng (GP), KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), Limpopo (LP), Mpumalanga (MP), North West Province (NW), the Northern Cape (NC) and the Western Cape (WC) (Glaser 2001:30).

1.3 Background of social security in South Africa

The background of social security in South Africa needs to be analysed from several perspectives, including race, class, and internal political and external international pressure.

From 1924, White South Africans were given protection against poverty and vulnerability in the form of social pensions, while Black South Africans were excluded from these benefits through discriminatory social and economic policies (Triegaardt 2005:250). The introduction of the *Old Age Pensions Act, 22 of 1928* (Union of South Africa 1928) provided pensions for White and Coloured people, but excluded Africans and Indians. Discrimination was also practised in terms of race because White people received a higher pension than Coloured people (Thompson 1995:2). Black people were largely dependent on rural subsistence agriculture for survival. In 1944, the old age pensions were extended to Black and Indian people, but with more stringent means testing, and a lower amount was allocated to Black and Indian people (Collins 1996:142).

The *Children's Protection Act, 25 of 1913* was the first social assistance programme initiated in South Africa that provided maintenance grants for children (Union of South Africa 1913). However, maintenance grants were largely restricted to non-Africans, and very few of these grants reached African parents; none were given to rural Africans (Union of South Africa 1913). In 1990, 54 per cent of all maintenance and foster care grants were allocated to Coloured people. In 1993, 13 per cent of the children covered were Coloured, 8 per cent were White and only 0,5 per cent were Africans, even though Africans were well over three-quarters of the population at the time. African applicants were restricted by a lower income cut-off for the means test and by a lack of outreach and advocacy to educate them concerning their rights (Alderman 1999:15; Bhorat 1995:603).

In 1994, the ANC government faced the challenge of transforming the existing fragmented social security system into a single system based on the principle of comprehensive coverage for the population as a whole. The Taylor Report (2002:15) called for a comprehensive social assistance scheme to meet the medium- to long-term goals of social and economic transformation in South Africa. The report argued that the implementation of such a scheme would indicate commitment to addressing the socio-economic backlogs of apartheid.

The Lund Committee on Child and Family Support was convened in February 1996, after concerns had been raised about the financial viability of extending state maintenance grants

to Africans at the level then enjoyed by non-Africans (Lund 1996). The Committee stressed that some kind of benefit had to be continued, especially given the importance of the early, vulnerable years in a child's life. It pointed to the possibility of even greater costs in future if such a benefit was not provided (Pauw and Mncube 2007:10). The Committee recommended that the grant be provided to a child's primary caregiver. Given the financial constraints, the Committee recommended that each qualifying child be granted a much smaller amount than was previously the case, and that the benefit be restricted to children under seven years of age, so that the benefit could be extended to a larger number of those most in need of assistance (Taylor 2002:15). The CSG was therefore introduced in 1998 to replace the State Maintenance Grant (SMG). The introduction of the CSG marked a major policy shift by government, and it signalled the government's intention to support children in poverty and in poor households, particularly in rural areas, which were previously excluded from social assistance programmes.

1.4 Conceptualising monitoring and evaluation (M&E)

Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) is a powerful management tool that can assist a government and state institutions to improve the manner in which they undertake tasks to achieve their vision and mission. The evidence to make decisions, develop policy and hold officials accountable should be derived from a systemic results-based performance feedback system; this should result in strategic, tactical and operational decisions that are more relevant (Govender and Reddy 2014:164; Mackay 2007:v). However, in 2008, the Public Service Commission reported in its *Basic concepts in monitoring and evaluation* that departments and organs of state do not undertake M&E seriously as a performance management mechanism, because of the absence of the M&E systems necessary to evaluate programmes (Republic of South Africa 2008:90).

One decade into democracy (1994-2004), the ANC-led government has increasingly begun to recognise the need for improved policy M&E. Thus the government has realised that, although much has already been achieved in providing services to the majority of South Africans, more needs to be done. Moreover, in the last few years, especially from 2005 onwards, there have been various demonstrations arising from communities' frustration with the government's inability to provide basic services such as water, electricity, sanitation and refuse removal. In view of this recognition, the ANC-led government approved the Government-Wide Monitoring and Evaluation System, also known as the GWMES, which

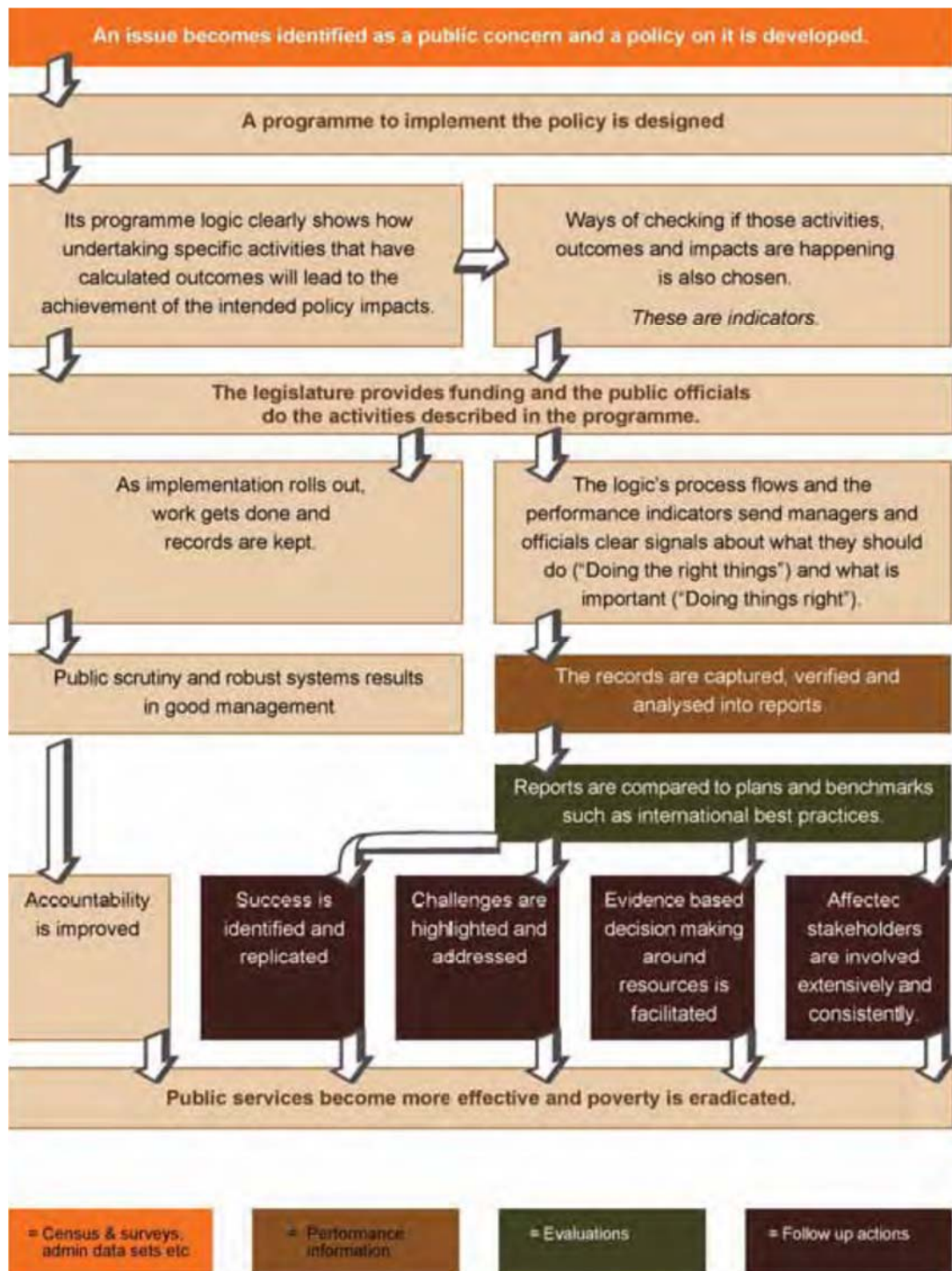
encompasses validation and verification systems, early-warning mechanisms, data-generation, quality analysis, decision-making and reporting. A Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation was created, and a Minister in the Presidency was appointed to perform the function of performance monitoring and evaluation across the country's national, provincial and local government spheres (Ile, Eresia-Eke and Allen-Ile 2012:12; Presidency 2009:1).

The Presidency (2009:10) defines an M&E system as “a set of organisational structures, management processes, standards, strategies, plans, indicators, information systems, reporting lines and accountability relationships which enables national and provincial departments, municipality and other institutions to discharge their M&E functions effectively”. The formal managerial elements mentioned above, capacity, organisational culture and other enabling conditions also help to determine whether the feedback from the M&E function influences an organisation's decision-making, learning and service delivery. The diagram in Figure 1.1 (overleaf) shows how the Government-Wide Monitoring and Evaluation System is supposed to contribute to achieving the intended outcomes.

The government has made the development and maintenance of a coordinated M&E system a top priority to monitor the achievement of the outcomes necessary for planning and assessment. The Government-Wide Monitoring and Evaluation System produces the following outputs:

- improved quality of any performance information and analysis at a programme level in departments and municipalities (inputs, outputs and outcomes);
- improved monitoring and evaluation of outcomes and impact across the whole of government, for example, through the Government Programme of Action bi-monthly Report, or the Annual Country Progress Report based on the national Indicator;
- sectoral and thematic evaluation reports;
- improved monitoring and evaluation of provincial outcomes and impact, in relation to Provincial Growth and Development Plans;
- projects to improve M&E performance in selected institutions across government; and
- capacity-building initiatives to build capacity for M&E and foster a culture of governance and decision-making which responds to M&E findings (Presidency 2009:7).

Figure 1.1: Government-Wide Monitoring and Evaluation System



Source: Presidency (2009:6)

Figure 1.1 above indicates the relationship between different government processes and the relevant data terrains.

From the discussion above, it can be deduced that the South African government has realised the importance of monitoring and evaluating policy implementation. As a result, the government has developed its Government-Wide Monitoring and Evaluation System programme to ensure that all government departments implement this system, which will enable the government to introduce intervention strategies if the implementation process of an intervention such as the CSG is not effective.

1.4.1 Monitoring

Monitoring involves comparing actual performance to planned performance (Republic of South Africa 2008:3). According to the National Treasury's (2007:1) *Framework for managing programme performance information*, monitoring is thus used to report on actual performance against what was planned, by collecting, analysing and reporting data on all projects, programmes and policies to support effective management. Kettner, Moroney and Martin (2008:255) define monitoring as an assessment of the extent to which a programme is implemented as designed, and serves the intended target group. In the case of the CSG policy, the target group is children suffering as a result of poverty. The emphasis on monitoring should be on controlling the process or procedure to align it towards the achievement of an objective that is relevant to the beneficiaries. An effective monitoring system provides early warning signals so that corrective action can be taken timeously if there are problems. It can be deduced that monitoring involves constant tracking of interventions, based on the available information, to improve the achievement of the set targets to the satisfaction of the targeted stakeholders.

1.4.2 Evaluation

Policy evaluation is often considered the last stage of the policy process. In the evaluation stage, political officials who formulated and implemented the policy attempt to ascertain whether or not the policy has reached its goals (Hanekom 1987:89). However, policy evaluation should be a continuous process throughout policy implementation. Evaluation can be done systematically or informally. Systematic evaluation enables evaluation to be conducted using social science research techniques. This allows for valid outcomes in the endeavour to find a thorough and more precise way of improving a programme or policy (Weiss 1998:4).

Policy evaluation may be regarded as a systematic assessment of a policy to determine the success and progress of the policy concerned. Fournier (2005:140) defines evaluation as an applied inquiry process for collecting evidence that highlights the effectiveness, efficiency and value of an intervention. According to Mark, Gary and Julnes (2000:3), the goal of evaluation is social betterment, so evaluation can contribute by assisting democratic institutions to select, oversee, improve and understand the context of social programmes and policies better. Mark *et al.* (2000:19) add that “evaluation should be motivated by the goal of providing information that women and men as administrators; as legislators; and as citizens in a democracy can use to make better sense of the objectives, operations and effects of social policies and programmes”. Conceptually, evaluation is also the systematic or critical assessment of the merit, worth or value of administration, output and outcome of government interventions intended to add value to the relevant beneficiaries (Republic of South Africa 2008:6).

For the purposes of this study, evaluation is concerned with determining the effects of a specific policy (the CSG) on real-life situations. Thus it is an attempt to indicate whether the policy has actually contributed to improving conditions, and whether the policy outcomes are a consequence of the policy actions that have been taken. The purpose of such evaluation is to find more effective policies or adapt policies to achieve objectives or to change the objectives that must be reached. Therefore, to investigate the effectiveness of the implementation of the CSG, a systematic evaluation using social science research techniques was chosen for this study.

Once a policy has been passed and measures for implementation have been put in place, it is usually assumed that the outcome will be the intended one, but this is sometimes not the case. Policy monitoring and evaluation are therefore essential to clarify the outcome of a policy (Brynard 2006a:837). Dye (1998:366) argues that a lack of monitoring and evaluation has been found to be the cause for many policy failures in the public policy field. Worthan, Sanders and Fitzpatrick (1997:10) also argue that a lack of consistent monitoring and evaluation of policy implementation can lead to ineffective policy implementation.

1.5 Rationale for the research

Poverty as a concept is almost uniquely applied to humans. Generally the concept poverty can be taken to signify two levels at which persons’ standard of living might have fallen below

that of their peers. According to Lotter (2007:266) the concept of *absolute poverty* on one hand implies that a person does not have enough financial capacities to provide for the basic needs such as shelter, clothing, food, security and medical care to maintain their physical health. While the concept of *relative poverty* on the other hand signifies that although people have adequate economic capacities to provide food, clothing, shelter, security and medical care to maintain their physical health, they cannot participate in any other activities regarded as indicative of being human in their society (Lotter 2007:267). South Africa has made considerable progress over the past two decades in reducing the extent of poverty and social exclusion and their effect on children. The country's political transition has fundamentally changed the context within which these conditions occur. The massive expansion of the grant system has improved the financial situation of millions of poor families in urban and rural areas and helped to reduce not only money-metric poverty but also hunger among children as reported in household surveys (SAHRC and UNICEF 2014:17). Despite remarkable progress in reducing the effect of deprivation for many of its poorer citizens, the country is still plagued by poor education quality, high levels of unemployment, particularly among its youth, and widespread dissatisfaction with the pace and quality of basic service delivery.

There is an urgent need to provide an effective social security system for the poor in both developed and developing countries (Ahmad 1991:105). The government of the Republic of South Africa therefore introduced various policy reform measures when it came into power in 1994 in order to bring about social and economic transformation. Some of the reform measures were aimed at redressing the injustices of the past, introduced and enforced by the previous government. In 1994, the country's first democratically elected government prioritised the well-being of women and children. As a result, social security rights were included in Section 27 of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a).

Research has shown that poverty amongst children in developing countries is one of the most serious social problems (Biyase 2005:1). Children's suffering as a result of poverty in developing countries provides a strong motivation to find appropriate policy responses. According to the UNICEF report (2000:9), *Poverty reduction begins with children*, it is estimated that "at least 600 million children under the age of 18 survive on less than US\$1 a day. They represent 40 per cent of children in developing countries". Concern about the incidence and extent of poverty among children includes the need to understand the long-term consequences of poverty and the vulnerability of children.

There is considerable evidence that severe poverty among children has detrimental effects that extend over the entire life of an individual, and can generate or reinforce intergenerational poverty persistence (Case, Ferting and Paxson 2003:8; Harper, Marcus and Moore 2003:536; Yaqub 2002:17). Intergenerational effects manifest in a number of ways. Children in poor households in developing countries often suffer malnutrition and stunting; malnourished girls, in particular, are more likely to give birth to low birth-weight babies, which jeopardizes the babies' life chances (Barrientos and Dejong 2006:540). Children's suffering due to poverty is strongly associated with less schooling and lower educational attainment, which in turn has long-term consequences for their future productive capacity and standard of living. Nutritional deficiencies during childhood also lead to lower learning outcomes, with intergenerational effects, because the education of mothers has been shown to be particularly important to children's wellbeing (Barrientos and Dejong 2006:540).

Suitable policy responses to children's suffering as a result of poverty and vulnerability are important, because children are disproportionately represented among the low-income poor. Many suffer from severe deprivation, and their poverty and vulnerability have cumulative and long-term consequences for their future, and for that of their children (Case, Hosegood and Lund 2005:472).

It has become increasingly apparent through policy statements that the national government is formulating policies intended to address the imbalances and inequalities of the past by improving service delivery to the citizens. The research in this study focuses on the CSG, without prejudice to the effectiveness of other policy responses. New innovations in the use of cash transfers as a means to limit the effects of poverty in developing countries gave this focus a particular impetus (Barrientos and Dejong 2006:540).

This study was motivated by a realisation of the problems and inadequacies in respect of the implementation of the CSG policy that the national government has formulated to alleviate the effect of poverty and is attempting to implement. If policy implementation is inadequate, and if monitoring and evaluation are ineffective, the CSG policy cannot achieve its objective of alleviating poverty.

1.6 Research problem

Poverty is at the centre of debates about development. Several developing countries have undertaken major reform initiatives in an attempt to overhaul their social security systems

comprehensively. The aim is to deal effectively with exclusions and marginalisations in the system. It is clear that there is a need to address poverty holistically and in an integrated fashion from a social protection point of view. Prominent international institutions have come together to address poverty, particularly the World Bank, through its Poverty Reduction Strategies, and the United Nations (UN), through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which in 2015 changed to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Levine, Van der Berg and Yu 2011:39). Moreover, important regional instruments and constitutional provisions (including human rights guarantees) are found in constitutions and regional and international best practices (Olivier 2009:46). Discussion also focuses on alternative roles for the state, in particular, the part that governments can play in social protection, and in addressing chronic poverty. This commitment is especially visible in developing countries, which are increasingly paying attention to the role of social protection programmes in general, and to cash transfers in particular, in their efforts to meet the Millennium Development Goals (Olivier 2009:46).

It is vital for the African continent to commit itself to taking ownership of its own development if it is to take a united continent towards peace and prosperity. This commitment is embedded in the African Union's mandated initiative of the New Partnership for Africa's Development. However, thus far, very little progress has been made in Africa toward meeting the global goals regarding the eradication of poverty. Therefore, at its 2006 Intergovernmental Regional Conference, the African Union requested all its member states to make social transfers a top priority policy option, to integrate poverty alleviation programmes into national budgets and development plans, and to share information and experiences across countries (African Union 2006:2).

As already indicated in Section 1.2, the current challenges to development in South Africa must be viewed in the context of colonial history. South Africa is still dealing with the legacy of apartheid. These realities contribute to the prevailing poverty, unemployment and inequality, coupled with wide-ranging social problems such as crime and violence. The problems are compounded by the impact of HIV and AIDS, which leaves many infected people vulnerable. Unemployment and poverty also contribute to the vulnerability of the youth to drug addiction and criminal activities. South Africa experienced increased economic growth for a number of years, with an average growth rate of approximately 5 per cent in real terms between 2004 and 2007. However, slower growth rates have been recorded in recent years, following successive global economic crises: in the period from 2008 to 2012, the

average growth rate was just above 2 per cent (Statistics South Africa 2015; Lombard and Wairire 2010:99).

South Africa significantly extended its system of social security after the first fully democratic elections in 1994, in line with the global trends of increased publicly funded cash transfers to the poor and vulnerable (Neves, Samson, Van Niekerk, Hlatshwayo and Du Toit 2009:8). By 2012, over 12 million South Africans, or approximately a quarter of the population, benefited from the CSG (DSD, SASSA and UNICEF 2012:2). This development coincides with many of the current debates, research and advocacy about the effectiveness of these transfers (Neves *et al.* 2009:8).

Thus far, policy implementation by the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) has had a negative effect on service delivery, continuing imbalances and inequalities in service delivery. Poor service delivery means that the South African Social Security Agency's (SASSA's) policy implementation has failed to alleviate the effects of poverty in the communities. Thus, despite efforts to improve service delivery by the national government, there are still vast social security disparities in South Africa: it is estimated that about 15,4 million South Africans live in poverty (Gumede 2007:15). The social security system in South Africa is meant to cater for the indigent, but the process of applying for a social grant (for example, the CSG) is often problematic and frustrating (SASSA and UNICEF 2013:121).

The main problem examined in this study is the (un)successful implementation of the CSG policy. **The research evaluated the implementation of the CSG policy to determine the effectiveness of the programme in alleviating poverty.** Implementation problems add to the burden of impoverished primary care-givers in their interaction with the Department of Social Development (DSD) and some other government departments, such as the Department of Home Affairs and the Department of Health.

1.7 Research questions

Research questions are developed from a research problem (Choga and Njaya 2011). Hofstee (2006:85) argues that “research questions are used to name as precisely as possible what the study will attempt to find out”. However, researchers should be cautious – it is difficult to work with research questions only, because one loses the precision and focus that a thesis statement provides. For the purposes of this study, the research questions were used to elicit

explanations for the current situation. The research questions that guided the thesis were the following:

- **To what extent has the DSD implemented the CSG?**
- **To what extent does the CSG alleviate the effects of poverty?**
- **How efficient, effective and successful is the evaluation of the implementation of the CSG policy?**

These research questions assisted in conducting a clear assessment of whether the DSD implements the CSG policy successfully to alleviate the effects of poverty in particular. It assisted in assessing whether the CSG is accessible and whether it has the capacity to alleviate the effects of poverty in poor communities, and in assessing whether the grant reaches the people in need of assistance when required. Furthermore, the research questions assisted in monitoring and evaluating the effects of policy implementation in the DSD.

1.8 Research objectives

Objectives are intermediary stages along the way of achieving a solution to a problem. They are derived from the research questions of the study. But, unlike the research questions, objectives are specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and time-bound. Objectives represent the expected outcome(s) of research activities. Their role is to guide action. Therefore, they are precise statements of intended activity that a study employs to achieve its goals (Huysamen, 2001:19).

The primary objective of this research was to describe, analyse and evaluate the effects of policy implementation with reference to the CSG policy, aimed at alleviating the effects of poverty and improving the lives of citizens. In addition, the research aimed to formulate and propose the implementation of an effective method to implement the CSG policy properly. The research findings may assist the government to determine how to implement public policy effectively and efficiently in order to obtain optimal benefits at a reasonable cost.

1.9 Significance of the research

The research aimed to ascertain the effects that policy implementation has on alleviating poverty in South Africa. This research project established which challenges have a negative effect on the implementation process of the CSG policy. Once the problem was established, and taking into account the knowledge accumulated, the researcher proposed possible

solutions and measures to combat the current pathologies and challenges of policy implementation. Furthermore, in its final chapter, the thesis proposes a plan to ensure that the policies formulated by the national government to guide policy implementation and to assist in the alleviation of the plight of children suffering as a result of poverty are properly implemented.

This research will contribute to the literature on policy implementation by improving the current model for public policy implementation with special reference to the social security programme. It indicates how government can become more responsive and effective in its alleviation of the plight of children suffering as a result of poverty. This will then assist public officials to make decisions to unravel the challenges regarding social assistance that the country faces.

The research is important in the sense that it will assist in analysing and evaluating factors which are hampering implementation of the CSG policy. In addition, the topic was selected to identify strategies that the DSD and SASSA can use to ensure effective, efficient and successful policy implementation.

1.10 Limitations of the study

Lutabingwa and Nethonzhe (2006:700) argue that researchers have an obligation to make shortcomings known to their readers. Hence, the researcher has highlighted factors which might have a bearing on the findings, conclusions and recommendations as outlined in the last chapter of the thesis.

The CSG policy is a major concern in the entire South Africa. It was thus in the interest of this study to cover all nine South African provinces. However, due to financial constraints, the research was limited to KZN. This limitation makes it difficult to provide a comparative perspective on the provision of the CSG in other provinces. The study was conducted in the rural areas of KZN only, so caution should be exercised in interpreting the findings. It might not be possible to generalise the findings to urban areas – if the same study were to be conducted in urban areas, the results might be different.

South Africa has 11 official languages, but KZN is populated mainly by isiZulu-speaking people (Constitution RSA 1996). This may also have had an effect on the results of the study, so the findings might be different if the study were to be conducted in other parts of the

country, populated mainly by speakers of Setswana or isiXhosa. This implies that different people might respond differently, based on their culture and historical background.

Another limitation of the study is the time frame. Statistics on social security constantly change, based on the annual budgets. This study covered only the period from 1998, when the CSG was first implemented, up to the 2015 financial year.

1.11 Research methodology

It is important to understand what research methodology entails and how research can be conducted scientifically. If a researcher's main aim is to produce the most valid and reliable findings possible in a research project, it is crucial that the research conforms to good practices involved in respect of the research methodology (Leedy and Ormrod 2013:143). The purpose of this section is to describe the research methodology used in this study.

Research methodology is the philosophy of the research process (Bailey 1994:32). This includes the assumptions and values that serve as a rationale for research and the standards or criteria that a researcher uses to interpret data and reach a conclusion. The choice of methodology depends on the research problem and research objectives (Mouton 1998:40). There are three levels of the methodological dimension of research. The first level is methodological paradigms, the most abstract level, which includes the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research. The second level is research methods – those which are used in specific stages of the research process, for example, sampling, data collection and data analysis. The third level is research techniques, which represent the most reliable level of the methodological dimension. It includes specific techniques related to sampling, data collection and data analysis. This distinction between paradigms, methods and techniques is helpful in forming a better understanding of the concept of research methodology (Mouton 1998:37). The methodology to be used in this research project is mainly qualitative, underpinned by quantitative methods to provide specific proof of research results.

1.11.1 Qualitative research method

Qualitative research is defined in a variety of ways. A simple and witty definition is that by Charles Ragin, who distinguishes quantitative from qualitative research this way: “[Q]uantitative researchers work with few variables and many cases, whereas qualitative researchers rely on a few cases and many variables” (Ragin 1987:15). Brady and Collier

(2004:301) identify four dimensions that can be used to distinguish qualitative from quantitative research: level of measurement, size of the N (sample size), the use of statistical tests, and thick versus thin analysis. Qualitative research is “small N research” that relies on detailed knowledge of a small sample, rather than more limited knowledge of a large sample. It uses nominal-level data, and verbal analysis rather than statistical analysis. Creswell (2007a:24) argues that “qualitative research is complex, involving fieldwork for prolonged periods of time, collecting words and pictures, analysing this information inductively while focusing on participant views and writing about the process using expressive and persuasive language”.

The use of non-statistical inquiry techniques and processes for collecting data about social phenomena can be explained by the term “qualitative research”. McNabb (2004:341) states that the term “qualitative data” refers to the collection of pictures, words, symbols or other numerical records, material or artefacts that are collected by a researcher as data that have relevance for the group being studied. It is important to understanding research methods to gather, use and evaluate information (O’Sullivan, Rassel and Berner 2007:1; Berg 2007:18). The basic thrust of all research is to solve problems and to expand knowledge. This makes it essential that research is conducted carefully and systematically. In qualitative research, the data require more than a simple description of events and phenomena if an understanding is to be created for subjective interpretation and critical analysis (Taylor 2000:2).

Methodology in qualitative research evolves over the course of an investigation. Qualitative research requires considerable preparation, planning, respectful engagement, conscientious analysis and deliberate presentation (Leedy 2014:135; Luton 2010:3). In qualitative research, data is mostly collected by using sources such as observation, interviews, sampling, site visits, written documents and audio visual materials (Leedy 2014:132).

Using a qualitative approach is often helpful, because it not only explains why a phenomenon occurs, but also assists in developing “a detailed understanding of individual views, attitudes and behaviour” (Moore 2000:121). A qualitative approach was crucial to this study, because the study focused on issues that are too complex to be understood by applying quantitative measures. Gillham (2000:10) argues that “qualitative methods focus primarily on the kind of evidence (what people tell you, what they do) that will enable you to understand the meaning of what is going on”. A qualitative approach to social science research is about researching

human behaviour, establishing facts, opinions, experiences and preferences regarding the issues under review (Bless 2013:67; Blaikie 2000:25).

Qualitative research encompasses several approaches which are, in some respects, quite different from one another, but have two characteristics in common: firstly, they focus on phenomena that occur in a natural setting; secondly, they involve studying those phenomena in all their complexity (McNabb, 2004:344). This implies that qualitative researchers do not simplify what they observe. Instead, they recognise that the issue under review has many dimensions and layers. Hence, researchers portray the issue investigated as multifaceted.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1999:2), qualitative research is “multifold, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter”. This implies that qualitative research study phenomena in their natural settings attempt to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings that people ascribe to them. In this regard, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2002:22) explain that interpretive researchers start with individuals and set out to understand their interpretations of the world around them. The control endeavour in the context of the interpretative paradigm is gaining an understanding of the subjective world of human experience. To retain the integrity of the phenomena being investigated, efforts are made to get inside the person and to understand from within (Mtsetfwa 2006:45).

Qualitative studies have been criticised for focusing only on the case being studied, and for not being generalisable beyond the cases researched; it has also been argued that the involvement of the researcher in the social context under study leads to a lack of objectivity (Grix 2010:121).

The focus of the research reported in this thesis on the implementation of the CSG policy required a holistic approach that allowed the researcher to share in the understandings and perceptions of those involved in the implementation process. Hence, a qualitative approach was suitable for the study. The approach was augmented by some elements from a quantitative approach, namely data in the form of figures and percentages. The main purpose of using the figures and percentages was not to quantify data but essentially to supplement the qualitative narratives, as suggested by Bloomberg and Volpe (2012:150).

1.11.2 Quantitative research

The quantitative approach, also known as a positivist approach, is founded on a philosophical system called logical positivism. Positivism inspires natural-scientific methods used in human behavioural research. In a positivist approach, scientific examination must be restricted to issues that can be attentively watched (observed) and assessed without bias, which restricts research to objects that survive autonomously of the beliefs and attitudes of individuals. A natural-scientific approach strives to formulate laws that apply to populations (that is, are universally valid) and that explain the causes of objectively observable and measurable behaviour (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell 2005:6).

A quantitative research approach conceptualises reality in terms of variables, and relationships among them. It relies on measurement, and thus pre-structures data, and usually research questions, conceptual frameworks and the research design (Punch 2014:238). Samples are typically larger than in qualitative studies, and generalisation through sampling is important. This approach does not regard context as central, typically stripping data of their context. It has well-developed and codified methods of data analysis. Generally, its methods are more one-dimensional and less variable than qualitative methods. The primary role of quantitative research is to test a hypothesis, which can be defined as a proposition or statement regarding a relationship among variables. This kind of research is thus more easily replicable (Bulmer 1982:71; Baehr 1992:22).

The main purpose of quantitative research is to arrive at valid and objective descriptions of phenomena. Researchers illustrate how phenomena can be controlled by manipulating particular variables. Illustrations are done to discover principles and laws, which can in turn be applied to the larger population. For example, quantitative methods include historical, descriptive, correlational, causal-comparative and experimental studies, action research and development studies. These methods yield numerical data and are evaluated by means of descriptive or inferential statistics. Statistical treatment of data by using descriptive or inferential means is used to test hypotheses and determine whether significant relationships or differences exist or not. The findings are generalised to the population (Taylor 2000:69; Charles 1987:5).

The quantitative approach has important strengths and advantages. According to Punch (2005:238), quantitative data enable standardised, objective comparisons to be made. The measurements done in quantitative research permit overall descriptions of situations or

phenomena in a systematic and comparable way. This means a researcher can sketch the contours or dimensions of these situations or phenomena (Taylor 2000:69). This may be desirable in independent of deeper-level qualitative inquiries, or in conjunction with them. Procedures for the analysis of quantitative data are well developed and codified, so they bring objectivity to the research, increasing the chances that the results of an analysis do not depend on the researcher doing the analysis (Punch 2005:240). A quantitative approach allows specific important questions to be systematically answered, opening the way to the development of useful knowledge (Punch 2005:241).

1.11.3 Rationale for the use of a mixed method approach

This section provides a general overview of the mixed method approach that was used in this study. When using the mixed methods approach, the researcher “mixes” both quantitative approach that collects numeric data (numbers), and qualitative approach that collects text data “words” in a single study. Although quantitative and qualitative approaches differ in how they access knowledge and the research questions they address, they are complementary and help provide a more complete analysis of the research problem (Maree 2007:15), and offer the best chance of answering the specified research questions.

In using the mixed methods approach one ensures triangulation of both quantitative and qualitative methods and data sources in a single study, convergence and corroboration of results from the different methods on the same phenomenon (Borg and Gall 1996:23; Creswell 2007b:45; Johnson and Onwuegbuze 2004:19; Tichapondwa 2013:110).

While qualitative approach enables you to acquire in-depth understanding of respondents’ experiences and perceptions, the quantitative approach enables you to look for relationships between the variables and generalise results to the main population (Maree 2007:18). Given that all research approaches have their strengths and limitations, the problem comes when you rely on just one, hence combining or triangulating them offers a more comprehensive approach to finding answers to the research questions, especially since many questions when conducting research are complex and cannot be easily answered using a single research method (Tichapondwa 2013:110). The researcher took note of the above when using the mixed methods approach for this study.

1.11.3.1 Case studies

Schram (2006) observes that the case study approach differs from other methodological frameworks, in that it is mainly used to design a study, rather than to conduct a study. The case study approach dates back to the 1920s. It is a diverse approach, and thus far, researchers who have employed case studies in qualitative research have failed to present data gathering techniques specific to case study research. As a result, there is still a need to review the case study strategy's ability to adapt to different theoretical approaches and methodological frameworks, such as grounded theory, and ethnographic, life history and phenomenological research. Schurink and Auriacombe (2010:437), as well as Schram (2006), point out that whether one considers a case study as a way of conceptualising human behaviour or just as a means of encapsulating it, its importance lies in the method's ability to draw attention to what can be learned from a single case study.

Case studies are directed at understanding the uniqueness and idiosyncrasy of a particular case in all its complexity (Huysamen 2001:168). A case study is a strategy for conducting a social inquiry when the inquirer answers the *how* or *why* questions in circumstances where the inquirer has little control over the events being studied (J.A. Schwandt 1997:13). Bailey (1994:42) describes a case study as a longitudinal and in-depth study of a single or a few cases, in contrast to a more superficial cross-sectional study of a larger sample. A case study can be regarded as an exploration of a bounded system or case over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection, involving multiple sources of information (Creswell 2007a:61). It should be noted that the case under investigation can be an activity, a process, a programme, an event, an individual or multiple individuals. Some case studies refer to a specific period rather than to a specific group of individuals. A case is "a unit of human activity embedded in the real world" (Graham 2000:1).

For the purposes of this research, a case refers to an institution such as the DSD and SASSA and how these institutions implement the CSG policy. Although the researcher places this system or case within a broader context, the focus remains on either the case or the issue it illustrates. Furthermore, the case refers to the geographical location of KwaZulu-Natal Province where the study is located.

A case study as a qualitative method emphasises detailed contextual analysis of a few events or conditions and their relationships. Stake (1995) argues that a case study as a qualitative research method should be used to enhance understanding of the social phenomenon under

investigation in relation to its broader context. Unlike in quantitative research, the wider context of a case is not used to verify, compare and explain. Similarly, a case study does not aim to indicate the causes of phenomena, but rather attempts to provide a better understanding of the phenomena and to unpack the challenges of the case (David 2009:xxvii).

Yin (2003) suggests that researchers should investigate one entity or phenomenon, “the case”, restricted by time and activity such as an event, process, institution or social group and programme. A researcher should collect detailed information by using a variety of data collection procedures during a sustained period of time. In the context of Yin’s contribution, the analysis of the literature in this thesis served to consider the case beyond the firm boundaries of the DSD and SASSA in KZN and to enable comparison with other provinces. Data on both the practices of and the DSD’s and SASSA’s performance enhanced the process of acquiring external explicit and tacit knowledge about the subject being studied, the implementation of the CSG. In a case study, the newly-acquired external knowledge should be integrated with previous internal knowledge of the critical case, to create a new knowledge base that may give rise to certain improvements and innovations (Yin 2003).

Case studies are designed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and its meaning. The interest should be in the process rather than the outcomes; it should be in the context rather than specific variables; as well as in discovery rather than information (Merriam 1998).

As a qualitative research method, case studies intend to explain relationships in real life situations which are too complex for experimental or survey strategies (Yin 2003:15). A case is not chosen for its distinctive characteristics, but rather through scientific acts of selection and exclusion (sampling), to be compared with other similar or different cases. David (2009:xxvi) points out that case studies are used to explain an intervention in the context of the real life in which it occurs. In the context of the qualitative methodology, the “core strength of case method lies in exploration and description” (David 2009:xxvi).

The choice of the case study method affords researchers an opportunity to include the context as a central part of their research. Researchers rely on multiple sources of evidence as opposed to a single data collection method, and acknowledge the need to employ distinctive strategies for research design and analysis, irrespective of the quantitative nature of variables (Yin 2003:3). There has to be a rationale for adopting a case study approach (David 2009:xxvi).

In a case study, different methods are used such as interviews, observations, audio-visual material and documentary analysis (Creswell 2007b:61). This approach is called triangulation. Triangulation involves the use of more than one methodological approach in order to enhance scientific rigour (Denzin 1989:235). It is important for researchers who choose a case study approach systematically to triangulate more than one case (the collective case study), the investigator, the paradigm (mixed methods) theory, and methods of collecting data and analysis for the purpose of enhancing the scientific rigour of their studies (Flick 2007:42). In this regard, Clarke and Dawson (1999:88) explain: “One of the main advantages gained from using triangulation as part of multi-method research design is that it allows the researcher to have greater confidence in the research findings than is the case when single method is used.” It is widely accepted that all research methods have their own strengths and weaknesses. Those who support triangulation maintain that the strengths of one method can be used to complement the weakness of another: “No one kind or source of evidence is likely to be sufficient on its own. This use of multiple of cases to serve as evidence, each with its strengths and weaknesses, is a key characteristic of case study research” (Gillham 2000:2).

The case study approach is both naturalistic (in that case studies are about real people and situations), and particularistic (in that it focuses on a particular context) (Yin 2003:6). Much of the descriptive data collection occurs in a real environment. The descriptive data include historical data, and data from participants and non-participants, observation, interviews and narrative sources (Babbie 2013:306). The information generated is inductive because a hypothesis emerges from the examination of the data (Gillham 2000:2). It is heuristic in that it illuminates the reader’s understanding of the phenomenon under study (Willies, Jost and Nilakanta 2007:239). Case studies can be used for descriptive purposes, and can yield valuable explanatory insights (Babbie 2013:306; Flyvbjerg 2006:223). Case studies can also take on an idiographic approach to understanding the causal factors pertaining to a specific occurrence, while in some instances they can serve as the basis for the development of more general theories consistent with a nomothetic approach (Flyvbjerg 2006:223; Babbie 2013:306).

Once a researcher has chosen a case study design, he/she has to visit the respondents in their natural settings and has to document real events, record what they say, pay attention to their behaviour as they continue with the normal activities in which the problem under study is framed. This enables a researcher to discover several unusual behaviours and attitudes which might not have been noticed in using other methods (Maree 2007; Neuman 1997). The main

advantage of a case study is its ability to probe deeply, analyse intensively and reach an in-depth and detailed understanding of the case under study (Tshuma and Mafa 2013; Creswell 2007b; Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2006; Denscombe 2001; Cohen and Manion 1994). This enables a researcher to achieve a holistic understanding of the characteristics of what is happening in a real-life situation, which provides an opportunity for the researcher to analyse the context in which participants perform their task, in addition to their responses (Yin 2003).

When using a case study, a researcher needs to make an important decision, namely whether the research will adopt a single-case study design or a multiple-case study design. Single case studies limit a researcher to one case, while a multiple case study covers two or more cases.

A case study is useful in evaluating how effectively government institutions that receive public funding have administered public programmes (Baker 1994:302). According to Hartley (2004:326), using a multiple-case study design can provide a researcher with more information, but the choice should consider the quality of data which must be gathered and analysed, based on resource implications. Given the time and resource constraints, the selection of only one province in this study was decided upon, in consideration of the amount of data that need to be collected (and analysed) if more than one province were to be selected.

There has been some criticism of case studies. The most common criticism is that a case study design often depends on a single case, which implies that it cannot provide generalised conclusions. However, Nieuwenhuis (2007:76) counteracts this criticism by arguing that generalisation is not the main purpose of case study research. Instead, case study research is aimed at gaining greater insight into and understanding of the dynamics of a specific situation. Hamel, Dufour, and Fortin (1993:34) characterise the singularity of a case study as a concentration of the global phenomenon in a local setting. A metaphor commonly used in social sciences for a case study suggests that a well-selected case constitutes a dewdrop in which the world is reflected (Nieuwenhuis 2007:76).

Given that the case study design has been criticised regarding its validity, reliability, transferability and the conformability of case study research findings, researchers have to consider triangulation to strengthen the case study method. Guba (1981:87) has proposed trustworthiness as a surrogate to address such criticisms.

Case study designs have been used by researchers for many years across a number of disciplines to answer “how and why” questions because a case study offers a multi-

perspective analysis in which the researcher considers not just the voice and perspectives of one or two groups of participants in a given setting, but also the views of other relevant groups who interact with the participants (Nieuwenhuis 2007:76). In the same way, this study needed to attain a multi-perspective analysis of the implementation of the CSG policy by going beyond collecting data from the participants who are directly responsible for implementing the CSG policy, to include other actors who interact with the implementers, namely beneficiaries of the policy. Therefore, a case study design was an appropriate research design to guide the study.

The main reason for the study's adoption of a case study design was the advantages of the design. Case studies allow researchers to see beneath the surface of the situation into personal feelings, which is not possible in statistical studies (Burgess 1994, cited in Zach 2006:6). According to Majchrzak (1984:63), case studies are commonly used in policy research methods because they are usually quick, they are cost-efficient and allow room for impressionistic analysis of a situation. In addition, Majchrzak (1984:63) argues that case studies provide for more understanding of a situation's complexity by examining behaviour in context, and promote an examination of the process by which an intervention has been implemented.

1.11.3.2 Grounded theory

Strictly speaking, grounded theory, as originally expounded by Glaser and Strauss (1967), is not a field research design, but rather an analytical strategy employed in many forms of field research. Grounded theory attempts to derive theory from an analysis of the patterns, themes, and common categories discovered in observational data. In grounded theory, data are collected in the absence of a hypothesis. The initial data are used to determine key characteristics and features of the phenomenon being studied. Such characteristics emerge or are generated inductively as the data are being gathered. Continuous data collection yields refined understanding and, in turn, sharpens the focus of the data collection itself (Babbie 2013:304; Trochim 2002).

The grounded theory method serves as an example of a nomothetic approach (Babbie 2013:306). The intent of grounded theory is to generate or discover a theory, an abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon, which relates to a particular situation (Creswell 2007a:56). The axle of grounded theory research is the generation of theory closely related to the context of the phenomenon being studied, according to Glaser and Strauss (1967:56).

They concede that “in practice it is difficult to ignore a theory accrued in one’s mind before commencing the research process” (Glaser and Strauss 1967:56); Perry (1998:789) argues that pure induction might deny a researcher an opportunity to benefit from existing theory, which he/she can employ as evidence to corroborate the research findings through triangulation, and suggests that pure induction might limit the possibility of generating new theories.

Grounded theory is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents; hence it is eminently interested in theory-building as opposed to theory-testing (Yin 1993:61). The non-specification of the manner in which theory is generated in this method does not mean that the method does not have specific, highly developed and rigorous procedures for producing theory (T.A. Schwandt 1997:60). As a method, grounded theory may be overly reliant on the inductive-deductive and cross-verification techniques often associated with qualitative research. Grounded theory is derived from data which are systematically gathered and analysed throughout the research process. Therefore, there is a close relationship between the data collection and the analysis processes with the developed theory (Strauss and Corbin 1998:12).

Grounded theory requires a researcher to identify an area of study and progress towards a theory, in a generating or a discovering mode (McNabb 2002:302). Theory derived from analysed data is more likely to resemble reality; hence grounded theory offers insight, enhances understanding and provides a meaningful guide to action (Strauss and Corbin 1998:12). The adage that “the map is not the territory” describes grounded theory well, because it encourages learning through a process. Grounded theory has become a paradigm of choice in much of the qualitatively oriented research in Public Administration as a discipline (Strauss and Corbin 1998:12). The data collection process in a grounded theory approach is characterised by a zigzag process where the researcher goes into the field, collects data, analyses it and then restarts the process until a theory is generated, developed and/or confirmed (Creswell 2007b:57).

The fact that Public Administration has grown into a conceptual tool that not only guides the delivery process of management (Kuye, Thornhill and Fourie 2002:1), but also integrates theory and practice in the quest for new discovery and knowledge, makes grounded theory as a method of social enquiry the most relevant method in Public Administration research. The varied, diffuse and interactive process of probing, and the resolution of conflicting

perspectives inherent in Public Administration research (Kuye *et al.* 2002:4) confirm the assertion that grounded theory has become a “type of central organising concept that serves to both direct the research process as well as provide empirical data analysis and interpretation” (McNabb 2002:302).

1.11.4 Area of the study

The study was carried out in the KwaZulu-Natal Province (commonly known as KZN). The Province constituted the area of study and was purposively selected.

According to Marshal and Rossman (1999:68), when one chooses an area of study, a valid reason should be given that clearly indicates why a specific setting is more appropriate than others for conducting the study. The reasons for choosing KZN are accordingly explained in this section.

KZN is one of South Africa’s nine provinces. South Africa’s total population was estimated to be over 50 million people in 2011, of which 18,5 million were children (under 18 years). Therefore, children constitute 37 per cent of the total population. Almost half of the children live in three of the nine provinces: 23 per cent in KZN, 14 per cent in the Eastern Cape and 12 per cent in Limpopo. Gauteng, a mainly metropolitan Province, houses 18 per cent of South Africa’s children (Meintjes and Hall 2013:86). Thus KZN has the highest number of children, at 23 per cent, followed by Gauteng, at 18 per cent, making KZN a suitable area in which to undertake the study. Moreover, this Province is mainly rural which makes it difficult to provide basic services, and it was deemed likely that the implementation of the CSG would be problematic in this Province, providing another reason for focusing on KZN.

1.11.5 Population of the study

The selection of the study population is considered an important aspect in research. According to Given (2008:518), any qualitative research report must provide valid reasons for the identification and selection of the study population. Given (2008) explains that a study population consists of a group or groups of interest to the researcher based on the study question. It provides a choice from which to choose the study sample. As indicated earlier (see Section 1.11.3.1), one of the reasons why researchers have used a case study design for many years across disciplines is that it provides a multi-perspective analysis in which the researcher considers not only the views of participants involved in a situation, but also the

views of other stakeholders interacting with the participants. This informed the selection of the study population.

The first group of participants were officials located in different local offices of SASSA in KZN who are directly involved in the implementation of the CSG policy. These officials interact with the beneficiaries from the first stage of the application process until the application is approved or declined. If an application is declined, the beneficiary must be provided with written reasons as to why the application was not successful.

The views of other stakeholders who interact with the officials in the implementation process were also obtained to provide a multi-perspective analysis. Thus the study population also involved beneficiaries of the CSG policy as a second group of participants.

1.11.6 Selection of the sample for the study

According to Welman and Kruger (2001:58), a population is the study object, which consists of individuals, groups, organisations, human products and events or conditions that they are exposed to. It is usually not practically or financially feasible to involve all members of a population in a research project. Instead, one can obtain data from a population by means of sampling (Huysamen 2001:37).

Sampling is the process used to select cases for inclusion in a research study (Bless and Higson-Smith 1995:274). A study design outlines the unit of analysis to be studied and decisions about the size of the sample. Sampling techniques depend on prior knowledge about an appropriate unit of analysis of the study, implying that the primary focus of data collection should be on what is happening to individuals in a setting and how individuals are affected by the setting (Patton 2002:228). In terms of sample size, it is generally accepted that for qualitative studies, the sample size is much smaller than those used in quantitative studies. However, the size needs to be large enough so that most or all of the participants that might be important are covered. The researcher must keep in mind that if a sample is too large, data become repetitive and eventually superfluous. Mason (2010:2) states that the sample size in qualitative studies should generally follow the concept of data saturation (a point where the collection of new data does not add any new information on the issue under investigation) as the guiding principle during data collection. In order for researchers to remain faithful to the principles of qualitative research, they should adhere to these principles. Non-probability sampling falls largely within the domain of phenomenology (Remenyi *et al.* 1998:193; Mason

2006:17). Judgment sampling, also called purposive sampling, involves the process of selecting subjects of the study with a specific purpose in mind. Under such a scenario, the likelihood of representing best practices in a particular issue are enhanced.

For the purposes of this study, both purposive and convenience sampling were adopted to select the sample. A purposive or judgemental sample is one selected on the basis of knowledge of a population and the purpose of the study. In purposive sampling, participants are chosen because of some defining characteristics that make them the holders of specific data needed for the study (Maree 2007; Remenyi, Williams, Money and Swartz 1998:193). The composition of a purposive sample does not necessarily have to be statistically representative of the population, but the sample should consist of individuals considered to have relevant knowledge and information in order to provide useful ideas, experiences and insights (Huysamen 2001:44; Marlow 1998:66; Remenyi *et al.* 1998:195).

According to Patton (1990), the logic and power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study. Information-rich cases are those from which a researcher can learn a great deal about the phenomenon being studied. Purposive sampling enables researchers to reduce the travelling costs involved in collecting data from geographically dispersed respondents, and enables researchers to gather specific information from respondents who are crucial to the study but may be hard to locate. The main disadvantage of purposive sampling is that there is sometimes little or no control over who is selected within the category and there is no guarantee that those selected are representative of the specified population (Tichapondwa 2013:124). Purposive sampling according to Rubin (1983:140) focuses on a limited number of the stratum of the population that can provide valuable in-depth information.

Convenience sampling, also known as accidental sampling, is the familiar “man in the street interview” (Tichapondwa 2013:123). If the researcher chooses to use accidental sampling he/she may have to stand in street corners and interview people as they pass by and make wide use of volunteers. Researchers should take note that convenience sampling is very biased and is only suitable where data collection is not complex and very low level of generalisation is expected. The assumption carried by accidental sampling is that by simply interviewing passersby, researchers get a reasonably representative cross-section of the population of interests. There is no guarantee that this is going to be the case as there is no reliable way of checking the reliability of a sample under accidental sampling (Tichapondwa 2013:123). In

selecting the sample for the study both purposive and convenience sample were used in selecting the officials. This was done not to inconvenience the normal working procedures for the officials on duty on that day interviews were conducted. Officials were taking turns during the interview process depending on availability. The same applies with beneficiaries both methods were applied. Beneficiaries were selected while they were waiting on the queues in a local SASSA office to be served or after they had finished what they came to do on that day. However, beneficiaries were allowed to keep their position on the queues. The views of the various authors cited above regarding sample size guided the study in targeting specific sections of the population, and in determining the sample size. The sample was composed as illustrated in Table 1.1, below.

Table 1.1: SASSA local office and number of participants for in-depth interviews

SASSA local office	Manager/official	Beneficiaries
Richards Bay	2	15
Ingwavuma	3	13
Pongolo	2	10
Ubombo	2	11
Kwa-Msane	2	10
Ngwelezane	3	12
Ongoye	2	13
Hlabisa	2	11
Mbazwane	2	12
Manguzi	2	10
Inkanyezi	3	11
Nkandla	2	10
Melmoth	3	12
Total	30	150

Thus, the sample of this study was determined by means of both purposive and convenience sampling after considering the knowledge of individuals involved in the implementation of the CSG policy in the SASSA in KZN, either directly, as SASSA officials, and directly or indirectly, as beneficiaries of the CSG policy. The population was selected on average of the beneficiaries that were available on the day the interviews were conducted. On average the population is about 50 people per day. On the part of the officials it also depends on the size of the local SASSA office. On average there are about eight officials per local office.

The research was aimed at obtaining a clear understanding of the reasons for policy implementation challenges that play a role in policy implementation and how these affect social service delivery and the effective functioning of SASSA, which is responsible for implementing the CSG policy. The chosen sampling method ensured that representative opinions were collected from both providers of the social assistance programme and recipients. This enabled the researcher to unravel the implementation challenges faced by government in the implementation of the CSG policy for alleviating poverty in KZN.

1.11.7 Data collection methods

It is important for researchers to choose suitable data collection methods to obtain standardised information from all respondents in the sample of their study by administering the same instrument to all the respondents, and to explain these methods clearly. Best and Khan (1993:25) describe data collection as “the process of disciplined inquiry through gathering and analysis of empirical data”.

Methods of data collection used in qualitative research usually involve face-to-face interaction with the study community and the study participants. The researcher is the most important instrument of data collection. There are two ways to undertake face-to-face data collection, namely observation and interviewing (Given 2008:520). Researchers often augment interviewing and observation with gathering and analysing documents produced in the course of everyday events, annual reports or reports constructed for the research on hand (Marshal and Rossman 1999:117).

The data collection methods used in this study, namely interviews, focus group discussions and document/content analysis are discussed in more detail below.

1.11.7.1 Interview process

Interviews involve the collection of data through direct contact between a researcher and the respondents presumed to have certain experiences that may enhance in-depth understanding of the problem under investigation (Denscombe 2001; Borg and Gall 1996). According to Creswell (2007a), Cohen *et al.* (2006) and Best and Khan (1993), an interview is a two-way conversation or oral questionnaire initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-related information and to learn about the ideas, beliefs, views, perceptions and opinions of the interviewees. Patton (1990) argues that the purpose of interviewing is to

find out what is in someone's mind and to depict the respondent's perceptions and experiences about a phenomenon under review. Cohen *et al.* (2006) posit that providing access to what is "inside a person's head" makes it possible to measure what a person knows (knowledge or information), what a person likes or dislikes (values and preferences) and what a person thinks (attitudes and beliefs).

Researchers can conduct interviews using interview guides or schedules which list the questions to ask. Interview guides can be either structured and/or closed-ended, or unstructured, with open-ended questions. Structured interview questions are pre-planned and enable respondents to respond in a particular way, with a greater or lesser amount of freedom in the answer. By contrast, unstructured interview questions enable respondents to express themselves freely at some length and to provide in-depth data about the problem under investigation (Borg and Gall 1996; Haralambos and Holborn 1995).

Researchers can also conduct semi-structured interviews, in which a researcher begins by asking a series of structured questions and then delves more deeply by asking open-ended questions in order to obtain data. This is called probing (Tichapondwa 2013:127; Bhattacharyya 2003:54; Huysamen 2001:145).

In conducting a qualitative interview, it is important to take note of some guidelines provided by Ahuja (2001:233), which enable researchers and participants to build a positive and effective relationship, by promoting trust, understanding and cooperation. Ahuja (2001:233) states that in asking questions, an interviewer should avoid being arrogant; the interviewer should not patronise the respondents; an interviewer should not show disbelief in the answers given by the respondent; and the interviewer should effectively probe answers in order to gain more information. These guidelines were taken into consideration when conducting interviews for this study.

The study employed qualitative interviews at an individual level (with SASSA officials and the beneficiaries) and at a collective level (in focus group interviews/discussions with beneficiaries). The study used semi-structured interviews for both officials and beneficiaries.

Given the nature of this study, it was important to bear in mind Gillham's (2000:62) argument that "interviews assist particularly where material is sensitive in nature after trust has been developed, people will disclose things in a face-to-face interview that they will not in an anonymous questionnaire".

According to Tichapondwa (2013:127), Creswell (2007a), Bhattacharyya (2003:54), Borg and Gall (1996), Schurink (1990), and Nachmias and Nachmias (1989), interviews afford researchers a number of advantages as well as disadvantages. Some of the advantages of semi-structured interviews are that the researcher can gather data systematically and is assured that no data is omitted. Moreover, semi-structured interviews are flexible, adaptable and provide direct human interaction that enable a researcher to probe and clarify answers with the respondents, follow up on leads, elaborate on the original responses and obtain more data with greater detail and clarity. The researcher can immediately validate the data if he/she senses that a respondent is giving false information through non-verbal cues, including facial expression and tone of voice.

However, there are also disadvantages of qualitative interviews. The first is that interviews are more costly to conduct than a survey by means of questionnaires. The second is that interviews are often shallow, as they can only accommodate a limited sample of respondents and often fail to dig deep enough to provide a true picture of opinions and feelings.

The researcher considered the above shortcomings of interviews when conducting the interviews for this study.

The interviews in this study with officials from SASSA were audio-recorded to enable the interviewer to concentrate on listening, probing and responding to the interviewee. Audio-recording facilitates the flow of an interview and discussion as the interviewer does not have to write down responses to one question before moving on to next, hence speeding up the interview process. The use of recording devices reduces the tendency of the interviewer to make an unconscious selection of data favouring his/her biases (Borg and Gall 1996:35). The audio-taped data can be replayed several times and can be studied more thoroughly during the analysis, which is not the case if data are only recorded manually. It is also possible for another researcher to use the recorded data to evaluate and classify the responses. In manual note-taking there is an increased risk of interviewer bias because the interviewer is likely to make notes of the responses which make immediate sense or are perceived as directly relevant or particularly interesting. In addition, as Clarke and Dawson (1999:78) argue “tape-recording is advantageous, as for example, when conducting interviews with senior policy-makers or where a detailed contextual analysis of the data is to be performed”.

The primary disadvantage of using a recording device in an interview is that it changes the interview situation to some extent. In instances involving sensitive and highly personal

information, a respondent may be reluctant to express his/her feelings and opinions freely if he/she is aware that the process is being recorded. Researchers need to explain the purpose of the recording carefully, and to reassure respondents that strict confidentiality will be maintained, as some people think that once their words are recorded on audio-tape they might find themselves in trouble, especially if they reveal something illegal that they have done (Bogdan and Biklen 1992:47). In this study, permission was first sought from the interviewee before the interview to record the conversation. Before the interviews were conducted the researcher requested permission through a consent letter and explain the purpose of the study to the participants. Interviews were later transcribed for record purposes. The researcher took cognisance of the disadvantages and put in place suitable strategies to overcome the potential problems.

1.11.7.2 Focus group discussion

A focus group is defined as a small gathering of individuals who have a common interest or characteristic, assembled by the researcher, who uses the group and its interactions as a way to gain in-depth information about a particular topic (Katz and Williams 2002). Krenger (1988) regards a focus group discussion as a carefully focused discussion designed to obtain perceptions, attitudes, feelings and experiences in a defined area of interest in a permissive non-threatening atmosphere of disclosure from a predetermined and limited number of people. The key element here is the involvement of people whose disclosures are encouraged in a nurturing environment. Focus groups tap into human tendencies to develop attitudes and perceptions through interaction with other people. The focus group discussion strategy is based on the assumption that group interaction will be productive in widening the range of responses, activating forgotten details of experience and realising inhibitions that may otherwise discourage participants from disclosing information (Maree 2007).

The group dynamics in focus group discussions enable participants to build on each other's ideas, experiences and comments to produce data that are rich in detail and that are difficult to achieve with other research methods (Maree 2007; Anderson 1993). Unexpected comments and new perspectives can be explored easily in a focus group and can add value to one's study. The participants interact with each other rather than with the researcher, which enables the views of the participants to emerge so that the researchers' agenda does not predominate (Cohen *et al.* 2006). It is from the interaction of the group that the data emerge.

In conducting a focus group discussion, it is ideal to begin with a broader and less structured set of questions to ease participants into a process where they actively debate issues (Maree 2007). Active participation and interaction among members can be motivated by probing to steer the discussions or clarify issues. As the discussion picks up, the interview questions can become more structured and cover that which is pertinent to the study to generate as many views and perceptions as possible from the group (Maree 2007). At the end of the discussion, all the participants should be focused on the core of the research question.

Generally a focus group consists of six to 12 people (although some groups range from as small as four and as large as 12). The members of the group are selected because they share similar characteristics relevant to the study (Kruger 1988, cited in Marshal and Rossman 1999:115). The focus group interview method assumes that an individual's attitude and beliefs do not form in vacuum: people often need to listen to others' opinion in order to form their own opinions. Marshal and Rossman (1999) argue that one-to-one interview may offer impoverished data, because a participant may not have reflected on the topic and may be unprepared to respond. Often the questions in a focus group are deceptively simple (Marshal and Rossman 1999), as the aim is promoting participants' expression of their views through the creation of a supportive environment. These views informed and guided this study in conducting and determining the number of focus group members.

In using focus groups, researchers need to take into consideration some weaknesses associated with the method. The first is that the interviewer has less control over a group than over an individual; the second is often logistical problems (Marshal and Rossman 1999:116). Therefore, the study had to consider such weaknesses, while benefiting from the advantages of the method. The advantages of focus group interviews, as Marshal and Rossman (1999:115) note, are that the method is socially oriented, studying participants in an environment more natural and more relaxed than the exposure of a one-to-one interview. The method allows the researcher the flexibility to explore unanticipated issues as they arise in the discussion (Marshal and Rossman 1999:115). Therefore, this study used the strengths of this method to counterbalance the challenges.

For the purposes of this study, one focus group was selected at each local office with the beneficiaries. The focus group consisted of about four to six people on average.

1.11.7.3 Document/content analysis

Document analysis is unobtrusive and non-reactive, and can yield a lot of data about the values and beliefs of participants in their natural settings (Marshall and Rossman 1999). An analysis of documents complements interviews and questionnaires in the data collection process and may help answer questions that interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires may not address. According to Maree (2007), document analysis refers to focusing on all types of written communication that may shed light on the phenomenon under investigation. Written data sources may include published and unpublished documents, annual reports, articles or any document connected to the investigation. The sources used in documentary analysis can be primary and/or secondary (Tichapondwa 2013:132).

The advantages of document analysis are that documents may fill in gaps that may be left by other data collection strategies. A researcher may also pick up some issues from document analysis which need verification with the respondents during individual interviews and focus group discussions – this may assist the researcher to minimise the risk of imposing personal inferential interpretation on what is found in the documents (Chisaka and Vakalisa 2000). Criticisms levelled against document analysis include the possibility that a researcher may reach a selective and biased understanding of a document on the basis of its social context and identity. Authors of documents can also decide to record and leave out information informed by their own social, political and economic environment (Creswell 2003).

Documents are historically amenable to manipulation and selective influence. In undertaking document analysis, one should be aware of these influences and should not assume that documents are simply neutral artefacts from the past. Using documents without due consideration to the process and social context of their construction leaves researchers open to criticism for being unreflexive and uncritical in their “readings”. They should therefore be on high alert and avoid accepting documents at face value; they should also differentiate between genuine and spurious documents to help establish the authenticity and credibility of the data they collect (Tichapondwa 2013:132). This study considered the above factors in doing the document review.

1.11.8 Data analysis

Data analysis is deemed one of the most crucial stages of research, regardless of the method used in research, whether qualitative or quantitative. Data analysis involves “organising what

you have seen, heard and read so that you make sense of what you have learned” (Glesne and Peshkin 1992:37). Gillham (2000:25) supports the view that “the purpose of analysis is to faithfully reflect in summary and organised form of what you have found”.

In this study, qualitative and quantitative methods were used to analyse all the data that were collected.

Results from the interviews and focus groups were analysed thematically and themes are discussed separately. Qualitative data that were collected were reduced into small amounts of manageable text which can be used in decision-making and without losing relevance. The rationale for doing this was to test data from one source against other sources in order to get a better understanding of each theme. The constant comparative method is useful in analysing qualitative data from individual interviews (Maykut and Morehouse 2001:128). They both agree that it is imperative to analyse data according to themes and unitize discussions into easily identifiable units. It is these bits and pieces of units that convey the message to the reader(s).

Using graphics, tables and figures was essential for the purposes of this study. Bhattacharyya (2003:120) notes that the two graphic aids normally used in research reports are tables and graphs. In this thesis, quantitative data are represented in the form of graphs, tables and figures, because they provide a clear picture of the research findings, as well as the analysis.

1.12 Ethical consideration

Ethical issues cut across the entire research process, planning, data collection, data analysis, report writing and dissemination of research findings (Tichapondwa 2013:167). In social research there are growing concerns for ethical issues. This normally refers to the ethical treatment of participants/informants, the research team, the research sponsor and obligation to the research community. The researcher should take into consideration that the participants are not exposed to any form of physical or psychological harm at all costs (Leedy and Ormrod 2013:105). Participants must voluntarily choose to participate or not to participate in the whole research process. If participants are forced to participate that would be unethical.

The researcher throughout the study, considered the ethical issues discussed above. Permission was granted from the SASSA national office to conduct the study in consultation with the KwaZulu Natal regional office. Ethics clearance and permission to conduct the study

were also granted by the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences at the University of Pretoria. Participation in the interview was voluntary and participants could withdraw at any time. A consent form was used to adhere to the principle of participant consent. In terms of confidentiality, the researcher explained to participants of their freedom to allow or disallow the researcher to quote their names. In addition, the researcher explained to the participants the purpose of the study as being purely academic and the likely benefits of the study.

1.13 Clarification of concepts and terms

Terms and words are often used differently, depending on the context. Therefore, it is essential to clarify key terms to ensure that the researcher and the reader interpret and understand the concepts used in the thesis in the same way and as they are intended. This section was therefore included to prevent confusion and misinterpretation by providing clarity on the concepts used throughout this thesis. The terms clarified in this section are Public Administration (upper case) and public administration (lower case), the South African Public Service, policy, public policy, policy analysis, policy-making, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation (M&E).

1.13.1 Public Administration versus public administration

In this thesis, public administration involves the conduct of public affairs by the various governmental and other organs of state. It is concerned with those activities of government and associated bodies that are administrative in nature and aim. It is a grave (but common) mistake to regard public administration and bureaucracy as synonymous (Gladden 1972:3).

Only in the last 200 years has public administration been widely recognised as a specialist activity of government, calling for its own distinctive approach and methods (Gladden 1972:4). One of the most vocal personalities to push for the recognition of the specialist nature of public administration was Woodrow Wilson, later President of the United States of America. He argued in an essay published in *Political Science Quarterly* that, amongst other things, a study of administration has to set straight the trajectory of government, make it not business like, reinforce and purify its organisation, and crown its duties with dutifulness (Wilson 1887:201).

Public administration is used to reconcile bureaucracy with democracy in a democratic state. Public administration is a broad-ranging and amorphous combination of theory and practice;

its purpose is to promote an intensive understanding of government and its relationship with the society it governs. It encourages public policies that are responsive to societal needs and institutes managerial practices attuned to effectiveness and efficiency (Henry 1999:2).

Public administration also refers to the accomplishment of politically determined objectives (Dimock and Dimock 1969:3). Public administration is thus concerned with policy. For the contemporary world, it is a major contributor to policy-making in government. The objective of public administration is the most efficient utilisation of the resources at the disposal of public employees. Efficient public administration can eliminate waste, conserve material and energy, and ensure the most rapid, complete achievement of public purposes consistent with the economy and the welfare of the public (Shafritz and Hyde 1992:58). Woodrow Wilson and Frank Goodnow emphasised the separation of administration from politics as the most essential public administration reform in achieving efficiency, and removing objectionable and immoral practices of spoils and patronage from the democratic system (Dwivedi and William 2011:22).

Public Administration as a profession and a field of study evolved as a distinct branch of Political Science (Miewald 1978:48). Public Administration as a scientific area of study focuses on the enabling functions for the execution of government policies. It entails a study of all the different spheres of government; for example, in South Africa, the national government, provincial government and local government, in terms of Chapter 3 of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a). As a science and academic field, Public Administration investigates public administration in the public sector (Botes, Brynard, Fourie and Roux 1992:257). Thornhill (2006:793) concurs that traditionally the study of Public Administration examines the administrative activities concerned with governing and the administrative requirements to give effect to government policies. Thus one can deduce that Public Administration as a discipline studies the activities of government.

1.13.2 The South African Public Service

The South African Public Service is made up of persons who are employed in any organ of state within or outside the Republic of South Africa, according to the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a) and the *Public Service Act (Proclamation 103 of 1994)* (RSA 1994a).

1.13.3 Policy

Policy refers to a declaration of intent or a comprehensive framework to do something by an individual, government, party or business, or public or other institution (Dye 1998:320; Ranney 1968:41). A more specific definition is given by Hanekom (1987:7), who argues that “policy is indicative of a goal, a specific purpose, a programme of action that has been decided upon”. In this study, the term policy is used to refer to the formal articulation of a goal that the government intends to pursue with society or a societal group.

1.13.4 Public policy

Just like numerous other concepts, there are various definitions and views of public policy. A simple and persistent definition is offered by Thomas Dye (1998:3), who considers public policy as “whatever governments choose to do or not to do”. This definition allows for both government action, and also for inaction, given that only the government can authoritatively act on behalf of society concerning public affairs. Hanekom (1987:7) defines public policy as a formally articulated goal that the legislator intends pursuing. In essence, the public policy-making process relates to the series of steps taken by a government to solve problems, make decisions, allocate resources or values, and, in general, perform actions that can influence change to citizens’ lives (Umar and Kuye 2006:812).

1.13.5 Policy analysis

Dunn (1981:35) defines policy analysis as “an applied social science discipline which uses multiple methods of inquiry and argument to produce and transform policy-relevant information that may be utilised in political settings to resolve policy problems”.

1.13.6 Policy-making

Hanekom (1987:7) calls policy-making “the activity preceding the publication of a goal, while a policy statement is the making known, the formal articulation, the declaration of intent or the publication of the goal to be pursued”. Thus policy-making is the first stage of the policy process. It describes how policies are formulated, who are involved in policy formulation and why there is a need for policy formulation.

1.13.7 Implementation

According to Pressman and Wildavsky (1973:45), implementation means “to carry out, accomplish, fulfill, produce, complete. But what is it that is being implemented? A policy naturally”. Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:447-8, quoted in Brynard 2005a:655) provide a more specific definition: “[P]olicy implementation encompasses those actions by public or private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions.” A much more detailed definition is that of Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983:20-21, quoted in DeLeon 1999:35):

Implementation is the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions. Ideally, that decision identifies the problem(s) to be addressed, stipulates the objective(s) to be pursued, and in a variety of ways, ‘structures’ the implementation process. The process normally runs through a number of stages beginning with passage of the basic statute, followed by the policy outputs (decisions) of the implementing agencies, the compliance of target groups with those decisions, the actual impacts of agency decisions, and, finally, important revisions (or attempted revisions) in the basic statute.

1.13.8 Monitoring and evaluation (M&E)

Stem, Margoluis, Salafsky and Brown (2005:296) define the M&E approach as a “specific process for doing M&E, which is generally accompanied by a series of steps or guidance”. M&E provides public and internal accountability, revealing the impact of ineffective policy implementation. The M&E process answers questions related to how a policy is given effect to and identifies conditions making implementation more likely to succeed or falter (Stem *et al.* 2005:296). In this study, the effectiveness of the CSG policy implementation is assessed.

1.14 Outline of the study

The thesis is divided into six chapters to assist in a critical analysis of the policy implementation of the CSG in the DSD.

Chapter 1: Outline and introduction to the study

This is the introductory chapter of the study. It outlines the background and identifies the problem to be investigated, introduces the research topic and explains why the topic was selected. In addition, it focuses on the research methodology and the method selected for the purpose of the study. The chapter highlights some limitations experienced in conducting this research and defines key terminology for the purposes of the study.

Chapter 2: Theoretical constructs in Public Administration

This chapter outlines the state of affairs in the discipline of Public Administration in terms of the issues and concerns relevant to its locus and focus. The discussion then narrows to the specific topic of public policy implementation. The discussion of Public Administration theory is relevant to the core focus of this research, namely M&E of the implementation of the CSG policy. In addition, the chapter discusses critical variables of policy implementation, commonly known as the 5C protocol.

Chapter 3: Social security – an international perspective: The BRIC countries

This chapter provides an international perspective on social security coverage and policy adopted by Brazil, the Russian Federation, India and China (the BRIC)³ countries, with special emphasis on the implementation of social security. It investigates the challenges, issues and trends of social security implementation in the BRIC countries. Furthermore, it identifies areas in which South Africa can best draw on the experience of other countries in respect of poverty alleviation, especially with regard to children suffering as a result of poverty, to counteract the legacy of the past.

Chapter 4: The implementation of the Child Support Grant policy

The first part of this chapter focuses on the concept of South Africa as a developmental state. The second part of the chapter provides some perspective on the South African social security system, including SASSA. The overall aim is to promote and advocate the effective and reasonable implementation of social security in South Africa and highlight its importance to poverty reduction and the enjoyment of socio-economic rights in general. Data obtained from different sources are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5: Analysis and interpretation of the study findings

This chapter identifies the challenges that the DSD faces in attempting to implement the CSG policy to alleviate poverty. It mentions holistically the factors that contribute to complexities in the implementation of the CSG policy and also what has been done previously in addressing

³ This study refers to both the BRIC countries (Brazil, the Russian Federation, India and China), and to BRICS, an acronym which refers to these four countries, plus South Africa (see Chapter 3 for more details).

some of those challenges. Chapter 5 proposes some solutions to the problems and challenges facing the DSD.

Chapter 6: Findings, recommendations and conclusion

This chapter summarises factors which affect policy implementation in the DSD. The findings in this study can be used to provide advice to the DSD on what it should do to implement the CSG policy more successfully. Recommendations in this chapter include the requirements for effective and efficient policy implementation and policy implementation management, which will be critical in helping government to implement the CSG policy effectively. The chapter also provides a conclusion on the effects of ineffective and inefficient policy implementation by the DSD with a critical assessment of the implementation of the CSG policy.

Chapter 2:

Theoretical constructs in Public Administration

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 of this study provided background to the research to assist the researcher in explaining the process and importance of monitoring and evaluating CSG policy implementation. The purpose of this chapter is to describe broadly the state of affairs in the discipline of Public Administration, considering agreement and contradictions pertaining to its locus and focus. In order to understand both government processes and the context of this study better, it is important to determine the theoretical constructs of the discipline of Public Administration and its relation to public administration. The historical development and separation of public administration from political science are discussed, and attention is briefly focused on the development of Public Administration. For the purposes of this thesis, a generic approach to public administration was used, taking into consideration that public policy is a core generic function of public administration.

The chapter also discusses policy implementation. A lack of positive results in giving effect to policies may often be attributed to the implementation of those policies. Hence, it is important to understand policy implementation as a key feature of the policy process. This chapter therefore considers policy as a function for government to resolve problems that the community experiences or to develop new goals. This research looks specifically at policy concerning children suffering as a result of poverty. It provides an explanation of the concepts of public policy and policy implementation, and explains various approaches to implementation. In conclusion, the chapter identifies and explains variables of policy implementation commonly known as the 5C protocol.

2.2 The development of public administration

The discipline of Public Administration is very broad; therefore, it is important to analyse the discipline to understand the activities undertaken in the practice of public administration. The study of Public Administration is concerned with a study of the administrative activities involved in giving effect to government policies. Shifts in modern state development make it necessary to revisit the area of study of the discipline. Two questions that need to be answered

is whether Public Administration can indeed claim to have special domain and whether the public sector can still be identified unambiguously (Thornhill 2006:794).

Rutgers (2010:3) argues that the term “public administration” can be confusing. For a start, public administration can refer to a social reality made up of people and organisations, budgets, administrators, and so on. Next, the term has an everyday, non-scientific use in social practice, which is distinct from its scholarly application. Moreover, Public Administration can denote a specific academic field of study, namely the science or study of public administration. Here, a study and its object of study need to be distinguished: Political Science and politics do not coincide, nor do Sociology and social reality, or Psychology and the psyche.

Waldo (1968:1) identifies this problem in discussing the scope of the field of study:

Discussions of public administration are plagued by a serious problem because differing meanings may be given to or understood by the phrase. Sometimes in seeking to be clear and precise, I have used upper case to refer to the self-conscious enterprise of the study, and the like, and lower case to refer to the practices or processes which are the object of our attention.

It is helpful to consider the historical perspective of the study of public administration and of the discipline, in order to comprehend the implementation of public policy fully. Therefore, it is imperative to clearly define P/public A/administration as both an academic discipline and a practice. It should be noted that the development of the discipline and the practice did not follow the same course. The development of Public Administration (upper case) as an academic discipline is of fairly recent origin.

Hanekom (1987:67) argues that administration is as old as humankind, because administration can be identified as an activity that takes place between two or more people to achieve a common objective. The works of ancient scholars such as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Polybius and others contain sections on public administration, but these works make no mention of an academic discipline (Hanekom and Thornhill 1986:41).

It can be argued that the science of Public Administration actually already existed in the practices of the German and the Austrian Cameralists in the 16th century. The Cameralists studied the routines of administrative bureaus called *Kammer* or chambers (Langrod 1961:72). Thus, by the late 18th century and beginning of the 19th century (1774-1817), Public Administration as a discipline was already fairly well developed in Germany, and a school of

Public Administration and eventually faculties were established and introduced in institutions of higher learning (Langrod 1961:75).

Lorenz von Stein (1815-1890), a professor in Vienna, is widely considered to be the founder of the science of Public Administration in Europe. He was the first scholar to attempt to present the study of this field as a coherent and unified discipline (Rutgers 2010:398). During Lorenz von Stein's era, the discipline of Public Administration was still considered to be a form of administrative law (Thornhill 2006:794; Raadschelders 1999:282; Hanekom and Thornhill 1993:41). Even at that time, Public Administration was associated with the activities of the state (however, the activities of the national state were not defined at that time). Von Stein (1855, cited in Raadschelders 1999:282) argued that

- the discipline of Public Administration is linked to other several disciplines and hence the science of Public Administration integrates several other disciplines;
- the science of Public Administration has both theoretical and practical dimensions; it is informed by the practical dimension; and
- the study of Public Administration should be aimed at adopting a scientific methodology.

Language was a barrier even in Von Stein's era – not many people outside Germany could understand and read German works on the topic of public administration, and the same applies to early French works on the topic. This language barrier has led to the general view in most English-speaking countries that Public Administration as an academic discipline was established outside Europe, for example, in the United States (Hanekom 1987:43). According to that view, the discipline originated in the United States with the publication of an article in 1887 by Woodrow Wilson entitled "The study of Administration". This article marks the start of formal study of public administration and thus of the discipline of Public Administration in the English-speaking world. In the United States of America, Public Administration as a discipline developed between 1914 and 1920, and it became popular when formal training programmes were introduced in various American universities (Hanekom 1987:44).

Woodrow Wilson was more influential to the science of Public Administration in English-speaking countries than Von Stein, based on Wilson's (1887) article in the *Political Science Quarterly*, in which he argued in favour of four concepts:

- there should be a clear distinction between politics and public administration;
- government should not be considered from a profitmaking perspective;

- there should be comparative analysis between political schemes and political and private organisations; and
- properly trained civil servants evaluate the quality of their work for effective management (Thornhill and Van Dijk 2010:99; Thornhill 2006:795; Wilson 1887).

Wilson (1887:483) argues that

...the field of administration is a field of business. It is removed from the hurry and strife of politics. ... The object of administrative study is to rescue executive methods from the confusion and costliness of empirical experiment and set them upon foundations laid deep in stable principles.

He suggests that the study of administration be separated from the study of politics. Wilson indicates that a science of (public) administration for America should be based on ideologies centred on democratic policy. He believed that to suit American tradition, all general theories should (as theories) keep modestly to the background, “not in open argument only, but even in mind, in case opinions satisfactory only to the standards of the library should be dogmatically used as if they must be quite as satisfactory to the standards of practical politics as well” (Wilson 1887:482).

It can be deduced from the above brief overview of Wilson’s article that the study of Public Administration (as the discipline became known) concerns the executive actions of government. The deduction can also be made that Public Administration has a narrow focus, namely the administrative duties of the state as an organ responsible for the orderly conduct of public affairs. The origins of Public Administration are often solely attributed to the abovementioned article by Wilson (Thornhill 2006:795), but, as argued above, it was identified in Europe much earlier.

Until 1945, there was an important debate about the separation between public administration and politics, as proposed by Wilson. According to Rutgers (2010:9), Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick developed a comprehensive theory of administration by integrating ideas from earlier theorists such as Henri Fayol. Gulick and Urwick believed that the ideas of Fayol presented a systematic treatment of management, which was distinctive during that time. They believed that if the system could work in the private sector environment, it should also be applicable to administrative sciences related to the public sector. They did not argue in favour of disciplines, but believed a single Science of Administration, which exceeds the borders between the private and the public sector, could exist (Raadschelders 1999:285; White 1955). Later on, the Science of Administration focused primarily on governmental organisations.

The reasoning of the Science of Administration was largely borrowed from the 14 principles of organisation of Fayol (Rutgers 2010:9).

After 1945, another discussion arose which questioned the views of Wilson and other authors on the subject. The third generation authors strongly revived the distinction between politics and public administration (Rutgers 2010:12). They argued that the science of Public Administration had to detach itself from politics, due to several political scandals. Following this development, the study of Public Administration established itself as an independent discipline with its own body of knowledge (Raadschelders 1999:284).

According to Raadschelders (1999:289), the following authors played an important role in the establishment of Public Administration in the English-speaking sphere: Frank J. Goodnow (1893), L.D. White (1926), J.F. Pfiffner and R. Presthus (1935), L. Gulick and L. Urwick (1937), A. Lepawsky (1949), and H.A. Simon, D.W. Smithburg and V.A. Thompson (1950), to mention a few of the well-known contributors to the early stages in the development of the discipline. The European origins of the study of Public Administration are less well known than its American origins. In Europe, the study of Public Administration has generally been superseded by the study of Administrative Law, which is not applicable to Anglo-Saxon countries in the same way. This has resulted in a lack of reference to the development of the discipline in European countries (Thornhill 2006:797).

2.3 Public Administration and public administration

According to Van Dijk (2003:60), the term Public Administration (upper case) refers to the academic discipline in universities, some restructured universities of technology, and technical colleges. The term public administration (lower case) refers to the activities performed by officials in supervisory posts, both strategic and operational, in the public sector. Botes, Brynard, Fourie and Roux (1996:257) give a clearer definition, stating that the subject of Public Administration can denote both its scientific aspect (upper case) and an art (lower case) to denote the field of operation for practitioners, which is itself the primary focus for Public Administration scholars. Public Administration is thus concerned with scholarly research about the implementation of government policy by practitioners, also known as public officials.

There is relative clarity as to the current locus of public administration, but Thornhill (2006:804) argues for a reconsideration of the domain of public administration and, by

extension, of the study of Public Administration. The concept of governance, although it has not yet been universally defined, introduces a new approach, in which state institutions cooperate with one another, as well as with the private sector and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), to provide services to the public. This new approach necessitates a consideration of phenomena derived from the private sector in the study of Public Administration.

Any attempt at discussing Public Administration as an academic discipline should begin by defining the parameters and boundaries of the subject – that which delimits and differentiates it from other scientific and humanist disciplines (Stillman 1980:1), assuming that the boundaries of the discipline can indeed be delineated. In his introductory statement, Wilson (1887:481) argues that a practical science such as administration cannot be studied unless “there is a need to know it”. This phrase, “need to know it” (Wilson 1887:481) implies a need to define boundaries to differentiate this field from other disciplines.

Stillman (1980:1) attributes the problem of a lack of a universal definition which adequately captures the core of the subject to the rapid growth of public administration in the twentieth century. Public administration has become all-encompassing, in terms of the role expectations of public administrators, which are mainly defined by the norms, values and expectations of a particular society. Hence, definitions tend to be more descriptive than normative in nature.

The lack of a universal definition is also a result of the extent to which definitions have been borrowed from other disciplines to underpin research on the practice of public administration. Fry (1989:13) maintains that Public Administration as a discipline has borrowed much of its body of knowledge from other disciplines, such as Economics, Business Administration, Sociology, Psychology and Political Science, and that it “draws what cohesiveness it possesses more from its object of analysis than its intellectual parenting”. He argues that the field of Public Administration has tended to grow in a cumulative manner, rather than by substituting new ideas for old ones.

White (1986:8) maintains that the most rapid development in the knowledge and theory of Public Administration occurred in the period from 1887 to 1920 (he calls this the progressive era). This does not imply that nothing more was done in subsequent years – as Fry (1989:13) states, growth was cumulative, rather than substituting older knowledge and theory, and theories developed during preceding periods were usually referred to. Fry (1989) therefore argues that

- little originality has been displayed in the development of theories in the public service;
- there is a dearth of new theories to displace existing and old theories; and
- the discipline tends to be mainly descriptive regarding the object of analysis, namely the practice of public administration.

Waldo (1968:23) has made the radical positivist claim that “no science or art can be identified by the title public administration, least of all any skill or coherent intellectual discipline”. Waldo (1968:24) argues that “it does not, in itself, offer any promising opportunity to widen or make more precise any single aspect of scientific knowledge”. The views of these authors were informed by their positivist stance and understanding of what a scientific discipline is or should be.

A different view from that of Fry (1989:13) is presented by Mosher (1968:59), who believes that it is precisely the elusiveness of the core of Public Administration that gives the subject its strength, since authors have to borrow from the concepts and theories of other disciplines to solve practical problems facing society. Mosher’s (1968:60) view is in line with a subjective and qualitative approach.

Administration takes place wherever people work with a common goal in mind. Thus it is found in all spheres of human activity where joint action is required to achieve a goal. Administration does not take place in a vacuum, and its aim is the realisation of effective and efficient goals (Thornhill 2012:56). Simon, Smithburg and Thompson (1968:4) describe administration as cooperative group action with an emphasis, not only on the execution of an activity, but also on the choices made, describing how the activity was implemented. This implies that answering questions relating to how and why are an integral part of administration. Gulick and Urwick (1937:118-119) define administration as planning, organising, commanding, coordinating and controlling. To plan is to study the future and arrange a plan of operations to deal with the future. To organise is to build up the material and human skills for a particular task, and to command is to order employees to do their work. To coordinate is to unite and correlate all activities. Controlling deals with ensuring that everything is done according to the rules which have been laid down, and the instructions which have been given. Based on the above it can be deduced that for the effective implementation of the CSG policy the above generic functions of public administration need to be taken into consideration.

Public administration includes particular functions performed by public officials in each sphere of government, and related legislative and judicial activities. Coordination between spheres of government implies shared responsibilities in a vast variety of functional arrangements, but a system of checks and balances limits the powers of any sphere of government and also divides responsibilities. A number of environmental factors affect what public administrators do and how they should do it. These factors in the context of public administration include cultural values, environmental conditions, interest groups, political parties and laws (Klinger 1983:6-7).

Public administration entails accomplishing what governments want done. Public administrators' decision-making processes involve making collective decisions for government employees. However, government employees work within a complex environment, which makes a variety of demands upon them. In most countries, including South Africa, they are only partially in control of their assigned duties, because of political intervention. Public administrators, especially those working in the national sphere, are also directly affected by international, economic, social and political conditions (Swain 1987:1).

Public administration relates to the activities of the executive branch of government; it deals with the formulation and implementation of public policies, and involves issues of human behaviour and cooperative human effort (Stillman 1980:3). The word "administration" means to care or be responsible for people's concerns, and the Latin root of the word implies that an "administrator" is a servant, not a master. Administration is increasingly becoming concerned with persons, more than things, and with human activity. Administration has three stages, namely the stages of decision, of preparation and of execution (Gladden 1953:17). Simon (1945:307) has determined four generally accepted principles of administrative efficiency: it is increased by task specialisation among group members, by a hierarchical arrangement of group members, by limiting the span of control to a small number, and by grouping employees together for the aim of controlling and coordinating according to purpose, process, client or place.

After World War II, the concept of public administration expanded, as scientific management principles increasingly emphasised efficiency. It was recognised that there was much more to public administration than management techniques and processes. The pre-war preoccupation with organisational charts and formal lines of authority evolved into a much broader focus, namely the analysis of organisations as social systems in which workers interact in many

different ways, while taking directives and interacting with the views of the public officials in charge (Nigro and Nigro 1970:14).

According to Hattingh (1986:1), administration as an activity has definite origins, and gradually developed into what it is today. There is some proof that orderly communities already existed thousands of years Before the Common Era (BCE). Wherever people formed communities, there were common needs. The communities were willing to conclude an agreement with whatever form of government they had to ensure an orderly existence. In terms of this agreement, the government would govern on behalf of the community. This agreement meant, *inter alia*, that the freedom of individuals was limited to a certain extent, but that the government had a duty towards the individual and the community. This duty involved the government's promoting the interests of the community by rendering common or collective services such as defence, and the provision of water, social security and health services to the inhabitants. Each government requires a form of "public" administration to enable that government to render these collective services. One can therefore trace the origins of public administration to people who came together to make a living in particular circumstances and in particular geographical localities. As a result of the prevailing circumstances, people have specific needs for collective services to be rendered for the benefit of a community (Hattingh 1986:1).

Marais (1991:221) argues that one of the most persistent constructs in the discipline of Public Administration is the bureaucratic model developed by Max Weber. The word "bureaucracy" has both favourable and unfavourable connotations. The classic definition, originally put forward by Weber, describes bureaucracy as a system of administration with four central characteristics. The first is that a bureaucracy is hierarchical. The second characteristic of a bureaucracy is its impersonality (work is conducted according to set rules, without arbitrariness or favouritism, and with little flexibility or discretion to deviate). The third is its continuity (administrative offices constitute full-time salaried occupations, with security of tenure and prospects of regular advancement). The fourth is expertise (officials are selected on merit, are trained for their functions, and they control access to knowledge and information because a written record is kept of transactions) (Weber 1946:56; Wilson 1967).

However, apart from the positive features that can improve the efficient and effective functioning of an organisation in the presence of expertise and continuity (which implies a lack of political interference), bureaucracy is also associated with negative features such as

“red tape”, non-accountability, unresponsiveness, delay, inflexibility, ineptitude, centralised elitism and undemocratic tendencies (M. Smith 2008:78). This model has been thoroughly criticised since it was first propounded. A pure bureaucratic model has never existed and cannot exist in practice. Moreover, the environment of public administration had changed intrinsically since Weber propounded his bureaucratic model; it has also been proven that the demands of modern public service go far beyond the narrow prescriptions of the Weberian model (Marais 1991:221). Weber succeeded in identifying the advantages of a hierarchical organisational structure. However, his model was based on German political theories. It does not necessarily provide for traditional African systems, which rely on common values and negotiated settlements, and are based on tradition. It can be deduced that to work in Africa in general and in South Africa in particular, this model needs to take into consideration the structures of traditional leaders and the democratic principle (Blau 1963:310).

Most public institutions have adopted the Weberian hierarchical model. The model ensures that public officials maintain the stated rules and procedures to ensure that policies are being executed, as expected by the governing structures. The bureaucratic model remains in operation, not because of its academic correctness, but due to its usefulness to people who feel secure within this prescriptive model. Weber’s bureaucratic model is not quoted to prove that it was indeed the most appropriate for early twentieth century public services. However, it is still possible to use strictly defined hierarchical, unambiguous lines of authority and adhere to rigidly prescribed organisational structures (Thornhill 2006:60).

In the case of the CSG, lack of coordination among government departments can contribute to bureaucratic delays, for instance, in processing documents. Documentary requirements are considered a major barrier in ensuring access to the grants and in increasing uptake, particularly for new-born babies (Triegaardt 2005).

2.4 The functions of public administration

Cloete (1994:56) divides administration into specific generic administrative functions, including finance, organising, staffing or human resource management, control, work procedure and public policy. For the purposes of this thesis, each of these functions is defined, with the main emphasis on public policy, because the focus of this research is an evaluation of the implementation of the CSG policy.

The six generic functions of administration are the building blocks in the practice of any public institution, and no such institution can function efficiently or will continue to exist unless all these building blocks are appropriately used. These are the administrative functions and actions necessary for determining and giving effect to projects. The functional or technical components may require specialised knowledge, for example, about the construction of dams and roads, medical care, hospital services, educational services and customs (Botes *et al.* 1992:240).

2.4.1 Finance

Finance is an important aspect of any department's functioning. It includes obtaining financing, allocating spending, and controlling public finances. In the national sphere of government, provision is made for how money is obtained, how specific amounts can be spent by particular institutions for specific objectives and how spending should be controlled. In an individual department, this entails estimating the amounts needed to continue activities, spending voted amounts and controlling how the money is spent (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1997:15).

To accomplish public policy goals, managing money is just as important as managing people (see Section 2.4.3). Public finance administrators are responsible for managing money received (revenues), money available and equipment (assets), money owed (liabilities), and money disbursed (expenditures) by government (Swain 1987:137). Advances in administration invariably call for and are accompanied by parallel advances in accountancy and other financial functions. Finance is an important aspect of government which entails budgeting, taxation and the management of public funds (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1997:15).

Finance is often regarded as the lifeblood of any institution. Without money, no government policy can be implemented. In fact, no public action, such as policy-making or appointing employees, can be undertaken without financial resources. The economical use of resources is as important to the community as to an individual, but while an individual is likely to experience the burden of a wrong decision or needless extravagance almost immediately, the impact of wasteful expenditure sometimes takes longer to become apparent (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1997:25).

Public money can be considered to be the money owned publicly in the context of the state and the NGO sector. The public is entitled to the benefits of public money, collected from them in the form of taxes, levies, fines and the sale of goods and land (Thornhill 2012:191; Van der Waldt and Du Toit 1997:41; Pauw, Woods, Van der Linde, Fourie and Visser 2002:3; Gladden 1966:39). Public financial administration focuses on using scarce public resources to ensure effective use of public money and assets to achieve value for money in meeting the government's objectives in delivering services to the public (Kuye, Thornhill, Fourie, Brynard, Crous, Mafunisa, Roux, Van Dijk and Van Rooyen 2003:100). All public institutions rely largely on taxpayers for their income. Therefore, special legislative directives have to be followed in the procurement and expenditure of money in the public sector (Cloete 1998:133). The regulation of public funds is important, because all the money collected from the taxpayers needs to be accounted for. This principle underpins both the *Public Finance Management Act, 1 of 1999 (as amended by Act 29 of 1999)* (RSA 1999) and the *Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act, 56 of 2003* (RSA 2003b), which were promulgated to regulate funding processes in the public sector.

Financial administrative issues in the public sector have become the focus of increasing attention in recent years, because of the need to reduce wasteful public expenditure. Cost cutting measures have put pressure on public authorities to maintain services with limited budget allocations. To do so, they have to improve their financial analysis so that actions can be taken to improve value for money (Henley, Holtham, Likierman and Perrin 1983:1). Rosenbloom (1993:273) is of the opinion that governmental budgets are currently an area of general concern and controversy. As governmental activity consumes a bigger and bigger proportion of society's resources, considerable attention needs to be given to taxation and other sources of government revenue.

Gildenhuis (1997:54-55) lists the following democratic values which should serve as basic principles in public financial administration:

- public financial decision-making should always aim at the most reasonable and equitable way to allocate financial resources and the most efficient and effective way to apply financial resources to satisfy the collective needs of the public;
- the use of public financial resources must satisfy collective public needs optimally;
- based on the tenets of participatory democracy, taxpayers, consumers and users of public services must participate, directly or indirectly, in the financial decision-making process;

- no tax or other charges can be collected from taxpayers without their consent, and the tax burden must be distributed in a reasonable and equitable way;
- only the collective body of elected political representatives has the authority to introduce taxes, to collect them and to decide how and on what they shall be spent;
- the principle applies of responsibility and accountability of elected political representatives to the taxpayers for the collection and spending of taxes and other income;
- political representatives must be sensitive to and respond to the collective needs of the community; they must consider themselves responsible for solving the public's collective problems and satisfying the public's needs, and should realise their responsibility towards the public and must account for it in public;
- based on the requirement for satisfying collective needs, the executive authority is responsible for efficient and effective programme execution;
- based on the tenets of democracy, social equity has to be maintained, as well as high ethical and moral standards; and
- all activities regarding public financial management and administration must take place in public and not under the cover of secrecy or so-called confidentiality.

It is important for any democratic government to adhere to these generic values in order to be transparent and accountable to its citizens (Thornhill 2012:157). For the purposes of this study, financing is important for the design of strategies for the implementation of the CSG policy. Without adequate and sustainable financing, government interventions in this field will fail to achieve their ultimate goals. For this reason, the pursuit of basic principles in public financial administration is an issue that concerns policy-makers in social protection.

2.4.2 Organising

Organising entails establishing structures (institutions), each responsible for a particular functional area (for example, the DSD or Department of Basic Education) and grouping of particular functional activities (professional groups such as doctors, nurses and clerks) within specific structures. Policy objectives should be achieved when such structures have been established (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1997:14).

The government's work cannot be accomplished by individuals working independently. In order to increase efficiency, effectiveness and responsiveness, the work of public servants must be organised by assigning duties, co-ordinating the work, open communication,

leadership, supervision, motivation and ethics. The structural tool used to achieve these is organisation. It concerns orderly division of work into manageable units, with the ultimate aim of assigning a responsibility to an individual employee (Thornhill 2012:165; Swain 1987:167). Organising is an important function that relates to a variety of activities, including the division of an organisation into different departments, units or sectors, which subsequently results in hierarchical levels with a clear chain of command (Denhardt and Denhardt 2009:164).

Botes (1994:88) argues that organising relates to group activity. Organising provides direction and meaning to a group's performance, as indicated by the five aspects that entail the process of organising, namely determination of goals, division of work, delegation, span of control, and unity of command. This conforms to Weber's bureaucratic model. When a matrix system of organisation is followed, different principles apply.

The statement that administration takes place when two or more individuals co-operate to achieve a common objective implies that organising has to take place. Thornhill (2012:167) notes that one can identify groupings of functions. For example, a group of workers building a house, or a team doing maintenance work on a road, must be organised. Each group of workers consists of individuals, and each individual is given a specific task to do: the group of workers building a house may include carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, electricians and handymen. It should be noted that the process of organising workers is complex. In fact, those who have had experience in selecting teams to play matches will know how difficult it is to find individuals who can hold specific positions in a team. The main reason for this problem is that each individual has a will of his/her own and cannot be manipulated like a lifeless object. Organising is further complicated by the fact that an individual's behaviour cannot be regulated completely merely by placing him/her in a group or by laying down formal rules of conduct (Thornhill 2012:167).

In the public sector, political considerations tend to take precedence. Consideration is given first to the political organisation of a country, since this provides a superstructure within which organisational arrangements for all functions can be made to run the country, namely the legislative, the executive (political and administrative) and the judicial functions. In the Republic of South Africa (RSA), the electorate is the source of political power and the views of voters are voiced in Parliament through their representatives, subject to the provisions in section 2 of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a), which is the supreme law in the country. The

voters entrust their power to their elected representatives, who serve in various legislative assemblies. The current political dispensation in South Africa provides for three spheres of legislative and governmental institutions, as set out in section 40(1) of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a):

- the national sphere, with Parliament as the legislative and the President and Cabinet as the executive powers;
- the provincial sphere, consisting of the nine provinces, each with its own provincial legislature, premier and executive council; and
- the local sphere, consisting of the numerous municipal councils, which also perform an executive function.

In South Africa, the policy authority for social security and control is vested in the National DSD (Children's Institute 2005:13). In terms of section 238(a) of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a), SASSA has been established to take primary responsibility for the administering and paying of social assistance grants, including the CSG. SASSA has to provide a feedback system with a view to making contributions to future policy amendments (Brynard 2009:316).

2.4.3 Staffing

Human resources are the most significant resources in any institution. Without human beings, public services cannot be delivered. Public officials are appointed in different public institutions, for example, the South African Police Service, the DSD, and the Department of Health, to just mention a few. Van Dijk (2003:41) explains that staffing is an important function through which suitable candidates are employed and used according to their skills. In the context of this study, this means that staffing relates to the effective provision of employees for the proper implementation of the CSG. In any organisation, staffing plays an important role; hence the view that, in order for a public organisation to be efficient and effective, its personnel's action should be transparent and accountable to the citizens.

According to Schwella, Burger, Fox and Muller (1996:13), public resource management is not practised in isolation. As public resources are used to pursue policy objectives, it becomes clear that a number of contextual variables influence the management of these resources. This notion is in line with open system theory, which regards the influence of the environment as an important variable in describing and explaining management and organisational phenomena (Schwella *et al.* 1996:13).

The environment of public resource management can be conceptualised using general or specific environmental components as a starting point. The environment can be divided further into the components of its general environment, namely the political environment, the economic environment, the social environment, the cultural environment and the technological environment. It also distinguishes specific participants, namely regulators, suppliers, consumers and competitors (Schwella *et al.* 1996:14). This implies that public officials working for the DSD need to understand the environment that they are working in. It will enable them to be effective and efficient in their implementation of the CSG policy.

2.4.4 Control

Control is exercised to ensure that all administrative and functional activities are carried out effectively and efficiently to achieve objectives. In the national sphere of government, this means that specific measures are set and bodies are created to exercise control (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1997:15). The control of government action is one of the cornerstones of efficient administration. Cloete (1994:59) explains control as the design of systems in order to implement reporting mechanisms to ensure that work standards are met, while guaranteeing quality in service delivery. Control is defined as the function implemented to ensure that government activity is measured against a predetermined standard, and that, if deviations are found, corrective steps are taken to ensure goal fulfilment (Robbins 1995:64-71). Control over government activity is part of the unique nature of public administration and should be implemented to ensure effective and efficient rendering of services. Visser and Erasmus (2002:277) state that internal control can be an organisational measure implemented to prevent mismanagement and to improve the quality of control. Internal control refers not only to internal checks and audits, but to the entire control and financial system established by government (Cloete 1994:61).

Control should not be considered the final stage of administration. Control is a continuous function performed from the policy-making stage to the auditor's report on the way in which an institution has performed (Visser and Erasmus 2002:279). The most important requirement of public administration in any democratic state is that the population represents the highest authority and that everything that the political office bearers and officials do is to the benefit of the citizens individually and collectively (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1997:18).

Two important control management processes that are commonly practised in the public service, especially with regard to public policy, are M&E. Erasmus, Swanepoel, Schenk, Van

der Westhuizen and Wessels (2005:117) argue that M&E requires standards against which results can be measured. Without such set standards, it is almost impossible to determine success or failure. An M&E effort that ends with matching objectives and looking for accomplishments is incomplete (Visser and Erasmus 2002:283). It is important that M&E be incorporated with reporting.

From the above arguments, it can be deduced that the generic administrative control function plays a vital role, particularly in providing accountability. Public administrators have to ensure that organisational objectives are achieved with the given resources, in this case, the objective of alleviating poverty using government funding. Therefore, the calculated use of resources (financial or human) is important because, as stated above, these resources are limited. In this context, evaluation can assist administrators to use limited resources efficiently and effectively. In the case of the CSG policy, more children suffering as a result of poverty can be assisted if grants are used optimally. This is in line with the government's goal of alleviating poverty.

2.4.5 Work procedures and methods

To ensure that everyone in a specific organisational unit co-operates to attain the policy objectives and does not waste time in the process, it is essential for specific work procedures and methods to be laid down for each task (Cloete 1994:174). Determining work procedures is an important generic function, mainly because it necessitates systematic co-ordination of tasks and other work procedures to ensure that everybody involved in a task knows his/her role(s) and responsibilities. Du Toit and Van der Waldt (1997:15) describe a procedure as a course of action that involves drafting specific instructions to be followed to carry out specific actions. These instructions are found in legislation and regulations arising from the legislative arena.

Work procedures and organising are two generic functions that complement each other effectively: when tasks that need to be performed are identified, the officials required to perform those tasks can also be identified. The primary objective is to accomplish tasks as effectively and efficiently as possible. Arguably, efficiency and effectiveness can only be achieved if work procedures and organisational systems are established in an orderly manner.

Revision and analysis of procedures and methods are based on the principle that every action taken by an employee in the public service requires all public officials to work together, using

a systematic and orderly procedure and/or method (Van Dijk 2003:42). It is also crucial to consider the use of modern technology to improve service delivery when revising and analysing work procedures and methods (Botes *et al.* 1996:331). The revision and analysis of work procedures should be an ongoing process, in order to ensure proper adaptation to environmental changes in order to enhance service delivery. Cloete (1994:59) indicates that this function requires procedural codes and instructions, as well as the design of work study systems and methods to increase productivity. In the case of the CSG policy, it is important for public officials to understand the basic requirements for an individual to qualify for the grant. Therefore, government officials are expected to follow the prescribed methods and procedures when processing a CSG application.

2.4.6 Public policy

According to Thomas Dye (1998:2), the simplest definition of public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do. Easton (1953:129) defines public policy as “the authoritative allocation through the political process, of values to groups or individuals in the society”. Lasswell and Kaplan (1970:71) define policy as “a projected program of goals, values, and practices”. Friedrich (1963:70) states that “it is essential for the policy concept that there be a goal, objective, or purpose”. These definitions imply a difference between specific government actions and an overall programme of action toward a given goal. Therefore, it can be deduced that for every public policy formulated, there should be a purpose or mission. Many authors of public policy consider policy to be a mechanism that can be used to alleviate social problems, but the policy implementation process can also be aimed at eradicating social problems. Thus in this case, the purpose of the CSG policy is to alleviate poverty.

The process from public policy-making in the national sphere of government to the implementation of the policy in the local sphere is long and unsteady. Without specific goals and objectives, no effective public administration action can be taken (Mthethwa 2012:36). Taking this notion into account, Roux (2002:72) defines public policy as the proposed course of action by government to reach specific goals and objectives, while continuously being influenced by the effects of environmental changes. Hanekom and Thornhill (1995:54) define policy as a desired course of action and interaction which is to serve as a guideline in the allocation of the resources necessary to realise societal goals and objectives, decided upon by

the legislator and made known either in writing or verbally. In the public sector, policies are the output of the political process and serve as initiators for executive action.

Policy can be considered an important tool towards achieving specific outcomes in an organisation. According to De Coning (2006:3), policy could be defined as a statement of intent, meaning that it is action-oriented. Policy-making is inextricably linked to decision-making, as it involves a choice between alternative policies. According to Brynard (2006b:166), such a choice results in a policy, and not a mere decision. This implies that a policy is the end result of a decision-making process which identifies the best alternative among a variety of options. The decision could be either active or passive (it is passive if there is an explicit or tacit decision not to take action).

Importantly, policy agenda setting is an aspect that realises the policy-making process – through agenda-setting, a policy is made (Madumo 2011:27). Cloete and Meyer (2006:105) point out that policy agenda-setting requires a deliberate planning process through which policy issues are identified, problems are defined and prioritised, support is mobilised and decision-makers are lobbied to take appropriate action. Policy agenda-setting determines the methods to be used. Stakeholders are also influential in ensuring the setting of an agenda, which is why policy-making is regarded as the basic function to be undertaken in establishing a public institution.

Policy formulation, analysis and implementation can be described as the identification of needs, preparation of policy statements, legislation, regulations, instructions and directives, as well as the analysis of existing policies and systems. Implementation entails a mission statement, objectives and priorities, all of which need to be effectively communicated in order to determine how to report on policy shortcomings (Cloete 1998:59).

Hogwood and Gunn (1984:13) conclude that several meanings of the word “policy” are in use and discuss the concept in the contexts of policy as a label for a field of activity (for example, economic, social or foreign policy); as an expression of general purpose or desired state of affairs, for example, “conservative” policy in the case of the British Conservative Manifesto (1983, cited in Hogwood and Gunn 1984); as specific proposals; as decisions of government; as formal authorisation; as a programme, as output; as an outcome, as a theory or model; and as a process. Hogwood and Gunn (1984:23) explain public policy as

...a series of patterns of related decisions to which many circumstances and personal, group and organisational influences have contributed. The policy-making process involves many sub-processes and may extend over a considerable period of time. The

aims or purposes underlying a policy are usually identifiable at a relatively 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 the policy makers' intentions... policy requires an understanding of behaviour, especially behaviour involving interaction within and among organisational relationships. For a policy to be regarded as a "public policy" it must to some degree have been generated or at least processed within the framework of governmental procedures, influences and organisations.

Against the background of the above discussion, for the purposes of this thesis, the term "public policy" is used in line with Cloete and De Coning's (2013:7) description, as

... a public sector statement of intent, including sometimes a more detailed program[me] of action, to give effect to selected normative and empirical goals in order to improve or resolve perceived problems and needs in society in a specific way, thereby achieving desired changes in that society.

The South African society still faces severe challenges regarding poverty and inequality (Cloete and De Coning 2013:17). In this context, an examination of the implementation of the public policy regarding the CSG is important, because it is an important cash transfer from state funds in South Africa to ensure wide coverage to assist children suffering as a result of poverty.

2.5 Public policy models

Dunn (1994:152) defines policy models as simplified representations of selected aspects of a problem situation constructed for particular purposes. Researchers need to be careful about simplification and gross distortions of modelling which cause uncertainty. Hogwood and Gunn (1984:42) remark that "we are all model builders, in the sense that we need to see some sort of pattern in the world around us and tend to interpret events in terms of that perceived pattern". They observe that both practical men (politicians and administrators) and academic social scientist can be prisoners of theory (Hogwood and Gunn 1984:44). The purposes of abstract model building are representation, simulation, explanation, prediction, experimentation and hypothesis testing. A classic example of policy modelling is given by Dror (1983:9), who describes a scene in a casino and then develops a comparative model of policy-making, which he refers to as "fuzzy gambling". He observes that a policy-gambling metaphor is useful in researching and understanding reality, and in constructing policy-making theories (De Coning, Cloete and Wissink 2013:36).

Five models are discussed below, namely the rational comprehensive model, the incremental model, the mixed-scanning model, the elite/mass model and the institutional model.

2.5.1 *The rational comprehensive model*

According to Hanekom (1987:82), the rational comprehensive model has its roots in the rational comprehensive decision-making model. This model argues that policy-makers can select from several policy options (Anderson 2006; John 1998:116; Kramer 1981). In this context, a policy analyst should know all the value preferences of a particular society or community and their relevance and importance, identify and analyse all possible policy alternatives, explore the possible consequences of each alternative, and select a range of options that will bring about the desired outcome. From this perspective, Dye (1987:31) regards rationalism as an effort to achieve maximum social gain.

This model is applicable to this thesis in that, to introduce the CSG policy in 1998, the ANC government had to decide on a number of options. Initially, in order to increase coverage, the CSG policy only covered children from birth to the age of two years, but later it was extended to the age of seven years. Today it covers up children from birth to 18 years. These are some of the options the government had to decide on rationally for effective implementation of the CSG policy.

2.5.2 *Incremental model*

The incremental model postulates that only a limited number of policy alternatives are available, in an incremental fashion (Kramer 1973:123). The incremental model regards public policy as a continuation of existing government activities, with the potential for small, incremental changes only. It assumes rational and comprehensive change is hard to achieve, because of factors such as vested interests and the impossibility of obtaining full and adequate data on all aspects of policy (De Coning *et al.* 2013:38). The supporters of the incremental model argue that incremental change is more expeditious than comprehensive change, in the sense that the risk of conflict is potentially lower than when radical change is implemented. Incremental adaptation contributes to a redefinition of policy on a continuous basis (Dye 1987:36).

2.5.3 *Mixed-scanning model*

This model was developed by the sociologist Amitai Etzioni as an alternative to both the rational comprehensive and the incremental model (Kramer 1981:145, 1973:142; Anderson 1979:12). The mixed-scanning model integrates the best characteristics of the incremental

model with those of the rational comprehensive model (Hanekom 1987:85). It first reviewing the overall (existing) policy and then concentrates on a specific need, policy result or policy impact.

2.5.4 *The elite/mass model*

The assumption that underlies the elite/mass model is that a small, elite group (usually the government) is solely responsible for policy decisions, and that this group governs an ill-informed public. In this model, policy decisions are implemented by a bureaucracy and they flow from the elite down to the population (De Coning *et al.* 2013:39). Henry (1992:289) suggests that the emphasis represented by the elite/mass model may be, in many countries, be among the most germane to public administrators. He indicates that, gradually, public administrators are perceived less as “servants of the people” and more as “the establishment”. In essence, the elite/mass model contends that a policy-making and policy-executing elite is able to act in an environment characterised by apathy and information distortion, and thereby to govern a largely passive mass of people.

It should be noted that this model has some shortcomings, because it divides society into those who have power and those who do not. Normally, the members of an elite share common values that make them distinct from the community at large, and the policies formulated will reflect their interests, and are likely to protect the status quo (Henry 1992:288). This model is based on the assumption that the elite strongly believe that they are in control, that they know best and there is an agreement on policy issues amongst themselves. This is a clear indication that the values and interests of the elite are of the utmost importance. The above description of the role of an elite in the policy process is often oversimplified. Recent research studies and experiences has shown that “the masses” are not necessarily passive and ill-informed, and may play a pivotal role in policy-making, acting as a dynamic catalyst for policy change (De Coning *et al.* 2013:39).

2.5.5 *The institutional model*

The central principle of the institutional model, as it is classically interpreted in the context of the study of public policy, is that public policy is the product of public institutions (Hanekom 1987:81; Dye 1987:20; Anderson 1979:21; Henry 1975:233). Authors who support this model argue that because public policy is authorised by government, and only government policies are applicable to the entire population of the country, the way

government is structured can have an important bearing on policy results. Therefore, it should be noted that dramatic changes to policy can also be the result of changing governmental institutions. In order for policy to be effective, the relationship between the policy and the structure should always be taken into consideration (Dye 1987:20, Hanekom 1987:81).

According to Anderson (1979:22), the institutional model can be usefully employed in policy analysis to analyse the behaviour patterns of different public institutions – in the case of this study, for example, the DSD and SASSA, and their effect on policy implementation. Based on this model, government institutions play an important role in policy implementation. This implies that SASSA as an institution responsible for the implementation of the CSG policy should put systems in place to enhance the effectiveness of the policy.

2.6 Policy implementation

Once the designers of a policy have settled on a policy design, and have chosen one or more tools to achieve the goals of the policy, the various participants in the policy process can turn their attention to the implementation of the public policy in question. It is important to discuss policy implementation, because it is a key to the success of the policy process. Learning from implementation problems can foster learning about better ways to structure policies, to ensure that they have the effects that those who design the policies want to achieve. In addition, implementation studies have emphasised the importance of taking advice to policy makers on how to structure programmes to increase the likelihood of implementation success (Birkland 2005:181).

Policy implementation is a complex function that needs to be thoroughly comprehended in a study of a process of change. After the publication of Pressman and Wildavsky's classic book *Implementation* in 1973, academics began to focus on implementation (Antero, 2013:89). According to Pressman and Wildavsky (1973:xiii), implementation "means to carry out, accomplish, fulfil, produce, complete". Furthermore, they argue that "policies imply theories [...] policies become programmes when, by authoritarian action, the initial conditions are created [...] implementation, then, is the ability to forge subsequent links in the causal chain so as to obtain the desired result" (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973:34). Once a policy is formulated, it has to be implemented. Barrett (2004:251) observes that policy implementation refers to the process of "translating policy into action". Calista (1994:117) uses a simple

definition, stating that “implementation represents the faithful fulfilment of policy intentions by public servants”.

For the purposes of this research, Van Meter and Van Horn’s (1975:447) explanation of implementation is used to explain the essential dynamism of the theme: “...policy implementation encompasses those actions by public or private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions.”

It is assumed that a policy, once approved, is implemented according to the policy formulators’ objective. However, implementation research confirms that is often not the case. Government officials and researchers understand that policy adoption is simply one milestone in a continuing process of solving an issue. Calista (1994:117) reports a widespread finding in implementation research, namely that outcomes are often either disappointing or unintended by unwitting policy-makers. Thus the outcomes are not achieved as the policy-makers envisaged.

A key understanding regarding implementation is the point that implementation is not simply a managerial or administrative responsibility; it is a politically motivated function. It is concerned with who gets what, when, how, where, and from whom. Hence, there are generally multiple actors, although sometimes there may be implementation problems which do not require multiple actors. As Scharpf (1978:347) points out,

...it is unlikely, if not impossible, that public policy of any significance could result from the choice process of any single unified actor. Policy formation and policy implementation are inevitably the result of interactions among a plurality of separate actors with separate interests, goals, and strategies.

Implementation is not only influenced by multiple actors, but it operates at multiple levels. For example, CSG policy in South Africa operates in the national, provincial, and local levels. What matters the most is not the various spheres in which implementation takes place, but to acknowledge that it might happen at multiple levels at the same time and that transmitting policy from one sphere to another is neither a neat nor a unidirectional process (Brynard 2005b:658).

Based on the above definitions, it is clear that implementation is a complicated process that tends to be challenging, because policy objectives are not always clearly expressed (and occasionally are even contradictory) and the process must often be delivered within a multi-organisational setting, requiring detailed negotiation. This reality in which implementation is executed by different stakeholders, such as officials and non-state institutions, makes

negotiation important and demanding. This dynamic reality casts doubt on the state's political and institutional capacity to direct the implementation process (Pierre 2000:17).

Policies are doubtlessly dynamic and they are “made and remade in a process of implementation. Implementation frameworks, hence, must be flexible in order to cope with unintended consequences of action” (Evans 2008:1) – the implementation of the CSG policy studied in this thesis is no exception.

The study of policy implementation has evolved over the last few decades. Barrett (2004:254) argues that there are three generations of implementation research; these are discussed below.

2.7 Approaches to the study of implementation

Research into the study of policy implementation has evolved over the last few decades. The literature on implementation is not yet extensive, but there are highlights that can be identified (Barrett 2004:254), as discussed below.

First generation approaches focused on a “top-down” “government knows best” approach to implementation. Its proponents claim that one can understand policy implementation by considering the goals and strategies adopted in a statute or other policy, as structured by the implementers of policy. These studies focus on the gap between the goals set by a policy's drafters and the actual implementation and outcomes of the policy. A second approach emphasised a “bottom-up” framework, which suggests that implementation is best studied by starting at the lowest levels of the implementation system or “chain”, and moving upward to determine where implementation is more successful, and where it is less so. Third generation studies propose hybrid theories that combine the best of both approaches (Evans 2008; Birkland 2005:182; Bardach 1977; Sabatier 1986).

Based on the above argument, it can be deduced that there is no single best method of policy implementation. Therefore, it is important for public officials implementing the CSG to take into consideration all the possible approaches to policy implementation.

2.7.1 *The “top-down” approach to implementation*

Different stakeholders may have different perspectives on what constitutes successful policy implementation (Matland 1995:150). The top-down approach is also known as the rational or systems model. In one of the first implementation studies published by Pressman and

Wildavsky in 1973, they argued that a well-supported employment programme implemented by the Federal government in the United States had failed to deliver the intended outcomes. Sharpe (1985:364) argues that the only system not prone to control deficits is one in which the policy instigator and executor are one and the same person – they claim: “[H]e who speaks of the division of labour speaks of an implementation gap.” Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:448) explain that

... the study of implementation examines those factors that contribute to the realisation or non-realisation of policy objectives. [...] ...we should emphasise that [the] implementation phase does not commence until goals and objectives have been established by prior policy decisions. It takes place only after legislation has been passed and funds committed.

Based on the above view, implementation takes place after a policy has been formulated. This is a top-down approach, which is based on the assumption that policy is controlled at the highest level of decision-making and communicated down the hierarchy to those implementing it at a lower level of government or lower level in the hierarchy of the institution (Jordan 1995:5).

A top-down approach emphasises the faithfulness with which implementation adheres to policymakers’ intentions (Sabatier 1986:28). This approach is characterised by its hierarchical and control themes. The main aim is to enhance performance, thus to achieve the institution’s goals (Brynard 2007:37; Jordan 1995:6). The supporters of a top-down approach are motivated by the need to advise policy formulators on how to formulate policies that can be implemented successfully. Therefore, prescriptions for successful implementation are based on involving those at the lower level, and minimizing outside interference by creating clear policies with precise guidelines for the implementation process favoured by top management (Ham and Hill 1993:101).

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989:4) argue that implementation studies should address four critical questions:

- To what extent are the outputs or outcomes of the implementation process consistent with the objectives enunciated in the original statute?
- Have the objectives been successfully attained? Over what period of time?
- What factors affected policy outcomes or caused the goals to be modified?
- How was the policy reformulated over time in the light of experience?

It is clear from the above argument that policy implementation is a process that needs to be evaluated during the implementation stage. Such evaluation allows public officials to report

to the policy formulators on the challenges experienced during the implementation phase and to recommend possible solutions.

Authors who support a top-down approach specify a series of six conditions for effective implementation of policy (Sabatier 1986:25; Mazmanian and Sabatier 1983:22; Sabatier and Mazmanian 1980:542):

- policy objectives should be clear and consistent;
- causal assumptions embodied in the policy must be correct;
- legal and administrative structures must be sufficient to keep discretion within bounds;
- implementing agents must be skilled and committed;
- there must be support from interest groups; and
- there may be no major socio-economic upheavals and other disturbances.

Authors who support a top-down view argue that “if all these conditions are met, then any statute, no matter how ambitious, will be effectively implemented” (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1979:490). Although supporters of a top-down approach maintain that the guidelines need to be followed for successful implementation, it is not always possible to do so, in view of the challenges of policy implementation highlighted in the discussion thus far.

Several criticisms have been levelled against the top-down approach (Elmore 1978:190). The first is that there is uncertainty about whether the proponents of the top-down approach can explain if a policy has succeeded or failed. Taking into consideration the rationalist framework and the conditions for successful implementation, as opposed to what is usually actually achieved, it is clear that political reality is unclear and irrational.

A second criticism is that policy is not formulated in isolation; there are several stakeholders and an overarching set of institutional structures within which political outcomes are negotiated. A top-down approach does not take into consideration the vast variety of political interactions. Moreover, it is difficult to isolate a policy, as is required in some of the top-down models to formulate policy. Policies are often layered on top of each other or pitched in an already overcrowded policy space (Majone 1989:158). However, Hogwood and Peters (1982:225) implicitly support the approach when they argue that “policy succession [is] the replacement of an existing policy, programme or organisation by another”.

A third criticism is that there is no guarantee that the prescriptions for successful implementation of supporters of the top-down approach can be met in reality. The proponents

of a top-down model seem to reject and ignore the very existence of politics in their oversimplification and unrealistic goals. It is a fact that any policy would benefit from the addition of more resources and support from pressure groups (Jordan 1995:9).

A fourth criticism is that proponents of a top-down model focus on the implementation process from the people at the top management level and trace the influence of one policy through the bureaucratic layers of government – so much so that they may erroneously credit whatever happens at the lower level of policy implementation to the effects of the statute or policy in question. In focusing on one statute, analysts' attention may be channelled to concentrate on one variable or input only, and they may neglect other policy areas or the private sector (Sabatier 1986:30). Policy may be informed by other pressures in the executive action. For example, Sabatier (1986:34) refers to a pollution control study conducted by Hanf (1978) in the Netherlands that noted unintended consequences, in that neither emission reductions nor shifts in the price of cleaner fuels were a result of the government's energy policy.

A fifth criticism is that it is a fallacy to argue that officials at the lower level always agree with the officials at the top, or that top management has all the skills, resources and power required to guide the implementation process in the way top-down theorists suggest. In most cases, the implementing agency is independent, and has its own legitimate needs and priorities to pursue, its own legal obligations to implement and its own clear policy-making role (Jordan 1995:10; Barrett and Fudge 1981:12).

A sixth criticism is that there is no consensus on whether policy design and policy implementation are separate, as is assumed by the top-down view. Not only does policy pave the way for implementation, but implementation may produce policy. It might be advisable to understand policies as empty statements of intent and appreciate that what is often referred to as policy is in fact the result of negotiations between officials at the top and officials at the lower level of the hierarchy of public institutions during the implementation phase (Majone and Wildavsky 1978:18). To be precise, it is not easy to identify a particular incident as causing an outcome when a policy is finalised and ready for implementation, because policies are dynamic and keep on changing throughout the implementation process. It can be deduced from above that policies can be repackaged at any of the stages in order to address the prevailing realities (Jordan 1995:10; Hill 1981:208).

A final criticism that researchers level is that they are unconvinced that the application of discretion by those at the lower level is as deviant and destructive as some supporters of a top-down model seem to claim. In some situations, the use of discretion is not only inevitable (and legally and politically legitimate), but also desirable – constraining it means losing the skill and expertise of those closest to the problem (Elmore 1979:80).

It is important for supporters of a top-down approach to take these criticisms into consideration if they wish to improve policy implementation. From this perspective, it is important that the CSG policy is properly communicated by the DSD to SASSA, which is responsible for administering and paying out social grants in South Africa. The policy mechanisms are vested at the national level, in the DSD. The objectives of the policy must be made clear by the official(s) at the top management level to the official(s) at the lower levels paying out the grant. The actions taken by the public officials at the lower level must be transparent and accountable. SASSA is therefore required to maintain a feedback system with a view to making contributions to future policy amendments in Parliament.

2.7.2 Bottom-up approaches to implementation

Second generation studies developed a bottom-up approach to theories of implementation as a critique of the top-down approach. Thus a bottom-up approach argues for local implementers to adapt policy strategies to meet local needs and concerns (Maynard-Moody, Musheno and Palumbo 1990:31; Elmore 1985:63; Palumbo, Maynard-Moody and Wright 1984:53). Implementers of this approach, also known as “street-level bureaucrats” (Brodkin 2000:31), want to achieve greater alignment between policy-making and policy delivery. Theorists and researchers reconsidered top-down approaches, and it transpired that the proponents of top-down approaches had overestimated the importance of the governmental programme upon which such approaches focused, and neglected the real power of the implementing agents (Sabatier 1986:45). Parsons (1995:467) affirms that officials at the lower level have to consider that “the implementation process involves policy making from those who are involved in putting it into effect. Implementation is not a process in which x follows y in a chain of causation”.

A summary of the bottom-up approach is given by Evans (2008:3), as follows:

- implementation takes place in multi-organisational settings;
- policy is not always clearly and precisely expressed;

- there may be steering difficulties; and
- implementation is an ongoing process of negotiation

A mechanistic view of implementation was consequently discarded, and discussions began instead to focus on the relationship between policy-makers and the officials responsible for implementation. As a result, it was increasingly acknowledged that officials play an important role in the performance of policy, because they are involved in its day-to-day implementation at the most fundamental level. Accordingly, they are no longer controlled – instead, their actions are coordinated. In consequence, implementing officials have more administrative and managerial discretion over the implementation of policies, and policies change during the process of implementation itself. Therefore, this mutual interaction makes the artificial distinction between policy formulation and policy implementation useless in a bottom-up approach (Antero 2013:93; Sabatier 1986:31). Based on the above argument, it can be deduced that bottom-up approaches acknowledge that there must be coordination between the policy formulators and the officials responsible for implementation at the lower level. Moreover, they also acknowledge the importance of feedback from the officials responsible for policy implementation in order to improve implementation.

Bottom-up approaches have also been criticised at a variety of different levels as a result of the deficiencies in the implementation process, as discussed below.

A first criticism is that bottom-up approaches dissolve the distinction between the formulation and implementation of a policy process in some instances, therefore totally disregarding inputs from the top, and leaving officials at the lower level open to the charge that they are not studying implementation (as a discrete activity) at all (Love and Sederberg 1987:156). After a complete overall evaluation, Sabatier (1986:36) concludes that the supporters of a bottom-up approach are not worried about the implementation of a particular policy *per se*, but focus on understanding actor interaction in a specific policy sector. However, as supporters of a top-down approach argue, this would be detrimental, because some policies are made at the top, are supported with resources and embody clear and concise objectives (Jordan 1995:14). Thus it is important for policy-formulators to work together with the officials responsible for policy implementation because they cannot work in isolation.

A second criticism is that the risk that the politicised viewpoint to which this approach can easily become prone also undermines the model of comprehensiveness. Barrett and Fudge (1981:67) argue that the views of proponents of a bottom-up approach have frequently been

highly politicised. They conclude that the main aim of a bottom-up approach is to reduce political interference from policy-formulators. Moreover, proponents of a bottom-up approach even suggest that “discretion at lower levels is not only inevitable, but also desirable...because it is necessary for policies to be reinvented so that they better fit local needs” (Palumbo and Harder 1981:xi).

Therefore, it can be deduced that the bottom-up approach needs to incorporate some views/ideas from the policy formulators for effective implementation. Disregarding these important views will probably lead to policy failure. In the case of the CSG policy, public officials responsible for implementation of the policy need to report back about the challenges they encounter during the implementation process. Then these views can help to transform and improve policy implementation.

It can be argued that although “a legalistic perspective is necessary, [...] an interorganisational structuring is indispensable in implementation analysis” (Hjern 1982:308). This is so because

...the relationship between policy and action could not be regarded as a simple transmission process but rather must be viewed as a complex assembly job involving the fitting together of different interests and priorities...and that implementation is mediated by actors who may be operating with different assumptive worlds from those formulating the policy, and, inevitably, it undergoes interpretation and modification and, in some cases, subversion. (Fudge and Barrett 1981:251)

Therefore, it is important for public officials to work together in a coordinated manner for effective policy implementation.

Elmore (1979:45) proposes that the mapping should be “backwards” rather than “forwards”. Moreover, the focus should be on “implementation structures” (Hjern and Porter 1981:111) and on the negotiation process (Barrett and Fudge 1981:253), amongst and within “networks” of implementation (Hanf 1978:8). In realising that “the implementation path of a project can thus be profoundly shaped by unforeseen and unforeseeable events” (Berman 1978:176), implementation should be designed to be “adaptive” rather than “programmed” (Berman 1980:78). It can be deduced from the above that it is important for SASSA to give feedback about its implementation challenges. SASSA’s reports should assist policy formulators to make good decisions to improve the implementation of CSG policy.

2.7.3 Synthesis: A third generation of implementation

Third-generation studies have moved past the top down/bottom up dispute, regarding it as simplistic. Democratic policy systems support moving away from top-down or bottom-up

dichotomies to a centrist approach, emphasising how actors from different institutional contexts influence the policy to be implemented (Calista 1994:33) and its eventual implementation.

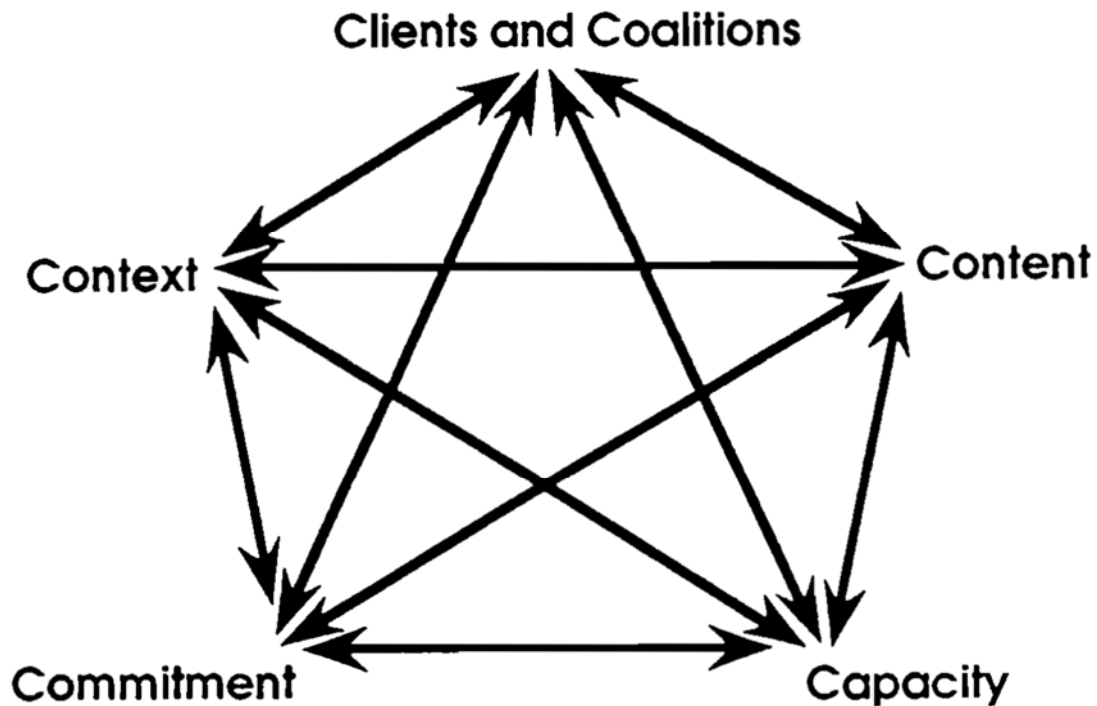
The evolution and bargaining models regard policy implementation as a bargaining, exchange and negotiation action. The aim of this approach is to explain how policy is viewed as the product of bargaining and negotiation among interests groups. Policy is considered as dependent upon a process of bargaining. It should be noted that implementation is seen as a continuous process of bargaining and as compromising inputs from the top and innovations from the bottom (Jordan 1995:15).

Definitions of what constitutes implementation can also vary, depending on where the public officials responsible for implementation are along the continuum of policy implementation, such as complying with policy directives, reaching intermediate performance indicators or benchmarks, or achieving long-term policy goals and objectives (Ingram and Schneider 1990:71). In the implementation process, policy-makers may use constituent parts from all or some of the above approaches, whichever suit their purposes for the policy. Thus the centrist approach stresses the importance of democratic principles by incorporating different views from different stakeholders.

2.8 Policy implementation: The 5C protocol

Implementation involves a complex political process, in addition to an administrative one. Implementation research unravels the challenges of policy as it permeates through the complex, dynamic maze of implementation. It is important to understand how it affects its surroundings and how it transforms itself in the process; and most importantly, it is vital to establish how it can be influenced to accomplish more effectively and efficiently the goals it set out to achieve (Najam 1995:35; Brynard 2005b:658). The process of policy implementation is unique to each situation, but research on the subject has shown that there are identifiable critical variables which shape and influence the directions that implementation might take. Najam (1995:35) synthesised five variables into the now commonly known as the 5C protocol (see Figure 2.1, overleaf), which focuses on content, context, commitment, capacity, and clients and coalitions as the key variables.

Figure 2.1: The 5C protocol



Source: Najam (1995:35)

The 5C protocol is interlinked, and each of the five Cs influence each other. However, each specific implementation situation determines the extent of the influence. For instance, implementation capacity is likely to be a function of all the remaining four variables; policy content may (or may not) provide for resources for capacity building; the institutional context of the relevant agencies may hinder or help such capacity enhancement; the commitment of implementers to the goals, causal theory, and methods of the policy may make up for the lack of such capacity – or vice versa; the coalition of actors opposed to effective implementation may stymie the capacity which might otherwise have been sufficient – here, again, supportive clients and coalitions may in fact enhance capacity (Najam 1995:36).

In each case, it is the web of interlinkages that are crucial, rather than the variables themselves. In framing an understanding of implementation using the explanatory variables of the 5C protocol (see Figure 2.1 above), researchers should catalogue the strength and the influence of each variable on a particular implementation effort. It should also identify critical linkages among the variables, considering their strengths and weaknesses. It is also vital to look at their potential to enhance the effectiveness of the given implementation process (Najam 1995:36).

In studying the implementation of the CSG policy in South Africa, attention should be given to the whole 5C protocol for the effective implementation of the policy. The prescriptive value of a 5C analysis, in terms of policy redesign, lies both in this identification and in identifying what particular *type* of capacity is required, and how (and if) such incapacity is linked to, or may be influenced by, other variables. In addressing the whole 5C protocol, it may be possible to address practical issues, for example, whether a capacity deficit is best addressed by providing more monetary and human resources, or by influencing the content of the policy itself, the institutional context of the agencies involved, the commitment of the implementers, or the coalition's active opposition or support of the endeavour.

Authors differ about the relative importance of the five variables in the 5C protocol and their placement in top-down/bottom-up or specific issue contexts. A broad set of implementation authors have identified these or similar variables as their key determinants of implementation effectiveness. For example, in his extensive survey of empirical implementation research, O'Toole (1986:189) already reports that about half of the published studies identify "content" as a key variable, and about the same number consider "capacity" to be crucial. Therefore, it is important to discuss these variables in relation to the success/failure of the CSG policy in South Africa.

2.8.1 Content

Lowi's (1963:691) article "American business, public policy, case studies and political theory" indicates that content is one component of the policy implementation process. He characterises policy according to three categories as distributive, regulatory and redistributive. Generally, distributive policies create public goods for the general welfare. Regulatory policies provide clear guidelines that need to be followed, and punishment is meted out for failure to comply. Redistributive policies attempt to change allocations of resources, such as wealth or power, of some groups at the expense of others (Lowi 1963:962). In this sense, the CSG policy is distributive because it addresses the effects of children suffering as a result of poverty.

Most authors of implementation research find this classification useful, for example, Hargrove (1975), Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), and Smith (1973). There is also a widespread implicit realisation that the content of policy is important, not only in the means it draws on to achieve its ends, but also in its determination of the ends themselves and in how the policy chooses the specific means to reach those ends.

The importance of policy content is clear in the seminal work of Pressman and Wildavsky (1973:xv), who see implementation as “a seamless web [...] a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieving them”. Mediating this choice of ends and means is the content of the policy. Experienced policy-makers will probably agree that problem identification is critical for the eventual policy design and implementation. Policy-implementers should also understand that this is not necessarily a linear process. Policy content affects the mission, vision and goals or the future state of affairs that should be achieved (Brynard, Cloete and De Coning 2013:135). For example, the policy content of the CSG is to alleviate poverty. It is therefore important to understand what this policy entails in order to be able to achieve its objective, namely to alleviate the effects of poverty on children.

2.8.2 Context

Most streams of implementation scholarship agree that “a context-free theory of implementation is unlikely to produce powerful explanations or accurate predictions” (Berman, 1980:206). However, as O’Toole (1986:202) notes, “the field of implementation has yet to address, as part of its research strategy, the challenge of contextuality, beyond fairly empty injunctions for policy makers, implementers, and researchers to pay attention to social, economic, political, and legal setting”.

It is inappropriate to use a universal approach in dealing with implementation challenges. It is important to consider, but not easy to study systematically. There is always the challenge that accumulated learning may be lost, failing to account for contextual impacts on implementation effectiveness (Brynard 2005b:659). For this thesis it is relevant to remember that the context in which the CSG policy is implemented should be taken into consideration.

Attention should be devoted to the institutional context which, like the other four variables, is necessarily shaped by the context of the social, economic, political and legal realities of the system. This does not necessarily negate the importance of the larger contextuality, but it remains helpful to stress the impact of these realities on the implementation process, primarily via the institutional corridor through which implementation must pass and, as will be explored later, the support of clients and coalitions. Effective working relations can, however, be created by transactions among agencies with no formal connections whatever. Clearly, bureaucratic contexts favourable to implementation often develop more through human interactions than by hierarchical regulation (Warwick 1982:188).

In this context, it could thus be argued that the social security background of South Africa guides the type of social security policy which should be implemented. The effects of the racially discriminatory policy in place before 1994 are still visible (in the form of inherited social conditions) in most parts of the country. In tackling the problem, the South African government introduced the CSG in 1998 as the main cash transfer to assist children suffering as a result of poverty.

2.8.3 *Commitment*

Governments may have the most logical policy imaginable, the policy may pass cost/benefit analyses and it may be implemented by an organisational structure that would do Max Weber proud, but if the officials responsible for carrying out the policy are unwilling or unable to do so, nothing will happen (Warwick 1982:135).

Both the proponents of the top-down approach and the bottom-up approach consider the variable of commitment as critical to effective implementation (Mazmanian and Sabatier 1981:67; Edwards and Sharkansky 1978:45; Van Meter and Van Horn 1975:450). The supporters of the top-down perspective argue that implementer commitment is influenced mainly by the content of the policy and its capacity (resources) provisions, both of which can supposedly be controlled by top management. According to a fundamentalist bottom-up view, the institutional context, clients and coalitions tend to be more influential than content and capacity (Lipsky 1980:78).

Based on these arguments, it can be deduced that for the CSG policy to be implemented effectively, there must be commitment from all stakeholders responsible for the implementation process. Without proper commitment, the policy may fail to achieve the stated objectives.

Brynard (2005:660) states that the combinations of key implementation variables reinforce the criticality of the commitment factor and makes two further propositions. The first is that commitment is important not only at the lower level, but at all levels through which policy passes. In cases of international commitments, this would include the regime level, the state level, and all other levels of policy implementation. Brynard's (2005:660) second proposition is that, in keeping with the web-like conception of interlinkages amongst the five critical variables, commitment is influenced by, and will influence, all four remaining variables: content, capacity, context, clients and coalitions. Those responsible for effective

implementation cannot afford to ignore any of these linkages and are well advised to identify the ones most appropriate to rectify challenges in the implementation processes.

Commitment must be assumed to be critical at the lower level, and at all levels of policy implementation. This research challenges the assumption that those who frame a particular policy are automatically deemed “committed” to it. In conjunction with earlier formulation of policy as a moving target which travels through various levels, it is important to identify commitment at every level. The first task is analysing the commitment variable. Then, all weaknesses in the process where a lack of commitment might influence implementation effectiveness need to be identified. In terms of this research, commitment should be required from public officials in the DSD, the implementing agency SASSA, down to every official at the lower level, including front-line workers paying out the grants. Commitment to the policy of public officials at the lower level is especially critical, because of the unique position of proximity to the problem. This implies that front-line officials’ priorities should be shaped not only by their agency (SASSA), but also by the realities and concerns of their clients. The level of discretionary power they usually enjoy grants them the ability to influence the implementation of the policy, and, *de facto*, to “define” policy in action. Therefore, commitment at all levels is important for effective implementation of the CSG policy.

2.8.4 Capacity

In general systems terms, the capacity of the public sector can be conceptualised as the structural, functional and cultural ability to implement the government’s policy objectives. For example, the ability to deliver public services should be aimed at raising the quality of life of citizens, by in fact delivering what the government has set out to deliver, effectively, as planned within a specified period.

Therefore, capacity means that specific or tangible and intangible resources must be available, and people must have access to them. Definitive (tangible) resources refer to human, financial, material, technological and logistic issues. Intangible resources refer to motivation, commitment, leadership, endurance, willingness and other attributes needed to change rhetoric into action. The internal and external environments where implementation takes place, such as the political, administrative, economic, technological, cultural and social environment, and all actors must favour successful implementation (Grindle 1980:4).

As a result of the current state of service delivery, Thornhill (2012:156) and Savitch (1998:45) consider capacity-building as a complete (structural, functional and cultural) transformation of government in order to pull together all available resources to achieve policy objectives. This amounts to a paradigm shift regarding the nature of government. Even though the South African government may have effective policies in place for social security to alleviate poverty, unless there is the capacity to implement them, the government's vision of alleviating poverty, especially among children, may never be realised. It is important for government to provide the necessary capacity to implement the CSG policy.

Implementation capacity is considered to be the most common important variable in the analytical literature on policy implementation. It is generally accepted that a minimum condition for successful implementation is to have the required administrative and other abilities to achieve goal; that is, the resources and the capacity to implement (Savitch 1998:45). It should be noted that this simple articulation of the capacity problem can be deceptive – it can indeed be argued that administrative capacity is essential for effective implementation, but providing the required resources is not a simple matter. In fact, simply knowing what the necessary resources are can present a complex challenge. It is a political as well as a logistical problem.

The most important question in understanding how capacity may influence implementation effectiveness is not easy to answer, namely: How can capacity be created and operationalised? (Brynard 2005b:661; Najam 1995:49). Therefore, it is vital that SASSA provides the necessary human support for public officials to render services to the relevant communities entitled to the CSG. The South African National Treasury has observed that there is a need to improve infrastructure, and it has noted that increases in provincial capital budgets have not been matched by the quality of delivery mechanisms. It stated that provinces need to absorb and entrench good practices in infrastructure planning, budgeting and implementation (Greve 2015:2). This will improve the capacity of the government and SASSA to implement the CSG policy effectively.

Almost half of the more than 300 empirical studies on policy implementation considered by O'Toole (1986:189) have shown that resources are a critical variable. The analytical literature overwhelmingly identifies capacity as a key variable of successful implementation. This research therefore subscribes to the narrower definition of capacity suggested by authors from the top-down school:

...successful implementation is also a function of the implementing organisation's capacity to do what it is expected to do. The ability to implement policies may be hindered by such factors as overworked and poorly trained staff, insufficient information and financial resources, or impossible time constraints. (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975:480)

Assessing capacity requirements can pose a challenge. The legitimate repositories of such information are the implementing agencies themselves, which is SASSA in the case of South Africa. However, these agencies have a vested interest. More importantly, they, too, have only limited information of the real requirements, which can only become fully known once the process of assessing capacity actually begins, and often change as the implementation process proceeds. Therefore, the initial administrative capacity is a function of what is mandated in the original policy, and for effective implementation, the content may have to change to respond to new needs. Hence, in the case discussed in this thesis, it is vital for the government and the implementing agency SASSA to assess capacity requirements in order to improve service delivery.

2.8.5 *Clients and coalitions*

Clients and coalitions refer to different stakeholders (opinion leaders, interest groups and other external actors supporting a particular implementation process) who join hands with government. In this relationship, power shifts can occur – Rein and Rabinovitz (1978:314) argue that “a power shift among the different external interest groups produces a corresponding shift in the implementation process”. Combined support of clients and external coalitions are the final critical variable. The formation of local coalitions of individuals affected by the policy during implementation is considered one of the critical variables that affect implementation (Elmore 1979:610).

It is important first to determine the most vocal clients and coalitions from the different groups involved in the implementation arena. Not everyone in a group is vocal about a particular policy, even though they might be affected directly or indirectly by the policy. The constellation of actors who are directly or indirectly affected by any implementation process is likely to be far larger than the set of key constituencies whose interests are impacted enough for them to have the desire or the ability, to influence the implementation process in return (Brynard 2005b:662). It should be noted that it is dangerous to limit the scope of enquiry to a few selected key actors. However, many minor actors in any exploratory research could become unmanageable, and are equally dangerous. It is important, therefore, to emphasise the

saliency of consciously seeking to identify key relevant stakeholders, as opposed to all identifiable actors (Brynard 2005b:662).

Clients and coalitions play an important role in the implementation of the CSG policy. Apart from the involvement of the primary institutions (the DSD and the provincial departments), a network of other departments are involved in distributing the CSG. Therefore, the operation and management of these networks are critical for successful implementation of the CSG policy. Policy-making involves the efforts by a government to solve public problems or to prevent them, for example, economic policies to prevent an economic decline leading to a depression. The issue considered in this thesis concerns children suffering as a result of poverty.

Effective-problem solving requires the cooperative efforts of a variety of individuals and organisations. Generally, no institution of government possesses sufficient authority, resources and knowledge to enact, or achieve all policy goals. Instead, policies (such as the CSG policy) require concerted efforts of multiple actors to solidify policy as formulated and to convert it into action (Brynard 2006a:844; Kickert, Klijn and Koppenjan 1997:137). The networks of actors in the CSG are therefore critical for the successful implementation of the policy. Besides the DSD, there are other government departments that assist with the implementation of the CSG, including the following departments: Home Affairs, Health, Basic Education and the South African Police Service (Goldblatt, Rosa and Hall 2006:3).

Policy can be defined in many different ways. Implementation involves moving from the originally set political goals to practical results. The 5C protocol discussed above can be used to simplify implementation challenges. All five Cs are interconnected and they often act simultaneously and synergistically; hence, any change in one produces changes in the others. It can be deduced that this interconnectedness of the variables create both a challenge and an opportunity. It should be noted that policy formulation and implementation are not necessarily consecutive processes. In many cases, practice has shown that these are parallel processes where policy design or redesign and revision can take place even during the formal implementation stages of the policy project. Successful policy implementation is in some cases attributable to redesign or customization of the original design during implementation, because the original policy designers did not or could not foresee specific complications at the regional or at the local sphere. This could be identified in the case of the CSG policy in

rural areas where births may not always be registered or poverty may not be properly identified due to a lack of data.

2.9 Conclusion

The theoretical underpinnings of the study were presented in this chapter. This was done through a literature survey, which was aimed at understanding the implementation challenges associated with the CSG policy. The chapter focused on several important aspects of public administration. From the above, it could be argued that P/public A/administration, both as a discipline and as an activity, has a history comprising various perspectives and schools of thought. The chapter covered the scope of public administration, because the study of public administration is concerned with the administrative functions, structure and assumptions of government as well as the study of institutions of government, which are essential bases on which this study should be based. The functions of public administration were also discussed in detail in this chapter, because they are the essential building blocks in the practice of any public institution. No institution can function efficiently or continue without these components.

Policy usually follows the twists and turns during the implementation phase which moves from originally set political goals to results. The 5C protocol detailed above is proposed as a useful vehicle for making sense of these twists and turns in policy implementation. Each variable has been discussed separately for heuristic purposes. As indicated above, all five variables are closely connected; they act together, often simultaneously and synergistically. Therefore, any change in one has a ripple effect on the others. The interconnectedness of these variables has the potential to create both challenges and opportunities.

One the main challenges is analytically to appreciate the complexity involved. Much of the literature on policy implementation considers implementation to be intrinsically complex. The complexity of implementation situations is inherent in the conditions under which programmes are carried out. Models must be developed which capture this reality. Although all policy implementation processes should be dynamic and complex, not every episode of implementation is likely to be equally complex. It varies from one episode to the other. As a result, some variables, depending on a particular situation, are likely to be more manifestly complex in some situations than in others.

The complex interlinkages between the 5C protocols should be used strategically to correctly implement policy. Once an initial investment has been made in understanding the complex linkages at work, these can be strategically manipulated to create an “implementation environment” conducive to effective implementation. It should be noted that the closely connected 5C protocol implies that implementation should not be viewed as an activity to be planned and be carried out according to a carefully predetermined plan. Instead, it should be as a process that can only, at best, be managed. Managing it, and directing it towards a more effective outcome, requires strategically fixing those variables which have some direct or indirect influence in order to induce changes in the ones which do not have such influence. In essence, then, the management of implementation requires rewriting the music in the act of playing it.

The next chapter provides an international perspective of social security amongst the BRIC countries, which face some challenges that are similar to those faced in South Africa. Considering their example may prove to be helpful to the South African government. This will enable the government to learn from the BRIC countries or *vice versa*.

Chapter 3:

Social security – an international perspective: The BRIC countries

3.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter dealt with literature relevant to policy from a public administration perspective. The purpose of this chapter is to give an international perspective on social security coverage adopted by the BRIC countries, with special emphasis on the implementation of social security policies. The BRIC countries have different socio-political backgrounds and histories, which has had an impact on access to social security and other resources in these countries, and the nature of the political settlements reached. The social security policy options faced by these countries were not similar, and in the end different policy choices were arrived at, but South Africa can probably learn from all these countries' experiences of social security policy implementation.

The first section reviews the background and origin of the composition of the BRIC bloc of countries. It also discusses the importance of the BRIC countries internationally in terms of their economic and geopolitical features. The second section scrutinises social security coverage in the BRIC countries, where the extension of social security coverage has become popular. This is a demonstration of their commitment to the social protection of their citizens. The last two decades have witnessed a shift in the expansion of social security, which used to be limited to developed countries, however, developing countries, have now also realised the importance of social security, particularly the BRIC countries. Hence in the last two decades there have been major developments and innovations in emerging economies. The third part of the chapter focuses on a number of shared challenges faced by the BRIC countries. It analyses the various administrative, institutional and sustainability challenges to social security in the BRIC countries.

3.2 Origin and formalisation of BRICS countries

The BRIC acronym reflects a concept first mentioned in 2001 – it represents the loose political grouping of Brazil, the Russian Federation, India and China. The acronym was coined by Jim O'Neill, then Head of Global Economic Research at Goldman Sachs, to refer to what he predicted would be the four fastest growing emerging economies (Pieters and Schoukens 2012a:15). The group was formalised when the BRIC leaders held their first summit in 16

June 2009 in Yekaterinburg, Russia, calling for a more democratic and multipolar world, based on the rule of international law, equality, mutual respect, co-operation, co-ordinated action, and collective decision-making by all states (Pieters and Schoukens 2012a:15). “BRIC” became “BRICS” in late 2011, when South Africa was invited to become part of the group. Since then, the new acronym has symbolised the collective economic power of Brazil, the Russian Federation, India, China and South Africa. Since 2011, annual summits have been held in each member state, as set out in Table 3.1, below.

Table 3.1: BRICS summits

Overarching theme: BRICS Partnership for Global Stability, Security and Prosperity			
Summit	Participants	Date	Location
1 st summit	BRIC	16 June 2009	Yekaterinburg, Russia
2 nd summit	BRIC	16 April 2010	Brasilia, Brazil
3 rd summit	BRICS	14 April 2011	Sanya, China
4 th summit	BRICS	29 March 2012	New Delhi, India
5 th summit	BRICS	26 March 2013	Durban, South Africa
6 th summit	BRICS	14 July 2014	Fortaleza, Brazil
7 th summit	BRICS	8 July 2015	Ufa, Bashkortostan, Russia

The BRICS countries have become the new drivers of global economic growth and are increasingly major geopolitical players. They have embarked on extending social security coverage (ISSA 2013:14). According to the International Social Security Association (ISSA), examples of social development include the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme and the *Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana* health insurance scheme for the informal sector in India; a rights-based approach to social security in South Africa, whose government launched an ambitious universal health insurance programme in 2012; and the *Programa Bolsa Familia*, a conditional cash transfer programme implemented in Brazil, where the population classified as “middle class” grew from 38 per cent in 2001 to 55 per cent in 2011 (ISSA 2013:14).

The extension of social security coverage in China has been remarkable. The coverage rate for health insurance increased from 318 million people (24 per cent of the population) in 2005, to 1,3 billion people (94 per cent of the population) in 2010, an average monthly increase of

nearly 16 million people over five years. Similarly, the Russian Federation is pursuing programmes meant to tackle the challenges of social exclusion amongst migrants and informal sector workers, by improving the adequacy and sustainability of social security schemes (ISSA 2013:14).

Despite their different cultural, political and socio-economic backgrounds, the BRICS countries experience similar challenges in providing social protection for their populations. These challenges include an ageing economically active population, uneven regional development, relatively high official and hidden unemployment (especially among unskilled workers), weak grass-roots/frontline social security infrastructure, gaps in the use of information and communications technology, large income gaps between various social security benefits, poor coordination of social security programmes with other social policies and programmes, and the need to extend protection to the informal sector and migrant workers (Jessica, Sincavage and Sharma 2010:7). In both China and India, substantial proportions of their labour force are engaged in agriculture; in India the proportion is two thirds. In India, only about seven million people work in the “organised” manufacturing sector (factories that register with the government and are supposed to maintain records and pay workers the required benefits). The vast majority of India’s labour force of about 395 million work in the unorganised sector, where work varies from casual day labour to work in small shops and construction facilities for which comparable labour force data are not available (Jessica, Sincavage and Sharma 2010:7).

The large proportion of the population in many countries living in abject poverty is often overlooked. The World Bank estimates that 76 per cent of the population in India lives on less than US\$2 per day, compared to 36 per cent in China. Over 900 million people live in poverty in India, most with little effective education – they are not likely to share in the prosperity enjoyed by a few or to form the basis for an exploding consumer market any time soon. China’s future is difficult to foresee, in that it now faces unprecedented population aging, unless it relaxes its stringent one-child policy. But China, unlike India, is one of the world’s largest exporters of electrical goods, data processing technologies, clothing and other textiles and optical and medical equipment (Jessica *et al.* 2010:13). As the expectations of the population increase, there are demands for higher benefits and better services. This requires a pragmatic administration capable of addressing the need for the long-term social and financial sustainability of programmes (ISSA 2013:14).

3.3 The importance of BRICS

There is no doubt about the increasing economic and geopolitical importance of the five BRICS countries on the international scene. The political significance of BRICS is reinforced by the active participation of its five members in international organisations such as the UN, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). Informal associations include the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group Twenty (G-20) and regional organisations in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus, there are objective opportunities for co-participation with other countries in building a fair world order and exerting a systemic influence for setting the agenda on a wide range of issues, from global to regional, from well-established to the relatively new (Saran, Singh and Sharan 2013:31).

Even a superficial glance reveals the sheer size of the BRIC countries, whether this relates to territorial extension and/or the size of the population, which represents a large potential consumer market. China leads with about 1 373 million, followed by India with 1 222 million people. Brazil and Russia follow with 198 million and 144 million respectively (Saran *et al.* 2013:31; Cassiolato and Lundvall 2005:2).

Although South Africa does not share all these characteristics, it plays an important strategic, economic and political role on the African continent. Likewise, the other countries exert great influence in their respective regions: Brazil in South America; China and India in East and South Asia; and the Russian Federation in Eastern Europe and Asia. South Africa's inclusion in the BRICS is based on its own characteristics, including its domestic and international achievements. As a representative of African countries, South Africa can play a bridging role between the other BRICS countries and Africa, and can contribute to building a closer relationship among the BRICS countries, enhancing the role of emerging powers in the G-20. South Africa is in a position to make unique contributions, particularly in terms of development of BRICS' Africa agenda, promoting global economic governance reforms, and in institution-building of BRICS as a credible international organisation (Yong 2012:5).

The economic influence of the BRICS economies has increased over the last decade, as they consolidated external linkages and capitalised on their unique competitive positions in export-import markets. Intra-BRICS trade flow has also increased exponentially, from a total volume of US\$ 27 billion in 2000 to US\$ 212 billion in 2013 (Saran *et al.* 2013:21). These countries also committed to increasing their trade volume to US\$ 500 billion by 2015. These five

economies attracted 17,8 per cent of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and made up 15 per cent of global trade in 2010 (Saran *et al.* 2013:21).

The Russian Federation is the largest country in the BRICS bloc in terms of its land mass (17 million square km), and is one of the ten largest countries in the world in terms of population; it has the eighth largest economy (Central Intelligence Agency 2010). The transition from a socialist to a capitalist economic system in the country was accompanied by wide fluctuations in indicators of economic growth: there was an abrupt fall in 1990s, followed by rapid improvement between 2004 and 2007, and again sharply negative results in 2008 to 2009. The latest decline is related to Russia's dependence on the demand for oil and gas, its main sources of wealth. Sharp declines in energy prices during the world economic crisis destabilised the Russian economy more than the economies of other BRIC countries, and created structural problems, negatively affecting the growth rate (Ardichvili, Zavyalova and Minina 2012:216).

India (three million square km) is an influential country due to its demographic potential, advantageous geostrategic location, and success in various spheres of science and culture, and its active role in international politics and the UN. India's population is growing steadily: from 2004 to 2009, its population grew annually at an average of 1,4 per cent (World Bank 2010). Scholars predict that by 2050 India's population will reach 1,8 billion people, surpassing that of China. India's economy is the fifth largest in the world, but it occupies only 164th place in per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rankings (Central Intelligence Agency 2010:5). The country has a significant traditional industry sector (including pharmaceuticals, textiles and automotive industries), and fast growing new high technology sectors (including biotechnology, informational technology and software development). In addition, India is a major provider of outsourcing services, and is active in technology transfer to other developing countries (World Bank 2010:15).

China went through fundamental socio-economic reforms in the last two decades, and had one of the fastest rates of economic growth during these years. China, like India, is rich in human resources: in 2009 its population was 1,3 billion people. The annual population growth rate, although lower than India's, is positive: from 2004 to 2009, it averaged 0,6 per cent. China's economy is already the second largest in the world. However, its GDP per capita holds only 128th place among 227 countries (World Bank 2010:12). The recent world economic crisis had no significant effect on the Chinese economy – in 2009, the

unemployment rate rose by 0,1 per cent, compared with the previous year, and the GDP growth rate was positive, among the top five in the world (Ardichvili *et al.* 2012:217).

The growth patterns of the different BRICS countries are becoming increasingly interdependent. China is responsible for the reduction of prices on labour-intensive manufactured goods that create problems for clothing producers elsewhere. It also adds to the increased commodity demand and to the rise of the relative prices of many commodities that stimulate the demand for raw materials and energy in other parts of the world (World Bank 2010:11). India's growth has had a major influence on the price increase for specific commodities, especially petroleum (Saran *et al.* 2013:21). The relative strength achieved in the last two years in the Brazilian trade balance is explained by the effects of the Chinese demand for such commodities (Cassiolato and Lundvall 2005:3).

The increasing importance of the BRIC countries in the global economy is a manifestation of the economic, social and demographic transformation in the four countries. The changes bring many opportunities, but they also bring challenges for social security to adapt to the dynamic economic, political and social environment in which they function. A number of initiatives to alleviate poverty and increase coverage have already been adopted and these experiences can be shared and used as a foundation for future intervention strategies. Effective and efficient approaches to alleviate poverty and extend coverage, as discussed in this research, can be exploited. The BRIC countries share common challenges, as discussed in more detail below.

3.4 Social security in Brazil

Social security in Brazil can be traced back to the colonial period, to 1554, when the *Santa Casa de Misericordia* in Santos was provided for Portuguese officials (ISSA 2013:19). After the installation of the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro in 1808, pension and medical assistance were provided to selected groups (Matijascic and Kay 2006:23). Following the formation of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1919, work accident insurance was provided via mandatory contributions to insurance companies (ISSA 2013:25). In 1923, the Pension and Retirement Fund (*Caixas de Aposentadorias e Pensões – CAPs*) was created; these were defined benefit (DB) programmes, fully funded with contributions from employees and employers (Matijascic and Kay 2013:18). Since the promulgation of this law, social protection in Brazil has been able to count on an institution that offered pension, retirement, medical assistance and pharmaceutical aid. To this day, both pension and retirement are

benefits indispensable in the characterisation of a social welfare institution (Matijascic and Kay 2013:18).

Since the revolution of the 1930s, state intervention has been widespread and social policies have been adopted in order to modernise society and spur development through industrial investment ((Matijascic and Kay 2008:23). In 1930, President Getulio Vargas introduced the Ministry of Labour to take charge of social security, together with the Ministry of Education and Health. This new Ministry coordinated health and medical assistance to workers, which it managed in cooperation with pension institutions (Matijascic and Kay 2008:27). In 1933, the Government created the Retirement Pension Institutes (*Institutos de Aposentadorias e Pensões* – IAPs). The IAPs were concentrating on professional categories; by the end of the 1940s, all urban workers were covered. Usually workers who were politically connected were entitled to receive medical assistance (Matijascic and Kay 2006:18). Based on the above, it can be deduced that the pension system of IAP's presented various problems. In the first place, the coverage was limited to the professional categories of the institutions, and thus excluded workers who did not fit into these categories. The system was intended to be a fully funded system, but as the years passed, it was transformed into a pay-as-you go system (Matijascic and Kay 2006:23).

In 1953, after the democratic elections, new initiatives were adopted. The Brazilian legislature passed a new Constitution that consolidated labour rights and provided for the creation of unemployment benefits (ISSA 2013: 30). The civil service was regulated, all remaining *Caixas de Aposentadorias e Pensões* (CAPs) were included under the *Institutos de Aposentadorias e Pensões* (IAPs), and the new administration created the Ministry of Health, splitting it from education (Matijascic and Kay 2006:35). New legislation for social security was approved in 1960, which implemented uniform criteria for financing benefits. After decades of debate, the military government which had taken power in 1964 adopted new legislation to cover rural workers, domestic workers and the self-employed. In spite of the adoption of the new legislation, the rural workers had severely restricted benefits (ISSA 2013:28). As a result, in 1977 there was a major administrative reform with the creation of National Institute of Medical Assistance of Social Welfare (*INAMPS-Instituto Nacional de Assistencia Medica da Previdencia Social*) – an institution responsible for medical assistance (Matijascic and Kay 2006:23). After the demise of the military regimes, democratic institutions emphasized social inclusion. The adoption of the New Constitution in 1988

consolidated the struggle for universal coverage and social rights (Matijascic and Kay 2008:46).

3.4.1 *The constitutional era*

The concept of social security (*seguridade social* in Portuguese) became a key principle after the adoption of the 1988 Constitution. This Constitution stipulates that policies encompassing unemployment insurance, pensions, social assistance and health care should be interconnected in order to improve coverage and deliver social protection as a right to citizenship (ISSA 2013:21). During this period, social security contributed to a successful democratic transition. The basic principles of the 1988 Brazilian Constitution are the following:

- universality of coverage and service;
- uniformity and equivalence for urban and rural populations;
- irreducibility of the value of the benefits;
- equitable participation in funding; and
- democratic and decentralized management, by means of the participation of workers, employers, retired persons and the government (ISSA 2013:22).

Comprehensive social security coverage is at the core of the Brazilian Constitution. Equity is related to progressive taxation, as well as the need for diversification in order to avoid financial shortfalls. Based on the basic principle of the Constitution of Brazil, it can be deduced that social security is considered a basic human right. Therefore, it should be afforded to all those entitled to it (ISSA 2013:24).

3.4.2 *Cash transfer benefits*

The Brazilian Constitution of 1988 stipulates that the social security system should be organised as a general scheme, based on contributions and mandatory participation. It should take into consideration the criteria that preserve financial and actuarial balance, as well as provide benefits for, disability, death and old age, illness, involuntary unemployment, maternity, an allowance for dependants of low-income insured, and survivors' pensions (ISSA 2013:25). Social assistance is to be rendered to whoever needs it, regardless of contribution. Its objectives are the following: protection for family, maternity, childhood, and old age; assistance to needy children and the promotion of integration into the labour market; rehabilitation of people with a disability and their integration into the community; the

guarantee of a monthly benefit of one minimum wage to people with disabilities and to the elderly who prove incapable of supporting themselves (Matijascic and Kay 2006:23).

The federal social security system is compulsory for all salaried workers and optional for the self-employed. This system can be divided into two regimes:

- the General Social Security Regime, managed by the National Institute for Social Security (*Instituto Nacional do Seguro Social* - INSS) and encompassing all urban and rural private-sector employees, employees in government-owned firms, and the self-employed; and
- Statutory Social Security Regimes for Civil Servants, covering all federal employees.

State and municipal systems (most covered by INSS) have their own schemes (Matijascic and Kay 2008:36).

The coverage of the public systems and the closed complementary funds provided by the state for workers in state-owned enterprises offer better guarantees than other programmes do, because they offer greater replacement rates (Matijascic and Kay 2008:36). Though the 1988 Constitution defines unemployment insurance as a social security policy, the benefits are managed by the Ministry of Labour and its regional agencies, covering municipalities with a larger population (ISSA 2013:26). Since 2003, social assistance has been administered by the Ministry of Social Development. The Continuous Cash Benefit (*Beneficio de Prestacao Continuada*), which is the main benefit paid as social assistance, guarantees a monthly benefit of a standard wage (about US\$ 240 or BRL 560 in December 2011) to the disabled and to the elderly and is paid by the INSS (ISSA 2013:26).

More extensive coverage is derived from the well-known *Programa Bolsa Familia*, which covers the majority of the population with a conditional cash transfer to every deserving family with children below the age of 17 and with a family income less than one quarter of the minimum wage per capita (excluding the pensions of any elderly household members) (Matijascic and Kay 2006:27). This benefit is meant to assist families not covered by pension benefits. The main purpose of this programme is to alleviate poverty and promote school attendance, and regular health care visits, according to the needs of the family. This encourages children to attend school and parents to take their children to the clinic, in order for them to benefit from this scheme. The programme is administered by the Ministry of Social Development in close consultation with local municipalities and with a political

process called (system of social assistance) which is almost identical to that of the Single Health System (ISSA 2013:41).

Apart from the *Programa Bolsa Familia*, there are in-kind transfers. These are aimed at specific groups and are paid for a short time, except to long-term care institutions, and are usually managed through philanthropic initiatives sponsored by religious institutions. They constitute a small percentage of the budget and usually draw on tax incentives. The rules governing this scheme are confusing and open to abuse; hence, fraud is widespread. Some political actors support the government's provision of in-kind transfers despite the controversy surrounding these transfers (Matijascic and Kay 2013:25). Based on the above, it can be deduced that the fact that the rules governing the scheme are confusing allows politicians to manipulate the system.

In comparison to other BRIC countries, in terms of contributors and dependants (including orphans), Brazil has the highest coverage for the aged. Only 2,4 per cent of those 65 and older had no coverage in 2008. High and persistent gaps in coverage for people of working age are still widespread. Although the number of contributors has grown modestly, the number of beneficiaries and family dependants, such as spouses or legal dependants, has increased. The stable numbers represent an important share of the population. It should be noted that all the figures of those insured under the public system such as the INSS, and public servants, are included in these figures; the unemployment benefits and the conditional cash transfer have been excluded (Matijascic and Kay 2013:18).

According to the Ministry of Social Development (2012, cited in Matijascic and Kay 2013:27), nearly 13,8 million families, about 21 per cent of all families in Brazil, received a monthly benefit of BRL 137 (about US\$ 67.50 in October 2012) from the *Programa Bolsa Familia* conditional cash transfer programme – about 22 per cent of the minimum wage. In order to qualify for the *Programa Bolsa Familia*, families must have an income of less than BRL 70 (US\$ 34.50) per capita per month (some families are exempted from the income test, including families of agricultural field workers and indigenous communities). In Brazil, nearly 13 million families have a per capita household income of BRL 70 or lower (US\$ 34.50), nearly 18,2 million have incomes up to BRL 140 (about US\$ 79), and 22 million have per capita household incomes equal to half of the minimum wage or less (BRL 311 or about US\$ 155.50). Families earning above BRL 70 per capita are not eligible for the *Programa Bolsa Familia*, but are still considered vulnerable. It is important to note that Brazil's

definition of poverty (which is defined as a quarter of the minimum wage per capita) is higher than the World Bank or United Nations Development Programme definitions, but is well below the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD's) definition, which is considered half of the median wage, which would be BRL 421 (about US\$ 207) (Matijascic and Kay 2013:27).

Data on unemployment insurance in Brazil are difficult to find and not updated regularly. According to the *Instituto de Pesquisa Economica Aplicada* (IPEA 2009, cited in Matijascic and Kay 2013:29), it covered 66 per cent of the unemployed in 1995, 62,1 per cent in 2000 and 63,3 per cent in 2006. The replacement rates were 51,0 in 1995, 51,3 in 2000, and 65,1 in 2006. The benefit could be paid after three to five months, according to previous regular contribution records, and the ceiling was about US\$ 550 in 2011 (ISSA 2013:26).

Social security in Brazil played an important part in building democracy in the mid-1980s. This was made possible through the 1988 Constitution, which stipulates that building a democratic society should be based on equity. Social security was implemented to reduce inequalities by adopting schemes such as pensions, health care and social assistance as leverage for consolidating a vibrant internal market (ISSA 2013:27). Previously, Brazilian policies were aimed at stimulating economic growth; however, it was established that the approach was unsustainable for achieving development (ISSA 2013:30). Based on the above it can be deduced that there was a shift from policies exclusively targeting economic growth to policies that are inclined towards improving the welfare of the people. It can be argued that the shift in policy was successful, considering that Brazil survived the recent global economic crisis, even though the period was fraught with political conflict. Despite Brazil's success, political debate over the degree of state intervention versus the market and the proper role of social policies continues to rage.

3.5 Social security in the Russian Federation

The situation in the Russian Federation is unique among BRIC countries. The Federation created a universal social security system under the Soviet Republic government, but has also faced fundamental and disruptive changes to the environment in which social security operates. In the last two decades, the Russian Federation has been under pressure due to social, economic, and demographic changes. The level and quality of benefits from existing schemes have been strained by many changes, particularly for those working in the informal sector. As

a result there is high inequality between rural and urban areas. This inequality has resulted in a gap between urban and rural communities. These pressures have become the source of targeted reforms and policy measures, including a range of mandatory and voluntary programmes (ISSA 2013:46).

The initial development of the Russian Federation's social security system was uneven compared with European development. The first national legislation, passed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, mandated that mining enterprises provide medical coverage to their employees. Fifty years later, in 1866, the law was extended to all other branches of industry, requiring all organisations to provide free medical care to their employees. However, compliance with the requirements was inconsistent (Arhangelsky 1998:252).

The first social insurance programmes were offered by insurance companies and were voluntary. They provided the only guarantee of compensation in the case of accident or injury in the workplace (ISSA 2013:47). According to Arhangelsky (1998:252), in 1835, the first life insurance company in Russian history was established and effectively held a monopoly on life insurance in Russia. However, by 1847, it had sold only 235 policies. In 1888, two additional companies introduced accident insurance for employees. By 1896, two insurance companies had entered the life insurance market. In 1900, the market was opened to foreign insurance companies, and a French company was the first to begin selling policies.

Before the end of the century, there were no requirements to provide workers' compensation. Compensation for work-related injuries was left to the goodwill of business owners. A court could intervene, but the trial costs were typically quite high (Arhangelsky 1998:253). During the 1880s and 1890s, such cases were heard quite often and were usually decided in favour of employees. It was during this period that, under pressure from the workers' movement, the Russian government began to improve benefits for workers (Arhangelsky 1998:253).

According to Arhangelsky (1998:260), Czar Nicholas II signed a worker's compensation law in the middle of 1903, which came into effect early in 1904. This law made business owners responsible for compensation and thus instituted a social insurance programme for industry employees. However, this law covered only 15 per cent of the workforce. It exempted small businesses with fewer than 20 employees, agricultural workers, craftsmen, construction and cottage craft workers. In reality, the law legitimated what was already current practice. It transformed the goodwill of the owners into an obligation. The law was impeded by vague language, but nevertheless introduced progressive changes. After the first Russian Revolution

in 1905, the government gave workers more rights. The issue of national social security legislation, however, was not addressed until 1912, when the third State Duma passed legislation introducing accident and illness insurance for workers. This law covered only major commercial enterprise workers, miners, railroad employees, internal shipping line employees and tram workers (Arhangelsky 1998:260).

The Russian Federation's social security system is grounded in the Soviet's paternalistic model. This model was first adopted in 1918, after the Revolution, when the new government introduced regulations on social security for workers. This legislation was intended to cover workers against the risk of sickness, injury at work and maternity-related work absence (Agapsov and Degtyarev 2008:61). This was the first major achievement by pre-Soviet Russian social insurance programmes in its path to a social security model that covered all working people who lacked any other income. This was due to the "military communism" of 1918 to 1921 during which industry was controlled by the government and forced labour was introduced. These changes required the implementation of universal social security by the government (Agapsov and Degtyarev 2008:61). The Communist welfare state, commonly known as the USSR by the end of the 1980s, held a paternalistic view of development. Its social security provisions were based on full employment; subsidized prices of consumer goods and services, including housing; public provision of health, educational and cultural services, free or at nominal charge; and employment-related social security benefits with nearly 100 per cent coverage (Cichon and Hagemeyer 1996:167).

The first strong point of the Soviet Union paternalistic model, was its social security interventions, either in the form of cash or of in-kind benefits. The second was its universal public health care system, popularly known as the Semachko model (Solovyev and Karasyov 2013:50). This health care system involved a centralized polyclinic-based system which provided comprehensive primary care programmes. Some of the programmes included free services, universal coverage, active preventive measures and complete medical check-ups, including vaccination and immunization services provided to the whole nation (Agapsov and Degtyarev 2008:60).

A third strong point was the nationwide one-tier pay-as-you-go pension system. This government-operated system provided universal coverage and low retirement ages (55 for women and 60 for men), as set in 1928 (Solovyev and Karasyov 2013:51). It offered a number of privileges such as retirement pension benefits, including length-of-service pensions,

pensions for those who worked in the regions of the Far North or in hazardous and dangerous conditions, or for mothers with five or more children, among others. These benefits are still available under the current pension system (Solovyen and Karasyov 2013:47).

In the Soviet political era, the most remarkable development was the extension of social security coverage that took place in the pension system. In 1922, coverage for workers employed both in the public and the private sector was enacted by law (Cichon and Hagemeyer 1996:167). In 1956, a pension law was introduced which extended further coverage to some categories of collective farms (*kolkhoz*); in 1964, a new law extended pension and other benefits and coverage to all members of *kolkhoz* (Solovyev and Karasyov 2013:53). The Soviet Union pension law of 15 May 1990 unified the system of pension security for all categories of employed people and established the Pension Fund of the USSR, autonomous from the state budget. Due to political transformation, Russia was forced to introduce its pension law on 20 November 1990 and set up the Pension Fund of the Russian Soviet Federation Socialist Republic (RSFSR) in December 1990 (Karasyov and Lublin 2001:140).

Following developments in Central and Eastern European countries, whose pension systems were based on common principles at the beginning of transition reform in the 1990s, the Russian pension model was modified to follow non-contributory periods in the calculation of pensions. As a result, many workers with privileged rights benefited from favourable conditions in terms of the pensionable age and pension calculations. Another important characteristic of the system was that there were no clear demarcation lines between the state budget and budgets of the social security systems (Hirose 2011:3). Since there was no clear demarcation between the budgets, more people benefited.

In 1991 the Russian Federation launched the transition from a centrally planned to an open-market economy. However, the transition was not easy: it was socially divisive. In particular, the gap between the average income of the richest and poorest 10 per cent of the population widened from 4,5 per cent in 1991 to 8 per cent in 1992 and to 15 per cent in 1994 (Rudakova and Kharitonova 2008). The transition posed a number of unforeseen challenges to the national social security system. Some of the main challenges experienced during the transition are the following: delays in the payment of benefits and a decline in coverage were chiefly generated by the national economic crisis, coupled with the deterioration of industrial relations, widespread contribution and tax evasion and non-regulated migration (Hirose

2011:4). In part, the situation was a result of the disintegration of the Soviet health care model and its deteriorating financial situation. Arguably, this can be considered one of the toughest challenges for the Russian Federation. Based on the above mentioned trends, the Soviet-era social security standards dropped significantly below minimum international standards, such as those of the International Labour Organization (ILO) Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention of 1952 (No. 102) (Solovyev and Karasyov 2013:53).

In the early 2000s, the Russian Federation experienced noticeable economic growth. This growth affected social security positively, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Between 2000 and 2011, the federal budget showed a surplus, which enabled the government to repay budget debts to citizens such salaries, pensions and social benefits, and to even to enhance them. Currently, the Federal Government is using this economic growth to allocate significant resources to the introduction of comprehensive measures aimed at improving the general welfare of its citizens (Solovyev and Karasyov 2013:51).

3.5.1 Social security systems

The main purpose for the state social insurance programmes in Russia is to provide guarantees of financial support for workers in case someone is injured at work, in the form of social insurance benefits. The Russian Federation Social Insurance Fund pays various types of benefits, as described by Solovyev and Karasyov (2013:57), as follows:

- ***Temporary/short-term disability benefit:*** This type of insurance pays a percentage of employees' salary for a specified amount of time, if they are ill or injured, and cannot perform their job duties. The Medical and Social Assessment Office reassesses the degree of disability at least once a year. The insurance pays 100 per cent of the insured's average gross earnings from the first day of incapacity until the insured is fully rehabilitated.
- ***Maternity and pregnancy benefit:*** This benefit entitles women to a benefit in the amount set by the relevant laws, upon request, and on the basis of a certificate of incapacity issued in line with required procedure.
- ***Pregnancy registration supplement:*** This refers to money paid to women entitled to a pregnancy and maternity benefit when the pregnancy is registered in the first twelve weeks. It amounts to PUR 1,065 (about US\$ 15.85), with indexation adjustments from 1 January 2011.
- ***Childbirth grant:*** This is a lump sum of PUR 11,703 (about US\$ 180,23), with indexation adjustments from 1 January 2011.

- **Monthly childcare benefit for taking care of a child under 18 months old:** This benefit is paid to the insured or to unemployed parents, and the minimum benefit is PUR 2,194 (about US\$ 33,79) (for the first child) and PUR 4,388.67 (about US\$ 67,51) (for the second and subsequent children), with indexation adjustments. The maximum amount of the benefit for mothers serving in the army on a basis of a contract, as well as for mothers and fathers or other relatives, foster parents looking after a child and dismissed during this period due to the closing of the organisation is PUR 8,777.35 (about US\$ 135,17) from 1 January 2011.
- **Monthly child allowance:** The amount, qualifying conditions, indexation rates and payment procedures are set by national or federal agreements.
- **Foster care grant:** This is paid to a foster or custodial family upon the transfer of a child. It amounts to PUR 11,703.13 (about US\$ 180,23) with indexation adjustments from 1 January 2011.
- **Adoption grant:** Employed persons who adopt a child (or children) are eligible for an adoption grant equal to 100 per cent of the maternity benefit provided for the period of leave (70 calendar days after adoption, or 110 calendar days after a child's birth if two or more children have been adopted).
- **Childcare leave benefit to look after a disabled child:** Parents (including foster or custodial parents) of a child with a disability are entitled to four paid vacation days per month. The benefit can be used by the individual so entitled or shared between several individuals.
- **Funeral grant:** A spouse, close relative, other relatives, legal representative of the deceased or other individual who takes responsibility for the funeral is entitled to a funeral grant in line with the guaranteed services, but not exceeding PUR 4,000 (about US\$ 61.60) with indexation adjustments to the projected inflation rate.

The Russian Federation social security system encompasses a number of mandatory and voluntary pension schemes such as family and maternity programmes, health insurance, unemployment insurance and insurance against injury at work. In addition, the Russian pension benefits are provided through a multi-pillar system, comprising both compulsory and voluntary elements.

3.6 Social security in India

3.6.1 Social security in pre-independent India

The presence of the British in India during the era of the East-India Company changed the Indian economy irrevocably, causing the traditional self-sufficient village economy and agriculture-based village economy to break down totally (Sinha 2013:81). New administrative policies, the development of railways and other communication made commodities and goods manufactured in England easily available in India, undermining the traditional cottage industry in the Indian villages (Maddison 2007:15). India became an open market for British commodities, and a source of raw materials for British factories in England. The workers previously engaged in the cottage industries either had to engage in agricultural activities like farming or remain unemployed. The social security of the farmers and labour in modern India thus came into question during the period from 1765 to 1856 (Kar 2015:18).

During the 19th century, Indian society was greatly affected by Western influence. Accordingly, traditional Indian society change its culture significantly. In place of a joint family and caste system, a new “class-based” society emerged (ISSA 2013:83). The history of the social security of labour or working class in modern India has its roots in the enactment and execution of labour and industrial legislation under British rule, as well as in independent India (Sinha 2013:81).

3.6.2 Overview of social security in independent India

India’s social insurance system evolved erratically and remains uneven and piecemeal. What happens in the formal sector is different from what happens in the informal sector (ISSA 2013:82). Despite a long history of social security regulation, there is no single umbrella coverage for all workers in all sectors. India’s government faces a continuously and rapidly growing population. Planners with limited resources are barely able to cope with over-increasing demands (Sinha 2013:84). The rapid disintegration and reorganisation of the joint family system due to urbanisation is leaving more and more families insecure, vulnerable and devoid of social security (ISSA 2013:82). Government institutions and NGOs now have to work on a sustainable system to build in a community-based network (Kar 2015:17).

The Constitution of India devotes some sections to social security, but it has yet to be recognised as a fundamental human right in the country (Kar 2015:18). At this point, the

Constitution only requires that the state improve the welfare of the people by promoting efficiency and social order, given that social justice, economic and political stability inform all institutions of national life (ISSA 2013:86). It is enshrined in Article 41 of India's Constitution that the state with its limited economic resources should strive to provide the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement (Sinha 2013:83). It is further stipulated in Article 42 that the state should make provision for fairness and create conditions of work that allow maternity relief (ISSA 2013:84). According to Article 47 of the Constitution, the primary duties of the state should be to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health (Constitution of India 1949). These articles show that the Indian Government has an obligation to provide social security to the citizenry.

According to National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) (2007) and Arunachalam (2007:13), out of an estimated work force of about 457 million, about 395 million (86% of workforce), is found in the unorganised sector, and around 28 million (14%) workers are found in the organised sector. Only those in the organised sector have the benefit of formal social security protection. Clearly, the majority of workers are in the unorganised sector. In the past, legislative and programme-oriented measures have been used to address diverse challenges experienced by the workers in the informal sector. These attempts have failed to achieve the desired objectives due to ignorance, illiteracy, the absence of vibrant unions representing workers and lack of resources on the part of the state (Sinha 2013:86). However, some of the programmes have been instrumental in providing a solid foundation and a good setting through which the hopes and aspirations of the workers in the unorganised sector have been considerably aroused (Constitution of India 1949).

3.6.3 Social security in the organised sector

Social security schemes in India cover only a very small segment of the organised work force, which may be defined as workers who have a direct regular employer-employee relationship in an organisation (Government of India 2007). Currently, social security laws in India can be categorised into two broad groups, namely contributory and non-contributory schemes (Sinha 2013:86). The contributory category is contribution-based; both employer and employee contribute an agreed-upon percentage to the scheme (ISSA 2013:85). The non-contributory scheme is fully funded by the state. There are cases where the state contributes towards the scheme. Some of the important contributory schemes include those under the

Employees State Insurance Act, 1948 and the Provident Fund, Pension and Deposit Linked Insurance Schemes framed under the *Employees' Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provident Act, 1948* (cited in Sinha 2013:85). The three main laws relevant to non-contributory schemes are the *Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923*, the *Maternity Benefit Act, 1961* and the *Payment of Gratuity Act, 1972* (cited in Kannan and Vijiyamohanam 2007:17). The most important of these Acts and schemes are discussed in more detail below.

3.6.3.1 *India's Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923*

In India, the *Workmen's Compensation Act* is the oldest social security legislation put in place to address the welfare of workers. This Act covers workers who are employed in 50 different hazardous employment/occupations. At the time it was introduced, there was a wage ceiling, but it has since been removed and the provisions of this Act have now become applicable to all the workers, including casual workers, employed in industries. This Act covers two contingencies, namely disablement or death due to injury at work. A certain amount of money is paid as compensation to the disabled worker or his/her dependants, as the case may be, during both the contingencies. The minimum amount of compensation for death is Rs. 50 000 (about US\$ 734,73), and for permanent total disablement, Rs. 60 000 (about US\$ 881,68) and the maximum for death may go up to Rs. 2,28 million (about US\$ 33,998.80) and for permanent disablement up to Rs. 2,74 million (about US\$ 40,858.30). The Act is administered by the state who is required to appoint commissioners for Workmen's Compensation (Kannan and Vijiyamohanam 2007:17).

3.6.3.2 *Maternity Benefit Act, 1961*

The *Maternity Benefit Act* covers people working in different establishments where ten or more people are employed, such as a plantation, factory, mine and shop. The Act requires female workers to be paid leave not exceeding three months around the birth of a child. They are entitled to full pay during this period. Under this Act, workers are also entitled to pre-natal, confinement and post-natal care free of charge. Any employer who violates this legal provision is liable to pay a medical bonus of Rs. 250 (about US\$ 3,67). In the case of a miscarriage, maternity leave is reduced to a period not exceeding 6 weeks. There is also provision for sick leave for a period not exceeding one month in case of sickness arising out of the pregnancy and/or birth (Government of India 2007:20).

This Act is also based on employer's liabilities. As in the *Workmen's Compensation Act*, the actual implementation of the benefit provisions of this Act also depends largely on the goodwill of the employer. To date, implementation is not satisfactory. Where employers are enlightened or where there are powerful trade unions, the rights of the workers are protected and the compensations are paid in accordance with the law. In all other cases, it is very difficult for female workers to take advantage of the provisions of this Act. Frequently, women are discharged well before the date of the confinement and they are not paid anything till they are fit enough to resume their duties.

3.6.3.3 *Payment of Gratuity Act, 1972*

Extending to the whole of India, the Act applies to factories, mines, oil fields, plantations, ports, railway companies, and to shops and establishments employing ten or more persons. The Act came into force in 1972. Other establishments included by notification are Motor Transport, Clubs, Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Inland Water Transport, Local Bodies and Solicitors' Offices (Prasad 2011:30). This Act provides for payment of money as a gratuity to the employees. Under the Scheme, a gratuity is payable at 15 days' wages for every completed year of service, subject to a monetary ceiling of Rs. 350 000 (about US\$ 5 143,16) (Ruchismita and Churchill 2012:45). In the case of seasonal establishments, a gratuity is payable at seven days' wages. The gratuity is payable in the contingency of superannuation, retirement, resignation, death or disablement due to accident or disease, subject to the completion of five years' continuous service. The condition of five years' service, however, is not applicable in the case of death or disablement (Sinha 2013:89). Like the *Workmen's Compensation Act* and *Maternity Benefit Act*, the *Payment of Gratuity Act* also regulates an employers' liability scheme. In the absence of proper enforcement, many of the provisions of this Act are also visible more in the breach than in the observance. This implies that there is non-compliance by the employers. The financial constraints of small employers also add to the problems in proper enforcement (Kannan and Vijiyamohanan 2007:21).

3.6.3.4 *Employees' State Insurance Scheme*

The *Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948*, covers non-seasonal workers employed in factories with ten or more people. It also applies to non-power using factories and other classified establishments employing 20 or more people for wages. Workers who are paid up

to Rs. 6 500 (about US\$ 98) per month and who are employed in these establishments or factories are covered under the scheme. The scheme covers a number of factories which include over 2.30 lakh factories and establishments, and 86 million workers at 655 centres across 22 states and union territories in the country. Over 34 million people are currently benefiting from the scheme (Government of India 2012:21). Both employers and employees contribute an agreed percentage to the scheme. Employees contribute 1,75 per cent of their wages, and the employers contribute 4,75 per cent of the wages of insurable workers. Workers who are paid wages below Rs. 40 (about US\$ 0.6) per day are not entitled to contribute to the scheme. The governments of the 22 states contribute a minimum of one eighth of the expenditure on medical care in their respective states (ISSA 2013:90).

3.6.3.5 *The Employees' Provident Fund*

The *Employees' Provident Fund Act* was passed in 1952 to provide for the institution of a provident fund for the employees of factories and other establishments. Currently, the scheme applies to over 180 industries or classes of establishments employing 20 or more people (Asher 2003). At present, only about 35 million out of a labour force of about 400 million have access to formal social security in the form of old-age income protection. Out of these 35 million, 26 million workers are members of the Employees' Provident Organisation, which consists of private sector workers, civil servants, military personnel and employees of State Public Sector Undertakings (Shira 2013). Workers covered under the scheme have to draw a salary under Rs. 6 500 (about US\$ 98) per month. The main objective of the scheme is taking care of the workers after their retirement. The scheme provides for the payment of a lump sum from the provident fund, a monthly pension and a deposit-linked insurance (ISSA 2013:90).

The scheme provides for two types of contribution, namely a basic rate of 10 per cent, and a higher rate of 12 per cent of the basic wage/salary. The 10 per cent basic rate is only applicable to five main industries, namely the beedi, brick, jute, coir and guar gum industries. For the rest, it is 12 per cent. From the contribution by the employer, a sum equal to 8,33 per cent of the salary is diverted to the pension fund account, and the balance of the contribution of the employer's and employee's share of the contribution is credited to the provident fund account (Sinha 2013:89).

3.6.3.6 *Family Pension*

The Family Pension scheme was introduced in 1971, to provide a family pension in case of the unforeseen premature death of an employee covered under the Act. The scheme is financed by contributions diverted from a provident fund. Employees contribute about 1,16 per cent of their salary, and the same amount is contributed by the employer. In addition, the central government also contributes 1,16 per cent of the wages of employee to the family pension fund (Government of India 2012:21). A widow or any other dependant is entitled to the benefit of the deceased member. The grant of a family pension is subject to three months membership of the family pension fund. Since the Family Pension Scheme did not provide for people on retirement, superannuation or on death after service, the government introduced a new pension scheme called the Employees' Pension Scheme in 1995 (Sinha 2013:90).

3.6.3.7 *The Employees' Pension Scheme, 1995*

Upon the introduction of the Employees' Pension Scheme in 1995, the erstwhile Family Pension Scheme of 1971 ceased to operate, and all its assets and liabilities were taken over and merged with the new Pension Fund (ISSA 2013:90). The minimum service for eligibility is 10 years, which is required for entitlement to pension. Usually, under this scheme, retirement is paid to someone who has reached 58 years, or alternatively at a proportionately reduced rate on attaining the age of 50 years (Sinha 2013:92). A monthly pension is also provided under the scheme in the contingency of death or total permanent disablement. Under the Employees' Pension Scheme, pensionable salary and pensionable service determine the monthly pension to be paid out. Once a worker has completed 33 years of continuous contributory service, 50 per cent of pay is payable as pension. After this period, the scheme pays a minimum pension of about Rs. 450 (about US\$ 6) per month, and the maximum may go up to Rs. 2 500 (about US\$ 37) per month, payable as a normal pension to members after completing 33 years of service (Kannan and Vijiyamohanam 2007:19).

Based on the above, it can be deduced that there are some challenges or constraints regarding social security legislation in India, for instance, the wage ceiling limit, the threshold limit of employees of the establishment and the schedule of industries restrictions in the *Employees' Provident Fund Act* and the *Maternity Benefit Act*. In the Employees' State Insurance Scheme there is also a wage ceiling limit, as well as a cap on the employee's threshold.

3.6.4 Social security in the unorganised sector

The unorganised sector in India is characterised by scattered and fragmented forms and areas of employment. The problems associated with the nature of employment in the unorganised sector is that it is seasonal, and workers lack job security. Another challenge is the enforcement of legislation on protection as a result of the scattered opportunities and fragmented employment. In addition to these limitations, in the unorganised sector, there are a host of other challenges, such as lack of awareness, high unemployment levels, a perceived mismatch between the training requirements and the training facilities available, low literacy levels, and out-dated social customs, such as child marriage (ISSA 2013). All of these continue to affect the provision of social security. Moreover, wasteful expenditure on ceremonial festivities contribute to indebtedness and bondage. The inability to provide social protection has been exacerbated by the use of primitive production technologies, and feudal production relations are a further impediment which fails to facilitate these workers' access to and assimilation of higher technologies and better production relations.

Currently social security arrangements in India's unorganised sector can be categorised into four groups, namely centrally funded social assistance programmes; social insurance schemes; social assistance through welfare funds provided by the central and individual state governments; and public initiatives.

3.6.4.1 Centrally funded social assistance programmes

The centrally funded social assistance programmes consist of schemes for both rural and urban areas under the National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP), which has three components. These three components are the following: the National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAPS), the National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS) and the National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS) (Sinha 2013).

The National Old Age Pension Scheme provides financial assistance to destitute aged persons with little or no regular means of subsistence from their own source(s) of income. Thus people who do not have financial support from their extended family members or other sources of income are eligible for an old age pension of Rs. 75 (about US\$ 1) per month (ISSA 2013:87).

In the event of unforeseen natural or accidental death of the bread winner, a member of the household who qualifies as below the poverty line and between the age group of 18 to 65

years receives a sum of Rs. 10 000 (about US\$ 151) from the National Family Benefit Scheme (Sinha 2013:89).

Women in households below the poverty line and 19 years of age and above, up to the first two live births, are entitled to cash assistance of Rs. 500 (about US\$ 7) per month under the National Maternity Benefit Scheme (Kannan and Vijiyamohanam 2007:19).

3.6.4.2 Implementation of social security laws

The *Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923*, the *Maternity Benefit Act, 1961*, the *Payment of Gratuity Act, 1972* and the *Minimum Wages Act, 1948*, which were centrally enacted, have proved to be relevant and appropriate social security laws (Kannan and Vijiyamohanam 2007:25). It can be deduced that the state intervened through legislation and administrative action. Proper implementation of these pieces of social security legislation is of great importance in fulfilling the legitimate expectations of workers in the unorganised sector. These Acts are considered anchors of social security, and have laid the foundations for improving the living standards of workers in India's unorganised sector.

3.6.5 Select components of India's social security system

3.6.5.1 The Employees' Provident Fund Organisation (EPFO)

The EPFO was set up under the 1952 *Employees' Provident Fund Organisation Act*. It is an unusual national provident fund in three respects. First, it administers two separate schemes: (i) a defined contribution scheme the Employees' Provident Fund and (ii) a defined benefit scheme, the Employees' Pension Scheme. As the Defined Benefit scheme was carved out of the Defined Contribution scheme in 1995, the Defined Benefit scheme former specifies both the contribution rate and the final benefit (Asher and Bali 2010:406).

The combined contribution rate for all EPFO schemes is 25,7 per cent of members' wages (EPFO 2007). The density of contributions (the ratio of actual to full working life contributions) of EPFO members is not known. By 2009, after being in operation for 57 years, the EPFO scheme covered 0,4 million establishments and had 44 million members, of whom about half (4,4 per cent of the labour force) were active contributors (Asher and Bali 2010:407).

3.6.5.2 *Civil Service Pensions*

The current service pensions at all levels of government require parametric, administrative and record-keeping and governance reforms. Civil servants are beneficiaries of pension schemes, as well as being formulators and implementers.

3.6.6 *Summary of social security in India*

Since 1923, India has enacted several laws governing social security. The Ministry of Labour has identified the following major social security laws currently in use in India:

- the *Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948*;
- the *Employees' Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1952*;
- the *Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923* and *Workmen's Compensation Rules Act, 1924*;
- the *Maternity Benefit Act, 1961*; and
- the *Payment of Gratuity Act, 1972*.

These laws are similar to statutory provisions in other countries. Most of them are derived directly from India's colonial past. Although such laws make perfect sense for developed countries, the same cannot be said about India, especially as the majority of India's economically active population works in the unorganised sector. Most of these laws have not been extended to incorporate the unorganised sector, and even where they are applicable, there is no strict enforcement. However, there are a few exceptions, such as the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA). Social security laws in India thus point to a mismatch between the labour market realities and India's history. In the last two decades, India's efforts to provide social security safety nets have therefore shifted from the formal sector to focus directly on the problems of the informal sector (Sinha 2013:83).

India was traditionally a rural economy. In the absence of formal social security, the country has to rely on extended family support for the provision of social protection to address the needs of the population. The current trend of rural to urban migration and changes in family structures have, however, contributed to a weakening of the informal system of protection in BRICS countries. This is caused by a "Western" lifestyle, especially in urban areas, which includes greater individualism, a decline of the extended family, more partnerships during a lifetime, an increase of the number of divorces, the rise of materialism (Pieters and Schoukens 2012a:4). Changes in traditional family patterns provide a challenge to social security, as the family no longer provides protection against social risks, by taking care of offspring, caring

for older family members, or taking care of incapacitated family members in material or even financial terms (ISSA 2013:87). There is a need to extend social security coverage to address these realities.

In the past decade, the Indian government has initiated several frameworks for both contributory and non-contributory schemes to unravel some of these challenges. The National Old Age Pension Scheme, which is non-contributory and is means-tested, provides benefits to those earning less than US\$ 7 per month. Currently, over 17 million people are covered by the scheme. Several administrative challenges (such as the provision of proof of income and age) mean that the scheme does not reach as many people as it should. As a result, another scheme was introduced, known as the “Annapurna Scheme” to cater for people who are eligible for the National Old Age Pension Scheme, but are not receiving benefits from it. Some schemes provided reduced food prices, free midday meals and village grain banks. The main problems affecting these schemes include administrative problems such as a lack of staff, information and communication technology (ICT) and training, issues of corruption and assessing eligibility (ISSA 2013:90).

A number of new contributory schemes have been introduced which provide coverage for old age, injury at work, death, medical and family benefits. The population covered under such schemes benefit from flat-rate and fixed low contributions. These initiatives have proved to be successful in some parts of the country where they have been piloted, and they can be applied at a wider target group. An example is the Universal Health Insurance Scheme, which has more than 10 million members contributing a premium for basic medical care (Pieters and Schoukens 2012a:4) – the *Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana* was introduced in 2007, to provide health coverage for those living under the poverty line. A Smartcard system is used for beneficiaries under this scheme, showing the importance of supporting information and communications technology (ICT) and administration to ensure effective service delivery. By contrast, voluntary plans providing old-age benefits to people in the informal sector have proved less successful. The take-up rates have been disappointing (Remesh 2010:21).

Prasad (2011:36) states that the Employees Provident Fund Scheme meant for formal sector workers covers more than 50 million people. Nevertheless, despite opening up the scheme in 2009 to all workers on a voluntary basis, take-up has been low. Implementing this scheme proved to be difficult, since there is no employer matching employee contributions. The National Pension Scheme was opened up to all eligible citizens that same year. The plan

involved individuals' opening bank accounts in which defined contributions would be deposited. In order to attract people, charges have been made low. This allows members of the scheme to use part of the accumulated contributions as a flexible savings account. These relatively low cost retirement savings have been successful in attracting workers to join the scheme (Pieters and Schoukens 2012b:36).

The key to significantly increasing national coverage is extending social security coverage to the informal sector. The wider objectives of some policy initiatives have been to move workers from the informal sector to the formal sector by linking employment policies with unemployment insurance. Offering low cost, simplified plans have been found to be a promising approach. Working closely with organisations representing the informal sector and self-employed is considered to be a successful approach – a case in point is the experience of the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) which has proved exemplary, not only in India, but also in other countries.

3.7 Social security in China

In the last decade, China has made use of its current favourable demographic situation, political will and sound financial resources to achieve a significant increase in the social security coverage of its population by introducing and extending various existing social security programmes (ISSA 2013:107). It has succeeded in addressing the challenge of large regional differences in the environment in which social security operates. Rural to urban migration has been restricted significantly. Medical coverage has moved to almost 100 per cent, and old-age benefits have been extended to cover about half of the population (Zhu and Qiu 2013:110).

China adopted a step-by-step approach. Supporting legislation was enacted to realise a truly universal system. To achieve this, China had to move social security from a number of disparate schemes which were confined to a particular group (Lin 2011:15). The implementation of the nationwide social security card system became a requirement in order to reach rural populations and ensure efficient administration and compliance to manage this scheme effectively (ISSA 2013:108). Equally important was central and regional governments' political will to prioritise coverage of the whole population by 2020. Measures such as good governance initiatives, effective communication and financial support were essential for the attainment of these objectives (Lin 2011:18).

Several programmes introduced since 2003 were first tested through pilot programmes to ascertain their effectiveness. The successfulness of this programme has been attributed to this approach (ISSA 2013:111). In 2007, for example, a medical scheme for urban residents was piloted and finally introduced in 2009 (Zhu and Qiu 2013:9). This has enabled the government to be effective and efficient in increasing social security coverage to the majority of the people. During the pilot stage it allowed the government to work on the challenges at a smaller scale and perfect the implementation process before embarking on a larger scale.

The social security system in China can be divided into two broad categories, namely social insurance and social assistance. Examples of social insurance include old-age pensions, unemployment, medical care, injury at work and maternity benefits. Social assistance and social welfare are centred on the old-age pension, health care and tax-financed minimum subsistence guarantee, and supplemented by charitable undertakings and private insurance (Zhu and Qiu 2013:114). A developmental welfare approach, or “developmentalism” has been followed in China, because it attaches great importance to economic development. In addition it strives to integrate welfare policies into a planned national development process (ISSA 2013:108).

In 1951, China initiated the social security system with the promulgation of the Labour Insurance Regulations (amended in 1953, 1958 and 1978) (Adelmen and Sunding 1987). The process can be divided into three stages, as discussed below.

The first stage, from 1951 to 1978 can be considered the labour insurance period in China, because all insurance benefits were introduced, except for unemployment. However, coverage was restricted to the urban state-owned enterprises (SOEs), and individual enterprises had to finance their own welfare programmes (Barr 2003). This was due to a decade of domestic turmoil which disrupted welfare programmes from 1966 to 1976, also known as the Great Cultural Revolution (ISSA 2013:114). The establishment of a community-based health care system (cooperative health insurance) was commended as an excellent achievement in the rural areas during that time. In the mid-1970s, the scheme covered about 90 per cent of the rural population; as a result the scheme was recommended for developing countries (Barr 2003). Unfortunately the scheme failed in the late 1970s, due to the introduction of market-oriented reforms and household responsibility (Zhu 2002:41).

In the second stage, the government initiated social insurance reform programmes in the period from 1978 to 2002. These were contribution-financed and employment based mainly

in urban areas (Lin 2011:20). In 1986, 1995 and 1996, the Chinese government introduced unemployment, maternity and employment injury insurance schemes respectively. Nationwide implementation was a result of major policy decisions made in 1998 and 1999 regarding pension and basic medical insurance for urban employees (Shi 2009:10). In 1998, the self-administered industry pension funds (for coal mining and civil aviation) were integrated into provincial or local pooled or solidarity funds (Lin 2011:23). More effort was made to pilot social insurance in rural communities and to extend insurance from employment-based to residence-based schemes (Shi 2009:11). Vulnerable social groups received a subsidy in the form of government contribution and through the provision of a budget-financed minimum livelihood guarantee system (Shi 2009:11). Both the employer and employees co-financed the urban provident fund for housing which was first piloted in 1991 and finally implemented nationwide in 1999 (Zhu 2009:5).

In the third stage, unified planning for both urban and rural areas and enhanced efforts for coverage were expanded from 2003. Following the principle of “wide coverage, modest benefit, multi-tiered programmes and a sustainable system”, in 2006 the Chinese government took a decision to build a comprehensive social security system covering the entire population by the year 2020 (Zhu and Qiu 2013:116). The expanded social security system focuses on health insurance and basic pensions in addition to a minimum subsistence guarantee system. China’s 12th Five Year National Economic and Social Development Plan (2011–2015) emphasises the concept of inclusive growth (ISSA 2013:120). The plan attempts to address issues of inequality and to create a more conducive environment for sustainable growth. To achieve this growth, there is a need to prioritize equitable wealth distribution, improve social infrastructure, increase domestic consumption and social security programmes (Zhu 2009:5).

3.7.1 Social security systems

Specific systems are discussed below.

Budget-funded pension scheme

Under this scheme, an estimated 40 million people, including about seven million civil servants and over 30 million employees working for various public cultural, educational and scientific institutions, are covered. Military personnel have a similar but independent pension scheme (Zhu and Qiu 2013:120).

Basic pension scheme

This scheme, is mandatory and it covers all kinds of urban enterprises and public institutions that are partly funded by the government budget, or not funded by the government at all. The contribution rate is around 20 per cent of the payroll for employers. These contributions go to the basic pooled fund. The rate is 8 per cent of the payroll for each individual employee, which is credited to the individual's account. There are no universal contribution rates, thus they may vary from one region to another (Lin 2011:18). From this it can be deduced that the basic pension scheme has created inequality amongst the communities, since the payment varies from region to region (ISSA 2013:114).

The government has increased pension benefits continually for enterprise retirees by 10 per cent since 2005, with the aim of narrowing the gap between public institutions that are fully funded via government budgets, and the pensions received by retirees from government departments (Lin 2011:25). As a result, the average monthly pension of urban enterprise retirees increased from CNY 649 (US\$ 102) in 2005 to CNY 1,369 (US\$ 215) in 2010 and CNY 1,531 (US\$ 241) in 2011, an annual increase of 16 per cent, much higher than the consumer price index over the same period (ISSA 2013:112). Reportedly, the five-year (2006-2010) budget support for five social insurance programmes from various levels of government totalled CNY 721.9 billion (US\$ 113 billion), of which 85 per cent came from the central government, representing an average annual growth of 19 per cent since 2005 (Lin 2011:25). In 2011, the central budget transfers earmarked for pension payments in the less developed central and western regions totalled CNY 184.6 billion (US\$ 29 billion), an increase of CNY 28.6 billion (US\$ 4 billion) or more than 18 per cent over the previous year (ISSA 2013:112).

It has been reported that Basic Pension Scheme covered 283.91 million people, including 215.66 million active employees and 41.4 million rural migrant workers by the end of 2011 (ISSA 2013:113). It should be noted that annually the fund accumulates CNY 1,689.5 billion (US\$ 266 million) including CNY 1,395.6 billion (US\$ 2052.58 million) as collected contributions and CNY 227.2 billion (US\$ 219 million) as earmarked subsidies from the budgets of various levels of government; the annual fund expenditures totalled CNY 1,276.5 billion (US\$ 201 billion) and the aggregate fund accumulations over the years had reached CNY 1,949.7 billion (US\$ 307 billion) by 2011 (ISSA 2013:113).

3.7.1.1 *Voluntary Rural Pension Scheme*

The Chinese government decided to pilot a new Voluntary Rural Pension Scheme in June 2009. The scheme was to be implemented gradually (Zhu and Qiu 2013:119). It only covers 10 per cent of counties in 2009 and is later to extend coverage to all rural areas by 2020. This is part of an effort to bridge rural-urban differences and stimulate domestic consumption in the context of the global economic and financial crisis (ISSA 2013:113).

Before the introduction of the new rural pension scheme, there was one voluntary pension scheme which was piloted and implemented in 1991. Its membership has not grown since the late 1990s, due to its reliance on personal contributions and the absence of supporting legislation from the government (Zhu and Qiu 2013:118). By the end of 2008, a total of 56 million people benefited in the old rural pension scheme, which was administered separately by county- level rural social insurance organisations (ISSA 2013:120). The new scheme consists of a government- financed basic pension and individual account extends coverage to all residents above 16 years who have not yet participated in the urban basic pensions scheme (Lin 2011:22).

Under the new rural pension scheme, a total of 85.25 million pension beneficiaries and 326.43 million people were already covered by the scheme by the end of 2011. The annual fund revenues totalled CNY 107 billion (US\$ 16 billion), including CNY 41.5 billion (US\$ 6 billion) in individual contributions, and the expenditure totalled CNY 58.8 billion (US\$ 9 billion) (Lin 2011:24). The accumulation over the years had reached CNY 119.9 billion (US\$ 18 billion). The Chinese government decided to increase the speed of extension in June 2011 to cover 60 per cent of the rural community by the end of 2020 (ISSA 2013:114).

3.7.1.2 *Voluntary Urban Pension Scheme*

The Chinese Premier proclaimed a new pension insurance programme to be piloted in June 2011. This scheme is meant for unemployed urban residents and it was implemented in July 2011 (ISSA 2013:118). There was no universal payment and it differs from region to region. Both rural residents and the non-employed can choose from one of the six scales (CNY 100, 300, 600, 900, 1.200 and 1.500) as their contributions to their individual accounts annually, as was the case in Hangzhou City (ISSA 2013:119). Upon reaching the retirement age of 60, an insured individual receives both the pension benefit from his/her individual account accumulation and a monthly basic social pension of no less than CNY 55 (US\$ 8), which is

fully funded by the government budget and adjusted according to economic development and price changes (ISSA 2013:120).

3.7.1.3 Minimum Subsistence Income Guarantee Scheme

This scheme was first introduced in Shanghai in 1993. It is a budget-funded and means-tested scheme. It was implemented in all the cities in 1997 and covered the entire population in 2007 (Lin 2011:23). Under the scheme, a total of 22.77 million urban residents and 53.06 million rural residents were covered in 2011, with expenditure totalling CNY 65.99 billion (US\$ 10 billion) (including 75.3 per cent as central government subsidy) respectively. In 2011, the average per capita urban minimum income guarantee benefit standard stood at CNY 287.6 per month (US\$ 45), with each beneficiary receiving CNY 240.3 per month (US\$ 37) (as a difference between the standard and actual per capita income), compared with the rural figures of CNY 143.2 (US\$ 22) and CNY 106.1 (US\$ 16) respectively (ISSA 2013:116).

3.7.1.4 Health care

The Chinese government also introduced four kinds of health care scheme. According to Shi (2009:36) the first is the Urban Employees Basic Medical Insurance Scheme (UEBMIS), the key purpose of which is to cover all employees in urban areas working in government organisations, social groups, enterprises and non-profit organisations. The second is the Urban Residents Basic Medical Insurance Scheme (URBMIS), which is meant to protect people who are not working, like the elderly and the children, and who receive government subsidies (Shi 2009:37). The third is the New Rural Cooperative Medical Scheme (NRCMS) which covers all rural residents and receives government subsidies (ISSA 2013:119). The fourth scheme targets needy people in both urban and rural areas; this is a budget-funded medical assistance programme (Shi 2009:40).

3.7.2 Summary of social security in China

It can be deduced that the Chinese Government took a decision to integrate social security policies to accelerate service delivery. This has enabled the extension of social security coverage from urban to rural areas, from people who are employed in the formal sector to people engaged in flexible types of employment, from state-owned enterprises to all types of establishments and non-employed urban and rural residents. The medical assistance programme and non-contributory social assistance programmes, including the minimum

subsistence guarantee programme, were already implemented nationwide at the end of 2011. Medical insurance programmes cover over 95 per cent and pension programmes cover about 50 per cent (ISSA 2013:130).

3.8 Social security challenges in BRIC

The dramatic transformation of the BRIC countries in the global economy reflects the significant role of these countries in terms of their economic, social and demographic environment. The changes have created a number of opportunities, but at the same time, they have posed some challenges for social security to adapt constantly to the dynamic situation in which these countries operate. Several initiatives to extend social security coverage have already been undertaken, and these countries' experiences can be used as a foundation to build on. The success story of expanding coverage mentioned in this research can be exploited. However, the BRIC countries have several challenges in common. This section analyses the various challenges for social security in the BRIC countries. They are administrative and institutional, or relate to sustainability, coverage of all working population and demographic issues. These challenges are discussed in more detail below.

3.8.1 Administrative issues

Expanding coverage to the poor and adopting several innovative measures in Brazil can be regarded as a success story, but there are still many challenges to overcome. A number of ministries are responsible for the implementation of social security, namely the Ministries of Social Security, Health, Social Development and Labour. This implies that the institutions responsible for granting and monitoring the payment of benefits or promoting the provision of services are found in different ministries. Moreover, the local level is represented by municipalities, the regional level by member states, and the federal level by central government. It can be deduced that social security policy-making in Brazil is still fragmented. In order to address these challenges, a more integrated approach is required to improve efficiency and expand services to an increasingly urban, ageing and heterogeneous society (Matijascic and Kay 2013:45).

The Russian Federation Government has adopted several measures, ranging from financial to administrative and other innovations, aimed at upgrading living standards since 2000. These measures were taken to bring an end to the Soviet legacy of numerous privileges (*Russian Igoty*) (Government of the Russian Federation 2010). Some of these benefits included in-kind

benefits and services such as free rail and inter-urban transport to places of rehabilitation and spa resorts and some medicines. However, these measures were not supported either financially or logistically. The Russian Federation Government adopted the *Federal Law No. 122-FZ* (Government of the Russian Federation 2004) as a way of monetization of such benefits (Solovyev and Karasyov 2013:56). The government embarked on initiatives to replace Soviet-era privileged benefits with cash compensation in 2005. This law requires further amendment, according to legal experts and public opinion (Agaptsov and Degtyarev 2008:62). Nonetheless, a few specific groups such as Second War veterans who were unable to enjoy certain benefits and privileges have argued that receiving financial compensation was an improvement (Solovyev and Karasyov 2013:58). This disintegration of benefits is a challenge in the implementation of a universal social security system (ISSA 2013:55).

The implementation of any programme in India faces challenges at different levels. The first implementation barrier arises at the legislative level: any new legislation is tested first in Parliament itself and then in the courts at the local and national levels (Government of India 2001). For example, the government of India in 2003 established the Pension Fund Regulatory and Development Authority (PERDA). Even before the introduction of the Pension Fund Regulatory and Development Authority, there were disagreements between different government authorities such as the newly formed Insurance Regulation Development Authority (IRDA) and the Central Bank (Reserve Bank of India) among others, as to who should regulate the pension funds. Regional authorities could hardly agree to where to locate the proposed Pension Fund Regulatory and Development Authority (Sinha 2013:98).

Another example of the Indian system is the Employees' Provident Fund Organisation (EPFO), which faces some administrative challenges. The decision by government to restrict EPFO to invest only in government bonds, with a guaranteed minimum rate of return, failed to yield the intended results (Sinha 2013:82). For example, between 1990 and 1999, EPFO declared yields of 12 per cent each year, but yields declined between 2000 and 2005, even though they were consistently above the long-term bond rate in which it had invested the money. As a result, the central government was forced to put extra money into the coffers of the EPFO under the guaranteed minimum rate of return arrangement (Ruchismita and Churchill 2012:46). For the most recent financial year for which figures are available, 2010 – 2011, the Board again declared a yield of 9,5 per cent, while the best-performing fund yielded 8,72 per cent. The Ministry of Finance protested, but to no avail: the EPFO Board declared that this yield was on the basis of a one-time-only surplus. In an effort to address the problem,

the government proposed a set of changes to the rules that would eliminate the guarantee of a minimum rate of return. Some of the partners in the coalition government are dissatisfied with this proposal (ISSA 2013:94). Therefore, based on the above discussion, it can be deduced that government should provide enabling regulation for social security policy implementation rather than guarantees.

To date, little is known about how the Chinese social security agencies have addressed key implementation challenges, despite the rapid expansion of social security coverage along the way. From 1999, the Provincial Governments have been authorized by the Provisional Regulations to collect social insurance contributions. It enabled them to decide whether social insurance contributions should be collected by a local social insurance agency (whose administrative expenses are also covered by the government budget) or by the tax authorities. This has resulted in the collection of contributions by both social insurance agencies and tax authorities, which amounted to 51.3 per cent and 18.1 per cent respectively; in other areas the task was carried out by both agencies in 2011 (Hu 2011:17). This discrepancy in the collection process made it impossible for the government to obtain correct data about social security contributions. Therefore, it is important for the government to state clearly what the jurisdictional areas for social security agencies and tax authorities are, to avoid confusion (Lin 2011:20).

Another challenge in China is the issue of ICT, which is an important element used to enhance efficiency, guaranteeing the safety of social insurance funds and extending social security coverage (ISSA 2013:89). The integration of resources has been affected by scattered construction and non-unified standards of the grass root information system. Statistics show that in 2008, an average of only CNY 29,000 (about US\$ 4,645.79) was spent on Information and Communication Technology by each social insurance agency (provincial, municipal and country levels) with only CNY 18,100 (about US\$ 2,899.62) at the country level (Zhu and Qiu 2013:121) and nationwide, there was an average of only 1,14 Information and Communication Technology personnel for each social insurance agency, with 3,13 on average for provincial level agencies (Xu 2010:31).

In the emergence of different information systems and different schemes, as well as competition for insurance resources, there has been a common problem of double health insurance coverage for certain groups, such as rural enterprise workers, rural migrant workers, and rural students studying in urban areas. Some newspapers reported in 2010 (see for

example, the *Beijing Times*, 2010 cited in Lin 2011:33) that this percentage was as high as 10 per cent, which would mean that the government would have to spend an extra CNY 12 billion (about US\$ 1 billion) that year in double subsidy for urban and rural residents' health insurance, based on the per capita subsidy of CNY 120 (about US\$ 19.22) (Lin 2011:33). The promulgation of policies banning double coverage of any person for the same social security branch as well as the use of modern social security card system based on personal identity numbers have been used to curb the challenge of double payment (Xu 2010:32).

3.8.2 Implementation and organisational issues

The BRIC countries face challenges of implementation and organisational issues relating to social security.

In Brazil, for example, the Constitution of 1988 stipulates that social security should be integrated, but the policy implementation process has been fragmented. This situation has a negative impact on the social security system; it generates managerial problems, reduced efficiency and higher administrative costs. This outcome is the result of vested and conflicting interests – the respective services are conducted independently, and the ordinary legislation to regulate health care, unemployment insurance, pensions and social assistance were approved separately (Matijascic and Kay 2013:34). One result is that the social security policy is not given priority by the government. It is important for a government to coordinate all relevant stakeholders properly for effective policy implementation of social security at all levels of government.

Since the 1990s, there has been increasing fragmentation of the Brazilian social security institutional structure, particularly at the cabinet level (ministers with different portfolios). The large number of institutions involved in the provision of social security in Brazil create a number of challenges. Pensions (INSS), unemployment insurance (SINE/PAT) and the conditional cash transfer (*Bolsa Familia*), coordinated by the Ministry of Social Development with agreements at the local level, are all distinct institutions that act independently (Matijascic and Kay 2006:21). This system is inefficient and costly, since it requires hiring more people for the different branches at the regional and local level, generating poor results with limited financial resources. The scope and scale of the administrative operation are some of the problems requiring attention. The complexity of the situation is confusing, given that the Continuous Cash Benefit is managed by the INSS, despite being a social assistance benefit regulated by the Ministry of Social Development (Matijascic and Kay 2008:40).

Matijascic and Kay (2008:69) emphasise that there would be no problem if a single institution was involved with different ministries. Their observation shows that the institutional and managerial logic are at times *ad hoc*. It is difficult for those in the poorest regions to gain access to benefits. It also imposes limits on coverage for major portions of the territory due to its fragmented nature. The main problem of the fragmentation to society is that citizens cannot determine clearly what the most appropriate source of benefits is. For example, there is a large difference between the INSS and *System Unico de Saude* (SUS) (Unified Health System) in Brazil (Matijascic and Kay 2013:32). Most benefits granted by the INSS involve insurance against illness or disability, which requires medical evaluation. Before granting benefits, a physician involved with *System Unico de Saude* first has to make a recommendation, which should be approved by the physician from the INSS (ISSA 2013:56). In this case, the physician from the INSS does not require more evidence to prevent fraud. Rather, the INSS physician is obliged to ask the individual's physician to provide additional evidence, making the process slow and expensive. If the physician consulted acts unethically, there is no sanction. This situation reduces efficiency, which, in turn, may generate problems for those with urgent need and legitimate claims (Matijascic and Kay 2013:40).

The process of social security reform also requires a closer look at how Brazil has implemented its social security schemes. In the 1990s individual accounts for pension and health care were implemented regionally (Matijascic and Kay 2006:30). The social security reforms implemented by Brazil differed significantly from those of its neighbouring countries, in that it focused on universal benefit coverage and parametric reforms in the Pay-As-You-Go (PAYG) public pension system (Matijascic and Kay 2013:37).

In the 1970s, a "hospital-centric" approach prevailed, which precipitated corruption in contracting out (Matijascic and Kay 2006:29). As a result all actions in health care were slanted toward enlarging coverage and adopting preventive measures against corruption. All those who did not contribute regularly were covered through social assistance (Matijascic and Kay 2006:30). During times of economic slowdown in the midst of high inequality the citizens received protection in the form of social assistance (Matijascic and Kay 2006:30). As indicated earlier, the 1988 Constitution has been the foundation for all policies in recent years. It has managed to shape and influence a range of social protection strategies. The process of social security reform has required more money in order to amend the Constitution (ISSA 2013:36).

Based on current debates in Brazil, it can be concluded that the immediate policy challenges of improving equity and efficiency need to be achieved via constitutional reform in the longer term; in the shorter term it can be achieved by adopting administrative reform and through improved regulatory and managerial performance (Matijascic and Kay 2013:41).

Fiscal policies involving social security in Brazil are characterised by their own share of contradictions and legal problems. Philanthropic institutions in Brazil are exempted from tax and this exemption also applied to payroll taxes (ISSA 2013:55). Tax exemption is a widespread international practice in this situation, but it is contradictory to extend it to social contributions, since these are not meant for redistribution. This exemption is questionable since there is no compensation in INSS accounts, and the reduction (equivalent to 0,6 per cent of GDP) represent more than 40 per cent of the INSS cash flow deficit or almost 85 per cent of the *Programa Bolsa Familia* budget (Matijascic and Kay 2013:40).

There is no doubt that the process of legislative and administrative reform at the regional level should be accelerated. However, these reforms should be conducted in a transparent way and must be implemented in a manner that minimizes both risks and administrative costs. This does not mean that many additional constitutional reforms are not required, but much could be done through legislation (Matijascic and Kay 2013:40).

The Russian Federation is affected by implementation and organisational issues. Under the national health care system, important innovations have been introduced. A single compulsory health insurance framework for all regions was created with the implementation of the *Law on Compulsory Medical Insurance (No. 326-FZ)* in 2011 (Government of the Russian Federation 2011). In line with this Act, all health insurance allocations are to be distributed so as to have a per capita minimum for every citizen in all regions (Government of the Russian Federation 2011). This has changed the funding principle, so that a service rather than a medical institution is financed. The implementation of this Act allowed individuals to choose which medical insurance organisation, medical clinic or doctor they want to associate with, which had never happened before (Government of the Russian Federation 2011).

In January 2012, the *Law on the Fundamentals of Health Protection in the Russian Federation (No. 323-FZ)* was introduced. The key purpose of the Act was to further improve the quality and affordability of medical services. Its mandate was to develop the scientific foundations of health care, reduce the shortage of medical personnel across the country and decrease the

mortality rate (Hirose 2011:55). In addition, the Act clearly stipulates state guarantees for free health care provision for the whole country. For the first time, the scheme requires that medical rehabilitation and palliative care be provided free of charge, and it also categorises all services into public and private services. The Act stipulates uniform standards, and all citizens are entitled to quality medical care as prescribed by the Law (Government of the Russian Federation 2011).

The Russian Federation has shown some improvements in modernizing the health care system and improving the quality of services in the last few years. Specific attention has so far been focused on the prevention of cardiovascular mortality, cancer mortality and traffic-related deaths (Solovyev and Karasyov 2013:52). The government invested large sums of money in the Health Department to develop pregnancy assistance centres, health centres and high-tech medical centres (Government of the Russian Federation 2010).

India also faces the challenges of implementation and organisational issues. It has been mentioned that corruption in India is high (Kanna and Vijiyamohanam 2007:30). For instance, under the *Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana* health care scheme, it had been noted that private providers encourage people to stay in hospital longer even though they do not need to. Both providers and patients benefit from this “win-win” situation, in the sense that providers get their schedule fees, and the patients stay in relative luxury in hospital (Ruchismita and Churchill 2012:51). However, this did not help the government and it was a classic case of unethical collusion between providers and patients (Ramesh 2010:25).

The Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) is another case of concern in India. A study conducted by the Planning Commission in (2005) found five main challenges. The first was that the Targeted Public Distribution System was confronted by targeting errors during implementation. There are a lot of “ghost cards” (in some cases the cardholder cannot be identified or has died) and unidentified households. The second challenge is that the scheme only covers 57 per cent of households below the poverty line. The third is that the low annual turnover of the fair price shops is usually not viable. There is a high prevalence of theft of the food grain received, and this grain is later sold at a high price in the market by the fair price shops. This is the only way they can remain in business. The fourth challenge is that it is estimated that 21 per cent of the food reaches households above the poverty line – they are not entitled to this benefit. Moreover, about 36 per cent of the budgetary subsidies on food are siphoned off the supply chain. The fifth challenge is that this makes the cost of income

transfer through the Targeted Public Distribution System expensive compared to other schemes meant to benefit the poor (Ramesh 2010:25). Based on the above discussion, it can be deduced that corruption and maladministration is a complex phenomenon. Its roots lie deep in bureaucratic and political institutions, and its effect on development varies with country conditions. Corruption affects the public trust and corrodes social capital. Therefore, it is important for governments to adopt a policy of zero tolerance to corruption and maladministration. This will enable governments to be transparent and accountable to the public, which results in efficiency in implementing social security policies.

It was six years after the study was published and tabled before the Indian Parliament began to implement the recommendations to identify the ghost cards (Kar 2015:22). There are approximately over 20 million ghost cards, and over 15 million people living below the poverty line who are not benefiting from the scheme intended for them. A new *Food Security Bill* was tabled in the Monsoon Session of the Indian Parliament in 2011 (Sinha 2013:82). The Bill was meant to unravel some of these challenges. Regrettably, this was not the case, due to a new corruption scandal which erupted and overshadowed all other agenda items. The scandal involved the allocation of a telephone auction, a scam worth nearly 5 per cent of the GDP (Ruchismita and Churchill 2012:78). This affected the tabling of the *Food Security Bill*, which was supposed to deal with these challenges. This implies that nothing was done to combat corruption.

The implementation challenges in India are also found in the implementation of the Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme (IGNOAPS). Beneficiaries are required to open an account, as the scheme states that payments should be made into the account of the beneficiary, whether through the post office, a postal money order, savings bank or commercial bank. However, the majority of the village population in India do not have bank accounts, nor are there any banks nearby. The money order option was not available when the scheme started, which made it difficult for many beneficiaries to receive their payments in many states of India (ISSA 2013:89). It can be deduced that in a country like India, it might continue to be a challenge to make programmes operate smoothly, efficiently and without problems, especially because democracy collides with corruption and poverty overwhelms everything else.

In the last few years, China has shown some improvements in tackling institutional fragmentation, which is still evident in the lack of portability and of coordination among

different schemes covering the same or multiple social security branches (Lin 2011:41). Officials working in national government, provincial and local municipality social insurance agencies are professionally guided by a higher level of authority, but are appointed by their own level of government, and this determines the normal administrative structure of social security in China (Shi 2009:27). Moreover, this has enabled some provincial and municipal social insurance agencies (such as in Tianjin) to also implement pilot projects on management structures with the view that the provincial/municipal social insurance agency directly appoints the staff at different levels, administers all funds and collect all contributions in an integrated way (Shi 2009:28). A provincial structure has already been established in terms of basic old age insurance management in some regions, such as the provinces of Shaanxi, Heilongjiang and Jilin (Lin 2011:42). Such initiatives are important and welcomed in the wake of the much-anticipated national pooling of the basic pension fund. This may eventually lead to a structured national social insurance administration in the years to come (ISSA 2013:99).

In China, the Ministry of Health is in charge of the rural health insurance scheme and the other schemes are under the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security (MOHRSS), which it manages via social insurance agencies (Lin 2011:23). In some places, such as Ninxia, Wenzhou and Kunming, the management functions for rural health insurance have been transferred to social insurance agencies to improve efficiency and provide integrated services (Shi 2009:32). The functions of the medical assistance programmes and the New Rural Cooperative Medical Scheme (formerly managed by the health and civil affairs authorities) in Hangzhou city were transferred in January 2011 to the Municipal Medical care programmes in line with the principle of the same treatment for people in the same city (Lin 2011:25). The establishment of the so called “five-ones” (one promotion board, one information network, one-stop service, one display screen and one social security card) provided by the Centre have greatly relieved the medical burdens of the municipal residents (Wang 2011, cited in ISSA 2013:127). This made access to the scheme easy and it improved efficiency.

3.8.3 Sustainability

The BRIC countries face sustainability issues. In Brazil, for instance, the reform efforts that started in 1993, although important, have been inadequate, in view of actuarial shortfalls that could have negative impact on macroeconomic consequences in future. In addition, the increasing expenditure on pensions for public servants and growing INSS cash flow deficits

have brought on a fiscal crisis which has led to less spending on investment and more money being directed towards benefits (Matijascic and Kay 2013:21). The financial shortfalls are as a result of the generous rules guiding benefits contribution. Giambiagi and Tafner (2011, cited in ISSA 2013:37) argue that the long duration and relatively high value of pensions as a result of lengthy contributions are expensive. Social policies guiding non-contributory pensions are relatively ineffective, which leads to high payroll taxes, which in turn act as a motivation for workers to join the informal sector. Therefore, reforms are necessary to contain costs, which could rise to reach 10 per cent of GDP, assuming moderate economic growth and a continued rise in the real value of the minimum wage. Unless reforms are implemented (Giambiagi and Tafner 2011, cited in ISSA 2013:38) point out that acceleration in growth will lead to worsening deficits. The proposed reform projects that expenditures will fall to 6,9 per cent of GDP, assuming 3 per cent annual GDP growth, or to 5,6 per cent of GDP with an annual GDP growth of 4 per cent. On similar assumptions, the INSS forecasts that by 2020 expenses will equal 6,3 per cent of GDP, with a projected deficit of 0,93 per cent and 3,5 per cent average annual real GDP growth.

The constitutional reforms that were initiated in Brazil from 1993 to 1994 have resulted in the government's diverting more than 20 per cent of the social security budget to other expenditures (Matijascic and Kay 2008:56). Those who do not support this initiative argue that this is not in line with the Constitution of 1988. They strongly believe that if all revenues had been allocated to social security, they would have exceeded benefits and there would be a surplus (Baer 2008; Matijascic and Kay 2006:29). In summary, based on the above discussion, the INSS cannot be held liable for the growing deficit. The Constitution of 1988 settled the matter by stipulating that social security should have its own budget and made it irrelevant in calculating an INSS deficit. If social security's resources had not been not diverted, there would be a surplus of about 2,2 per cent of GDP and the financial debate would be unnecessary. Therefore, the government is encouraged to follow the Constitution and not to divert the social security budget to other expenditures. This would give the INSS to have enough to cater for social security issues.

Although progress has been made in Brazil in extending social security coverage, key challenges still remain. Some employees contribute on a regular basis, but about 50 per cent of the working population (which includes domestic workers, rural employees and employees in the unorganised sector) normally do not. This means that only 50 per cent of the workers are contributing to the scheme, which overburdens the scheme (Matijascic and Kay 2013:34).

Furthermore, many workers change work, shifting between the organised and unorganised sector of employment, and normally they have a long work periods in their work histories where they are not covered. It is common for low-income workers and women to work in very dangerous conditions. The Constitution of 1988 made special financing arrangements meant to compensate for workers' differing abilities to contribute by redistributing funds collected by levies on a broader revenue base. The funding model for social security and health welfare reflects this mix of contribution-based and universal benefits.

There is universal social security coverage for old age in Brazil. However, the coverage rate for workers and their dependents is less than 60 per cent, meaning that there is still risk. If the funding model is not changed, the system will continue to rely on resources that cannot be financed by normal contributions as a pure social insurance system. Those benefiting from the current scheme, like the legislative and the judiciary, would resist any effort to cut on benefits. The legislature and the judiciary systems allow for the provision of high benefit levels and allow pensioners to continue earning wages while receiving benefits (Matijascic and Kay 2013:34). It is important to reform these systems in order to improve equity. However, the key challenge is to determine how to expand existing policies. The benefit floor for pensions and conditional cash transfer programmes such as the *Programa Bolsa Familia* are set at the value of the minimum wage. The challenge is how to maintain this virtuous cycle. It is not possible to have an exact picture of state intervention and determine its impact, based on income distribution via taxes, without conceding state transfers via social services, in particular for health and education.

Brazil has achieved many successes in terms of improving the implementation of social security. Nonetheless, the successes are mainly confined to basic protection involving income transfers or social security (World Population Statistics 2014; ISSA 2013:26). Over 70 per cent of Brazilian families still have inadequate income to maintain their basic needs due to the intricacies involved with an ageing and wealthier society. It can be deduced that it is difficult for the country to accomplish its potential universal coverage without further and more extensive reforms to reduce inequalities.

The adequacy of benefits and pensions introduced by the Russian Federation to ensure financial sustainability of the social security system have been affected by shrinking production, tax and social contribution evasion, and the inflation rate. The employment-to-

population ratio has been adversely affected by unfavourable demographic trends, coupled with uncontrolled immigration (ISSA 2013:68).

The Russian Federation government implemented anti-crisis measures that have been further developed by an action plan and then subsequently by the national anti-crisis programmes for 2009 and 2010 in order to deal with the global financial and economic crisis of 2008 (ISSA 2010:62). The federal government came up with an additional budget of PUR 43.7 billion (about US\$ 672 million) to stabilize employment. To be specific, the maximum unemployment benefits went up by 50 per cent since early 2009. In order to create temporary jobs, combat mass layoffs and organise internal labour migration to fill vacancies in some regions lacking qualified specialists, the Russian Federation territories introduced 82 regional programmes. This initiative was a measure to improve vocational training (Golikova 2011:78).

The Russian Federation government introduced a mechanism to improve the demographic situation (Solovyev and Karasyov 2013:55). Maintaining the positive trends seen so far has been the key objective of the national demographic policy to alleviate the demographic crisis and to establish a sounder legal, organisational and financial basis. In order to improve the demographic situation in the country, a key role in this activity should be given to social protection intervention strategies. In 2006, the President proposed a “birth-encouraging” programme, whose foundation was the government family support grant entitled Maternity Family Capital. This programme is administered by the Pension Fund of the Russian Federation. From 1 January 2007, the benefit was paid to families with a second child (or subsequent children if the benefit was not received for the second child). Annually indexed, these benefits have been rising from PUR 250 000 (about US\$ 3,850) in 2007 to PUR 387 640 (about US\$ 5,696.66) in 2012. Currently, over 2 million Russian families have benefited from maternity capital, and more than 300 000 families have used it to improve housing (ISSA 2013:68).

The Policy Implementation Plan for 2011 to 2015 included measures aimed at responding to the unfavourable demographic trends projected for the next five years. These include a significant decrease by 2 million in women of active childbearing aged between 20 and 29, and an increase in the number of retired people (especially aged 80 or older). The key objective of the plan was to reduce the mortality rate, mainly of the working age population, and to substantially improve overall reproductive health (ISSA 2013:69).

India faces many challenges of sustainability of the various schemes provided by the government. One major challenge is risk management. The Yeshasvini health micro-insurance scheme, for example, had three million beneficiaries at the end of 2012, but it had no risk provider (Kar 2015:23). Investment management is another challenge. In spite of the increasing attractiveness of some schemes, the financial burden imposed on the government as a result of the need to maintain fund returns at relatively high fixed rates may require significant financial expertise and constitute a financing challenge for the government (Sinha 2013:83). India's fiscal deficit is already higher than 10 per cent of its GDP. Its domestic debt to GDP ratio, at 80 per cent, is higher than the 60 per cent considered fiscally sustainable (Sinha 2013:83). Claim management is another challenge: with a claim ratio of 157 per cent, for example, the Yeshasvini scheme risks bankruptcy, unless there is improvement in the management of the scheme (Ruchismita and Churchill 2012:51). A fourth issue is scaling – there are problems of improving small-scale or regional programmes to the national level. Up-scaling requires good governance via proper public-private partnerships and Information and Communication Technology support, systematic integration of fragmented schemes and government financial commitment (Sinha 2013:84). A fifth issue is replicability; here the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) can serve as an example of a reliable scheme (ISSA 2013:102).

The SEWA scheme has all the characteristics of a good social insurance plan: (i) it is administered by the stakeholders themselves; (ii) it has successfully been scaled up; (iii) government involvement has been limited to providing the legal framework and a certain amount of subsidy (ISSA 2013:102). It is not clear whether the SEWA model can be applied and be sustainable in other contexts. The success of SEWA is based on a number of factors: Ela Bhatt, the president of SEWA, had good leadership qualities and was an experienced labour lawyer; she was able to introduce the payment of a minimum wage to members and steer the organisation through many challenges (Venkatesh 2005:112). As a result, members of the SEWA organisation are motivated and defend their working rights in a way not seen in other organisations. Because of Ela Bhatt's standing and good character, the central level of government gave her a sympathetic ear. This enabled the organisation to be recognised under the trade union charter as an organisation representing the interests of their members in the unorganised sector (Venkatesh 2005:112). The SEWA organisation was able to offer insurance to its members and the president's networks were influential in getting banks to support the organisation (Venkatesh 2005:112). Based on the above it can be deduced that the

SEWA organisation can be considered as a model of good governance in India. However, it remains to be seen whether the model can be copied successfully by another organisation in India or another BRIC country.

The first of a multitude of sustainability challenges that confront the Chinese social insurance system is the large amount of funded basic pension liability, estimated by the former Minister of Labour and Social Security in 2005 to be as much as CNY 6 trillion (about US\$ 961 billion) over the next 30 years (ISSA 2013:128). There are a number of factors that caused this problem: (i) the rapid ageing of the population, (ii) the distribution of the system, and (iii) the subsequent transition towards a partly funded system without government funding for the middle aged and those already in retirement. As a result, it became difficult for the current economically active generation, because they are required to pay a very high contribution rate to take care of the retired generation, while they still need to save for their own pensions (Zhu and Qiu 2013:122). Individual pension accounts in some places, although they are founded on the principle of a funded contribution scheme, largely remain empty because almost all revenues have been spent to fulfil current pension obligations. According to a newspaper report in the *Guangzhou Daily* (2012, cited in ISSA 2013:128), of the CNY 1,9 trillion (about US\$ 304 billion) total individual account value nationwide, only CNY 203,9 billion (about US\$ 32 billion) had been recapitalized by the end of 2010, representing a funding gap of CNY 1,7 trillion (about US\$ 272 billion). A World Bank report estimated the Chinese pension fund gap between 2001 and 2075 to be as high as CNY 9,15 trillion (about US\$ 1,456 million) (Zhu and Qiu 2013:124). The Chinese pension system requires a second round of reforms following the failure in Liaoning Province to recapitalize the first 10 year pilot programme (ISSA 2013:128).

The disintegration of social insurance schemes in China is a second challenge regarding sustainability. This fragmentation relates, firstly, to the public and non-public nature of establishments and demarcated administrative areas of jurisdiction, which tend to result in limited pooling of risk. It also relates to rural and urban households registers, limited redistributive impact and high administrative costs, as well as barriers which prevent people from moving from one place to another and between different schemes (Zhu and Qiu 2013:128). The increasingly heavy financial burden on local governments due to welfare competition between different localities to extend coverage and improve benefit adequacy via excessively high government subsidies is another rising problem for sustainability (ISSA 2010).

Moral hazard and adverse selection in voluntary schemes pose the third challenge for sustainability in China. Examples of such schemes include the new rural and cooperative medical schemes and the urban residents' pension and health insurance schemes (Zhu and Qiu 2013:129).

The other challenge for sustainability is centred on the need to formulate effective measures that guarantee the maintenance and increase of the value of the contributory social insurance funds (Lin 201:36).

Although there have been some achievements, the Chinese social security system is still experiencing some challenges. Some of the notable challenges revolve around issues of upgrading levels of pooling, strengthening grass-roots service networks, integrating fragmented schemes and enhancing the adequacy of social insurance benefits (Shi 2009:21). The Chinese social security system also has to resolve the issue of long-term sustainability in the context of the ageing population, extending social security coverage to the entire population, urbanization and the need to diversify employment patterns (Lin 2011:35). Disability, survivor and family benefits, and long-term care programmes have not yet been developed to the required capacity (Zhu and Qiu 2013:128).

3.8.4 Coverage of the entire working population

Brazil and Russia, with their 198,3 million and 144,5 million inhabitants respectively, have a population well below that of the European Union with its 501,1 million inhabitants. By contrast, India and China, each have more than double the inhabitants of the European Union: India has 1 222,6 million and China has 1 373,5 million people (Pieters and Schoukens 2012b:10). The International Labour Organization (ILO) (2010:210) provides the following figures for people working in the formal sector in the BRIC countries:

- ***Brazil:***

The formal sector has remained stable at around 50 per cent of the working population since the early 1990s. Of these 79 per cent would have social insurance coverage.

- ***Russia:***

Of the total workforce, 83 per cent works in the formal sector; of these 69 per cent would have social insurance coverage.

- **India:**

Only about 28 million or 7,62 per cent of the working population works in the formal sector; of these only 29 per cent would have social insurance coverage.

- **China:**

In the period from 1996 to 2001, the ratio between the employment number in informal sectors and work units increased from 1:4 to greater than 1:2.

Based on the above, it can be deduced that the BRIC countries' social security systems mainly cover formal sector workers and neglect the informal sector. This implies that the BRIC countries' social security system needs to be transformed to cater for informal sector workers, which include the self-employed, casual and seasonal workers. The informal sector workers have the potential to contribute to the development of the economy if they are included in social security coverage.

Social security in the BRIC countries without any doubt suffers from the fact that many citizens are left out of the social security arrangements. In fact, having social insurance coverage seems to be a privilege of a restricted number of persons, who might often also be labelled as the better off in other respects. Strikingly, in the BRIC countries, people working for government, both central and local (civil servants, including people in the army or police, teachers, nurses) enjoy better social security coverage. Often this is also true for people working in larger enterprises. The remainder of the working force is often labelled as the informal sector, which includes temporary workers and the self-employed. The lack of decent social security coverage of many of those working in the informal sector remains a serious challenge to all BRIC countries (Pieters and Schoukens 2012a:10).

Some social security arrangements in the BRIC countries try to overcome the non-coverage of larger sections of the population through insurance open to those not mandatorily covered. Some examples are the introduction of retirement and health care insurance on a voluntary basis for the rural population in some Chinese provinces, the extension of retirement insurance to workers in the unorganised sector on a voluntary basis in India, and the possibility for the self-employed, such as farmers, to voluntarily affiliate with incapacity for work insurance arrangements in Russia.

Access to health care also requires attention: such access needs to be disconnected from working status. In fact, universal coverage of the population seems to be the ambition of the BRIC countries. Brazil and Russia already implemented it, although the medical treatment a

resident (Brazil) or a citizen (Russia) actually receives will in many regions rather be very basic and/or of poor quality. China and India work on a continuous extension of its health care insurance programmes to people not yet covered, though the reform plans reveal that a complete coverage of the resident population is still in far distant (Pieters and Schoukens 2012b:10).

3.8.5 Demography

The current world order is witnessing a profound shift. At the core of this shift is a significant demographic transition. The demography undoubtedly plays an important role in the construction of a good social security system. A large portion of retired and otherwise economically inactive people in a society puts a heavy burden on the financing of social security. The BRIC countries are also confronted with diverging but very important challenges in the demographic area. These population trends will necessarily demand an expansion of economic and political resources, given the heightened demand for adequate social services and job opportunities.

The one-child policy in China, the deterioration of life expectancy combined with low fertility rates in Russia, and the steady increase of life expectancy and decline of fecundity in Brazil make the provision of social security for the elderly and those who will become the elderly in some years an extremely important challenge. These countries appear to be well aware of these demographic challenges, as a reconsideration of the one-child policy in China, or the plans of Russia to increase the Russian population illustrate (Pieters and Schoukens 2012a:10; Saran, Singh and Sharan 2013:5). Table 3.2, overleaf, shows the populations of the BRIC countries. Russia has the highest population over the age of 60, with 20,4 per cent, followed by China with 13,5 per cent. These figures show that these two countries have many people who are no longer economically active and who will be an increasing burden to these governments, which need to provide social security. Brazil and India follow with 11,5 per cent and 8,2 per cent respectively.

Table 3.2: Demography of the BRIC countries

	Brazil	Russia	India	China
Population	198 million	144 million	1 222 million	1 373 million
Life expectancy in general, men and women (at age 1)	73 year	66,3 years	66,14 years	73,68 years
Population younger than 20 years	66,7 million (33,6%)	29,2 million (20,18%)	495,4 million (40,5%)	375,5 million (27,34%)
Population over 60 years	22,7 million (11,5%)	29,5 million (20,4%)	99,7 million (8,2%)	185,8 million (13,5%)

Source: Adapted from Pieters and Schoukens (2012b:11)

3.9 Conclusion

The population of Brazil consists mainly of the youth, but is getting older rapidly. There are several social security schemes that are well-developed, but the levels of coverage differ. This is a result of the fact that there is a relatively large informal sector and that social security provision is based on a combination of initiatives at the federal, regional and local levels, leading to disintegration and inconsistency in benefits provision. Usually, coverage and benefit levels differ considerably between the formal and informal sector and between the rural and urban areas. According to the Constitution of Brazil of 1988, there has to be a comprehensive social security coverage and equivalence between rural and urban populations. In the last 25 years, this requirement has driven extension initiatives so hard that a growing proportion of those aged between 16 and 64 have been covered by social security, and the over-65s are well covered, which is a positive development.

The Russian Federation uses a different system from that of other BRIC countries. This system can be traced back to Soviet times. Nonetheless, like other BRIC countries, the social security system has faced more fundamental and disruptive changes to the environment in which social security operates. Over the last two decades, the country has experienced a number of significant social, economic and demographic changes. These changes have had a negative effect on current schemes, which has resulted in a reduction of the level and quality of benefits, especially for those working in the informal sector. As a result, there was a great gap between rural and urban communities due to growing inequality. These pressures have necessitated the introduction of more targeted reforms and policy measures, including a range of mandatory and voluntary programmes.

The demographic situation in India is characterised by a high birth rate, meaning that it will not age as quickly as the other BRIC countries. It should be noted that this has provided the country with a longer “demography window” in which extension measures can be put in place. At the moment, the country is still struggling with extending social security coverage to the informal sector, which constitutes over 90 per cent of the workforce. Despite the existence of relevant legislative instruments, there are still discrepancies between the social security laws and labour market realities. Several schemes have been adopted, such as injury at work insurance, maternity coverage, old age, disability and death benefits and end of service benefits, but they have not yet been extended to cover the large informal sector. Concerted effort is needed to address these challenges of incorporating the unorganised sector.

Traditionally, India had a rural based economy and overwhelmingly relied on extended family support and *ad hoc* systems of provision developed to address the needs of the population in the absence formal social security. However, due to the changes in family structures and growing rural to urban migration, a development also experienced in other BRIC countries, this informal system of social protection is beginning to collapse.

For the last ten years, China has made use of its prevailing favourable demographic situation, positive government finances and political will to extend social security coverage to its population. This substantial increase in coverage was achieved through the introduction and extension of different social security programmes. China has managed to address the challenges of large regional disparities in the environment in which social security operates and a significant rural to urban migration. This move has resulted in almost 100 per cent medical coverage and about half the population has been covered for old age benefits.

China has adopted a step-by-step approach to social security provision. To achieve this, China has put in place legislation which allowed social security to move from fragmented schemes covering distinct groups to a truly comprehensive system. The use of a nationwide social security card system has been adopted to ensure efficient and compliance in managing the various schemes. These arrangements acknowledge the importance of reaching out to the rural populace. The key objective is to extend coverage to the entire population by 2020. However, to achieve this objective, there is a need for continued political will, supported by practice-oriented measures such as good governance initiatives, effective communications and financial support from central and regional governments. The success of the different

programmes introduced from 2003 can be attributed to the use of a series of pilot programmes which were used to test their viability. For example, a medical insurance scheme which was introduced in 2009 for urban residents, and was first piloted in 2007. Several lessons can be drawn from the Chinese experience of putting in place an effective social security coverage strategy in a challenging environment and for selecting the right responses.

Considering the essence of the BRIC countries programmes, it could be argued that formal social security provision has historically focused on covering workers in the formal sector. All member states were forced to revise benefit rules, structures and financing to facilitate coverage for the significant number of people in the population that do not fall into this category, such as the self-employed and those in the informal sector. An undertaking of this nature requires strict measures accompanied by appropriate administrative support in order to achieve the desired extended social security coverage effectively.

Growing inequalities have become a challenge for all the BRIC countries. This is one result of differing levels of coverage for different groups. It can be argued that social security programmes sometimes exacerbate inequality. Generally, rural communities are not well covered, compared to their counterparts in urban areas. It can be concluded that those in the organised sector have better coverage than those in the unorganised sector. In addition to this, the growing importance of company or private benefit provision may also contribute to inequality in terms of coverage and levels of benefits received. The next chapter provides an overview of the implementation of social security in South Africa, with special reference to the CSG policy.

Chapter 4:

The implementation of the Child Support Grant policy

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 of this study provided an international perspective on the social security coverage applied by the BRIC countries. The purpose of this chapter is to focus on the concept of South Africa as a developmental state and to explore social security in South Africa.

The first part of the chapter looks at the notion of the developmental state in relation to South Africa. The government has adopted a number of principles relating to developmental states on the assumption that the State's (the government's)⁴ economic intervention can enhance and strengthen the entire state's (the country's) capacity to deal with the legacy of apartheid, particularly the challenges of poverty, unemployment and major inequalities. However, the government is faced with many obstacles in its attempt to commence with the establishment of South Africa as a developmental state. Those (developed) nations that have adopted the principles of neo-liberalism believe that state intervention impedes progress, and therefore these dominant and wealthy nations are opposed to the policies of intervention incorporated in the developmental state model.

The second part of the chapter provides a perspective on the South African social security system, including SASSA. The overall aim of the chapter is to promote and advocate the effective and reasonable implementation of social security in South Africa and highlight its importance to poverty reduction and the enjoyment of socio-economic rights in general. To achieve these objectives, the chapter analyses the historical background of social security in South Africa. This is followed by an exploration of the South African social security framework, paying particular attention to the obligation by the state to provide social security. As is the case in most developing countries, South Africa faces a variety of socio-economic challenges in its efforts to provide social security to deserving members of its population. These challenges include administrative issues, implementation issues and sustainability issues. Hence, the chapter identifies gaps and challenges in the social security system,

⁴ In this thesis, the State (upper case) refers to the government, and the state (lower case) is used more generally to refer to the country with all its political, social and economic aspects, and its citizens.

assesses the opportunities for developing a comprehensive social security system in South Africa, and provides recommendations.

4.2 Concept: Developmental state

Since the emergence of the developmental state as a model to deal with socio-economic challenges, both social and political scientists have explored this concept – its nature and scope, and the role of a state that is developmentally oriented. Various definitions and concepts are attached to the notion of a developmental state. In the literature on the subject many different definitions can be found, but a closer inspection reveals that in essence there is agreement on its fundamental features (Ayee 2013:2629; Tshishonga and De Vries 2011:5). According to Liou (2002:13), the concept of the developmental state model rests on two assumptions concerning developments in the third world. Firstly, most developmental countries are in such a disadvantaged position that the market forces themselves preclude substantial economic growth. Secondly, some of these countries are capable of overcoming the barriers facing late developers (Liou 2002:13). A developmental state is different from a neo-liberal state, but also from the all-encompassing communist state. This primarily has to do with its priorities.

Bagchi (2000:398) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA 2011:95) both describe a developmental state as a state for which economic development is the top priority of government policy and that it is able to design effective instruments to promote this goal. These instruments are meant to forge new formal institutions, weave formal and informal networks of collaboration among the citizens and officials, and use new opportunities for trade and profitable production. Whether the state governs the market or exploits new opportunities created by the market depends on particular historical conjunctures. A developmental state should be able to switch gears from market-driven to state-driven growth or *vice versa*. Castells (1992:56) argues as follows:

A state is developmental when it establishes as its principle of legitimacy its ability to promote and sustain development, understanding by development the combination of steady high rates of growth and structural change in the productive system, both domestically and in its relationship to the international economy [...] Thus ultimately for the developmental state, economic development is not a goal but a means.

Mkandawire (2001:291) defines a developmental state as “a state whose ideological underpinnings are developmental and one that seriously attempts to deploy its administrative

and political resources to the task of economic development”. Edigheji (2010:4) circumscribes a developmental state as one that

...authoritatively, credibly, legitimately and in a binding manner is able to formulate and implement its policies and programmes. This entails possessing a developmentalist ideology that privileges industrialisation, economic growth and expansion of human capabilities. Such a state also has to be able to construct and deploy the institutional architecture within the state and mobilise society towards the realisation of its developmentalist project.

Madumo (2012:43) argues that “a developmental state is identified as a state that uses all the necessary mechanisms and institutions at its disposal to achieve successful economic intervention in a specific country”.

In the South African context, a developmental state implies equity, justice, enabling a rapidly growing economy and improving the quality of life for all citizens (Edigheji 2007:3). This should lead to successful economic activity that will stimulate employment opportunities and subsequently alleviate poverty among the country’s citizens. Section 153 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (RSA 1996a) requires all municipalities to promote developmental duties to ensure the effective and efficient management of the municipalities’ administration, budgeting and planning, in order to promote socio-economic development (RSA 1996). This is imperative to satisfy the basic needs of the people.

For the purposes of this research, the definition by Routley (2012:27) and Brautigam (1996:17) summarise the key construct well in that they define a developmental state as a state that has sufficient developmental structures (that is, effective and efficient state capacity – regulatory, administrative, extractive and technical) and uses them to perform developmental roles grounded on the interaction between local and international stakeholders. The term therefore has political, ideological and institutional connotations (Routley, 2012:34; Chang, Akyuz and Kozul-Wright 1998:34). Based on the above argument by Brautigam (1996), it can be deduced that a developmental state should play a leading role in the socio-economic development of the country. This is imperative for South Africa because of the rate of the increase in inequality and the poverty levels in the country. Therefore, the government should use its power and resources to reduce inequality and children’s suffering as a result of poverty.

There are two schools of thought about the developmental state, namely the political school and the economic school (Fine 2010:160). The political school concentrates on the ability of the state for developmental purposes, which means the power of the state to design and

implement appropriate policies and programmes to promote development. Thus “the developmental state seeks political legitimacy by being developmental, with success in the economy allowing it to sustain itself” (Fine 2010:171). The economic school, by contrast, is “exclusively preoccupied with appropriate economic policies or the rationale for them, as opposed to the political (and ideological) conditions that make them possible” (Fine 2010:171). These different views also consider market imperfections and how to correct them – either through government interventions, or through creating other institutions in order to promote development.

Scholars hold five main views in the debate. The first view argues that the paradigm of the developmental state is “not totally alien” to Africa. In the words of Mkandawire (2001:291), “in Africa, we have many examples of states whose performance until the mid-1970s would have qualified them as developmental states [...] but which now seem anti-developmental because the hard times brought the economic expansion of their countries to a halt”. This is because most African leaders had development ideologies for their countries after independence. These leaders include Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (who promoted the concept of Pan-Africanism – political and economic liberation for economic development), Julius Nyerere of Tanzania (who was a proponent of *ujamaa*, aimed at promoting rural transformation), Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia (who advocated humanism) and Leopold Senghor of Senegal (who preferred the term *negritude*) (UNECA 2011:53).

Although this argument may sound credible, the result of this preoccupation with development did not produce developmental states in Africa, because the development projects were not supported by sustainable visions of development. Even though governments intervened in the economy in which the government became an economic entrepreneur and assumed “multiple roles as an investor, banker, trader and primary employer, rather than carefully nurturing a local entrepreneurial class it did not achieve the required development” (UNECA 2011:102). There was also little or no industrialisation and diversification of the economies; moreover, excessive statism encouraged rent-seeking behaviour which distracted economic actors from productive activities (Bates 1981:11).

Based on the above argument, it can be concluded that South Africa was not an exception. The first Black democratically elected president in South Africa, Nelson Mandela, had a development ideology which was informed by the introduction of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), a programme that contained elements of social security. As

a “growth through redistribution” policy (Terreblanche 2003:89), the RDP envisioned as its first priority “beginning to meet the basic needs of people: jobs, land, housing, water, electricity, nutrition, health care and social welfare” (UNECA 2011:104). This approach was based on the concept of developmental social security. It emphasised that social development cannot take place without economic development and that economic development is meaningless unless it is accompanied by improvements in social security (Midgley 1996:45).

The second view is that what Africa needs is a democratic developmental state. This raises a number of questions, because the developmental state in East Asia’s experience is generally regarded as autocratic rather than democratic (Block 2008:194). Although autocratic rule is not described as a necessary condition, it is deemed to have facilitated the strong political leadership and the autonomy of a state bureaucracy, both seen as essential features of developmental states in East Asia. What counted was the developmental performance of a state, while the nature of its political regime was regarded as secondary; therefore it is an argument for democratic developmental states (Edigheji 2010:23, 2005:45; White 1998:17). Evans’s (2010:56) recent work adds to Amartya Sen’s (1999:66) capability approach, focusing on the development of the capabilities of individuals rather than economic gains as the focus of the developmental state. In addition the work of Sandbrook, Edelman, Heller and Teichman (2007:78) identifies a state as a key player in development, but sees the developmental outcomes of state-led projects as centring on building a society without poverty and social exclusion.

A third view is that the developmental state is no longer relevant because the so-called Asian Tigers did not survive the Asian economic crises in 2000 and the global crisis of 2008 (Block 2008:172; Low 2004:37; Weiss 2003:49). The literature on the origins and evaluation of East Asian developmental states and some Southeast Asian ones differentiates variations between the first and second generation developmental states. The common issue is that what was successful in one state became less effective as domestic and external conditions changed. External conditions were influenced by globalisation, Information and Communication Technology, a knowledge-based new economy and deregulation in the global economy (Edigheji 2010:23). The relevance and resilience of developmental states, especially in Asia, is therefore questioned. The Asian crisis seems to have turned the economic miracle economies into a fast meltdown, with Japan still in profound stagnation, which implies that the faith in, and the credibility of the developmental state into question (Edigheji 2005:46) – even if the term has been treated as a mantra, a buzzword, it should be regarded as a highly

prescriptive, complex and problematic construct (Block 2008:196; Low 2004:56; O’Hearn 2000:73; O’Riain 2000:160).

A fourth view point, and some of the gaps in the developmental state literature include the following:

- There is a “tendency to address the capacity of the state but not its motivations” (Haggard 2004:70). This separation is untenable because it is in part motivations and commitments that produce a professionalised bureaucracy, and it is a professionalised bureaucracy that motivates and induces commitment (O’Riain 2000:160).
- The treatment of “the national bureaucracy as [...] totally depoliticised, socially disembodied, and in rational pursuit of a self-evident national interest” (Pempel 1999:44) is problematic. There is evidence to show that national interest is not necessarily self-evident; it cannot be assumed to be developmental. It is contested and constructed through many negotiations. Bureaucrats and politicians cannot be assumed to be or taken for granted to be acting within the national interest; some act in this manner whereas others do not (Pempel 1999:44).
- The sustainability of developmental states and their developmental role has been questioned, especially when there is an acknowledgement that developmental states come and go, and can be seen to be structures that have in some senses grown out of design (Fritz and Menocal 2007:536).

A fifth view points out that African countries could not be developmental states because of rent-seeking activities, a lack of commitment to development, neo-patrimonialism and inadequate human resources; moreover, state intervention in the economy is redundant because of globalisation (Mkandawire 2012:18).

Based on the above arguments, it can be deduced that the notion of a developmental state in the context of South Africa would take a different form from an Asian developmental state, and probably even from that of an African developmental state. South Africa is a constitutional democracy and the State is obliged, in terms of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a) to develop policies, programmes and legislation aimed at providing or promoting socio-economic rights; namely health care, social security, education, water and sanitation. Section 181(1) of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a) establishes state institutions to strengthen constitutional democracy in the Republic, such as the Public Protector, the South African Human Rights Commission, the Auditor-General and the Electoral Commission.

In spite of these criticisms, UNECA's (2011:106) *Economic Report on Africa* notes that there is a consensus that a developmental state is "crucial to the process of accelerated economic growth and social transformation" and concludes that "African countries clearly need developmental states to promote economic and social transformation". The next section will consider whether South Africa can be considered a developmental state and how it can contribute to the sustainability of the CSG policy.

4.2.1 An overview of a developmental state: experience in South Africa

In South Africa, the idea of a developmental state emerged during the tenure of President Mbeki (1999-2008). It built on developmental policies that were adopted earlier, for example, the RDP, which was already initiated in 1994. More emphasis has been placed on the issue of a developmental state under the Zuma administration. In his State of the Nation Address in 2009, President Zuma explicitly tasked the State with playing a central role in the social and economic development of the country, and serving as a catalyst for sustainable development and economic growth. This came as a reaction to the rate of the increase in inequality and poverty levels in the country. The situation has worsened since then.

Statistics South Africa (2015) announced that in the second quarter of 2015, unemployment was about 25 per cent. The International Labor Organisation (ILO) stated that global unemployment is still rising, even though six years have passed since the onset of the global financial crisis, due to continuing inequality and falling wage shares (ILO 2015). In 2011, the National Planning Commission (NPC) of South Africa (2011) noted that the Gini co-efficient was then at its highest peak since democratisation in 1994; it had increased from 0.64 in 1995 to 0.7 in 2011 (National Planning Commission 2011:3). Despite being a constitutional democracy, inequality among South Africans is gradually increasing. Against this background it is clear that promoting the establishment of a developmental state is imperative. A developmental state will aim at reducing the Gini co-efficient by implementing progressive policies to improve and maintain people's quality of life.

According to the Policy Coordination and Advisory Services (PCAS 2008:115), the government has prioritised the following: speeding up economic growth and transforming the economy; combating poverty; and building social cohesion. It has articulated the strategic leadership role of a developmental state in South Africa as follows:

The developmental state should have the capacity to give leadership in the definition of a common national agenda and in mobilising all sectors of society to participate in implementing that agenda. This includes the capacity to prioritise in a strategic way, to identify which goals and initiatives have the potential to unite the nation in an effort that catalyses the rest of the national agenda. In this capacity of national leadership, which would be informed by its popular mandate, the state will need to have effective systems for interactions with all social partners. (PCAS 2008:119)

This commitment to constructing a democratic developmental state became a top priority as it became a theme in most government policy documents. In the *2009 Medium Term Strategic Framework* (Presidency 2009), the government reiterated its commitment to building a democratic developmental state, which *inter alia* would ensure accountable government and enhanced State capacity for growth and development – including enhanced capacity to provide basic services to all South Africans and to ensure long-term planning (Edigheji 2010:2). However, showing interest in a developmental state is one issue, actually building such a state is quite another matter. The main challenge is formulating the pre-requisite structures for South Africa to be a truly developmental state, and designing and implementing policies that will enable it to achieve its developmental goals.

The South African government is unique, in the sense that it has expressly committed itself to the construction of a democratic developmental state. Many developmental states were called that after the fact, and not by government officials. For example, the Asian Tigers' political leaders, while conscious of the need to be developmental, never articulated that they wanted to construct developmental states (Tshishonga and De Vries 2011:65). The construction of developmental states was the end result of historical circumstances to meet contextual conditions which were driven by the need to “catch up”. The success of the Asian developmental states in both social and economic terms has focused global attention on the concept of the developmental state. It is therefore no surprise that countries such as South Africa want to locate their development framework within the rubric of the developmental state (Edigheji 2010:2).

The reason for and much of the debate around the developmental state in South Africa is that it is seen as a universal remedy for the country's social, economic and institutional problems. For example, the developmental state is considered to be a way of building the capacity of the state; it is envisaged as having the necessary capacity to provide basic goods to citizens and thus being able to put an end to the spate of service delivery protests that the country has witnessed in the last decade.

There are, however, some concerns about South Africa's potential for becoming a developmental state. The first concern is whether a developmental state can exist in South Africa, because it is constitutional democracy. There is an assumption that democracy and State-driven development cannot coexist, because they are considered to be incompatible. The debate also assumes that it will be impossible for the State to promote economic growth and at the same time address the social questions of high inequality, poverty and unemployment (Tshishonga and De Vries 2011:65). In the case of the CSG, the compromise is that it is means-tested and that the mothers or caregivers must fall into a certain category for them to qualify to receive the CSG.

Another point that has been raised in the debate in South Africa is that because it is a mineral-rich country, a developmental state is unlikely to take root. The premise underpinning this argument is that mineral-rich countries are prone to the "Resource Curse" (Edigheji 2010:2). In terms of this logic, a developmental state is more likely to emerge in resource-poor countries. The case of East Asia is used to justify this assertion. How to utilise the mineral wealth of the country has therefore become part of the debate on the developmental state in South Africa, with the ANC Youth League calling for nationalisation of the mines (Edigheji 2010:3).

The increasing corruption in South Africa's public and private sectors, with the country ranked 72nd among 177 countries in Transparency International's 2012 Corruption Perceptions Index, has caused some critics to argue against the feasibility of a developmental state (Tshishonga and De Vries 2011:65). Corruption, it is argued, will compromise the government's ability to build a democratic developmental state. Also, prior to the global economic crisis of 2008, scholars questioned the feasibility of constructing a developmental state in the light of globalisation.

Some of the concerns about the feasibility of a developmental state in South Africa are informed by what Mkandawire (2001:67) refers to as the "impossibility thesis" which maintains that, for a number of reasons, developmental states are not feasible in the African context. Furthermore, some of the debates may have been informed by a one-size-fits-all approach to the developmental state, or a misreading of the experiences of developmental states, including those in East Asia and Scandinavia. This implies that South Africa does not need to copy the Asian Tigers' form of developmental state because South Africa is a

constitutional democracy – South Africa needs to be a developmental state in order to alleviate poverty and address the imbalances of the past.

4.2.2 Critiques on the developmental state in practice

This section describes concisely how the policies of the South African government were assessed in the last decade by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It is indicative of how policies explicitly labelled under the umbrella of the developmental state are criticised. An indication of what the IMF contributes to the discussion is seen in the country assessments the IMF publishes every year, and how South Africa is assessed in other publications by the IMF. For instance, in 2005, Robert Burgess and Thomas Harjes praised South Africa for its prudent and stable macroeconomic policy framework, its fiscal discipline, its reduction of debt and strengthening of public finances. Their report states that the “economy has become much more open and increasingly well integrated with overseas markets. South Africa substantially liberalised its trade regime” (Burgess and Harjes 2005:360).

However, according to the IMF Survey (2006), further trade liberalisation and stronger competition require flexible labour markets, which could be achieved, among others, through labour market flexibility, reducing the scope of collective bargaining, streamlining, dismissal procedures, easing the impact of minimum wages and reducing the generally high costs of doing business (IMF Survey 2006). A content analysis of what is stated here shows that such recommendations are the opposite of what the developmental state implies. Not protecting national interests, but opening up the economy in the globalised economy, facilitating business to reduce costs, increase profit and reducing labour costs and wages by diminishing wages and rights seems to be the direction the IMF wants South Africa follow.

The recommendations made by the IMF are indeed opposite to the recommendations coming from the model of the developmental state. However, the IMF is quite consistent in its critique. The IMF calls on the country to liberalise, privatise, globalise, combined with reduced labour costs, and a flexible labour market, and a reactive government (IMF Survey 2006:361). The developmental state does not consider such issues to be its prime target. It will protect, steer and act pro-actively. However, it would have to do that even when expecting some hostility based on the different views (Tshishonga and De Vries 2011:65).

4.2.3 Critique from South Africa

In South Africa, greater clarity on the developmental path to development since the mid-1990s and a critique of that path are required. South African academics such as Gumede (2009), Freund (2007), Mc Lennan (2007) and Naidoo (2006) have reservations regarding the status and potential of South Africa as a developmental state in the context of the global era and economic recession. Their partial pessimism is rooted on what they consider to be the outstanding and fundamental imperative issues of poverty, particularly the rising unemployment.

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO 2015), the South African unemployment figures rose from 20 per cent in 1994 to 26,4 per cent in 2015. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that since 1994, South Africa has not produced and retained adequate numbers of quality skilled people to maintain a competitive edge. In the national sphere of government, the issue of state capacity, as advocated by Levin (2008:55), is imperative – it includes financial, technological infrastructure, intergovernmental policies and systems, as well as human resources.

Levin (2008:55) adds that for the State to stimulate economic growth, it requires the financial resources to implement its developmental programmes, the technological infrastructure to make efficient use of its resources, an appropriate policy framework to inform its activities, as well as competent public officials to promote the processes required to implement the plans. For a developmental state to germinate growth from these roots, the government should create an enabling environment that makes the best possible use of the available human resources (Levin 2008:55). Mc Lennan (2007) posits that such an enabling environment could become a foundation through which the economy could be built, anchored in capacitated administrative mechanisms capable of delivering public resources to the poorest of the poor.

Baissac (2009:10) argues that ideological divisions among the ruling elite in South Africa are pervasive, creating uncertainty about whether the government's policy will tilt right or left. On one hand, the right wing supports value and tradition, equity, survival of the fittest and an open economy. On the other hand, the left wing is progressive in its focus on the future, and believes in taking care of those who cannot support themselves; it is idealistic and believes in equality. Baissac (2009:10) also argues that the situation in South Africa contrasts with Botswana, Mauritius, Brazil, China, South Korea and Taiwan, where changes in the government do not affect the direction of economic development policy. Johnson (1982)

makes a similar point about the autonomy of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) in Japan, which operates autonomously of the political leadership in Japan. Thus, for the East Asian type developmental state to operate fully, a rather technocratic pursuit of an overarching growth objective is required, and the technocrats need to be insulated from changes in the democratic policy initiatives. In a country such as South Africa, with a history characterised by a long struggle to establish democracy, such insulation of the technocrats might not be acceptable to the general voting public, due to the previous experience of the apartheid government (M Smit 2008; Burger 2013).

In South Africa, ideological divisions also exist regarding the desirability of the developmental state. It is of interest that the attitudes towards the developmental state of those on opposite sides of the ideological divide have become more complex, and on the surface might look like a shift in opinion. Baissac (2009:12) traces the origin of the argument that South Africa should implement the principles of a developmental state to the left wing of the ruling Tripartite Alliance between the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP). By contrast, the Democratic Alliance (DA), which is the official opposition and to the right of the ANC, has argued for a standard liberal market economy with a conservative fiscal and monetary policy. However, the position of these role players on the developmental state became more complex with the government's adoption of the New Development Plan (NDP).

Some affiliates of COSATU and prominent members of the SACP have rejected the NDP, even though the final version of the NDP states that its aim is to create a “capable and developmental state” (Burger 2013:16). COSATU affiliates and members of the SACP argue that the NDP is similar to the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy that the government implemented in 1996 (Coleman 2013; Cronin 2013; National Union of Metal Workers 2013; SACP 2013). COSATU and the SACP criticised GEAR as being a neoliberal policy, thus hardly the description of a developmental state. Criticism of the developmental state from both the business sector and the DA virtually disappeared once the government adopted the NDP. Nevertheless, it is noticeable that Chapter 13 in the draft version of the NDP, the document only refers to a “capable state” (cf. National Planning Commission 2011), and that the term “developmental state” does not appear in the whole document. However, Chapter 14 in the final version of the document refers to a “capable and developmental state” (National Planning Commission 2012). Thus, the developmental state framework might not have been the original point of departure of the NDP, and it raises the question whether or not

the term “developmental” might merely have been included in a textual “find and replace” exercise in an effort to placate the left wing of the alliance. This division of opinion between the ANC and some of its alliance partners is indicative of the division among the ruling elite. Such a division undermines the unitary focus of the ruling elite that a developmental state of the East Asian variety requires.

4.3 The history of social security in South Africa

A brief background of the apartheid system of social security is necessary to contextualise the situation in the present system.

It is important to note how apartheid’s ideology was manufactured into a fully operationalized system of exclusion and discrimination. In 1994, South Africa inherited a racially skewed social security system. Its main purpose was to cover the minority of White people against unforeseen contingencies, by means of either social insurance or social assistance. In the past, extension of the social security system to other groups was not intended to create comprehensive coverage for the whole population, but was often determined by political, electoral and economic considerations (Reddy and Sokomani 2008:9; Van der Berg 1994:17).

The history of the social security system in South Africa dates back to the legislation implemented during the colonial and apartheid eras. Social security legislation aimed at assisting both children and pensioners has always been racially defined. The *Children’s Protection Act* of 1913 (Union of South Africa 1913) provided maintenance grants for White children, and excluded children of other population groups. It was one of the first significant laws passed after the creation of the South African Union in 1910 and can be seen as the first step in the formation of a South African social security system. Under the *Old Age Pensions Act* of 1928 (Union of South Africa 1928), all Coloured and White men above 65 years, and women over 60 years benefited from the scheme, but the scheme excluded Africans and Indians. Whites’ pensions were higher than pensions for Coloured people. This social pension’s legislation was mainly established as a safety net for poor Whites. The justification for excluding Africans was that they could rely on rural kinship ties and custom to assist them in their old age (CASE 2000:8; Liebenberg and Tilley 1998:4; Bhorat 1995:592).

In 1937, a means-tested disability scheme was introduced. In 1947, the disability and state pensions benefits were expanded to all race groups. Although pensions were thereafter paid to all races, differences in the level of assistance to various race groups were still a

fundamental component of the welfare system. For example, in 1947, the maximum pension for Whites was five times more than that for Africans. Coloured and Indians pensioners were paid half as much as Whites (Van der Berg 1998:7; Bhorat 1995:598).

The introduction of the *Children's Protection Act* of 1913, paved the way for the State Maintenance Grant (SMG) in 1947. During this time, the state relaxed some racial restrictions by including Coloured and Indian children. However, social security legislation was still characterised by inequalities. From 1948 to 1961, the gap between Whites' and Africans' means-tested old age pensions widened steadily. The application of the means test also became increasingly discriminatory: "Administrative delays, corruption and inefficiency, particularly in rural areas, were a form of covert discrimination for disenfranchised communities" (Bhorat 1995:598).

In the 1970s the slow process of reducing inequality in welfare provision began. Africans' old age pension as a percentage of Whites' pensions increased from 16 per cent in 1972 to 85 per cent in 1993 and parity was eventually achieved in 1994 (Liebenberg and Tilley 1998:4). However, the administration of child maintenance and foster-parent grants remained discriminatory. In 1987, African grants were 17 per cent of grants to Whites. The intention of the State to extend coverage to the poor population posed a major fiscal challenge to the State (Bhorat 1995:598). The equalisation of disability grants and old-age pensions between the different race groups was achieved largely by eroding the real value of grants paid to White recipients. The maximum real value of the pension for a White recipient decreased from R430 (about US\$ 36.40) in 1980 to R230 (about US\$ 19.40) in 1996, while an African recipient received a real increase from R132 (about US\$ 11.10) to R234 (about US\$ 19.80) (Financial and Fiscal Commission n.d:89). A similar, but more drastic, approach aimed at removing the inequalities associated with child grants was required.

The inequalities related to the SMG were, however, of a different nature. Since 1992 there was no statutory racial discrimination in the allocation of the grant, but access was still highly racially biased and manifested a poor correlation with poverty (Financial and Fiscal Commission n.d:91). One of the proposals in the Department of Welfare's *White Paper* was the institution of a child maintenance grant that would cater for all population groups in the country. The necessity of extending social security to all those in need and particularly children was underlined by Paragraph 37 of the Department of Welfare's *National Plan for*

Children (NPC). This Article states that no child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (NPA Sectoral Committee 1995:11).

In 1994, the new ANC government faced the challenge of transforming the existing fragmented social security system to one based on comprehensive coverage for the population as a whole. Therefore, in 1996, the Lund Committee on Child and Family Support was established by the government to investigate issues around extending the child grant, and to explore policy options regarding social security for children and families. The Committee stressed that some kind of benefit needed to be continued, especially given the importance of the early, vulnerable years in a child's life. It pointed to the possibility of even greater costs in the absence of a benefit, because families might be forced to abandon or hand over children into the care of others (requiring a more expensive foster care grant), or into the care of the state. The Committee recommended a new strategy to replace the existing SMG. This strategy included a child-linked grant with a lower monetary value than that of the SMG, but targeted a wider group of potential beneficiaries, particularly those living in the most disadvantaged areas: rural areas and informal settlements (Pauw and Mncube 2007:13; Case, Hosegood and Lund 2005:470; CASE 2000:9).

The Committee's recommendations were largely accepted by Cabinet. Hence, the CSG introduced in 1998 replaced the SMG. The introduction of the CSG marked a major policy shift in government, as it signalled the government's intention to support children suffering as a result of poverty, and those poor households, particularly in rural areas, which had been excluded from social assistance programmes in the past (Pauw and Mncube 2007:13). The approach that the government chose was based on the concept of developmental social welfare. It emphasised that social development cannot take place without economic development and that economic development is meaningless unless it is accompanied by improvements in social welfare (Midgley 1996:17). The *White Paper on Social Welfare* published by the Department of Welfare, later the DSD, in 1997 contained the policy framework for restructuring of social welfare in South Africa (RSA 1997).

The new grant was to contain a stricter means test. Given financial constraints, the Committee recommended that each qualifying child be given a much smaller amount than was previously the case, and that the grant be restricted to children under the age of seven years at a rate of R75 (about US\$ 6.24) per child per month, so that it could reach a larger number of those most in need. There was significant public dissatisfaction when government first tabled the

grant. Various organisations felt that the drop in the age eligibility and amount of the grant was detrimental to poor families. Exchanges both in and outside of Parliament resulted in a small increase in the cash value of the grant, up to R100 (about US\$ 8.32) per child per month (Goldblatt 2006:240).

4.4 From welfare to social development in South Africa

The transition to a multi-racial democracy in 1994 provided the incentive for initiatives to address poverty, which existed on a wide scale in South Africa.

The flagship policy of the government elected in 1994 in South Africa was the RDP. This policy framework (ANC 1994), which culminated in the *White Paper on Reconstruction and Development* (RSA 1994b), provided an integrated, coherent, socio-economic programme for the alleviation of poverty arising from long-term discriminatory policies and practices. The RDP provided a framework for social development that would lead to transformation of welfare policy in South Africa in pursuit of the values of social justice, democracy, equity and people centred development.

The Tripartite Alliance expected that economic growth through fiscal spending and deliberate redistribution would alleviate poverty. Besides emphasising fiscal discipline, increased social spending was required to attain poverty alleviation, the marginalised sectors of the population, and improving the welfare of women and children in particular. In concert with the RDP framework, welfare policy was debated and reviewed, and the *White Paper for Social Welfare* (RSA 1997) was introduced within a social development paradigm (RSA 1997). The main concern was to address poverty, which was rampant throughout South Africa, in particular in rural areas. The transformation of welfare policy towards a social development paradigm, with its concomitant vision of inclusivity, would attempt to reach many people who were in abject poverty. This shift in welfare policy and vision were in direct contrast to the previous welfare policy of the Nationalist-led government (Triegaardt 2005:250).

Unlike the *White Paper's* section on housing, the section in RDP on social welfare did not contain specific targets, such as increasing the number of beneficiaries by a specific number (Makino 2004:10). Visser (2004:7) points out that insofar as the RDP's primary goal "was to meet the basic needs of people [... it constituted] an extended wish list in which the homeless, landless, workers, and even international bankers could take equal comfort". However, economic growth rates did not meet the expectations of four to six per cent growth per annum.

Different priorities amongst Ministers over the budget allocation undermined the government's ability to implement the RDP, even though most of the funding for the RDP actually came from international donors on a project basis. The publication of the RDP *White Paper* in 1994 further undermined the initial rationale guiding the RDP by focusing on fiscal prudence. This resulted in less attention being paid to meeting basic needs and redistribution through poverty-alleviating measures (Terreblanche 2003:103). Later, in 2000 the Department of Welfare changed its name to the DSD, which symbolised the shift in welfare policy and practice in South Africa.

The RDP soon gave way to a more conventional economic policy known as Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). In 1996, GEAR was launched as a structural adjustment programme with the purpose of improving economic growth, increasing trade and industry across national boundaries and promoting employment. The implementation of GEAR by the ANC government marked a departure from the previously practised negotiations within the Tripartite Alliance and civil society structures, and resulted in a policy of fiscal austerity (Brockhoff 2013:23; Mthethwa 2011:32). Job creation has proved increasingly difficult because of labour market conditions, including retrenchments and the shedding of jobs as a result of economic restructuring. It reflected the influence of the business sector and international socio-economic policies promulgated by the ANC-led government and its move to liberal economic policies aimed at increasing economic growth and international trade (Triegaardt 2005:251). South Africa is part of the global economy, and is influenced by international capitalism, and as a result, by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) requirements. Thus poverty alleviation became a secondary consideration, which had direct consequences for welfare policy. Midgley (2001:274) noted the valid "criticism that the ANC government has placed a higher priority on attracting international investments and attaining economic growth than on alleviating poverty and meeting basic social needs". Based on the above argument, it can be deduced that the new emphasis on cutting the national budget deficit led to general disillusionment with the government and its ability to deliver social services. GEAR no longer placed the emphasis on government changing people's lives for the better, but on market forces solving the existing problems. Visser (2004:13) states:

Perhaps the most important difference between the RDP and GEAR was that, while the former expected the state to conduct a people-oriented developmental policy, the latter saw South Africa's economic "salvation" in a high economic growth rate that would result from a sharp increase in private capital accumulation in an unbridled capitalistic system. The government's task in this was to refrain from economic intervention and to

concentrate on the necessary adjustments that would create an optimal climate for private investment.

As a result, opinion in society started to shift, especially among social democrats. In particular, it was no longer expected that the government could or truly wanted to deliver on the principles of the RDP. Hence, cash transfers were identified as an action by government to alleviate poverty and deliver on the government's constitutional obligations with regard to social security (Brockerhoff 2013:24).

Section 27(1)(c) of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a) makes provision for welfare to be a concurrent responsibility of both the national and provincial governments. The national government is responsible for the development of policies, norms and standards, while the provincial government has administrative responsibilities relating to the delivery of welfare services, including pensions and grants. The formulation of the South African *Constitution* was a historic milestone in protecting the human rights of people who had previously been disenfranchised, and provided a mechanism for poverty alleviation.

4.5 The development of social security policy

The South African social security system consists of mainly two schemes: contributory schemes and non-contributory programmes.

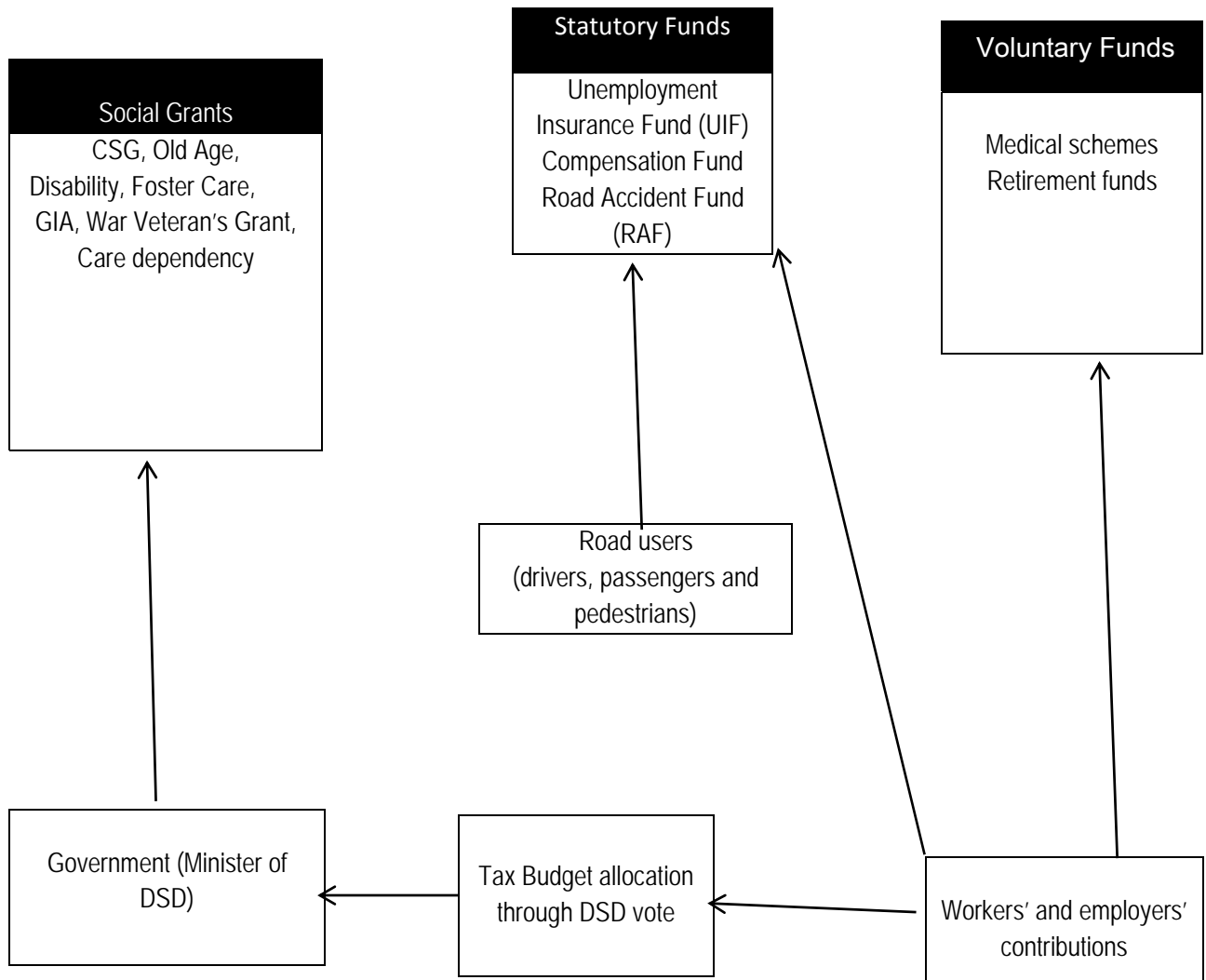
Contributory schemes can be divided into two groups, namely statutory funds (compensation funds, the Road Accident Fund and the Unemployment Insurance Fund) and voluntary funds (retirement funds and medical aid schemes). Contributory schemes are financed mainly through contributions from employees and/or employers and, in some instances, the government through the DSD. The *Social Assistance Act, 13 of 2004* (RSA 2004b) established the provision of the following grants: the Old Age Grant (OAG), the War Veteran's Grant (WVG), the Disability Grant (DG), the Grant in Aid (GIA), the Foster Child Grant (FCG), the Care Dependency Grant (CDG) and the CSG. In addition, people can apply for the Social Relief of Distress Grant (SRODG) for a limited period when they are in an unforeseen and dire situation.

Non-contributory schemes are funded from the general tax revenues. The South African social security system makes provision for the nine classical risks encapsulated in the *ILO Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952 (No. 102)*, namely medical, sickness, maternity, old age, family, unemployment, injury at work and death (ISSA 2013:137).

Whether an applicant is eligible for receiving a grant is determined by SASSA on the basis of a means and income test in accordance with set regulations in terms of the *Social Assistance Act, 13 of 2004* (RSA 2004b:10). Since 2006, SASSA has been in charge of centrally administering social assistance. The CEO of SASSA reports to the Minister of Social Development, as the DSD is responsible for monitoring SASSA and for developing policy in respect of social assistance. The government is also responsible for managing the three primary social insurance funds, the UIF, the Compensation Fund (CF), and the RAF. In addition, the government regulates and provides tax incentives for voluntary non-mandatory saving, and insurance schemes offered by private companies in order to take pressure off the social assistance scheme (Brockerhoff 2013:16).

The general design of the South African social security system is illustrated in Figure 4.1, overleaf. This figure captures the structure of the system, but it must be borne in mind that there are also self-organised coping strategies, largely relied on by the poor and those marginalised from the mainstream social security schemes and programmes. These strategies are commonly referred to as informal social security; examples include burial societies and rotating credit schemes.

Figure 4.1: Structure of Social Security in South Africa



Source: Adapted from Brockerhoff (2013:12)

4.6 Legislative framework for social security

The legislative framework of both the contributory and non-contributory social security schemes is contained in a sizeable number of legal instruments. The South African social security legislative landscape is not codified. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a) does, to a great extent, serve as the legislative foundation of the social security and, most importantly, as the glue that keeps the entire system together. The following legislation governs social security in South Africa:

- the *Pensions Fund Act of 1956 (as amended)* (Union of South Africa 1956);

- the *Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Act, 130 of 1993 (COIDA) (as amended)* (RSA 1993);
- the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 (as amended)* (RSA 1996a);
- the *Road Accident Fund Act, 56 of 1996 (as amended) (RAF)* (RSA 1996b);
- the *Medical Schemes Act, 131 of 1998 (as amended)* (RSA 1998b);
- the *Unemployment Insurance Act, 63 of 2001 (as amended)* (RSA 2001);
- the *Social Assistance Act, 13 of 2004 (as amended)* (RSA 2004b); and
- the *South African Social Security Agency Act, 9 of 2004 (as amended)* (RSA 2004a).

The above Acts are important in the implementation of social security in the country. They enable the government to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the CSG policy.

4.6.1 The constitutional mandates of the State with regard to social security

The right to social security is one of several socio-economic rights guaranteed in the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a). The inclusion of an extensive *Bill of Rights* in chapter 2 of the *Constitution* resulted in the *Constitution's* being heralded as one of the most progressive constitutions in the world (Brockerhoff 2013:11). However, unlike other socio-economic rights, such as the right to education and children's rights, the realisation of the right to social security is subject to internal limitation. Sections 27(1)(c) and 27(2) read:

Everyone has the right to have access to social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance.

The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights.

It is clear from the above quotes that the potential promise could create a dilemma. The *Constitution* (RSA 1996a) guarantees the right to social security to all and social assistance to those who cannot support themselves or their dependants. This is a striking feature of the *Constitution* (RSA 1996a), with its promise of a comprehensive and universal social security system, but the provision of this right depends on the availability of resources. The *Constitution* (RS 1996a) thus acknowledges that the State's resources are limited. Hence, the State is only obliged to realise a right within its available resources, which should be prioritised for the realisation of social security, compared to, say, spending on education, the economy or defence (RSA 1996a).

4.7 Public contributory schemes

4.7.1 Compensation funds

The compensation fund to be discussed in this section provides benefits to employees or their dependants in compensation for work-related injuries or occupational diseases, including funding for the rehabilitation of disabled workers. The *Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Act, 130 of 1993* (RSA 1993) provides “for compensation for disablement caused by occupational injuries or diseases sustained or contracted by employees in the course of their employment, or for death resulting from such injuries or diseases; and to provide for matters connected herewith”. These funds also pay benefits to the families of workers who die on the job. Under the *Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Act, 130 of 1993*, employers have to register their employees with the Department of Labour, and make contributions (RSA 1993).

The Compensation Fund has displayed robust financial performance, largely as a result of increased employer compliance. The Fund’s asset base has grown from R32,6 billion (about US\$ 2,572 million) in 2011/12 to R43,6 billion (about US\$ 3,440 million) in 2013/14, supported by the performance of its investments, which reached R41,4 billion (about US\$ 3,267 million) in 2013/14. Between 2010/11 and 2013/14, the Fund registered 1,9 million new employers (National Treasury 2015:104). The Compensation Fund has invested in an information technology system to process claims faster and reduce turnaround times. As a result, the Fund expects the number of claims processed to grow from 196 000 at present to 552 000 in 2017/18. To cater for this growth in claims, the Fund will increase its prudential provisions, which will see total liabilities grow from R17,2 billion (about US\$ 1,357 million) in 2013/14 to R20,5 billion (about US\$ 1,617 million) by 2017/18 (National Treasury 2015:105). This will have a positive effect on the provision of the Compensation Fund.

There are four main compensation funds. Two are managed by the government and two by private firms licensed by the Compensation Commissioner (National Treasury 2010:109). These four funds are the following:

- the Compensation Fund (administered by the Department of Labour) covers employees outside the mining and construction sector;
- the Mines and Works Compensation Fund (administered by the Department of Health) compensates miners and former miners who have contracted lung-related diseases;

- the Rand Mutual Association provides injury cover for workers in the mining industry; and
- the Federation of Employers' Mutual Assurance covers workers injured in the construction industry.

4.7.2 Road Accident Fund (RAF)

The *Road Accident Fund Act, 56 of 1996 (RAF)* (RSA 1996b) is responsible for the payment of compensation for losses suffered due to road accidents or fatalities. Risks covered under the Road Accident Benefits Scheme include loss of income and reduced earning capacity, survivors' benefit, medical expenses, funeral expenses and non-financial losses (for example, pain and suffering). The RAF is funded through a dedicated fuel levy of 154 cents per litre of fuel sold, which generates a total fuel levy of roughly R2,66 billion (about US\$ 225 million) per month for the RAF as from July 2015 (National Treasury 2015:104). The Finance Minister stated in his Budget Speech for 2015 that the increase is required in order to finance the progress made by the RAF administration in clearing the claims backlog.

The current RAF model is inequitable and unaffordable. The Fund's long-term liabilities are estimated at R98 billion (about US\$ 8,300 000) and are projected to grow at 15 per cent each year (National Treasury and SARS 2015:104). The deterioration in the RAF's financial position has been exacerbated by an improvement in the processing of claims lodged, which has reduced the number of open claims from 253 111 in 2011/12 to 198 407 in 2013/14. As the claims backlog has been processed, the average value of claims concluded has increased substantially. The result has been a substantial cash shortfall, as reserves are exhausted. While the proposed 50 c/litre increase in the fuel levy will reduce pressure on the RAF, it is insufficient to resolve the liquidity shortfall in 2015/16. Further increases in fuel taxes, however, are not proposed at this stage (National Treasury 2015:104).

4.7.3 Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF)

The legislative framework for unemployment insurance in South Africa is provided in two pieces of legislation: the *Unemployment Insurance Act, 63 of 2001* (RSA 2001) and the *Unemployment Insurance Contributions Act, 4 of 2002* (RSA 2002). Five types of short-term benefits are payable: unemployment benefits, sickness benefits, maternity benefits, adoption benefits and dependant's benefits. In South Africa, it is mandatory to participate in the unemployment insurance scheme.

Coverage extends to employees who are or were contributors as defined in the *Unemployment Insurance Amendment Act, 32 of 2003* (RSA 2003a). According to the Act, the following groups and categories of persons are excluded from the ambit of the unemployment insurance schemes: persons who do not form part of the definition of employee; employees employed for less than 24 hours per month; previously unemployed persons who are employed as learners in terms of the *Skills Development Act, 97 of 1998* (RSA 1998a); employees and employers in the national and provincial sphere of government; and persons who enter South Africa for the purpose of working who are required to leave South Africa or whom the employer is required to repatriate when their employment terminates (RSA 2003a).

Unemployment benefits are financed through employer and employee contributions. Employees and employers to whom the unemployment insurance laws apply each contribute one per cent of the remuneration paid or payable to the employee, up to an earnings ceiling of R12,47 (about US\$ 1,05) per month. The government carries any deficit that may accrue in any financial year. It should be noted that on 31 March 2011, the UIF had a surplus of R9,461 000 (about US\$ 801 000). This is 38,1 per cent higher than the 2010 surplus of R6,854 000 (about US\$ 580 000). The increase in this surplus has been attributed largely to the “increase in contribution and investment revenue, including a positive fair value adjustment on investments assisted by a decrease in benefit payments and change in benefits payable” (Department of Labour 2011:54). It can be deduced from the above discussion that the investments of the UIF are successful in producing a positive stream of interest.

By 2013/2014, the UIF had an accumulated surplus of R72,3 billion (about US\$ 5,705 000) and a net asset position of R90.4 billion (about US\$ 6 billion). Despite the more generous benefit payments mandated by the *Unemployment Insurance Act, 63 of 2001* (RSA 2001), the Fund estimates that it will add R51,8 billion (about US\$ 4,087 000) to its accumulated surplus over the medium term. This imbalance between contributions and benefit payments has grown over the past five years, despite high unemployment. The rising surplus is marginally offset by the Fund’s support for the government’s job creation efforts. This includes programmes to support companies in distress and the training layoffs scheme, which aims to prevent retrenchments. The fund has spent R190 million (US\$ 13 000 000) on these programmes, and has committed to spending a further R2.2 billion (about US\$ 153 million) over the medium term (National Treasury 2015:104). Unemployment benefits play an important role in protecting workers who have been retrenched due to economic problems. This initiative supports the objective of the government to protect vulnerable people.

4.8 Private contributory schemes

4.8.1 Retirement funds

Retirement or pension funds are regulated in accordance with the *Pension Funds Act* of 1956 (Union of South Africa 1956). Contributory retirement funds in South Africa are private in nature. South Africa does not have a public contributory pension scheme, nor is there any statutory duty to belong to private funds. Some employers, as part of the conditions of service contained in a contract of employment or collective agreement, compel their employees to join their retirement funds (ISSA 2013:141).

Retirement funds are mainly financed through employer and employee contributions. Consequently, access to retirement funds is intimately linked to formal sector employment. Persons engaged in the informal sector are to a large extent excluded from and marginalised by contributory retirement schemes. Ultimately, they end up relying on tax-financed old age grants when they retire. Although private insurance products are offered by commercial insurers and informal sector workers could purchase these, this is essentially a theoretical offer, as most informal sector workers do not have a regular income. As a result, many cannot afford either the monthly premiums or guarantee that they will not default. This is disturbing, particularly when one takes into account that only 45,8 per cent of employees or their employers contribute to a retirement fund in South Africa. The retirement funds' scope of coverage also has a gender dimension: the ratio of females contributing to a retirement fund is lower than that of males by five per cent (Statistics South Africa 2011:36).

4.8.2 Medical aid schemes

The statutory regulation of medical aid schemes in South Africa is set out in the *Medical Schemes Act, 131 of 1998* (RSA 1998b). They are private and voluntary schemes financed largely by means-tested contributions. It is not uncommon for employers to subsidize the medical aid contributions of their employees. The proportion of employees entitled to medical aid benefit from their employers is estimated at 38,1 per cent, but the proportion of female employees entitled to a medical benefit from the employer is below that of male employees in the same position by 1,3 per cent (Statistics South Africa 2011:35). According to 2010 data (National Treasury 2010:45), a total of 7,9 million South Africans (3,4 million principal members and 4,5 million dependants) were covered by medical aid schemes.

There is a public health system, which is funded by the State through the Department of Health, but there is no public health insurance scheme in South Africa. Furthermore, there is no statutory compulsion for individuals who can afford the medical aid schemes' contributions to belong to such schemes.

The South African public health system is hamstrung by various challenges, including staff shortages, unsatisfactory infrastructure and a lack of specialised skills (Mpedi, Kalula and Smit 2013:142). Consequently, private health care in South Africa is supported by those who are fortunate enough to afford it or can contribute towards private medical aid schemes. This has led to the unfortunate situation that the poor are forced to contend with limited public health services, while those who have the means enjoy health care services provided by the private health system.

South Africa has inherited a highly fragmented health system with wide disparities between Blacks and Whites, urban and rural populations, between provinces and between public and private care, due to the segregation laws implemented by the apartheid government. Transformation efforts over the past two decade have clearly not done enough to address growing inequalities in this sector. The Department of Health published a policy paper on National Health Insurance (NHI) in South Africa (2011). The proposed NHI is expected to ensure that every person has access to “appropriate, efficient and quality health services” and is anticipated to be introduced through phases over a 14-year period. With this backdrop, the National Health Insurance (NHI) scheme is a promising development. The NHI, which is currently being piloted in 10 selected districts, aims to be a comprehensive financing system that is aimed at providing essential, efficient and quality health care to all citizens of South Africa, regardless of their employment status, socio-economic background and ability to make direct contributions to the NHI fund. However, challenges regarding its proposed implementation and success are widely envisaged (Mpedi *et al.* 2013:141).

Based on the above discussion, it can be deduced that the introduction of NHI scheme will benefit the majority of citizens who are currently not covered by the existing formal medical aid schemes. Furthermore, this insurance plan will bridge the gap between public health care and the private health care system, bringing closer the relationship between public and private, in as far as health care provision is concerned. However, the success of this plan will depend on adequate provision of financial resources, human capital and infrastructure facilities, such as information technology and medical equipment.

4.9 Non-contributory programmes

4.9.1 Social assistance grants

These grants, which are administered by SASSA in accordance with the *Social Assistance Act, 13 of 2004* (RSA 2004b) and the *South African Social Security Act, 9 of 2004* (RSA 2004a), are the most widespread poverty alleviation mechanisms in South Africa. A variety of social assistance benefits are provided under the social grants system. Almost all social assistance grants disbursed by SASSA are subject to eligibility conditions such as age, citizenship and /or residency, and to the means test, which differs from one grant to another. The social assistance grants are categorical in nature. This means they are only provided to qualifying persons who are too young, too old or too disabled to participate in the labour market. In addition, they are provided as a matter of right; that is, government is bound to provide the applicable social assistance grant(s) to a person as long as the person is or remains eligible for the grant(s) in question (ISSA 2013:142).

4.9.2 Military pensions

These pensions are provided according to the *Military Pensions Act, 84 of 1976* (RSA 1976). The Act is primarily aimed at the payment of pensions and gratuities to people who have been disabled, or whose disabilities were aggravated, by military service. It also covers the provision of medical treatment to eligible persons. Military pensions are financed through moneys appropriated from Parliament for this purpose. The Minister of Finance has to make a determination of amounts for purposes of the Act (RSA 1976).

4.9.3 Special pensions

The *Special Pensions Act, 69 of 1996* (RSA 1996c) makes provision for the disbursement of benefits in favour of persons who made sacrifices or served in the public interest in the struggle for democratic change in South Africa. Three types of benefits are payable in accordance with the Act: pensions, survivors' benefits and funeral benefits. According to section 1(b) of the Act, a person claiming a pension under the *Special Pensions Act* must, among other eligibility conditions, have made sacrifices or served in the public interest in the establishment of a non-racial, democratic constitutional order. The person must also be a citizen or be entitled to be a citizen of South Africa and have been prevented from providing for a pension for a total or combined period of at least five years prior to 2 February 1990

(RSA 1996c). This must be due to circumstances such as a person's having been engaged full-time in the service of a political organisation or having been prevented from leaving a particular area or place in South Africa in terms of an order issued under certain apartheid laws (for example, the *Riotous Assemblies Act, 17 of 1956* (Union of South Africa 1956b). Benefits regarding the death of the pensioner are paid to the surviving spouse(s) or dependants. These benefits may be paid as a lump sum, or as a monthly pension.

4.10 Overview of social security by grant type

In 2015, just over 16 million people accessed social grants. The two largest groups of beneficiaries are approximately 11,7 million CSG recipients and the 3,1 million Old Age Grant recipients as from 31 January to 30 June 2015 (SASSA 2015/16). This section provides an overview of the grants available in South Africa.

4.10.1 Child Support Grant (CSG)

The CSG was first introduced in 1998. Prior to this, the government provided a limited SMG (McEwen, Kannemeyer and Woolard 2009:2).

Applicants for the SMG needed to prove that they were the sole provider and caregiver for a child under the age of 17 (Delany, Ismail, Graham and Ramkissoo 2008). Parents who were widowed or divorced, had been deserted by their spouse, or had a spouse in jail or other institution that made working impossible, were eligible to receive the grant. The SMG failed to reach the poorest segment of society, because Africans were almost entirely excluded from receiving any benefit from the SMG (Kruger 1998:3). A household survey in 1990 analysed the impact of this grant and found that only 0,2 per cent of African children were receiving the SMGs, while 1,5 per cent of White children, 4,0 per cent of Indian children and 4,8 per cent of Coloured children received the grant (Kruger 1998:3). Each receipt depended on location; children in rural areas were often excluded because people were unaware of the grant, unable to travel to application sites, and other administrative problems (Kruger 1998:7). The household survey documented the need for an alternative strategy for targeting poor children that would result in equal access to the grant and increase the number of beneficiaries.

As a result the CSG was introduced as a means-test social grant, aimed specifically at the poorest 30 per cent of children in South Africa, irrespective of race (Government of South Africa 2009; Agüero, Carter and Woolard 2007:5; Triegaardt 2005:249; Coetzee 2013:4). The

initial implementation of the CSG involved a cash transfer of R100 (about US\$ 8.38) per month to the primary caregivers of all eligible children under the age of seven. The age limit has been raised several times, and since 2010 has been increased gradually to include all (means-tested) eligible children aged 18 years and younger from January 2012 (SASSA 2013/14). The amount transferred to recipients has also been increased since April 1998, and is currently R330 (about US\$ 27.65) per month (SASSA 2015/16).

4.10.2 Old Age Grant

The Old Age Grant is available to South African men and women, permanent residents and recognised refugees living in South Africa aged 60 or above. It is granted subject to a means test of the applicant and their spouse's income and assets. In February 2013, a total of 2 862 570 people received the Old Age Grant. Currently 66,34 per cent of people over the age of 60 rely on the Old Age Grant as their primary source of income (SASSA 2013/14). It can be deduced from the above discussion that social security provision in South Africa plays an important role in alleviating poverty.

4.10.3 War Veteran's Grant (WVG)

The War Veteran's Grant is meant for people who served in the First or Second World War or the Korean War, who can apply for the grant. As of 30 June 2015, only 297 people still claimed this grant (SASSA 2015/16). Once the last surviving veteran passes away, this grant will presumably be scrapped.

4.10.4 Disability Grant (DG)

The Disability Grant (DG) is of the same value as the Old Age Grant and is replaced by the Old Age Grant once recipients of the Disability Grant turn 60. It is granted on the condition that the recipient is between the age of 18 and 59 years and submits a medical report no older than three months at date of application. The report should confirm the disability and the applicant's inability to enter or re-enter the labour market as a result of this disability. Both temporary and permanent disability grants are available. The grant is awarded subject to a means test and is reviewed on a regular basis. Social grants means tests are intended to ensure that support is provided to beneficiaries who need it, and that social assistance is both fair and financially sustainable. The current disability assessment comprises only a medical assessment which, according to the DSD provides an inadequate measure of disability and

functioning when decision-making occurs at the medical practitioner level only. As of 30 June 2015, approximately 1 106 425 people claimed this grant (SASSA 2015/16). Based on the numbers benefiting from this grant, it can be deduced that social security in South Africa benefits the majority of people entitled to the grant.

4.10.5 *Grant in Aid (GIA)*

The GIA can be claimed in addition to another grant if the applicant requires full-time care due to a mental or physical disability. The grant is intended to cover the cost of full-time care. As of 30 June 2015, approximately 119 541 people claimed this grant (SASSA Statistical Report 2015).

4.10.6 *Foster Care Grant (FCG)*

The FCG is meant to reimburse individuals for the cost of raising a foster child. It is not awarded subject to a means test of the guardian or of the child, but foster care status must be confirmed by a court order. The FCG is meant to reimburse non-parents for looking after a child. It thus creates an incentive for foster care parents as an alternative to taking children into State-owned facilities. The foster care system is designed to take care of children at a time when children are at risk of abuse, neglect or exploitation (Brockerhoff 2013:29). The FCG of R800 (about US\$ 56) per month is the minimum protection for grandparents who take on the responsibility for orphaned children in families which are mostly already desperately poor.

At least 1,6 million orphans struggle to access this system to receive the FCG. Therefore, the FCG, social workers and courts have been overburdened for a very long time, and are not the appropriate vehicle to support millions of orphans cared for by grandmothers and siblings. Based on the high number of orphaned children in South Africa, for reasons including the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the question that needs to be addressed is whether the FCG system should deal with orphaned children, a purpose for which it was not initially created, or whether a different grant for orphans needs to be created (Frye 2008:14). As of 30 June 2015, approximately 519 031 people benefited from this grant (SASSA 2015/16). This implies that the FCG only covers about 32 per cent of orphaned children.

The implementation of the FCG is ineffective because of the challenges of the application process. In addition, the discrepancy between the level of the benefit payable under the FCG,

namely R800 (about US\$ 56) per month, and that payable under the CSG, namely R330 (about US\$ 27,65) per month could result in misuse of the grant. For example, parents who are able to care for their own children are abandoning their children to other people so that these people can access the more beneficial FCG (N Smit 2008:227).

4.10.7 Care Dependency Grant (CDG)

The CDG is targeted at children living with disabilities and turns into the disability grant once a child turns 18 years. The CDG can be awarded in addition to the FCG in order to avoid discriminating against children living with a disability. Like the disability grant, a medical certificate attesting the disability is required. As of 30 June 2015, approximately 127 869 people benefited from this grant (SASSA 2015/16).

4.11 Social security beneficiaries

The number of people accessing social grants in South Africa has expanded significantly. Currently there are just over 16 million beneficiaries. Table 4.1 (overleaf) identifies grant recipients by type and region. This table illustrates that the largest number of grants is being claimed in KwaZulu-Natal, followed by the Eastern Cape. The lowest number of grants is claimed in the Northern Cape and the Free State Province. The budget for social assistance has been increased to R7,1 billion (about US\$ 500 000 000) since the 2014 budget to cater for increases to beneficiary numbers (mostly in the CSG) and the carry-through costs of increasing grant values. By 2017/18, it is expected that 17,5 million beneficiaries will be receiving social grants, the budget for which will be R148,9 billion (about US\$ 10 billion). Overall, social grant expenditure has remained at a stable 3 per cent of the GDP (National Treasury 2015:66)

Table 4.1: Total number of social grants by grant type and region on 30 June 2015

Region	Grant type							Total
	OAG	WVG	DG	GIA	CDG	FCG	CSG	
EC	530 968	44	181 799	17 062	19 335	118 648	1 863 380	2 731 236
FS	183 488	5	74 219	2 201	6 481	40 148	661 137	967 679
GP	490 084	80	110 287	3 382	16 387	56 506	1 678 508	2 355 234
KZN	636 213	33	279 241	41 253	36 551	123 732	2 790 744	3 907 767
LP	432 829	19	93 712	23 262	13 450	59 108	1 714 296	2 336 676
MP	228 972	14	77 234	5 603	9 676	36 051	1 041 343	1 398 893
NC	79 768	8	52 311	6 853	4 872	14 868	292 762	451 442
NW	235 824	11	82 331	7 333	8 914	39 250	803 638	1 177 301
WC	296 583	83	155 291	12 592	12 203	30 720	946 788	1 454 260
Total	3 114 720	297	1 106 425	119 541	127 869	519 031	11 792 596	16 780 488

Source: SASSA (2015/16)

It can be deduced from Table 4.1 that the high number of recipients of the various social grants is informed by the growing level of unemployment, poverty and economic deprivation. As a result, this category of vulnerable groups, mainly the poor and unemployed, tend to depend on the State's provision of social grants, as reflected in the above table. Therefore, it implies that there is a correlation between the high number of recipients and vulnerable groups, which entails that the South African social security system is implemented in accordance with the policies concerning welfare.

4.12 Social security challenges in South Africa

Lack of comprehensive social security coverage has become a topical issue warranting global concern. In most developing countries many people have remained unprotected against the hazards of economic shocks, even though various social security policies have been implemented (Nhede 2014:108). South Africa is no exception. The democratic state has inherited a divided nation, with high poverty levels, inequality, discriminatory practices and inequitable distribution of income. The inequalities that persist today have largely been attributed to apartheid policies which limited access to quality education and formal labour market participation, which has kept people trapped in poverty. Before 1994, the country's welfare policy was designed to entrench the socio-economic privileges of the White population, which already enjoyed preferential access to education, low unemployment rates and low exposure to vulnerability and risks. The welfare system was fragmented, inefficient and ineffective (ISSA 2013:49).

In 1994, South Africa moved away from being an apartheid state. South Africa is now a democratic state founded on values such as human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms; non-racialism and non-sexism; supremacy of the *Constitution* and the rule of law, to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness. One of the issues that the post-apartheid government had to urgently endeavour to address was the deracialization of the social security system and the extension of its scope of coverage to excluded and marginalised groups and categories of persons. Progress has been made toward the realisation of these goals. According to SASSA's *2014/15 Annual Report*, the growth of social grants from over 2 million in 1994 to over 16 million in 2014/15 signifies a noteworthy achievement by the government to provide for and support those who are unable to provide for themselves (SASSA 2014/15). Although progress has been made to cover everybody who qualifies for social assistance, there are still challenges that need to be addressed. These challenges include administrative issues, implementation issues and sustainability issues, which are explained below.

4.12.1 Administrative issues

The social security institutional and administrative frameworks in South Africa are not integrated, with the consequence that the available resources are diminished by unnecessary duplication of processes and functions. This is inefficient and minimizes the effectiveness of the South African social security schemes. As pointed out in the 2011 Budget Review (National Treasury 2011:106),

...[s]ocial security agencies essentially perform the same tasks. They collect contributions, manage accounts and disburse benefits. Yet none of these functions are shared. Information gathered this year from the five largest agencies underscores the extent of the problem... administrative costs vary significantly. For example, SASSA's administration ratio is 6 per cent, the UIF's is 25 per cent and the Compensation Fund spends over 40 per cent of costs on administration. These numbers do not tell the whole story. For example, SASSA's distribution costs are high due to expensive cash payment contracts. Without these costs, administrative expenditure as a percentage of benefit payments would have fallen over time. The UIF has 948 service points, compared with 540 for SASSA and a total of 1,700 across all social security entities. Sharing the service points would reduce costs, increase the presence of some entities, and enhance service delivery.

To remedy this problem, the President appointed an inter-ministerial committee on social security reform and health finance which proposed that the administrative functions be unified, benefits be aligned and policy-making across social security agencies should be coordinated (National Treasury 2011:112). However, this is not the first time a call has been made for the integration of social security agencies in South Africa. When proposing the

establishment of SASSA, the Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive System of Social Security for South Africa suggested that consideration be given to functions of SASSA in the following spheres:

- social assistance – SASSA should have the function of managing the non-contributory social assistance fund, including budget determination and grant administration;
- social insurance – SASSA should become the oversight authority for all social insurance funds operating in South Africa; and
- intermediary services, the important interface between the public and all areas of the social security system, whether contributory or non-contributory, would become the responsibility of SASSA, and the Agency could eventually develop into an intermediary between the public and relevant government department (for example, Home Affairs) or social assistance and social insurance institutions (for example, UIF and COIDA) (Guthrie 2002:503).

Based on the above objectives and functions, it could be argued that the Committee envisaged a “one-stop shop” regarding the reform of the social security institutional framework in South Africa. A “one-stop shop” approach in social security provisioning is an administrative and institutional model based on the theory that by providing different social security services in one place, social security institutions can offer their clients the convenience of having their social security needs served at one stop. It follows logically that a one-stop shop provides a “one-stop service”. According to Bellamy (1996:174), a “one-stop service” refers to “a service which permits customers to transact all their business through one point, without the need to deal directly with other parts of the bureaucracy”. However, SASSA has yet to incorporate social insurance and intermediary services into its activities.

4.12.2 Implementation issues

Corruption, fraud and mismanagement are among the main challenges facing most social security schemes in South Africa. The RAF, compared with other social insurance schemes, is affected most. The number of people arrested for defrauding the RAF rose from 290 in the 2012/13 financial year to 478 in the 2013/14 financial year (Road Accident Fund Annual Report 2014/15). Among the non-contributory programmes, SASSA and the Special Pension Fund are also affected.

Fraud and corruption in the social assistance programme is not as widespread as it used to be when the programme was still administered by the provincial departments of social development in each of nine South African provinces (ISSA 2013:149). Nevertheless, corruption and fraud still rank high among the sources of concern at SASSA. The SASSA Annual Report for 2014/15 states that the syndicates which were active within the provincial departments that used to be responsible for the payment of social assistance benefits have simply transferred to SASSA. The problem of corruption and fraud is compounded by the fact that SASSA has an alarming vacancy rate of 60 per cent. SASSA has filled 93 per cent of critical posts, filling 506 posts by new appointments and 298 by internal appointments (SASSA 201 2014/15). Filling these posts will hopefully enable SASSA to implement the social welfare policies of the government to alleviate poverty.

The organisational arrangements around special pensions is not perfect. National Treasury reports have pointed out the need to purge the Special Pension Fund of mismanagement and fraud. Some legitimate claimants of the special pension's benefits have been excluded and marginalised, due to the complicated application process, which is not user friendly. Ferreira (2011) notes that "the Special Pensions Unit received 71,104 applications between 1996 and the end of July 2011. Of these, 21,277 are approved, 35,478 were rejected and 9,373 applications were received after the closing date. Currently, 4,976 applications are pending". This implies that there are organisational challenges in the implementation of the Special Pensions Fund. Some steps have been taken to remedy the situation: additional personnel have been trained and the Government Employees Pensions Fund and Special Pensions offices have been integrated at a regional level. Outreach programmes by the government have been held and district municipalities are expected to assist those who are unable to access services in towns and cities (Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2011).

4.12.3 Sustainability issues

The growth in the monetary value of the social assistance grants and the number of social assistance grants beneficiaries is to be welcomed. This assertion stems largely from the poverty alleviation role played by the social assistance grants in South Africa. In most instances and predominantly in Black households, grants (especially Old Age Grants) are the only family income. Old Age Grants in particular are used not only to recognise and assist the elderly through their old age, but stretch far beyond that to cater for the needs of the family. Nonetheless, these trends bring the long-term financial sustainability of the social assistance

grants system into question. According to Statistics South Africa's (2015) latest General Households Survey, the number of people receiving social grants increased from 12,7 per cent in 2003 to 30,2 per cent in 2013, while the number of households receiving at least one grant increased from 29,9 per cent to 45,5 per cent over the same period. Based on the increase in the number of beneficiaries, these trends raise concerns about future sustainability (SASSA 2014/15; OECD 2010:113).

While there are many strategies that can and should be implemented to improve employment outcomes in South Africa, it is also important to avoid taking actions which will make the situation worse. One risk that has to be borne in mind in this respect is expanding social support mechanisms. In recent years, South Africa has massively expanded budgetary transfers for social protection, and these have proved to be effective in combating poverty. For example, in 2014/15 financial year, the CSG was R 315 (about US\$ 19,99) and in 2015/16 financial year it was increased to R 330 (about US\$ 20,95) (National Treasury 2015:4). Increasing these grants in this direction will, however, make some people (especially unskilled people) reluctant to find and keep a job, and may compromise fiscal sustainability, thereby undermining macroeconomic stability.

It is of the utmost importance that "a better balance... be struck between fighting poverty through cash transfers, and broad-based development and opportunities for the poor to participate in the mainstream economy" (National Treasury 2010:113). Based on the above arguments, it can be deduced that, although expanding social assistance is important to alleviate poverty to the marginalised, it should be done bearing in mind the issue of sustainability.

4.13 Conclusion

The broad picture that emerges from this chapter is that South Africa has a fairly evolved system of social security for a developmental state in relation to BRIC countries. Social security provisioning is important in combating chronic poverty in South Africa, especially children suffering as a result of poverty. A large proportion of the population falls outside the economic mainstream, and given their poor employment probabilities, they are often unlikely to gain from economic growth and new employment opportunities. For this portion of society, welfare grants are an important source of income. Rapid expansion of the social security net since 2000 has undoubtedly had a large impact on poverty in South Africa, and although the

precise poverty implications are still difficult to determine, the fact that most of the social welfare programmes are means-tested implies that the beneficiaries were largely the poor households. Currently, a relatively large share of the population relies on welfare transfers as a main or secondary source of income.

The next chapter provides the analysis and interpretation of the study findings on the implementation of the CSG grant, bearing in mind this background and context.

Chapter 5: Analysis and interpretation of the study findings

5.1 Introduction

The South African government elected in the first democratic elections in 1994 has been faced with many challenges of a political, economic and social nature. In particular, socio-economic issues including poverty, unemployment, a lack of universal social security, limited health care availability and housing, and spiralling crime continue to need urgent attention by the government. Since independence, the ANC and its alliance partners, the SACP and COSATU, have been advocating the creation of jobs, the provision of essential services such as education, housing, social welfare and health care to overcome inequality and stemming the tide of crime.

In this chapter, an analysis is presented of the study's findings on factors that affect the implementation of the CSG policy are discussed. The analysis considers the manner in which the DSD and SASSA implemented the CSG policy in KZN. The application of M&E strategies is central in this study, and is further elaborated on in this chapter, considering the measures SASSA has put in place to monitor the implementation of the policy.

5.2 Qualifying grant requirements for the CSG policy

Social grants are administered by SASSA, as mandated by the *South African Social Security Act, 9 of 2004*, to “ensure the provision of comprehensive social security services against vulnerability and poverty within the constitutional legislative framework” (RSA 2004a). Thus SASSA's slogan is “Paying the right social grant, to the right person, at the right time and place. *NJALO!* (Always)” (SASSA 2013/14:15). SASSA provides different types of social grants with different requirements for each.

For the purposes of this study, the requirements for the CSG policy are the following:

- the primary care giver must be a South African citizen, permanent resident or refugee;
- both the applicant and the child must reside in South Africa;
- the child must be 18 years of age or younger;
- the applicant must provide a birth certificate for the child;
- the applicant must provide a 13-digit bar-coded identity document for the applicant;

- the applicant must be the primary care giver of the child/children concerned;
- the child/children must have been born after 31 December 1993;
- the applicant and spouse must meet the requirements of the means test;
- applicants cannot apply for more than six non-biological children; and
- the child cannot be cared for in a State institution.

It should be noted that one of the intentions of the CSG is to ensure that children attend and complete schooling. It is therefore a requirement that a school attendance certificate be produced for children aged between seven and 18 years. However, failure to produce this certificate or failure to attend school will not result in a refusal to pay the CSG (SASSA 2015/16:4).

5.3 Systematic approach

The research results and findings discussed in this chapter provide evidence of the outcomes of the study and the meaning of the data. This evidence consists of data or information collected which must be presented, interpreted and described. The presentation of the results consists of a concise verbal description of the outcome and a summary of the data presented in tables, graphs, charts and figures. It must always be kept in mind that data or information is collected on populations or sub-groups selected from a bigger population, in other words, samples. A researcher is typically interested in finding trends or patterns of responses or behaviour within the population or sample (Tichapondwa 2013:218).

In qualitative research, a researcher aims to explore, understand, and interpret the meaningful and symbolic content of, data such as qualitative data in oral communication or audio recordings (for example, from qualitative interviews), texts (for example, documents, transcripts, filed notes) or artefacts and models, and from images (video, photographs, paintings, drawings). The researcher's interest centres on analysing and interpreting meaning in these by individuals or cases, and the group involved. All this requires a systematic approach to reduce extensive data sets by creating categories and concepts derived from the data, analysing them and then reporting them (Flick 2009:17).

The first section of this chapter provides an analysis of the questions posed to officials at Zululand SASSA District offices. The researcher interviewed 30 officials from different SASSA offices. This enabled the researcher to get an understanding of issues pertaining to the implementation of the CSG policy. The analysis is based on the responses given by the

participants. Before the interviewing process, the participants were informed that if they chose to participate, they would do so on a voluntary basis, and could withdraw from the interview at any stage. In addition, it was also emphasised that the participants' answers would be anonymous and that the names of the participants would not be recorded. Thus the information obtained was confidential and would be used only by the interviewer.

5.4 Data analysis and findings of the interviews with SASSA staff

According to Potter (1996:134), there are a number of methods of analysis available to qualitative researchers. These methods can be used separately, but usually they are used in combinations created by the researcher to fulfil a particular purpose.

This section addresses the questions and responses of the officials who are responsible for administering the implementation of the CSG policy. These officials interact directly with the beneficiaries of the CSG policy. This study gathers knowledge, understanding and insight from those who are directly involved with the implementation of the CSG policy in order to enhance understanding of what is occurring in respect of policy implementation. Based on the interview schedule (Appendix A), the study attempted to clarify particular misconceptions about CSG policy implementation. The interview schedule probed particular themes to clarify pertinent questions on CSG policy. These questions were sequential closed and open-ended questions, aimed at acquiring the necessary data for the research. A copy of a blank interview schedule is attached as Appendix A. Responses to individual questions are discussed below.

5.4.1 *Question 1: Awareness of policy issues in the department regarding CSG policy*

Research participants were requested to indicate their awareness about policy issues in the department with special reference to the CSG policy. All 30 (100%) of the participants indicated that they are aware of the policy. The results thus indicate that SASSA officials are aware of the policy documents that they need to work with.

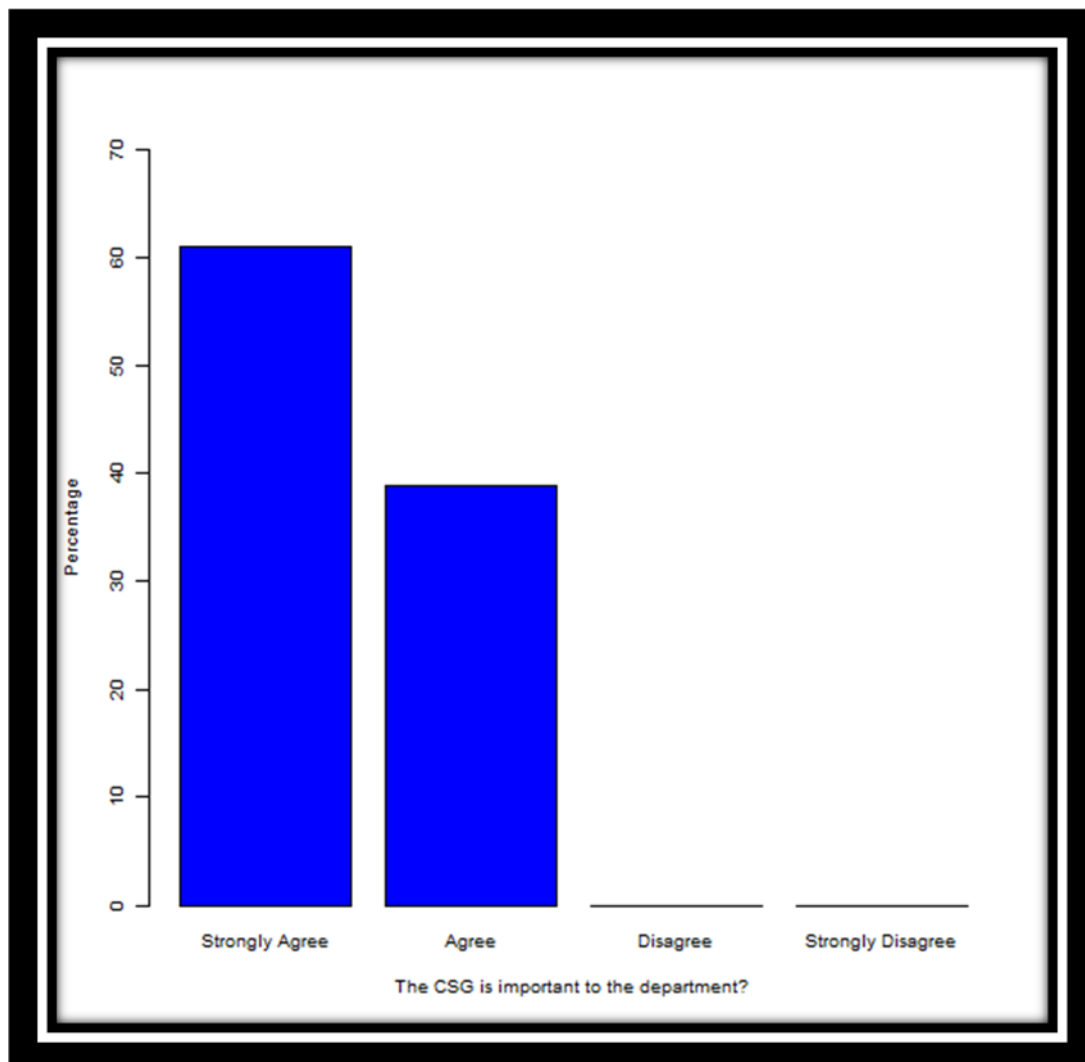
5.4.2 *Question 2: Importance of the CSG*

“Poverty is not an accident. Like slavery and apartheid, it is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings. This is not a gesture of charity, but rather an act of justice and the protection of a fundamental human right to dignity and decent life” (Mandela 2005, quoted in SASSA 2013/14). The South African government has responded

to these profound words by developing a number of pro-poor policies as an intervention to ameliorate the consequences of poverty. It was from this background that the study wanted to establish from the participants if they see any value in the government’s implementing the CSG policy. The researcher considered it important to find out from the officials whether they had some appreciation of the policy they are implementing.

The research participants from SASSA offices were requested to indicate the importance of the CSG policy for the beneficiaries. They were provided with four options: “strongly agree”, “agree”, “disagree” and “strongly disagree”. Figure 5.1, below, graphically illustrates the responses of the participants.

Figure 5.1: The importance of the CSG



Based on the responses, as Figure 5.1 illustrates, all 30 (100%) participants acknowledged the importance of the CSG policy. More than half, 18 (60%) of the participants indicated that

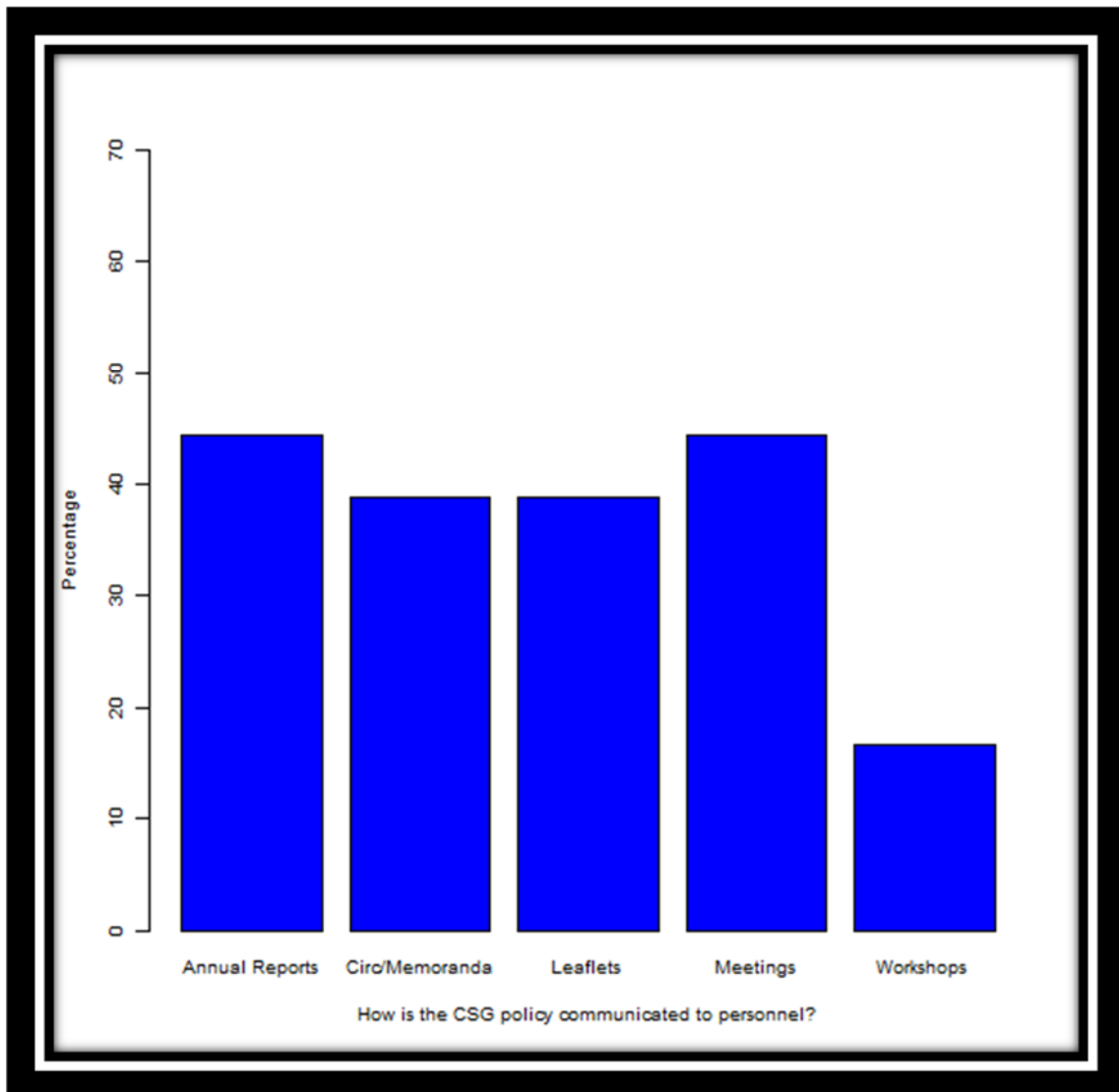
they strongly agreed and 12 (40%) indicated that they agreed that the CSG policy is important for the beneficiaries. None of the participants disagreed. It can be concluded from the above results that the DSD and SASSA have an appreciation of the importance of the CSG policy.

5.4.3 Question 3: How is the CSG policy communicated to personnel?

This question required the participants from SASSA to indicate how the CSG policy is communicated to personnel. Participants were given five options to choose from: “circulars/memoranda”, “workshops”, “meetings”, “leaflets” and “annual reports”. The participants were allowed to select more than one response. Figure 5.2, overleaf, shows the responses of the participants.

The participants indicated that the DSD uses various methods to communicate the policies of the government to personnel. From the responses that were received, and as Figure 5.2 illustrates, the majority of participants indicated that the most used means of communication was annual reports, reported by 14 (47%) participants, and meetings, also reported by 14 (47%) participants. Responses for circulars/memorandums and leaflets were both 11 (37%). Only 5 (16%) of the participants indicated that workshops were used as another method to communicate policies of the department to personnel. The use of different methods by the government plays an important role in the communication of government policy. As a result, SASSA officials were satisfied with the communication channels. This makes the communication methods used by government effective because all the participants received communication from government regarding the CSG policy.

Figure 5.2: How is the CSG policy communicated to personnel?



5.4.4 Question 4: Is the CSG effectively implemented?

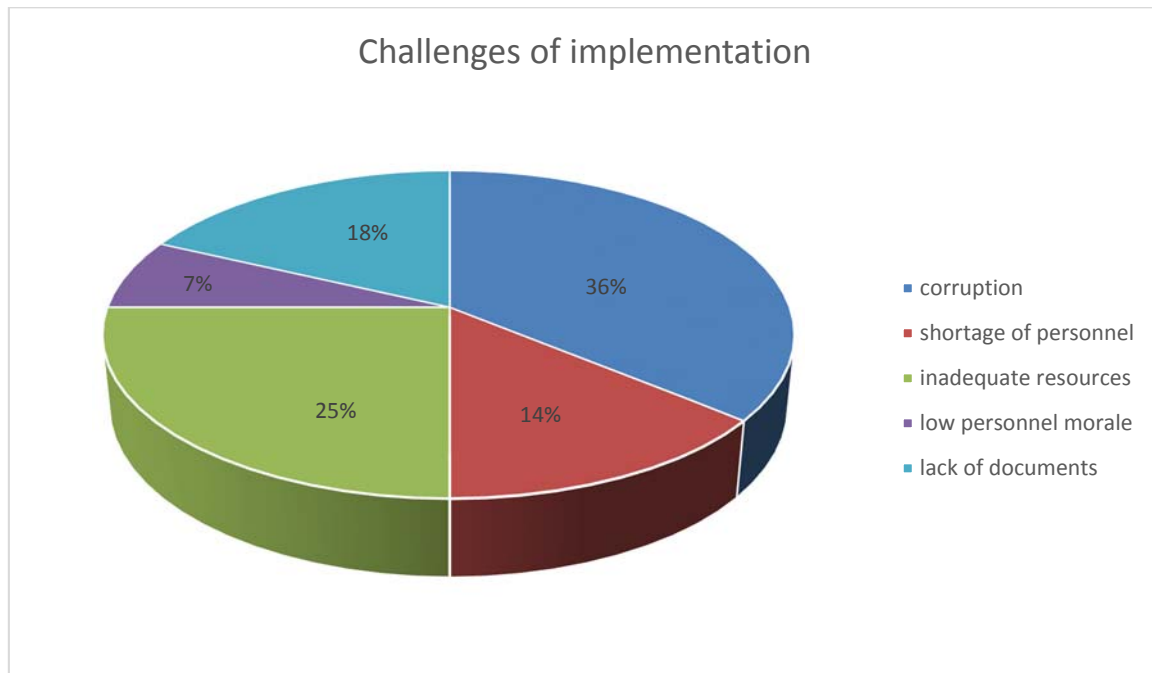
In this question, in order to verify whether the CSG is effectively implemented, the participants were asked to identify which organisational component of their department is responsible for the implementation of the CSG policy. The participants were given five options to choose from: “only in certain components”, “only for certain level of personnel”, “in the whole department”, “no, nothing has been done”, and “do not know”. The responses from all the participants 30 (100%) indicated that the CSG policy is fully supported by the whole department. This overwhelming response also indicates that all sections in the department work together for effective implementation of the CSG policy. Although they are all involved in the implementation of the CSG policy, administrative personnel receive the

application and check if all the required documents are provided such as a certified copy of the Identity Document (ID). The information of the beneficiary is uploaded into a computer system which has been programmed to approve or decline an application.

5.4.5 Question 5: What are the challenges faced in the implementation process of the CSG policy?

Question 5 of the interview schedule was an open-ended question, which required research participants to reflect on the challenges faced by public officials in the process of implementation the CSG policy. The participants were not provided with options to choose from, so for the purposes of this analysis, the researcher categorised the participants’ responses into the following themes: “corruption”, “shortage of personnel”, “inadequate resources”, “low personnel morale” and “lack of documents”. The participants could indicate more than one challenge, whatever they considered to be relevant. Figure 5.6 shows the responses of the participants.

Figure 5.3: Challenges of implementation



These challenges are discussed in more detail below, because overcoming them is central to improving the CSG policy implementation.

5.4.5.1 *Corruption*

As already highlighted in the discussion of Question 2 (see Section 5.4.2), the officials appreciate the importance of the CSG, but it seems that implementation is being marred by corruption. More than a third (36%) of the participants stated that corruption is a major problem for the proper implementation of the CSG policy.

Corruption is a complex social, political and economic phenomenon that affects all countries. It undermines democratic institutions, slows economic development and contributes to governmental instability. According to the DSD (2015:6), “social grant fraud is when people receive grants which they are not entitled to. The abuse is putting a severe strain on the social security system, depriving legitimate claimants [of] access to social assistance”. Corruption is partly a symptom of weak management and operations systems which create the space for corruption to thrive. As illustrated in Figure 5.3 above, the largest proportion, 36%, of the participants highlighted the issue of corruption as a challenge. In order to reduce corruption, in 2012, the DSD embarked on a process of re-registering grant beneficiaries. The aim was to root out “ghost” beneficiaries and ensure that grants are paid out only to existing and deserving South Africans. Over 600 000 fraudulent social grant recipients were removed from the system in 2013, following this re-registration process to determine the correct number of legitimate beneficiaries (DSD 2015). Based on the above it can be deduced that the South African government is combating corruption, which affects the implementation of the CSG policy.

5.4.5.2 *Shortage of personnel*

As Figure 5.3, above, shows, 14 per cent of the participants indicated that a shortage of personnel is a challenge for the proper implementation of the CSG policy. This problem does need to be addressed, but this has financial implications for SASSA. The staff in question are administrative personnel who receive the applications from the potential beneficiaries. This has resulted in beneficiaries’ having to wait in long queues before they could be assisted with their application. One participant reported that in some instances beneficiaries had to wait two hours, on average, before they could be assisted with their applications. According to the official interviewed, the situation of overcrowding and long queues was a problem.

Another study conducted by Goldblatt (2006:13) confirms the same challenge. There is a need to increase administrative personnel to fast-track the application process.

5.4.5.3 *Inadequate resources*

From the responses that were received, and as Figure 5.3 illustrates, a quarter (25%) of the participants stated that there is a shortage of resources. Some examples are vehicles and computers. Public officials are sometimes required to do site visits in order to verify some information provided by an applicant. In such cases, public officials need to use government vehicles, and there are not enough. The waiting period for an official to be allocated a vehicle delays the consideration and the approval process. However, the participants mentioned that the government was aware of the problem and that they were in the process of buying more cars. The participants were of the view that with more computers, the process would also be much faster and beneficiaries could be served faster.

5.4.5.4 *Lack of documents*

It is part of SASSA's mandate to ensure the provision of comprehensive social security services against vulnerability and poverty within the constitutional and legislative framework. Applicants for social grants must be South African citizens, permanent residents or refugees, and currently living in South Africa. As Figure 5.3 illustrates, 18 per cent of the participants reported that some beneficiaries do not have the required documents in order for them to qualify for the application of a grant. For example, they may lack a South African green bar-coded Identity Book (ID) or Smartcard ID, birth certificate or hospital card. If the applicant cannot provide the above documents, he/she may provide alternative documentation as proof of identity, such as a sworn statement or affidavit. In cases where beneficiaries are unable to provide the relevant documents, the department has put in place temporary measures to ensure that no deserving child is deprived of the right to social security.

Based on the above it can be deduced that various departments need to work together in a coordinated manner for the proper implementation of the CSG policy. The Department of Home Affairs requires a child to be registered within 30 days after birth, in order to reduce the backlog of birth certificates. This implies that interdepartmental coordination efforts are required to ensure harmonised, synergised and streamlined grant administration on the part of the responsible and mandated departments. These departments include the Department of Home Affairs, the South African Police Services (SAPS) and the Department of Health, as well as the DSD.

5.4.5.5 *Low personnel morale*

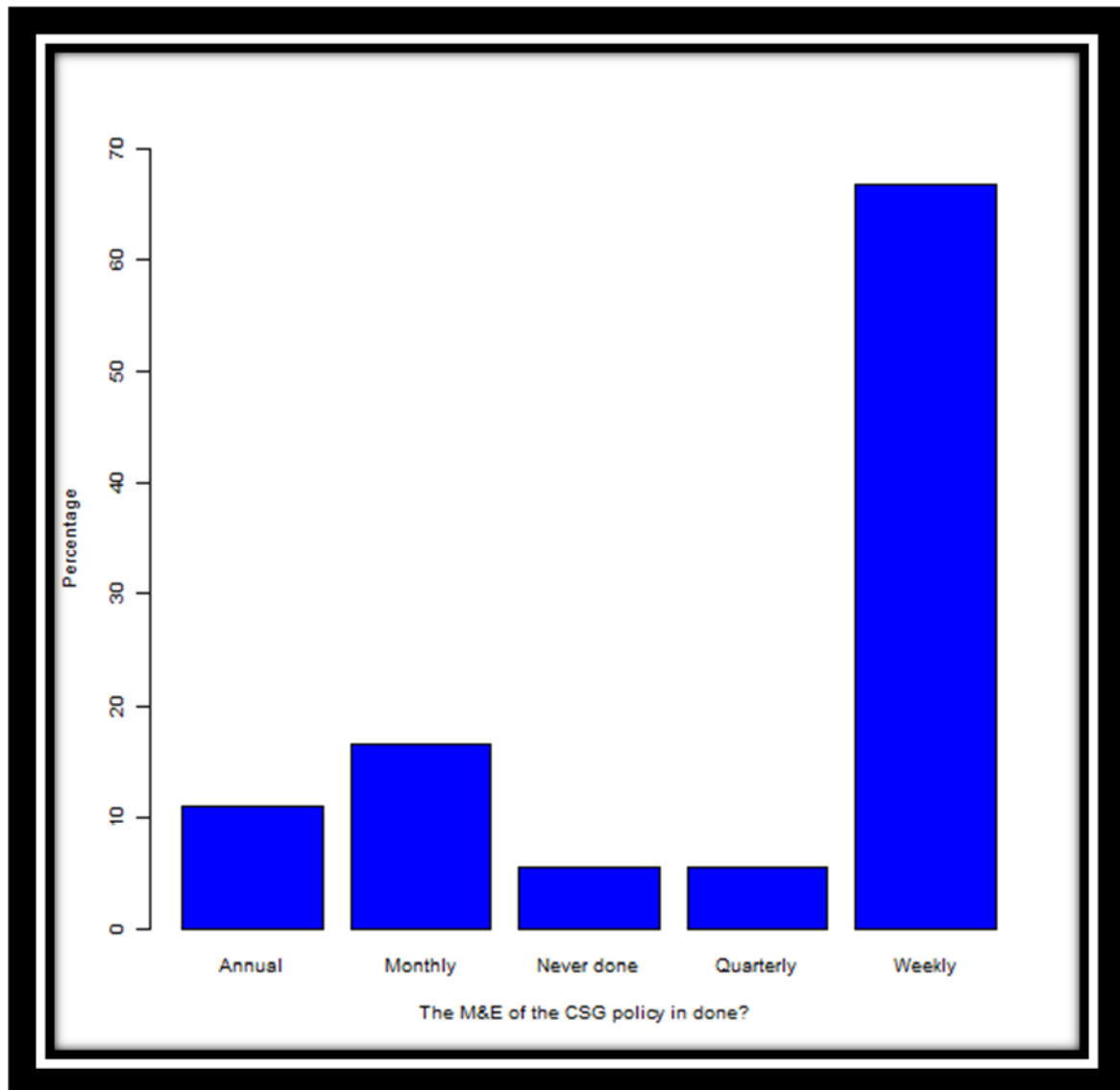
From the responses that were received, as Figure 5.3 shows, only 7 per cent of the participants indicated that low personnel morale was a challenge. Low employee morale can be a serious concern for any government. An unhappy employee can lead to reduced productivity, poor customer service and problems with employee retention. Although the issue of personnel morale is outside the scope of this study, the participants mentioned that some employees within the department have low personnel morale. This was an unintended finding which has a bearing on customer care service and efficient implementation of the CSG policy.

5.4.6 *Question 6: When is M&E of the CSG policy done?*

In this question, participants were asked when do they do M&E of the CSG policy implementation in the DSD. The participants were given five options to choose from and they could choose more than one option. These were the options: “weekly”, “monthly”, “quarterly”, “annually” and “never done”. Figure 5.4 shows the responses of the participants.

From the responses that were received, as Figure 5.4 illustrates, a majority of 65 per cent of the participants indicated that monitoring and evaluation is done weekly in their department. They stated that they produce weekly reports about the progress made in terms of the implementation process of the CSG policy. Other units produce monthly reports (15 per cent of the participants), annual reports (ten per cent of the participants) and quarterly reports (five per cent of the participants). Only five per cent of the participants said they had never done so in their departments. These responses reveal differences between units, and show that some units do not follow the DSD guidelines, which require a weekly report.

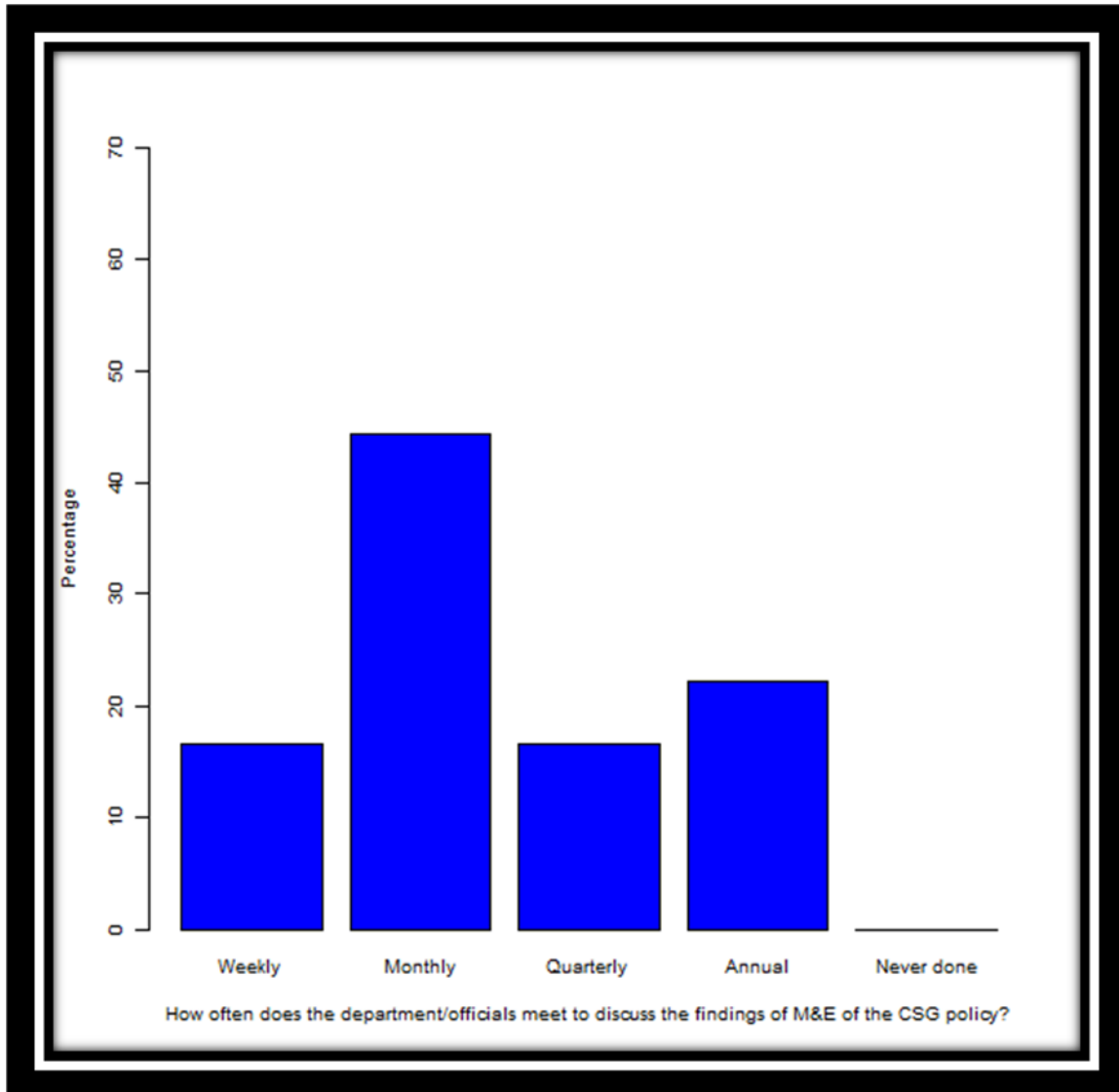
Figure 5.4: The M&E of the CSG policy



5.4.7 Question 7: How often do officials meet to discuss the findings of M&E of the CSG policy?

The research participants were requested to state how often officials meet to discuss the findings of the M&E of the CSG policy. They were provided with five options: “weekly”, “monthly”, “quarterly”, “annually” and “never done”. Participants were allowed to choose more than one option when answering the question. Figure 5.5 reveals the responses of the participants.

Figure 5.5: How often do officials meet to discuss the findings of M&E of the CSG policy?



From the responses that were received (as Figure 5.5 shows), the largest percentage of the participants, 44 per cent, indicated that they meet monthly to discuss issues pertaining to the CSG policy. However, other units within the Department mentioned that they meet as follows: annually (22 per cent), quarterly (18 per cent), or weekly (16 per cent). All the units met at intervals, as none of the participants chose “never done”. Based on responses received, it seems that there is no uniformity in terms of the regularity of meetings to discuss the findings of the M&E process. This implies that some units in the Department do not follow the M&E process regarding the CSG policy’s effective implementation sufficiently rigorously.

5.4.8 *Question 8: Stakeholder involvement in the implementation of the CSG policy*

In this question, the participants were requested to indicate to what extent SASSA involves other stakeholders, such as the Department of Home Affairs, the Department of Basic Education, and the South African Police Service in the implementation of the CSG policy. All the participants (100%) stated that relevant stakeholders are involved in the implementation of the CSG policy. It is important for the DSD and the SASSA to involve other departments such as those listed above, for the proper implementation of the CSG policy. The role played by these different stakeholders supports the integration of other departments by the government. The Department of Home Affairs, for example, plays an important role in the implementation of the CSG policy. This department is responsible for the issuing of IDs, which are crucial documents for a potential beneficiary to be considered for the grant. In addition, the Department of Health provides hospital cards, which is also a requirement for the application of social security.

To enhance coordination amongst different departments, the government introduced government clusters. These clusters play an important role in integrating the government approach. They are meant to enhance government planning, decision-making and service delivery. The main purpose is to ensure proper coordination of all government programmes in all spheres of government. These clusters include the following:

- the Economic sector, employment and infrastructure development cluster;
- the Governance and administration cluster;
- the International cooperation, trade and security cluster;
- the Justice, crime prevention and security cluster; and
- the Social protection, community and human development cluster.

Each cluster consists of a number of departments which collectively work together to facilitate and monitor the implementation of priority programmes and to provide a consultative platform on cross-cutting priorities and matters being taken to Cabinet.

The Social protection, community and human development cluster consist of the following departments:

- Department of Social Development;
- Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs;
- Human Settlements;
- Public Works;

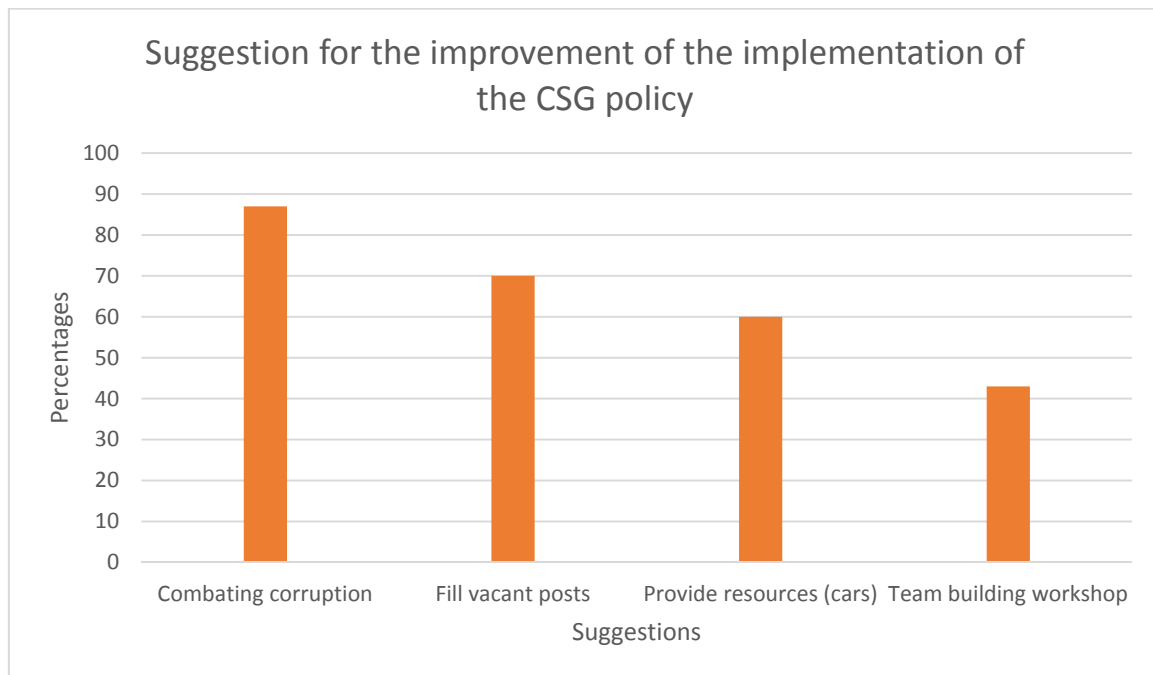
- Sports and Recreation;
- Arts and Culture;
- Labour;
- Transport;
- The Presidency: Women, Rural Development and Land Reform;
- Water and Sanitation;
- Basic Education;
- Health;
- Science and Technology; and
- Higher Education and Training.

In practice, there is a growing awareness that policy needs to be coordinated across government. Social issues are often complex and multidimensional, and they need to be understood in a holistic manner. Owing to the interrelatedness of social phenomena and the impact that one department's functions have on the next, it is crucial to understand the roles and responsibilities of all the other sector departments and how their functions relate to those of the DSD. Therefore, these departments work together for effective implementation of the CSG policy in order to alleviate poverty. This type of coordination has enhanced service delivery on the part of the government.

5.4.9 Question 9: Areas of improvement for the effective implementation of the CSG policy

Question 9 of the interview schedule was an open-ended question, which required research participants to reflect on possible suggestions for the improvement of the implementation of the CSG policy. The participants were not provided with options to choose from, so for the purposes of this analysis, the researcher has categorised the participants' responses into the following themes: combating corruption, filling vacant posts, provision of resources (cars) and team building workshops. It should be noted that some participants provided information that can be categorised into more than one theme. Figure 5.6, overleaf, depicts the responses of the participants.

Figure 5.6: Suggestions for improving the implementation of the CSG policy



Based on Figure 5.6 above, it is clear that the majority of the participants identify combating corruption as important for more effective implementation of the CSG policy, followed by the filling of vacant posts. If SASSA can address these two areas, it will be more effective and efficient in the implementation of the CSG policy. It will improve the turnaround strategy of the application process, making it shorter, if vacant posts are filled. The Social Pension System (SCOPEN), SASSA’s core business system, has already been upgraded to support the standardised four-step process for social grant applications. The enhancement covered the inclusion of a screening process in order to ensure that all documents and information required to process an application have been submitted and placed on file.

5.4.10 Question 10: In your opinion, is the CSG policy well implemented?

The final question of the interview schedule for the officials requested participants to state their opinion of whether the CSG policy is well implemented. In answering this question, the research participants were provided with two options in order to indicate the effectiveness of the CSG policy implementation. All the responses (100%) indicated the importance of the CSG policy accorded to it by the participants.

The majority of children in South Africa live in three of the nine provinces: KwaZulu-Natal (23 per cent of the province’s total population), Eastern Cape (14 per cent) and Limpopo (12

per cent). In addition, 18 per cent of all children live in Gauteng, which is a metropolitan province, and ten per cent are found in the Western Cape (Meintjies and Hall 2013:86). It should be noted that the choice of KZN as the area in which this study was conducted was informed by the high number of children in the province as outlined above.

In the context of the African community in South Africa many children live separately from their biological parents and live with other relatives. However, the distribution of adults is different from that of children. Children are mostly found in rural provinces (Limpopo, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal), whilst adults are largely found in metropolitan provinces. Using Statistics South Africa's mid-term population estimates for children aged 0 to 17 years (the eligible age group in 2011), it was estimated that 76% of eligible children are accessing the CSG (Meintjies and Hall 2013:92). Based on these findings, it can be deduced that there has indeed been remarkable progress in terms CSG policy implementation. However, more still has to be done to cater for the remaining 24%. These research findings indicate that the government is pursuing its goal of assisting children who are suffering as a result of poverty in South Africa.

The growth of social grants from over 2 million in 1994 to almost 16 million in 2013/14 signifies a noteworthy achievement by the South African government to provide for and support those who are unable to provide for themselves. The implementation of social security has improved significantly in the last five years (see Table 5.1, overleaf). Between 2008/09 and 2013/14, there was an average growth of 4.06% in the number of social grant payments. However, the trend changed during 2013/14, when there was a -1.08% decrease in the growth of social grants. The decrease was a result of the successful re-registration and biometric enrolment of beneficiaries, which reduced the inclusion error substantially. Overall, there was an efficient saving of 1.2 per cent of social assistance transfers (from the adjusted budget) which was transferred back to the fiscus (SASSA 2013/14:19).

Table 5.1: Number of grant benefits and percentage growth over a five-year period by grant type

Grant type/period	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14
Old Age Grant	2,390,543	2,546,657	2,678,554	2,750,857	2,873,197	2,969,933
War Veterans' Grant	1,500	1,216	958	753	587	429
Disability Grant	1,286,883	1,264,477	1,200,898	1,198,131	1,164,192	1,120,419
GIA	46,069	53,237	58,413	66,493	73,719	83,059
Care Dependency	107,065	110,731	112,185	114,993	120,268	120,632
FCG	474,759	510,760	512,874	536,747	532,159	512,055
CSG	8,765,454	9,570,287	10,371,950	10,927,731	11,341,988	11,125,946
Total	13,072,173	14,057,365	14,935,832	15,595,705	16,106,110	15,932,473
Annual Growth		7.50%	6.20%	4.42%	3.27%	-1.08%

Source: Adapted from SOCPEN System

Table 5.1 depicts the uptake rates for the different grant types in the last five years. By the end of 2008/09 and 2013/14 respectively, the total number of social grants had increased from 13 072 173 to 15 932 473, and the average annual growth of social grants over this period was 4.06 per cent. This increase was mainly driven by the CSG and Old Age Grant, which showed significant upward trends over the years, while the War Veterans' Grant and Disability Grant decreased steadily. When tracking the annual percentage growth, the picture depicts a decline in the percentage uptake between the 2009/10 and 2013/14 financial years. The decline was a result of improved efficiency in the grants administration process (SASSA 2013/14:20).

5.5 Data analysis and findings of the interviews with beneficiaries

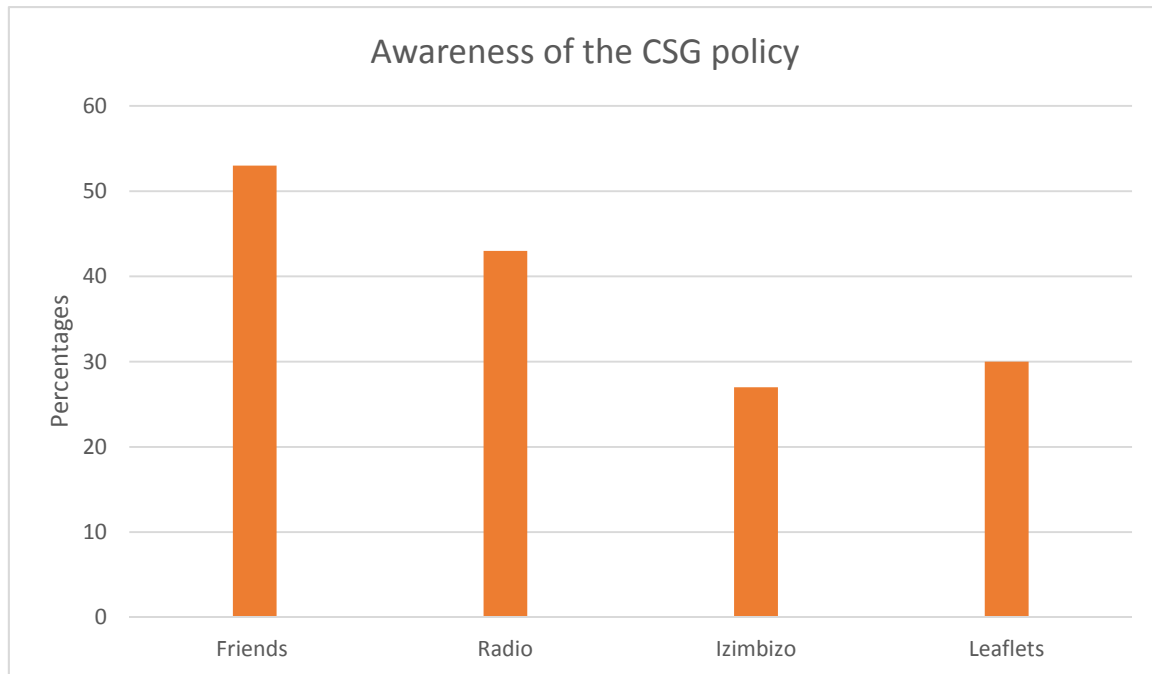
This section addresses the questions and responses of beneficiaries or the caregivers of the CSG policy. The researcher conducted 150 interviews with the beneficiaries. A single copy of an uncompleted interview schedule is attached as Appendix B.

5.5.1 Question 1: How did you know about the CSG policy?

Research participants were requested to indicate how they knew about the CSG policy. They were provided with four options to choose from: "friends", "radio", "izimbizo" and "leaflets".

Participants were not limited in their responses and could therefore choose more than one answer. Figure 5.7 reveals the responses of the participants.

Figure 5.7: Awareness of the CSG policy

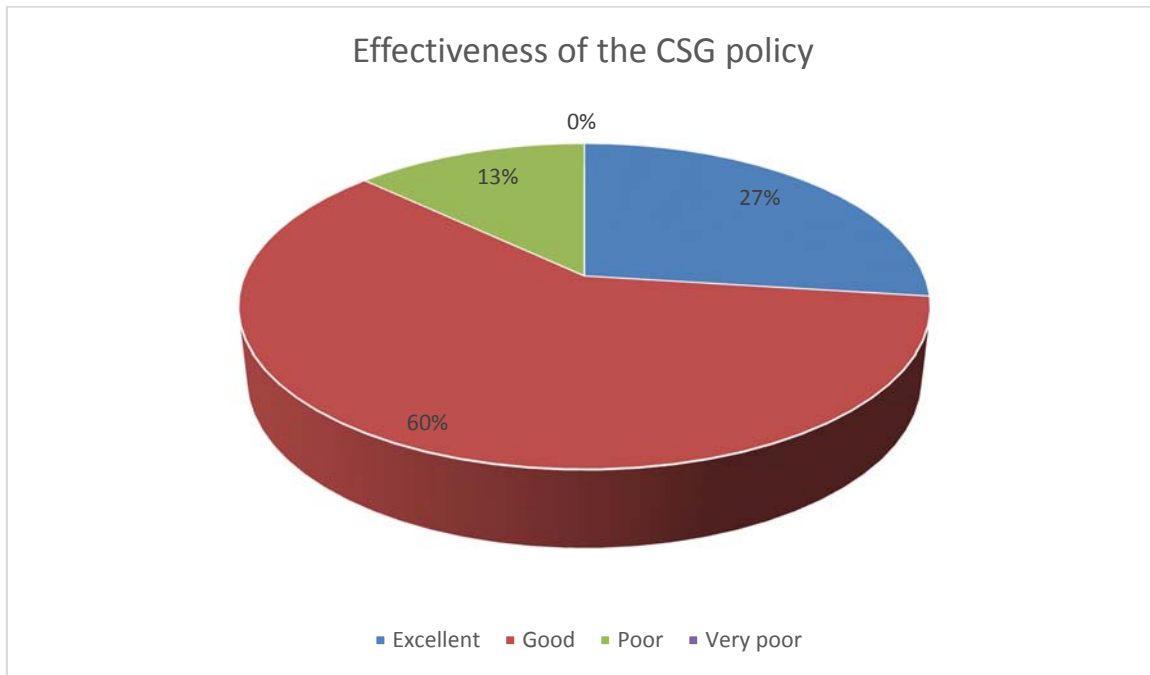


From the responses that were received, and as Figure 5.7 illustrates, the majority (53 per cent) of the participants indicated that they knew about the information of the CSG policy from their friends. Radio was the next most frequently given answer, with 43 per cent. Leaflets assisted 27 per cent, and *izimbizo* helped 30 per cent of the participants. Based on the radio, *izimbizo* and leaflets percentages, it can be concluded that the government is committed to make people aware of the services that they are offering as government, but it is imperative to note that word-of-mouth (information gleaned from friends) plays an important role in making the public aware of the CSG policy.

5.5.2 *Question 2: How efficient was the service that you received from officials when you applied for the grant?*

In this question the research participants were required to rate the effectiveness of the service from public officials when they applied for the CSG. They were provided with four options: “excellent”, “good”, “poor” and “very poor”. Figure 5.8, overleaf, reveals the responses of the participants.

Figure 5.8: Effectiveness of services provided by public officials to beneficiaries

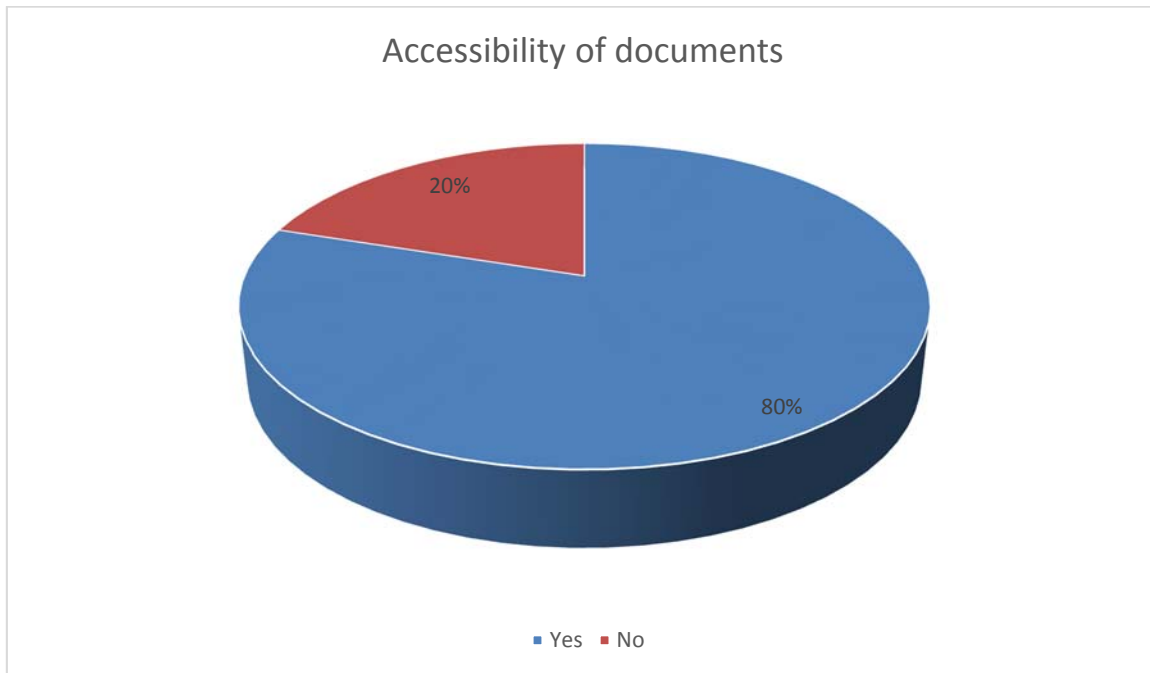


It can be deduced from Figure 5.8 that the majority of participants suggested that the service provided by public officials was efficient (“good” or “excellent”), with 60 per cent and 27 per cent respectively. These results indicate a positive response to SASSA’s endeavours. However, SASSA needs to improve, since 13% of the research participants indicated that they were not satisfied with the service. When these answers were probed, it transpired that these participants had to wait for an average of two hours before they were assisted by the front desk. After further probing, the participants pointed out the shortage of personnel as a contributing factor to the delays.

5.5.3 Question 3: Accessibility of documents required for the application of the grant

The research participants were asked to state whether the documents required by SASSA in order for the applicant to qualify for the grant were easily available. The DSD provided guidelines for the beneficiaries to follow. These guidelines require every applicant to provide an Identity Document to support the application. The participants were given two options to choose from (“Yes” or “No”). Figure 5.9, overleaf, reveals the responses of participants.

Figure 5.9: Accessibility of documents



Based on the above responses from the research participants, it can be concluded that the majority (120 beneficiaries, 80 per cent) were able to provide the necessary documentation required by SASSA (on behalf of the DSD). Although the overwhelming majority of the beneficiaries were able to provide the required documents, 30 (20 per cent) of the beneficiaries could not provide all the necessary documents. This finding corroborates the public officials' comments that some beneficiaries cannot provide the required documentation to qualify for the grant. This finding can be explained by a number of factors, including the existence of child-headed households. In some homesteads, the children are orphaned, and there are no adults who take responsibility for the children. The DSD has provided a means to cater for such instances, by providing alternative proof in the form of an affidavit.

5.5.4 Question 4: Does the CSG allow you to meet the child's basic needs?

In this question the participants were required to indicate if the money they receive through the grant was enough to meet the basic needs of the child. The research participants were provided with two options, "Yes" or "No". Figure 5.10, overleaf, reveals the responses of the participants.

Figure 5.10: Is the CSG sufficient?

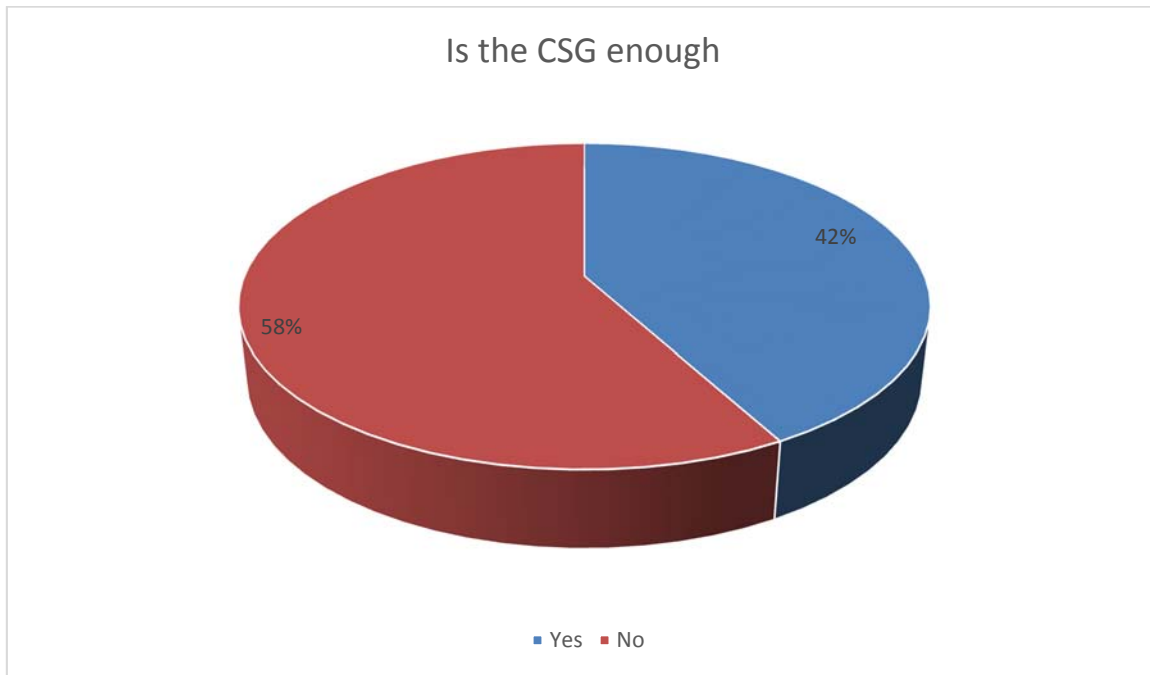


Figure 5.10 shows that there are opposing views about the money paid to take care of the children. Based on the above responses it can be concluded that although the majority of the participants (87, 58 per cent) stated that they are able to meet the basic needs of the child, 63 (42 per cent) were not satisfied. Those not satisfied argue that the money paid in the form of the CSG does not meet all the basic needs of the child, such as baby milk and clothes. They argue that it can only buy a bag of mealie meal. But children have other needs, such as a school uniform, clothing and medication. The participants also mentioned that the grant has to provide for the whole family, which makes it inadequate. Once the payment is made to the family, it becomes part of the family budget and supports every member of the family. The research participants argued that the government needs to consider creating jobs. This implies that if the beneficiaries are employed, they would be able to support their families. This would contribute to economic growth which is a pillar of development.

5.5.5 Question 6: Is the CSG helping government to alleviate poverty

The main objective of the government is to alleviate poverty through CSG policy. In this question, research participants were asked whether the CSG policy implemented by the government contributes to this aim. The participants were provided with four options: “strongly agree”, “agree”, “disagree” and “strongly disagree”. Figure 5.11, overleaf, reveals the responses of the participants.

Figure 5.11: Is the CSG helping government to alleviate poverty in the country?

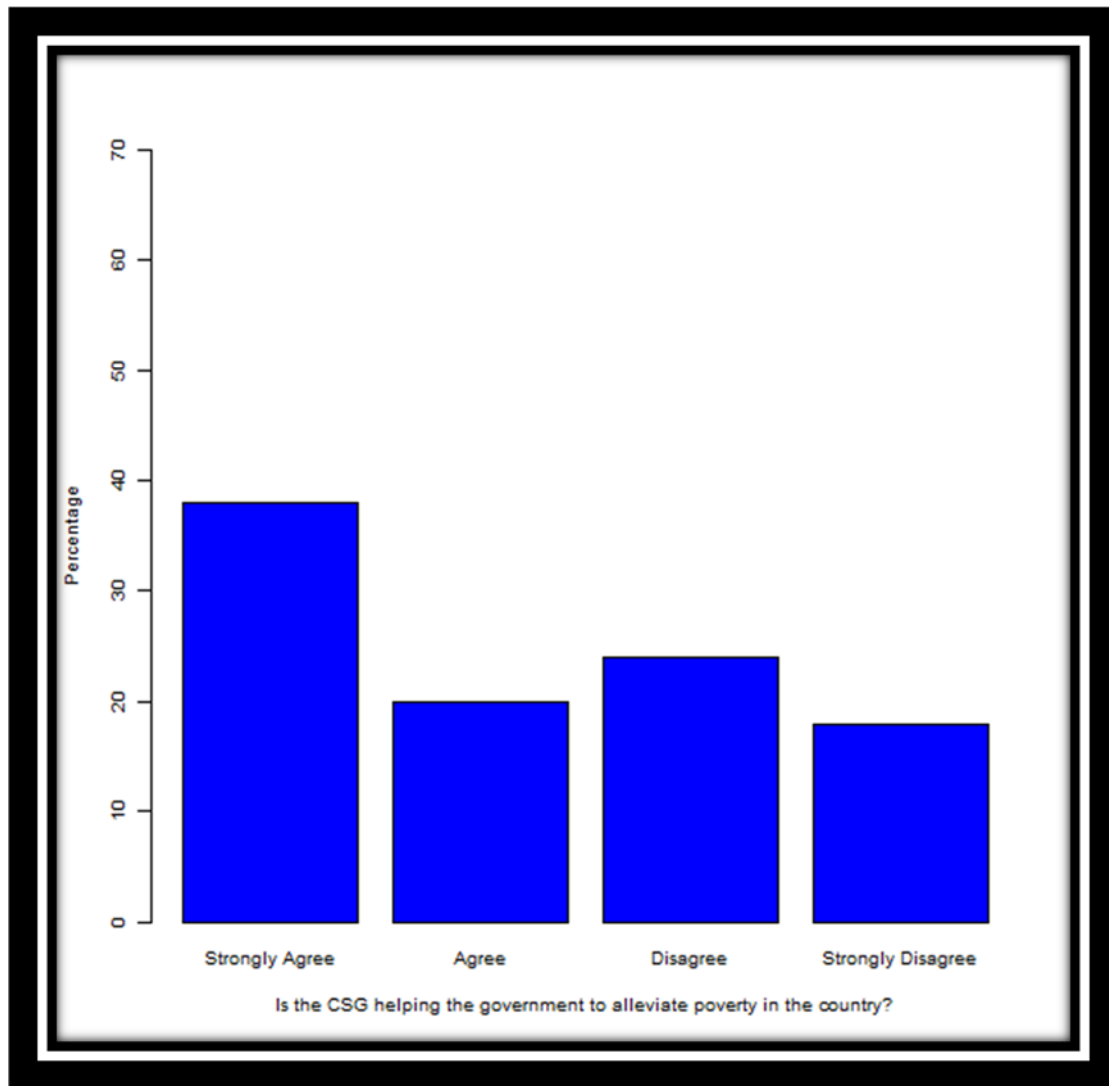


Figure 5.11 illustrates that the majority of the participants are of the view that the CSG policy is playing an important role in poverty alleviation. As indicated in Figure 5.11, above, 57 (38 per cent) and 30 (20 per cent) of the research participants either strongly agreed or agreed respectively. This is an indication that the beneficiaries are aware that the government is committed to reducing poverty.

The DSD commissioned a study and found that “South Africa’s system of social security successfully reduces poverty, regardless of which methodology is used to quantify the impact measure or identify the poverty line” (Samson, Lee, Ndlebe, Quene, Van Niekerk, Gandhi, Harigaya and Abrahams 2004:1). Haarman (2000) used a micro-simulation model to investigate the effects of social assistance (CSG and OAG) on poverty alleviation in South Africa. Data from the Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU)

was used, revised to 1996 with 1996 census data. The study concluded that the CSG is capable of effectively alleviating poverty, since it targets poor households. However, the bar chart also indicates that 36 (24%) and 27 (18%) of beneficiaries disagree and strongly disagree respectively that the implementation of CSG policy contributes to poverty alleviation.

In the last few years, the government has increased spending on social services. The percentage spent on social services has increased by 5 per cent over the last five-year period. The table below indicates social grant increment per grant.

Table 5.2: Social security increment

Grant	2014/15 Financial year	2015/16 Financial year	2016/17 Financial year
Old Age Grant	R1 350 (US\$ 91,25)	R1 410 (US\$ 95,30)	R1 500 (US\$ 101,39)
War Veterans' Grant	R1 370 (US\$ 92,60)	R1 430 (US\$ 96,66)	R1 520 (US\$ 102,74)
Disability Grant	R1 350 (US\$ 91,25)	R1 410 (US\$ 95,30)	R1 500 (US\$ 101,39)
FCG	R830 (US\$ 56,10)	R860 (US\$ 58,13)	R890 (US\$ 60,15)
Care Dependency Grant	R1 350 (US\$ 91,25)	R1 410 (US\$ 95,30)	R1 500 (US\$ 101,39)
CSG	R315 (US\$ 21,29)	R330 (US\$ 22,30)	R350 (US\$ 23,65)

Source: Adapted from National Treasury (2015:3)

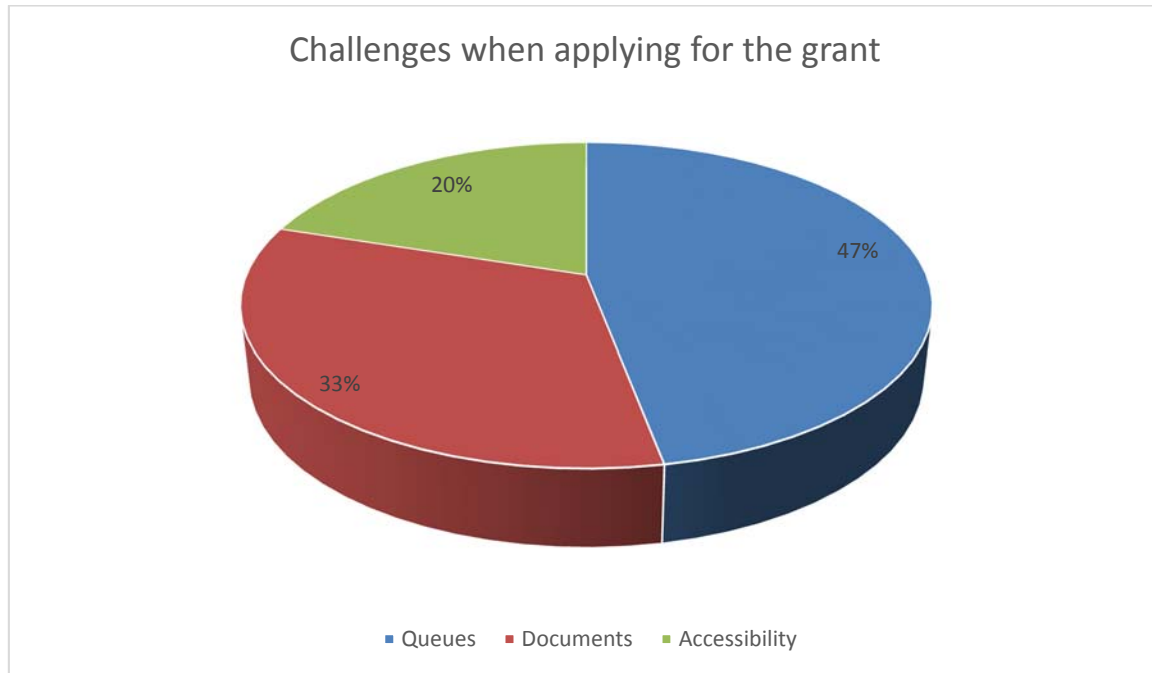
Table 5.2 shows that the government is committed to eradicating inequality and poverty. One way to achieve this reality is to provide support for vulnerable citizens through the provision of social grants. According to SASSA's *Annual Report 2013/14* over 15 932 473 social grants were paid to approximately 30 per cent of poor people to allow them to meet their basic needs and overcome the burden of hunger and destitution. The main beneficiaries were children (about 11 million children), older people (2,9 million) and people with disability (1,1 million). There was an increase of social grant uptake from over two million people in 1994 to almost 16 million people in 2013/14. This increase signifies a noteworthy achievement by the government to provide for and support those who are unable to provide for themselves (SASSA 2013/14).

5.5.6 Question7: What challenges did you experience when you applied for the grant?

Question 7 of the interview schedule was an open-ended question, which required beneficiaries as research participants to indicate their challenges when applying for a social

grant. The participants were not provided with options to choose from, so for the purposes of this analysis, the researcher has categorised the participants' responses into the following themes: queues, documentation and accessibility. Figure 5.12, below, reveals the responses of the participants.

Figure 5.12: Challenges when applying for the grant



A number of challenges were raised by the research participants, as indicated in the pie chart above. The research participants mentioned queues, lack of documents and limited accessibility in terms of distance as the main challenges they encountered when they applied for the grant. About 47 per cent of the research participants mentioned queues, which was a major barrier. They indicated that they had to wait for over two hours before they could be served. This implies that beneficiaries are only served after a long time which indicates that SASSA is inefficient. This situation is caused by the limited number of officials on the front desk to serve beneficiaries, who sometimes have to start queuing as early as five o'clock in the morning to make sure that they will be served on the same day. This becomes a challenge for the old people who have to wait in the cold during winter and in rain when it is summer. Some SASSA units do not provide shelter.

A lack of documents was mentioned as another challenge experienced by the people when applying for the CSG. About 33% of the research participants indicated that it was difficult

for them to apply for the grant because they could not provide the required documentation. This is also in line with the problem that was mentioned by the officials.

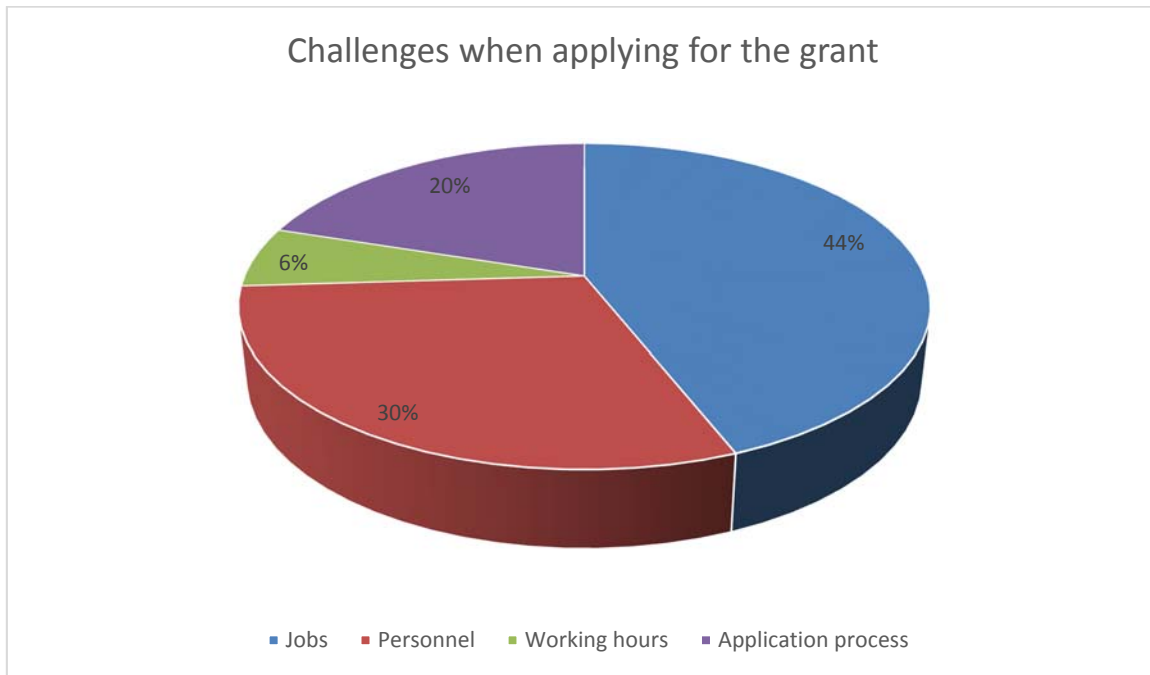
Accessibility was another challenge mentioned by the research participants. Beneficiaries had to travel long distances to DSD/SASSA offices. About 20% of the participants complained about accessibility. They also argued that sometimes it becomes more difficult when they do not get help the same day and they have to come back the following day. This is a challenge, because they do not have money for transport.

The findings suggest that although the government is committed to alleviating poverty, there are still challenges. The government needs to take these issues into consideration if it wants to realise its goal of combating poverty through social grants.

5.5.7 Question 8: What do you think the government needs to do to improve the implementation of the CSG policy?

In Question 8 the beneficiaries as research participants were asked to answer an open-ended question, which required them to reflect on possible solutions for the implementation of the CSG policy. Based on their experience when applying for the grant they shared a number of challenges. The participants were not provided with options to choose from, so for the purposes of this analysis, the researcher categorised the results into the following themes: create more jobs, employ more personnel, extend working hours and adapt the application process to make it more consumer-friendly. Figure 5.13 below reveals the findings from the participants.

Figure 5.13: Suggestions for improving CSG policy implementation



The participants made a number of suggestions that the government could implement to improve the implementation of the CSG policy, such as employing more personnel (30 per cent of participants) and extending working hours (6 per cent) to reduce the waiting time before the beneficiaries are served by SASSA. The research participants argued that with more personnel and working hours that are suitable for the beneficiaries to be served in reasonable time, it would be easy to speed up the application process. The applicants expressed dissatisfaction with the average of a two-hour waiting period before their applications are processed.

According to the DSD’s application guidelines, the application process takes up to three months to be approved. Of the participants, 20 per cent wanted the application process to be shortened. Interestingly, 44 per cent of the participants are of the view that the government should provide more jobs, which indicates that the beneficiaries would prefer not to rely on social grants as the main source of poverty alleviation. They argue that in future the government needs to develop policies that would create a conducive environment for job opportunities. Based on the above it can be concluded that the participants do see the CSG policy as effective in alleviating poverty, but would prefer the government to create jobs, so that they do not depend on grants.

5.5.8 Question 9: In your opinion, is the CSG policy well implemented?

In this question the beneficiaries as research participants were required to reflect on the effectiveness of the implementation of the CSG policy. The participants were provided with four options to choose from, which are as follows: “strongly agree”, “agree”, “disagree” and “strongly disagree”. Figure 5.14 reveals the responses of the participants.

Figure 5.14: In your opinion, is the CSG policy well implemented?

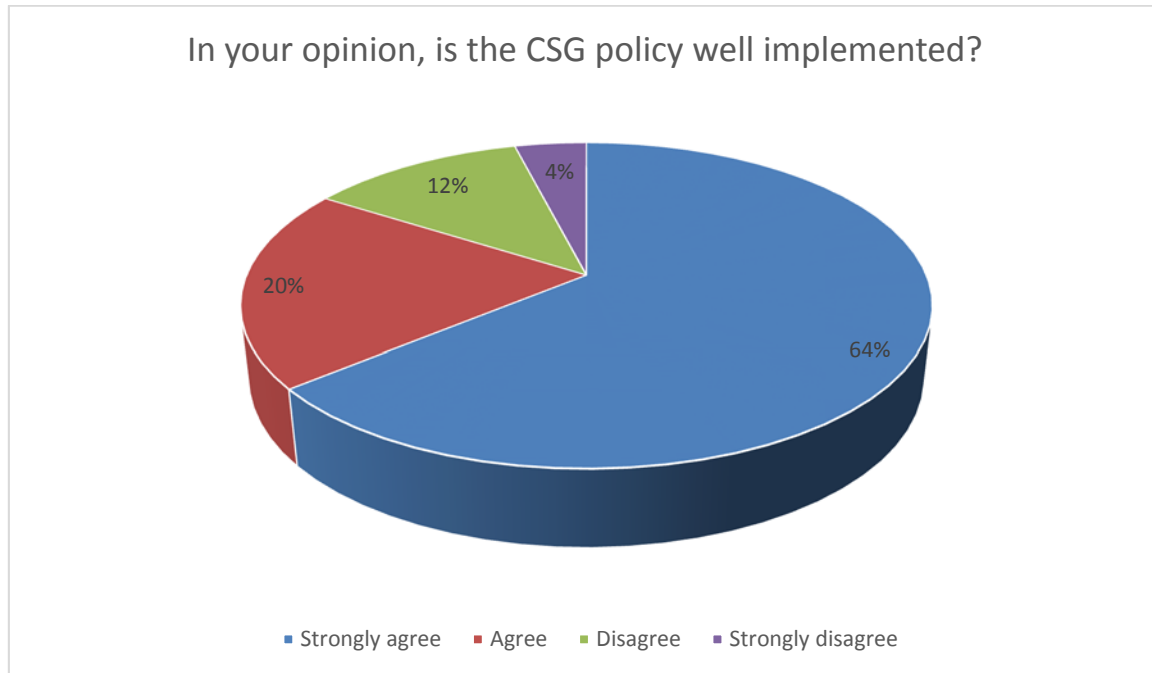


Figure 5.14 shows that the majority of the research participants, 96 (64 per cent), are of the view that the CSG is well implemented, and 30 (20 per cent) supported the same view that the CSG is well implemented. This finding confirms what was established from the interviews with SASSA officials, namely that the CSG policy was well implemented. This overwhelming support shows that the CSG policy is implemented efficiently, based on the responses of the research participants. Research has been conducted on the impact of the social grant system and evidence has shown that grants, especially the CSG, are well targeted to assist very poor households and they play an important role in alleviating poverty in post-apartheid South Africa (DSD, SASSA and UNICEF 2012). Figure 5.14 also illustrates that 18 (12 per cent) and 6 (4 per cent) of the research participants indicated that they disagree and strongly disagree respectively with the view that the CSG policy is well implemented. Given these critical voices, it can be deduced that there is still a need to improve the implementation of

the policy, for example, by reducing the waiting period for the application process to be approved and making the process more consumer friendly.

5.6 Conclusion

After 22 years of democracy in South Africa, there are still numerous obstacles to social security. These include a lack of documentation, long queues, corruption, a shortage of personnel and inadequate resources. This chapter has demonstrated that the DSD and SASSA need to remove these obstacles to the successful implementation of the CSG policy.

The DSD and the SASSA have put mechanisms in place to combat corruption. This chapter has indicated that the DSD had introduced the re-registration process of all beneficiaries of social security. This would help reduce “ghost” beneficiaries who defraud the government and prevent the CSG from being fully operational.

The analysis of policy implementation clearly indicates that the mere existence of good policies does not automatically result in a successful implementation. The smooth transition from policy to practice will remain a challenge. Therefore, it is important for policy formulators to keep in mind that policy-making is not isolated from the implementation process. The final chapter summarises the findings, recommendations and conclusion of the study.

Chapter 6: Findings, recommendations and conclusion

6.1 Introduction

South Africa has had more than two decades of democracy and has committed itself to the priority of alleviating poverty, as expressed in the Sustainable Development Goals (also known as SDGs) adopted by the UN as a development from the Millennium Development Goals (also known as MDGs). The Sustainable Development Goals build on the foundation built by the Millennium Development Goals, with a new mandate to complete the task of reaching the Millennium Development Goals and to respond positively to new challenges. The first Sustainable Development Goal is “End poverty in all its forms everywhere” (UN 2015). This is in line with Section 27(1)(c) of the South African *Constitution* (RSA 1996a), which states that

...everyone has the right to have access to, social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance. The South African government has made it an obligation of the state to provide for those who are unable to take care of themselves”.

In this context, this chapter provides recommendations and a conclusion of the study. It provides a synopsis of the previous chapters, discusses the findings and makes recommendations. The final part of this chapter provides a summary and presents concluding remarks.

6.2 Synopsis of the preceding chapters

Chapter 1 presented the background of social security in South Africa before and since the advent of democracy in 1994. It indicated that South African social security policy needs to be analysed from many perspectives, such as race, class, history, internal political pressure, and external international pressure. It also presented the rationale for the research, the research problem, research questions and objectives.

The **key objectives of this research** were to describe, analyse and evaluate the effects of policy implementation of the CSG, which is meant to alleviate poverty and improve the lives of South African citizens. This research identified problems and challenges in the implementation of the CSG policy in the DSD in KZN. Policy implementation by SASSA has had negative effects on service delivery. This has entrenched imbalances and inequalities in

terms of service delivery and alleviating the effects of children suffering as a result of poverty in communities. Despite efforts to improve service delivery by the national government, there is a major disparity that is still evident in South Africa in terms of social security. The social security system in South Africa is meant to cater for the indigent. However, the process of applying for a social grant (for example, the CSG) is often problematic and frustrating. The main problem explored in this study concerns the issue of implementing the CSG policy. This research also examined the M&E of the implementation of the CSG policy to determine its effectiveness in achieving its goals. Thereafter, strategies and solutions were suggested to deal with the challenges encountered during the implementation stage.

Chapter 1 also explained the research methodology applied in this study. Research methodology implies a well-planned and meticulous procedure followed by a researcher in order to examine phenomena through carefully selected data gathering methods which may yield qualitative and quantitative data for the purposes of analysis and presentation. In the discipline of Public Administration, research methodology is important for a number of reasons. For example, it makes it possible to explain biases and assumptions held by researchers; it also helps to make interconnections between the research findings and research questions; lastly, the choice of research methods is informed by paradigmatic explanations between qualitative and quantitative and the context specific to a particular study. This study adopted a qualitative research paradigm with a view to providing a perspective on what kind of phenomenon people are engaged in; and why they are doing what they do; what kind of processes are at play and why they are active and what kinds of problems, constraints and contingencies people experience in the world they occupy.

Based on the literature, a paradigm is defined as a commonly acceptable framework within which researchers often work in order to arrive at scientifically validated arguments and conclusions. A distinction between a qualitative and quantitative research paradigm has been made and a deduction is made that quantitative and qualitative research paradigms complement each other in as far as data collection, analysis and presentation are concerned. There is a small distinction between the two approaches and thus absolute and exclusive separation in practice of the two is unlikely within the context of research methodology. Therefore, it is deduced that qualitative research in the discipline of Public Administration operates within the confines of long-standing and scientifically tested and documented principles, methods and practices that shape new theory testing, evidence gathering, analysis, presentation and acceptance.

Chapter 2 outlined the state of affairs of the discipline of Public Administration. The relationship between policy and public administration was succinctly discussed. In order for public administration to be effective, it requires policies to be formulated and implemented in order to achieve the strategic goals and objectives of a government. Public policy is initiated by policy-makers to address societal problems and the changing circumstances the population is faced with at a given time. A policy can indicate the important goals to be pursued and the direction of action needed to achieve the goals. Public policy becomes implementable provided the elected policy-makers have authorised and legitimised it through a formalised policy development process.

In order for public policy to be realised, there are a number of factors that have an impact on the policy cycle. These include implementation. Policy implementation is considered an important stage of the public policy cycle and principally entails the translation of policy objectives into action carried out by implementers at various levels of an organisation. In the context of social security as studied in this research, implementers are expected to implement the CSG policy in order to alleviate poverty and address societal problems or social need. The policy implementers at the lower level play an important role with regard to policy implementation, as they should fully commit themselves to ensure policy success. However, in some cases, policy implementers may not support a policy sufficiently, which can lead to policy failure.

Interorganisational relations as a concept plays an important role in policy implementation. Therefore, recognising the significance of different interorganisational patterns is an important step toward effective policy implementation. Skilful implementation managers need to find ways of getting organisations to work together toward policy success. In the South African context, the establishment of intergovernmental relations structures can be viewed as one of the institutional mechanisms aimed at ensuring effective interorganisational policy relations. While policy could be defined in several ways, implementation moves from originally set political goals to results.

The 5C protocol is proposed as a useful vehicle for making sense of these twists and turns during the implementation phase. The study found that the variables are interconnected and they work together, which provides both a challenge and an opportunity. It is important to mention that policy formulation and implementation are not necessarily consecutive processes, but are in many cases parallel processes where policy design or redesign and

revision can take place even during the formal implementation stages of the policy project. In fact, success is in some cases attributable to such redesign or customisation of the original design during implementation, because the original policy designers did not or could not foresee specific complications at the regional and local level.

Chapter 3 discussed the international perspective of social security in the BRIC countries. It alluded to the origin and importance of the BRICS bloc. For the last two decades, all BRICS member states have enjoyed substantial and continued growth in terms of the economy. The key driver for economic growth has been the growing demand for natural resources and manufactured goods. However, the BRICS countries have also establish value-added industries by investing more in training and education. It should be noted that there have also been dramatic changes in terms of cultural and societal norms including changes in family structures, due to the large rural to urban migration in the BRICS countries. The BRICS countries share political will to extend social security coverage and the dynamic economic environment has facilitated efforts to achieve this aim.

The population in Brazil consists mainly of the youth, but is ageing rapidly. Although there are proper systems and mechanisms in place for social security, coverage differs as a result of the relatively large unorganised sector. Provision is based on a combination of federal, regional and local initiatives which leads to disintegration and discrepancies in the provision of benefits. Usually, coverage and benefit levels differ considerably between the organised and unorganised sector and between urban and rural communities. The Constitution of Brazil of 1988 requires comprehensive social security coverage for the entire population and equivalence for urban and rural communities. This initiative has brought about tremendous strides in the extension of social security coverage in the last 27 years.

Social security in Brazil offers a number of benefits which includes maternity, old age and family benefits and unemployment insurance. These benefits are administered by different agencies and government departments. Conditional cash transfers enhance these schemes such as the popular *Programa Bolsa Familia* and in-kind transfers. Furthermore there are several supplementary schemes which provide additional benefits over and above the normal state benefits. For instance, public sector employees tend to have more benefits than private sector employees. Self-employed workers are covered only on a voluntary basis. The lesson that can be drawn in Brazil is that the government introduced social security measures that cover only formally employed workers and in the process neglected the informal sector, which

has the potential to contribute to the economy of the country. Social insurance schemes are skewed in favour of public sector workers.

The Russian Federation's comprehensive social security system can be traced back to Soviet times, which makes it different from the system in other BRICS countries. However, it was also confronted by more fundamental and disruptive changes to the environment in which social security operates. In the last 22 years Russia has faced several important economic, demographic and social changes. These changes have affected the current schemes, which has resulted in a reduction in the level and quality of benefits, especially for workers in the unorganised sector. As a result, inequality has increased significantly, which has led to a greater gap between rural and urban areas, as well as within these areas. Due to the burden imposed by these changes, there was a need to introduce targeted reforms and policy measures, including a range of mandatory and voluntary programmes. The key lessons that can be drawn from the Russian experience is that social security systems are influenced by changing economic, social and political conditions. This implies that social security policy cannot be exempted from the prevailing political system and the changing needs, expectations and demands of the citizens.

The demographic situation in India is favourable in the sense that it has a high birth rate, which means it will age much less compared to other BRICS countries. This affords the country a longer "demographic window" in which to provide extension measures. Currently, the country is still confronted with the challenge of extending social security coverage to the "unorganised" sector, which constitutes over 90 per cent of the workforce. Though several laws have been promulgated, there is "a total mismatch between labour market realities and social security laws" (ISSA 2013:6). India provides several social security schemes, such as disability and death benefits, work injuries, old age, and end-of-service benefits and maternity coverage, but more still needs to be done in terms of extending coverage to address the challenge of covering the large unorganised sector. The significant lesson that can be learned from the Indian experience is that the growing informal sector presents an enormous challenge to the Indian government to mobilise resources, and to develop comprehensive social security aimed at extending coverage to the informal sector. Therefore, this requires a growing economy, investments and adequate resources in order to fulfil the expectations of the citizens.

China began reform in its social security system in the mid-1980s. The general welfare reforms since the late 1990s have expanded to include unemployment insurance, medical insurance, workers' compensation insurance, and maternity benefits. All such reforms and policies have targeted the urban population. As a result, only a very small proportion of rural residents were covered. However, over the last decade, China has adopted a step-by-step approach to extend social security to rural residents. The government has provided enabling legislation to allow social security to move from a number of fragmented schemes covering certain groups only to a truly comprehensive system. A nationwide social security system is required in order to reach rural communities and ensure proper administration and compliance. It can be concluded that China provides useful pointers for other BRICS countries to learn from by putting in place a social security covering strategy in a challenging environment and selecting the right responses to different issues confronting the scheme.

Chapter 4 presented developments in South Africa in terms of social security. The population in South Africa has been growing steadily, despite the impact of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), affecting around 10 per cent of the population. The majority of the population is covered against risks, due to a mixture of contributory and non-contributory schemes, together with cash transfers programmes. Social assistance in South Africa is categorised into contributory and non-contributory schemes. Benefits that fall under non-contributory schemes include the CSG, the Old Age Grant, and the Disability Grant, amongst others. The awarding of grants depends on minimum residency or citizenship requirements and minimum age conditions. These benefits are means-tested and they are paid on a standard rate. In addition, there is compulsory funded work injuries coverage provided through four major compensation funds, however, the self-employed, and informal sector workers are left out of the system. The UIF and the RAF are two other important schemes found in South Africa. The UIF provides unemployment insurance, maternity, illness and dependants' benefits, but these benefits do not cover all employees for example some migrant workers and those who work less than 24 hours a month are excluded from the benefits. RAF benefits covered individuals who suffer a road-related accident.

Chapter 5 reflected on the research findings and discussion, based on the case study of the DSD's and SASSA's implementation of the CSG policy in KZN in South Africa. The study considered the viewpoints and perceptions, as well as the interpretations of, the CSG legislation and policies by two groups affected by the CSG implementation (stakeholders). The discussion of results is categorised on the basis of three broad themes, namely, the policy

challenges faced by the DSD, alleviation of poverty and how effective and efficient the M&E mechanism of the CSG policy is.

In this chapter, the challenges confronted by the DSD and the beneficiaries were highlighted and discussed in detail by displaying bar charts showing the challenges faced by the groups mentioned above. SASSA plays an important role in terms of the implementation of the CSG policy. It is the responsibility of SASSA to implement the policy effectively. Therefore, it is important for SASSA to combat any form of corruption or other form of maladministration which can hamper the implementation of the policy.

6.3 Findings and recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, thematic discussions follow.

6.3.1 Theme 1: Corruption

In this study, corruption was raised as one of the main contributing factors to ineffective implementation of the CSG policy. Both the beneficiaries and the officials in their responses highlighted corruption as a challenge. They argued that corruption is depriving deserving beneficiaries of their constitutional right to benefit from the grant. This study suggests that the government should take corruption seriously if it is to combat this scourge. The study supports the initiative by government of re-registering beneficiaries of social grants. This was shown to have positive results in combating corruption.

The study also recommends that those found to have engaged in corruption should be prosecuted and convicted. This would set a good example to everyone not to commit fraud. Zero tolerance to fraud and corruption yields positive results. SASSA is doing its part in combating fraud and corruption already: out of a total of 3 571 fraud cases reported, 3 227 cases were investigated (SASSA 2014/15). The monetary value of finalised cases amounts to R22 325 067 (SASSA 2014/15). Moreover, 28 fraud and corruption cases were referred to law enforcement agencies, with a total of 56 officials being implicated. As a result, 21 SASSA officials were dismissed, 24 were suspended and two were convicted (both are serving seven-year terms of imprisonment) (SASSA 2014/15).

6.3.2 Theme 2: Shortage of personnel

Shortage of personnel was raised as one of the factors affecting the implementation of the CSG policy. This study therefore recommends that proper planning by SASSA is important, taking into account the provision of adequate human resources and filling vacant posts. SASSA may also consider transferring personnel from other provincial offices in order to capacitate the existing personnel available in an agency. This would enable SASSA to shorten the time of waiting before being served normally associated with the DSD.

6.3.3 Theme 3: Low personnel morale

Researchers consider personnel morale to be a delicate and complex issue that affects job performance. Low personnel morale was considered as another contributing factor to ineffective implementation of the CSG policy which needs to be urgently addressed. This study recommends that a conducive working environment, characterised by good incentives for personnel who work overtime and adjustment of salaries, should be developed in order to motivate and retain existing personnel.

6.3.4 Theme 4: Inadequate resources

The study found that inadequate resourcing, for example, of vehicles is considered another factor contributing to the challenge of ineffective policy implementation. For example, Eshowe is one of the rural areas in KZN province where it is difficult for the rural communities to access the DSD offices. Most parts of the province are rural, which makes it inaccessible for the paying out of grants. The situation is exacerbated by poorly maintained roads which cannot be used safely during rainy seasons. The study proposes that the government use mobile offices which can be taken to people on a regular basis, bearing in mind the problem with the roads. In addition, the study also recommends integrated planning with the provincial government, especially between the Department of Transport, DSD and the local municipality to improve road infrastructure in rural areas.

6.3.5 Theme 5: Lack of documents

The DSD has developed guidelines that need to be followed when applying for the grant, like the provision of the South African Bar coded ID book or birth certificate. The study found that some beneficiaries are unable to provide the required documentation in order to apply for the grant. The study recommends the establishment of multipurpose halls that can provide

various government services, for example by the Department of Health, the Department of Home Affairs and the South African Police Service in order to ensure that potential applicants or beneficiaries can be assisted by these departments. This would enable deserving children not to be excluded.

6.3.6 Theme 6: Queues

Long queues were raised as an important factor that affects the implementation of the CSG policy. Beneficiaries wait in queues for a long time before they can be assisted with their applications, because there are too few people at the front desk to receive the application. Therefore, applicants have to wait before they are attended to by the officials. Sometimes they have to go back without being helped on that day, which means applicants have to come back the following day. This makes the application process cumbersome and it is not user-friendly. The study recommends that more people be provided at the front desk to fast-track the screening process. In addition, beneficiaries should be notified about their application process using technology, for example, SMS notifications, to avoid someone's coming from far away to check the status of his/her application. This would help reduce transport cost and prevent long queues.

A milestone in the organisation's efforts to effect broader service and infrastructure improvements was forging of a partnership between the National Department of Social Development, the Provincial Department of Social Development, SASSA and the NDA as well as the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA), an organisation that regards its role and function as "the key to rural development" (National Treasury 2015:7). The purpose of the partnership is to facilitate institutional, human and social development by the up-scaling and intensification of social development interventions in rural areas. Of particular relevance to SASSA was the undertaking made by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa assist in tracing and verifying social grants beneficiaries and the provision of infrastructure for services rendered by SASSA in rural areas. This undertaking may prove to be a key element in the expansion of the social safety net to reach the most remote areas of the country.

6.4 Lessons from the BRIC countries

A central question in this study was the lessons that can be drawn from the social security systems of the BRIC countries. South Africa can draw lessons with regard to welfare and the applicability of social protection programmes in other BRIC countries.

Conversely, other BRIC countries can possibly learn important lessons concerning the practical implementation of social security schemes with regard to poverty reduction, the reduction of gender inequalities, incentive effects, improvements in education and health, and financing and fiscal sustainability from South Africa. The empirical study has established that social grants in South Africa in the short, medium and long term are targeted effectively. As a result, the country has developed a considerable pro-poor public spending instrument. Social grants have provided poor households with a regular income to reduce their vulnerability to short-term poverty. Households benefiting from the grants have been economically capacitated to send their children to school and provide better nutrition and health care for their children. It had been shown that the social grants system in South Africa was put in place to reduce poverty and gender inequalities. The policy instrument has proven to be a vital intervention strategy to enhance the living standard of the people through education and health care of vulnerable children.

Pre-conditions for financial re-distribution provide important lessons that BRIC countries can learn from South Africa's social security experience. A well-functioning and sustainable tax base allows for proper fiscal planning and the re-distribution of critical resources towards social spending. Another important aspect of financing the social grant system revolves around a high degree of initial inequality. In South Africa, wealthier individuals are required to pay taxes which enable the poor to access social grants. Similar successes have also been experienced in Brazil and India, where initial income inequality was (and still is) very high.

6.5 Considerations for further research

The study has focused on the evaluation of the implementation of the CSG policy. Effective policy evaluation of the CSG policy and activities is essential for measuring progress and effectiveness in the provision of social security. Such evaluation will assist the DSD and SASSA officials to know whether or not the services provided are responding to the needs of the beneficiaries and, furthermore, whether they are consistent with the overall realisation of the DSD's CSG objectives of extending coverage to all deserving children. Thus there is a

need for a study to explore the missing children who are eligible but currently are not receiving a grant.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a summary of the previous chapters and extensively discussed the findings and recommendations. The DSD and SASSA can possibly change the situation of poverty and its effects on children if it re-examines its implementation of the CSG policy. The DSD has had a number of successes but still faces a number of challenges with regard to the implementation of the CSG policy.

Recommendations provided in this chapter are based on the understanding of the root causes of the problems affecting the DSD provided by the participants, who were DSD officials and beneficiaries of the CSG. The recommendations include setting up multipurpose centres or “one-stop shops” where all government departments can provide different services to people, all at the same place. This can save time and money, because all the services will be provided in one place, which makes access easier. This can improve service delivery and make the government more responsive to the needs of the people.

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- CASE – see Community Agency for Social Enquiry

⁵ Brynard’s second initial is inserted here to assist in the listing of the two 2005 references for Brynard, to prevent confusion in the text. Brynard sometimes published as P. (Petrus) Brynard, and sometimes as P.A. Brynard.

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Appendix A:

Interview schedule for officials



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

**Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences
School of Public Management and Administration**

Interview Schedule for officials

Date:

Time:

Department:

Opening

Respondent/Interviewee

You are invited to participate in an academic research study conducted by Mr. Richard Mduduzi Mthethwa, Doctoral Student from the School of Public Management and Administration at the University of Pretoria.

The purpose of the study is to evaluate, analyse and describe the effects of policy implementation with reference to the Child Support Grant aimed at alleviating the effects of poverty and improving the lives of citizens. The research will assist the provincial government, which has to determine how to implement public policy effectively and efficiently in order to obtain maximum benefits at a reasonable cost. Thus your participation is of importance towards this. Please note that your participation is voluntarily, hence you can withdraw from an interview at any stage. The participation is done anonymously and names are not recorded. The information obtained is confidential and will be used by only the interviewer. The results will be safeguarded in accordance with University policy.

Questions

1. Are you aware of policy issues in the Department regarding the Child Support Grant?

Yes	
No	

2. The CSG is important to the department.

Strongly agree	
Agree	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

3. How is the CSG policy communicated to personnel?

Circular/Memoranda	
Workshops	
Meetings	
Leaflets	
Annual Reports	

Other – specify:

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4. Is the CSG policy effectively implemented?

Only in certain components	
Only for certain levels of personnel	
Yes, in the whole department	
No, nothing has been done	
Do not know	

5. What are the challenges faced in the implementation process?

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6. The M&E of the CSG policy when is it done:

Weekly	
Monthly	
Quarterly	
Annual	
Never done	

7. How often do officials meet to discuss the findings of M&E of the CSG policy?

Weekly	
Monthly	
Quarterly	
Annual	
Never	

8. Stakeholder involvement in the implementation of the CSG policy?

Yes	
No	

9. What would be your suggestion for the improvements of the implementation of the CSG policy?

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10. In your opinion, is the CSG well implemented?

Strongly agree	
Agree	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

Thank you very much for your participation!!!

Appendix B:

Interview schedule for beneficiaries



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

**Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences
School of Public Management and Administration**

Interview schedule for beneficiaries

Date:

Time:

Department:

Opening

Respondent/Interviewee

You are invited to participate in an academic research study conducted by Mr. Richard Mduduzi Mthethwa, Doctoral Student from the School of Public Management and Administration at the University of Pretoria.

The purpose of the study is to evaluate, analyse and describe the effects of policy implementation with reference to the Child Support Grant aimed at alleviating the effects of poverty and improving the lives of citizens. The research will assist the provincial government, which has to determine how to implement public policy effectively and efficiently in order to obtain maximum benefits at a reasonable cost. Thus your participation is of importance towards this. Please note that your participation is voluntarily, hence you can withdraw from an interview at any stage. The participation is done anonymously and names are not recorded. The information obtained is confidential and will be used by only the interviewer. The results will be safeguarded in accordance with University policy.

Questions

1. How did you know about the Child Support Grant Policy?

Friends	
Radio	
Imbizo (government awareness programmes)	
Leaflets	

2. How efficient was the service that you received from officials when you applied for the grant?

Excellent	
Good	
Poor	
Very poor	

3. The documents needed in order for one to qualify for the grant – are they easily accessible?

Yes	
No	

4. Does the child support grant allow you to meet the child's basic needs?

Yes	
No	

If your answer above is “no”, please explain:

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6. Is the CSG helping the government to alleviate poverty in the country?

Strongly agree	
Agree	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

7. What challenges did you experience when you applied for the grant?

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8. What do you think the government needs to do to improve the implementation of the CSG policy?

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9. In your opinion, is the CSG well implemented?

Strongly agree	
Agree	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

Thank you very much for your participation!!!