AFRICAN JOURNAL OF GOVERNANCE & DEVELOPMENT

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Vol 8 No 2 • December 2019

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Vol 8 No 2 • December 2019

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Print ISSN : 2218-5615
Electronic ISSN : 2616-9045

The African Journal of Governance and Development is accredited to the International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS)

Design and Layout
Artworks | www.artworks.co.za

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Editorial

BETTY C MUBANGIZI

"We do not inherit the earth from our ancestors;
we borrow it from our children."
Haida Proverb

As a continent, Africa is often branded as the continent plagued with wars, terrorism, coups and a range of social self-inflicted woes. The narrative is changing as the Continent's citizenry becomes increasingly aware of democratic practices and governance processes taking place in other countries. This is, in the main, buoyed by telecommunications and, particularly, social media, which is increasingly playing an educational role in Africa's citizenry. Signe and Gurib-Fakim (2019) commented that the transformation that Africa has undergone in recent decades has been remarkable. Africa is shaping its own destiny and should be referred to as the 'African opportunity' instead of the threat. Recognising Africa as an opportunity rather than a threat is critical for governments, citizens and researchers globally as it will position Africa's countries to face challenges and further boost desired development trends.

In this edition of the *African Journal of Governance and Development*, we explore issues of foreign aid, secondary education, higher education and social media. We explore these issues with a view to scope out the opportunities and challenges in shaping Africa's development trajectory and build the Africa we want.

In the article *Foreign Aid, External Debt and Economic Growth in Africa, Mwakalila* uses governance indicators to empirically analyse the impact of foreign aid and external debt on economic growth in Africa. The results of Mwakalila's study first suggest that in general, both foreign aid and external debt have a negative impact on the economy of Africa, with external debt causing more harm to the economy than foreign aid when taking the coefficient magnitude into account. Second, elements of good governance significantly affect the extent to which foreign aid and external debt affects the economy. This implies that those African countries that apply good governance processes are most likely to benefit from foreign aid and loans in boosting desired development trends.

Foreign aid requires judicious use so that countries progressively wean themselves from it. One way that this can be done is through research and training. The role of institutions of higher learning should not be underestimated in this regard. For it is only when countries innovate and research local solutions that they will realise desired development outcomes.

What is the state of research in our higher institutions of learning? **Ayiorwoth and Kyohairwe** bemoan the fact that higher education institutions have become arenas of political betting rather than places of knowledge and skill generation and development, yet universities and other higher

education institutions (HEIs) have visions, missions, goals, strategic objectives and core values that act as guidelines for rational managerial decisions that typically relate to research and teaching as well as community engagement. A matter that rarely receives recognition is the management of institutions of higher learning and managing academics themselves – a phenomenon that Garrett and Davies refer to as *'herding cats'* in reference to the unique challenge of leading and managing in HEIs. Ayiorwoth and Kyohairwe unpack this phenomenon using the Thomas's analytical framework and concur with Thomas's view (2003) that neither real managerial work has much to do with the classical functions of planning, organising, issuing commands using formal and scientific techniques in sync with Fayol's view, nor is it a neutral administrative function executed for the benefit of those who cooperate in productive activity. In the agency and Marxist perspective, management is seen as an exploitative and repressive function by managers (agents) who engage in the maintenance of the organisational and power systems and take advantage of the principals of HEIs. This diversity of views suggests that management is no simple function to define or undertake. Individual managers apply context-specific objective or subjective means to obtain either collective or personal benefits or outcomes. There is thus a level where HEIs become arenas of political betting rather than places of knowledge and skill development.

It is not only management of HEIs that should be of concern in Africa's pursuit to generate knowledge and skills that drive our development ideals, for these are at the exit end of the education system. The entry side should be much of a concern too and specifically, the quality of pedagogical practices in public secondary schools in Uganda as these determine the calibre of youth that join the labour market. In his article, *Teacher Support Systems and Quality of Pedagogical Practices in Public Secondary Schools in Uganda,* **Malunda** examined the extent to which supervision and evaluation of teachers explain variations in the quality of pedagogical practices. Malunda concludes that the quality of pedagogical practices is significantly anchored on teacher support systems yet the formative evaluation systems are barely in place and summative teacher evaluation is irregular in Uganda's public secondary schools. The situation is, in part, attributed to the fact that head teachers of several public secondary schools lack the competence in teacher performance appraisal. This calls for a nationally-driven standardised teacher evaluation tool to be used in the continuous assessment of performance for all secondary schools in Uganda. An effective secondary school system significantly contributes to the socio-economic development of a country and is the foundation of not only a strong labour force, but also a critical society that participates in and contributes to public discourse in a mature and responsible manner.

A critical and responsible citizenry is important in a thriving democracy. This is particularly so in a decentralised governance system where participatory and accountable governance contributes to effective delivery of public services. Inculcating accountable governance, however, remains a challenge. **Shava and Mubangizi's** article explores the challenges encountered by the City of Tshwane in responding to citizen demands for social accountability. They conclude that a myriad factors, including limited skills, political interference and a lack of compliance with legislation, adversely affect the capacity of the municipality to exercise social accountability. Based on this

finding and drawing on best practice elsewhere, they recommend that participation of citizens in social accountability can be improved through the use of the already existing digital platforms (Wi-Fi hotspots, social network platforms, Facebook, Twitter and municipal website). These modern information communication technology (ICT) innovations can be utilised effectively to exercise accountability to communities while enabling communities to voice their concerns. Further, wide publicity is required to ensure that citizens are enlightened on how social accountability mechanisms, including social audits and citizen-based monitoring, can be utilised to bring local government officials to account.

But the blessings of modern ICT and digital platforms do not leave us unscathed. Specifically, many social media users tend to embrace and utilise health remedies posted on social media without questioning their authenticity, thus exposing themselves to harmful health practices. In their article, **Kaguhangire-Barifaijo and Kibazo** question the role of 'development education' in employed and ethnography inquiry and interactive techniques to unravel the reasons why social media users do not employ a critical approach to analyse information published on social media. The authors bemoan the paucity of development education in Uganda's educational system and a weak focus on critical pedagogy and processes of learning in the curriculum.

The Africa Union has set Agenda 2063 as the lighthouse of building the Africa we want and reflects the efforts and commitment by Africans to accept greater ownership and chart a new direction for the future that eliminates extreme poverty and encourages inclusive growth. While many African countries will rely on foreign investment and external debt in the foreseeable future, the ideals of Agenda 2063 enjoin African countries to increasingly wean themselves of foreign aid and aspire to be a prosperous continent, with the means and resources to drive its own development and long-term stewardship of its resources. As **Mwakalila's** work shows – this is possible when judicious governance processes are applied in the planning, implementation and evaluation of development programmes and where capable institutions and transformative leadership exists at all levels

Discussions in this edition show that strong education systems that nurture critical pedagogy and community education will ensure that the citizens of Africa are actively involved in decision-making in all aspects of development and are empowered to play their rightful role in all spheres of life. Indeed - a fundamental aspect of good governance is the nurturing of a citizenry that is responsibly critical of its leadership, one which participates in governance processes of budgeting, planning and monitoring of agreed plans. The concept of governance is the central theme of the review of a book featured in this Issue. In the book the authors argue that the term governance is "facing a substantial risk of losing urgency and relevance as it drowns in multiple definitions, forms and applications" Everatt (2019). In her review of the book **Ruffin** highlights the effort made by the authors to unpack and make sense of the, often illusive, term governance while advising on the need to craft new Africanised frameworks of governance in the transformation of African countries.

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Foreign Aid, External Debt and Economic Growth in Africa: It all Depends on Governance

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Abstract

This study empirically analyses the impact of foreign aid and external debt on economic growth in Africa, considering governance indicators. Panel data was collected for 39 countries in Africa spanning across 20 years from 1996 to 2016. Ordinary Least Square (OLS), Fixed Effects, and System Generalised Method of Moment (GMM) estimation techniques was used for the analysis. The results are robust in a sub-sampling analysis based on income level, years, aid and debt categories. The results first suggest that in general, both foreign aid and external debt have a negative impact on the African economy but some African countries that have strong governance indicators are the ones that benefit from foreign aid and loans in improving their economy. Second, foreign aid from the U.S. has a detrimental, negative impact on the African economy compared to that from EU countries. Finally, foreign aid brings more harm to lower income countries compared to upper and lower-middle-income countries.

Keywords: economic growth, foreign aid, external debt, governance, Africa

Introduction

The role of external debt and foreign aid in improving the economy of the recipient country has been a controversial topic that has led to intense debate. External debt and foreign aid are sources of income that a country can use to finance its budget deficit. External debt is one of the country's debts whereby the money is borrowed outside the country from bilateral or multilateral institutions. Foreign aid is the transfer of money from one country to another voluntarily in the form of gifts or grants.

In Africa, the Official Donor Assistance (ODA) statistics recorded total foreign aid at $49,954million in 2017 and in the same year, the governments across Africa issued a $7.5 billion record in sovereign bonds (OECD, 2018). As of June 2018, $11billion was issued as additional debt (Indermit Gill and Kenan Karakülah, 2018). This piling up of debt was met with concern from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which stated that there is an increasing risk of debt distress in sub-Saharan African countries due to gaping deficits and heavy borrowing. In under just five

years, this region has doubled the debt proportion such that in 2018, 40% of the countries in Africa have a high risk of debt distress (Reuters, 2018).

Foreign aid has played a major role in cooling the catastrophes facing poor countries, especially humanitarian aid, for example, aid provided to Mozambique and Malawi after being affected by cyclone Idai in March 2019 (Walsh, 2019). But on the other hand, a good country is one where a government needs its people's taxes and votes, therefore, it must comply with some of their demands. The biggest setback with foreign aid is how it changes this relationship. When the leader of a struggling country is suddenly given billions of dollars in aid, his mindset can afford to change and the regular citizens have a lot less control with their government when it no longer needs their taxes.

The more aid is flowing in, the more a leader is free to do what he/she desires. This is also the reason why aid usually flows from democracies to dictatorships and not the other way around; a democratic leader depends on public opinion for re-election, so he needs enough money to overcome the damage to what the public thinks; more money than most will pay. Therefore, both external debt and foreign aid can be a good or bad thing to the economy depending on how the government uses it. This is where the study comes in –it aims to empirically analyse the impact of foreign aid and external debt to the economy in Africa and how governance indicators affect this relationship.

Literature Review

The impact of foreign aid and external debt to a recipient country has been addressed by various studies focusing on different methodologies and countries. Abu Siddique and Selvanathan (2015) found that the reduction of external debt will improve the economy that matches the study from Ejigayehu (2013),who did a case study on poor, indebted countries and found that external debt harms their economies. Kasidi and Said (2013) focused on Tanzania and Yeasmin and Murshed (2014) did a case study on Bangladesh. Both studies which used Autoregressive Lag Model (ARLD) technique, found that foreign debt slows down the economy. Jalles (2011) analysed the quality of governance and how it affects the relationship between foreign debt and economic growth. The panel data analysis of 72 developing countries suggested that countries with a low level of corruption reduce the negative impact of debt on growth. Mahmoud (2015) focused on Mauritania and found that external debt had a positive relationship with GDP under OLS estimation technique, but after computing the Johannes cointegration tests, the results revealed that external debt has a negative relationship with GDP.

Using the panel data of 70 developing countries, Shabbir (2013) found that external debt not only harms an economy but also negatively affects the Private Fixed Capital Formation in a country. This result concurs with another study from Were (2001) who took a case study of Kenya. Both Ndubuisi (2017) and Ijirshar (2016) focused on the Nigerian economy and they found that external debt stock actually improves the economy but it is the debt payment services that harm

the Nigerian economy.

Arshad and Zaid (2014) studied both foreign aid and external debt and how they affect the economy of Pakistan. Using the time series data from 1970 to 2010, they found that foreign aid has a positive effect on the economy while external debt has a negative effect on the economy. Durbarry, Gemmell and Greenaway (2008) studied a large sample of panel data involving developing countries and found that foreign aid has a positive impact on economic growth but on the condition that the macroeconomic policy is stable. Ekanayake and Chatrna (2008) studied 85 developing countries but divided them into income subgroups. The study revealed mixed results, which means that the impact of foreign aid on economic growth differs across income levels.

In Tanzania, Albiman (2016) found that foreign aid has a negative impact on the economy using the Dynamic OLS estimation technique, which differs from the Zimbabwean case study was done by Moyo and Mafuso (2017)that found that foreign aid has a positive effect on the Zimbabwean economy. Mallik (2008) gathered data from the six poorest countries in the world and found that foreign aid still has a negative impact on the economy of these countries.

The Laffer curve (U-shaped) relationship between foreign aid and economic growth was found by Yiew, 2018; Wamboye, 2012; Brempong and Racine, 2014) to initially have a negative impact on GDP but after some time, it positively impacted the economy. Tait and Siddique (2015) found that foreign aid improved the economy and this impact did not depend on the level of freedom of25 sub-Saharan African countries.

Data, Model and Methodology

The study used panel data from 39 African countries spanning 20 years from 1996 to 2016 (Table 01).

Table 01: List of Countries in the Sample

1. Angola	14. Gabon	27. Niger
2. Burundi	15. Ghana	28. Nigeria
3. Benin	16. Guinea	29. Rwanda
4. Burkina Faso	17. Gambia	30. Sudan
5. Botswana	18. Guinea-Bissau	31. Senegal
6. CAR	19. Kenya	32. Sierra Leone
7. Cote d'Ivoire	20. Morocco	33. Swaziland
8. Cameroon	21. Madagascar	34. Chad
9. DRC	22. Mali	35. Togo
10. Congo Republic	23. Mozambique	36. Tunisia
11. Comoros	24. Mauritania	37. Tanzania
12. Algeria	25. Mauritius	38. Uganda
13. Egypt	26. Malawi	39. Zimbabwe

The data was collected from secondary sources whereby GDP per capita, foreign aid and external debt data were collected from World Bank Indicators. All other control variables such as fixed capital formation, population and trade openness were also obtained from the World Bank Indicators. The governance indicators (control over corruption, government effectiveness, political stability, accountability, rule of law and regulatory quality) are collected from World Governance Indicators (WGI). All variables are shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Variable Name, Definition and Source and Priori Hypothesis

Variable	Definition	Source	Priori Expectations
GDP (Y)[1]	GDP per capital (current US$)	World Bank(WDI)	
Foreign aid (aid)	Net official development assistance (ODA)	World Bank(WDI)	+/-
External Debt (Debt)	External debt stocks (% of GNI)	World Bank(WDI)	+/-
Gross Capital Formation(CAF)	Gross Capital Formation (% of GDP)	World Bank(WDI)	+
Population growth (POP)	Population growth (annual %)	World Bank(WDI)	-
Trade openness (trade)	Sum of export and import	World Bank(WDI)	+
CC	Control over corruption	(WGI)	+
Accountability	Voice and accountability	(WGI)	+
Politics	Political stability and absence of violence	(WGI)	+
Equality	Regulatory quality	(WGI)	+
Rule of law	Rule of law	(WGI)	+
Government effectiveness	Government Effectiveness	(WGI)	+

For regression analysis, the econometric model should be formulated, which includes the coefficients and error term. Therefore, the econometric model can be specified as follows:

$$\gamma_{it}=\alpha_0+\beta\chi_{it}+\gamma D_{it}+\delta Aid_{it}+\sigma G_{it}+\varepsilon_{it}$$

Where γ_{it} represents GDP per capital, X_{it} represents control variables, D_{it} represents external debt, Aid_{it} represents foreign aid, G_{it} represents the governance factors and σit means the error term. Finally, β, γ, δ, and σ represent the unknown parameters to be estimated while i and t represent

1 GDP per worker was used by Solow model instead of GDP per capita. But the latter is important due to the fact that dependency ratios might vary across countries. Other book authors like Islam (1995) used per capital while Mankiw (1992) used per worker. But according to Hoeffler (2002), the results do not depend on either choice.

country and time(year) respectively.

The model is estimated using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) and Fixed Effect but to consider the bias and endogeneity introduced by the lagged GDP variable in the presence of OLS and fixed effects, this equation is estimated using the Generalised Method of Moments (GMM). Arellano and Bover (1995) and Blundell and Bond (1998) developed assumptions under which the system GMM estimator can be used to alleviate the problem of weak instruments ('SYS-GMM') (Bond, 1991; Bover, 1995).

And, therefore, the model is specified as follows:

$$y_{it}=\alpha_1 y_{(it-1)}+\alpha_2 X_{(it-1)}+\alpha_3 \phi_{(it-1)}+\alpha_4 \delta_{(it-1)}+\alpha_5 \gamma_{(it-1)}+\mu_i+\theta_t+v_{it},\ |\alpha_1|<1$$

Where y_{it} represents GDP per capital, X_{it} represents foreign aid,Φ_{it} represents external debt, δ_{it} represents governance variables and γ_{it} represents control variables. The individual effect represented by μ_i allows for the unobserved heterogeneity that captures the time-variant effect of omitted variables. θ_t represents the common time effect and v_{it} is a disturbance term.

Results and Discussion

The results from Table 2 show that foreign debt has a significant negative impact on economic growth across all six columns such that if the last column is interpreted where all governance and control variables are included, the negative sign suggests that a 1% increase in foreign debt decreases the GDP per capita by 0.24% when all other factors remain constant. Foreign aid has the same results as debt except for the first column (fixed effect model), which has a positive sign but when considering other factors affecting economic growth, then the sign changes to negative, implying that foreign aid is bad for the economy. The negative coefficient in the last column implies that when other factors remain constant, a 1% increase in foreign aid leads to a decrease of the African economy by 0.05%. This result concurs with other studies by Siddique, 2015; MM, 2016; Ijirshar, 2016; and Said, 2013).

Table 2: Log of GDP per Capita against External Debt, Foreign Aid and Other Control Variables

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
	Fe	Fe	Fe	GMM	GMM	GMM
External debt	-0.48*** (0.0151)	-0.48*** (0.0162)	-0.472*** (0.0159)	-0.234*** (0.00762)	-0.228*** (0.00991)	-0.238*** (0.0170)
Foreign aid	-0.13*** (0.0186)	-0.14*** (0.0189)	-0.124*** (0.0185)	-0.037*** (0.00329)	-0.052*** (0.00333)	-0.0524*** (0.00712)
Capital formation		0.0706** (0.0289)	0.0363 (0.0291)		0.0248*** (0.00666)	0.0279** (0.0129)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
	Fe	Fe	Fe	GMM	GMM	GMM
Trade		-0.0135 (0.0544)	-0.1000* (0.0540)		0.149*** (0.0261)	0.135*** (0.0249)
Population		0.0143 (0.0224)	0.0152 (0.0226)		0.00741 (0.00978)	0.00942 (0.0151)
Control overcorruption			-0.00426** (0.00176)			-0.000523 (0.000898)
Political instability			-0.0039*** (0.00111)			-0.00082** (0.000324)
Regulatory quality			0.00797*** (0.00185)			0.00196*** (0.000755)
Accountability			0.00470*** (0.00177)			0.00284*** (0.000768)
Government effectiveness			-0.0092*** (0.00187)			-0.00135 (0.000901)
Rule of law			0.00883*** (0.00224)			-0.00104 (0.00103)
Lag of GDP				0.690*** (0.0160)	0.658*** (0.0243)	0.640*** (0.0346)
Intercept	8.684*** (0.0572)	8.460*** (0.236)	8.767*** (0.244)	3.036*** (0.136)	2.527*** (0.196)	2.700*** (0.308)
Observations	817	811	811	778	772	772
R-squared	0.629	0.641	0.668			
Hausman Prob>Chi2			274.57 0.0000			
Hausen Test AR(2)				1.0000 0.8506	1.0000 0.8713	1.0000 0.9438
Countries	39	39	39	39	39	39

*Standard errors are in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 represents the level of significance at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively.*

Table 3 represents the interaction effect between foreign aid and governance variables, which answers the question of how governance affects the relationship between foreign aid and economic growth. Starting with ordinary least squares (OLS), the result shows that the interaction variables of foreign aid, control over corruption and also of foreign aid and government effectiveness are positive and significant, which concur with the hypothesis that countries that have control over corruption and more government effectiveness positively influence the impact of foreign aid on the economy. In other words, they make a better use of aid to improve their economic growth. Shifting

to the Fixed Effect Model, interaction between foreign aid and control over corruption is positive and significant, implying that African countries that have control over corruption positively impact the relationship between aid and economic growth. The coefficient means that when other factors remain constant, a 1% increase in control over corruption increases the influence of foreign aid to GDP by 0.004%.

Lastly, under the system GMM estimator, it is the political stability and government effectiveness that have a positive and significant interaction impact on the relationship between foreign aid and economic growth of a country; the results do not concur with another study by Tait, 2015. The coefficient means that when all other factors remain constant, a 1% increase in the political stability of a country increases the impact of foreign aid on economic growth by 0.002% while a 1% increase in government effectiveness increases the impact of foreign aid on the economy by 0.005%.

Table 3: Log of GDP per Capita against Interaction Variables between Foreign Aid and Governance

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	OLS	FE	GMM
Lag of GDP			0.870*** (0.0156)
Capital formation	0.327*** (0.0454)	0.296*** (0.0417)	0.119*** (0.0219)
Trade	0.376*** (0.0599)	0.109 (0.0796)	0.122*** (0.0373)
Population	-0.0791*** (0.0245)	0.0774** (0.0336)	0.0359 (0.0317)
Foreign aid	-0.520*** (0.0196)	-0.296*** (0.0282)	-0.0587*** (0.0108)
Control overcorruption	0.000358 (0.00177)	-0.000173 (0.00266)	-0.000195 (0.00120)
Accountability	-0.00136 (0.00147)	0.00452* (0.00264)	-0.00288** (0.00128)
Government effectiveness	-0.000614 (0.00219)	-0.0124*** (0.00278)	-0.000405 (0.00127)
Rule of law	0.00457* (0.00236)	0.0149*** (0.00330)	0.00145 (0.00124)
Political instability	0.00469*** (0.00130)	-0.00308* (0.00170)	-0.000442 (0.000493)
Regulatory quality	-0.00207 (0.00220)	0.000303 (0.00278)	0.00162* (0.000931)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	OLS	FE	GMM
Aid*control over corruption	0.00320** (0.00153)	0.00407** (0.00192)	-0.00197** (0.000956)
Aid*accountability	0.00104 (0.00144)	-0.00167 (0.00178)	2.21e-05 (0.000691)
Aid*political instability	-0.00116 (0.00107)	0.00190 (0.00122)	0.00203*** (0.000552)
Aid*regulatory quality	-0.00130 (0.00144)	0.00107 (0.00157)	-0.00275*** (0.000797)
Aid*rule of law	-0.00863*** (0.00208)	-0.00105 (0.00236)	-0.000795 (0.000851)
Aid* Government effectiveness	0.00349** (0.00161)	-0.00266 (0.00195)	0.00416*** (0.000656)
Intercept	4.306*** (0.252)	5.129*** (0.324)	-0.0265 (0.178)
Observations	811	811	772
R-squared	0.765	0.296	
Number of countries	39	39	39
VIF	4.59		
Hausman Prob>Chi2			30.63 0.015
Hansen test			1.0000
AR(2)			0.8455

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 represents the level of significance at* 1%, 5% and 10% respectively.

Table 4 represents the interaction impact of governance variables on the relationship between external debt and economic growth. Starting with the OLS estimator, the results suggest that control over corruption and regulatory quality have a positive interaction impact on the relationship between external debt and economic growth. In other words, those African countries that have strong control over corruption and regulatory quality use these bilateral and multilateral foreign loans in a way that they improve the economy, which concurs with the hypothesis of this study and another study by (Jalles, 2011). The coefficient suggests that when other factors remain constant, a 1% increase in the country's control over corruption and regulatory quality positively increases the impact of external debt on the economy by 0.01 and 0.005% respectively.

Shifting to the Fixed Effect Model, the results show that this time it is accountability and political stability that influence positively and significantly the relationship between external debt

and economic growth. The coefficient implies that with other factors remaining constant, a 1% increase in government accountability and political stability positively influence the impact of debt on economic growth by 0.01 and 0.004% respectively. And lastly, moving to the system GMM, the results table shows that political stability and rule of law have a positive interaction influence on the impact of external debt to economic growth such that those countries that have strong political stability and rule of law spend the loans received from abroad wisely so that it improves their economy. The coefficient implies that if a 1% increase in the country's political stability and rule of law occurs, then foreign debt can increase the economy by 0.002 and 0.004% respectively when other factors in the model remain constant.

Table 4: Log of GDP per Capita against Interaction between External Debt and Governance

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	OLS	FE	GMM
Lag of GDP			0.661*** (0.0411)
Capital formation	0.183*** (0.0452)	0.0157 (0.0278)	0.0337*** (0.0116)
Trade	0.776*** (0.0659)	-0.168*** (0.0519)	0.0615 (0.0378)
Population	-0.370*** (0.0476)	-0.0114 (0.0218)	-0.00982 (0.0125)
External debt	-0.508*** (0.0321)	-0.491*** (0.0155)	-0.247*** (0.0230)
Control over corruption	-0.0126*** (0.00259)	-0.00265 (0.00170)	-5.89e-05 (0.00109)
Accountability	-0.0125*** (0.00193)	0.00128 (0.00170)	0.00213** (0.000973)
Government effectiveness	0.0117*** (0.00284)	-0.0136*** (0.00189)	-0.000592 (0.000961)
Rule of law	0.00500 (0.00312)	0.0107*** (0.00218)	-0.00207 (0.00132)
Political instability	0.00821*** (0.00196)	-0.00513*** (0.00107)	-0.00116*** (0.000406)
Regulatory quality	0.00126 (0.00318)	0.00757*** (0.00178)	0.00170* (0.000897)
External debt* control of corruption	0.00836** (0.00336)	0.00164 (0.00164)	-0.00322*** (0.00112)
External debt* accountability	0.000951 (0.00251)	0.00750*** (0.00146)	0.00100 (0.00120)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	OLS	FE	GMM
External debt* political institutions	0.000623 (0.00226)	0.00380*** (0.00105)	0.00180** (0.000739)
External debt* rule of law	-0.00884** (0.00410)	-0.00448** (0.00212)	0.00369*** (0.00121)
External debt* regulatory quality	0.00478* (0.00275)	-0.00175 (0.00160)	-0.00186* (0.000970)
External debt* Gov. effectiveness	-0.00460 (0.00322)	0.00245 (0.00172)	-0.000894 (0.00118)
Constant	3.816*** (0.293)	7.335*** (0.211)	1.923*** (0.306)
Observations	813	813	774
R-squared	0.634	0.702	
VIF	5.11		
Hausman test Prob>Chi2		68.30 0.0000	
Hansen test			1.0000
AR(2)			0.8963
Number of countries	39	39	39

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 represents the level of significance at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively.*

Table 5 represents different types or categories of foreign aid and external debt and how they affect the economy. With fixed effects in the first and second column, the results show that both foreign aid from the U.S. and European countries have a positive and significant effect on the economy while in the external debt, it is the short- term debt and multilateral debt that have negative and a significant effect in both columns, implying that these types of external debt have a negative impact on the economy of African countries. Shifting to system GMM, the results suggest that this time, the foreign aid from the U.S. has a negative and significant impact on the economy in the third and fourth column, contrary to the Fixed Effect Model. The foreign aid from European countries, however, is still positive and significant, meaning that it has a positive impact on the African economy. And, therefore, considering that system GMM is a superior estimator, the study can conclude that the U.S. aid that flows to African countries is bad for African economies. The short-term and multilateral debt under system GMM have a positive and statistically significant effect on both the third and fourth column.

Table 5: Log of GDP per Capita against Different Types of Foreign Aid and External Debt

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	FE1	FE2	GMM1	GMM2
US aid	0.133*** (0.0158)	0.118*** (0.0158)	-0.0135*** (0.00345)	-0.0113** (0.00476)
Euroaid	0.112*** (0.0238)	0.117*** (0.0232)	0.0326*** (0.00377)	0.0329*** (0.00463)
Total bilateral aid	0.0695* (0.0357)	0.0793** (0.0346)	0.0409*** (0.00743)	0.0443*** (0.00825)
Short-term debt	-0.0597*** (0.0137)	-0.0446*** (0.0135)	0.0151*** (0.00329)	0.0168*** (0.00304)
Concessions debt	-0.127** (0.0582)	-0.0815 (0.0569)	0.0500** (0.0206)	0.0340 (0.0383)
Multilateral debt	-0.0998*** (0.0293)	-0.115*** (0.0296)	0.0201*** (0.00344)	0.0298*** (0.00661)
Capital formation	0.0705* (0.0386)	0.0781** (0.0392)	0.0732*** (0.0147)	0.0835*** (0.0200)
Trade	-0.0863 (0.0772)	-0.172** (0.0768)	0.117*** (0.0246)	0.129*** (0.0443)
Population	0.0129 (0.0297)	0.0203 (0.0302)	0.000434 (0.0158)	0.00464 (0.0179)
Control over corruption		-0.000540 (0.00253)		0.00116 (0.00125)
Accountability		0.00121 (0.00274)		-0.00287** (0.00133)
Political instability		0.00294* (0.00163)		0.000535 (0.000464)
Rule of law		0.0129*** (0.00323)		-0.00280** (0.00110)
Regulatory quality		0.00355 (0.00265)		0.000933 (0.000852)
Government effectiveness		-0.0164*** (0.00274)		0.00127 (0.00102)
Lag of GDP			0.894*** (0.0172)	0.905*** (0.0230)
Intercept	6.378*** (0.404)	6.381*** (0.404)	-0.581*** (0.139)	-0.689*** (0.264)
Observations	718	718	686	686
R-squared	0.386	0.430		

Hausman test Prob>Chi2	166.65 0.0000	347.92 0.0000		
Hansen test			1.0000	1.0000
AR(2)			0.8506	0.5792
Countries	39	39	39	39

*Standard errors are in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 represents the level of significance at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively.*

Table 6 represents the impact of foreign aid and external debt on economic growth before and after the 2008 economic recession. The results suggest that on both occasions, foreign debt and aid has a negative impact on the economic growth of African countries –the same results as (Shabbir, 2013; Ndubuisi, 2017; Ijirshar, 2016; Malik, 2008). The negative coefficient before the recession implies that when other factors remain constant, a 1% increase in foreign debt and aid decreases the economic growth by 0.27 and 0.04% respectively. The negative coefficient after the recession implies that a 1% increase in foreign debt and aid decreases the economic growth by 0.23 and 0.06% respectively when other factors remain constant. Therefore, considering the magnitude of the coefficient, external debt has a larger negative impact on the African economy that foreign aid.

Table 6: Log of GDP per Capita Against Foreign Aid and External Debt Before and after the 2008 Economic Recession

Variables	Before	After
	GMM	GMM
Lag of GDP	0.662*** (0.0470)	0.636*** (0.0240)
External debt	-0.268*** (0.0306)	-0.231*** (0.0207)
Foreign aid	-0.0437*** (0.00880)	-0.0622*** (0.0124)
Population	-0.0338*** (0.0120)	0.107*** (0.0226)
Capital formation	0.0582*** (0.0110)	-0.0174 (0.0231)
Trade	0.139*** (0.0195)	0.0992** (0.0390)
Accountability	0.00184** (0.000727)	0.00362*** (0.00103)

Regulatory quality	-0.00223** (0.000885)	0.00343*** (0.00115)
Control over corruption	-0.000645 (0.000794)	-0.00173** (0.000800)
Political instability	5.82005 (0.000659)	-0.00117** (0.000525)
Government effectiveness	0.00217* (0.00124)	-0.00238* (0.00142)
Rule of law	-0.00274** (0.00113)	-0.00130 (0.00152)
Intercept	2.768*** (0.382)	2.756*** (0.239)
Observations	426	346
Hansen test	1.0000	1.0000
AR(2)	0.5051	0.2742
Number of countries	39	39

*Standard errors are in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 represents the level of significance at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively.*

Table 7 represents the impact of foreign aid and debt on the economic growth of African countries under different income groups. The results suggest that the external debt has a negative impact on economic growth for all categories of income, which implies that total external loans that flow to Africa have merely burdened those countries with debt but do not impact the African economy positively. But the foreign aid differs across income levels, same as another study by (Chatrna, 2009).The result suggests that foreign aid has no impact on upper-middle and lower-middle income countries in Africa and this can be justifiable in the sense that these countries are a bit well-off for the aid to become such an impact to their economy. The low-income countries in Africa seem to be affected negatively in terms of their economy by the aid-flow from foreign countries, same as other studies by (MM, 2016; Malik, 2008). This means that foreign aid, which intended to help these lower income countries to finance their budget, ends up hurting their economy. The negative coefficient implies that when other factors remain constant, a 1% increase in foreign aid to lower-income countries in Africa decreases their GDP by 0.12%.

Table 7: Log of GDP Per Capita against Foreign Aid and External Debt according to Different Income Levels

Variables	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Low
	GMM	GMM	GMM
Lag of GDP	0.867*** (0.0402)	0.763*** (0.0248)	0.517*** (0.0268)
External debt	-0.0941*** (0.0217)	-0.182*** (0.0179)	-0.197*** (0.0153)
Foreign aid	-0.0362 (0.0226)	0.0188 (0.0131)	-0.119*** (0.0179)
Population	-0.0175 (0.0586)	-0.0234 (0.0301)	0.0115 (0.0150)
Capital formation	-0.137** (0.0558)	-0.0503 (0.0353)	0.102*** (0.0190)
Trade	0.231*** (0.0865)	0.0889*** (0.0334)	0.155*** (0.0369)
Accountability	-0.00814** (0.00408)	0.00210 (0.00130)	-0.00153 (0.00131)
Regulatory quality	0.00616** (0.00265)	0.00160 (0.00161)	0.000144 (0.00160)
Control over corruption	0.00478* (0.00270)	-0.00301** (0.00146)	-0.00220 (0.00148)
Political instability	0.00241 (0.00268)	-0.000575 (0.00112)	0.000226 (0.000918)
Government effectiveness	-0.00544 (0.00399)	-4.61e-05 (0.00182)	0.000612 (0.00171)
Rule of law	-0.000112 (0.00379)	-0.00211 (0.00196)	0.00115 (0.00176)
Intercept	0.824 (0.509)	2.290*** (0.282)	3.096*** (0.231)
Observations	96	238	438
Sargan test	116.3		
Prob>Chi2	0.077		
Number of countries	5	12	22

*Standard errors are in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 represents the level of significance at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively.*

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study aims to empirically analyse the impact of foreign aid and external debt to the economy in Africa and how governance indicators affect this scenario. The results first suggest that firstly, in general, both foreign aid and external debt have a negative impact on the economies in Africa, with external debt causing more harm to the economies than foreign aid, when taking the coefficient magnitude into the account (as shown in Figure 1). Secondly, the governance indicators (control over corruption, government effectiveness, political stability, accountability, regulatory quality and rule of law) play a major role in how foreign aid and external debt affects the economy. This means that those African countries that have strong governance indicators are the ones that benefit from foreign aid and loans to improve their economy. Thirdly, foreign aid from the U.S. has a detrimental, negative impact on the African economies while foreign aid from EU countries has a positive

impact. Although the external debt impacts negatively in all levels of income, foreign aid has no impact on upper- and middle-income countries in Africa while in the lower income countries, this aid has a negative impact.

The study recommends that African countries should formulate strong policies and spend borrowed loans from abroad prudently and be cautious when receiving foreign aid. There is no doubt that foreign aid and loans are crucial in Africa as they help to finance the budget deficit to meet the planned expenditure. But only with good governance and prudent spending can it help to improve economies because it is easy to borrow money and difficult to spend it wisely for the development of African countries.

Figure 1: Regression Plot showing the Relationship between GDP and External Debt

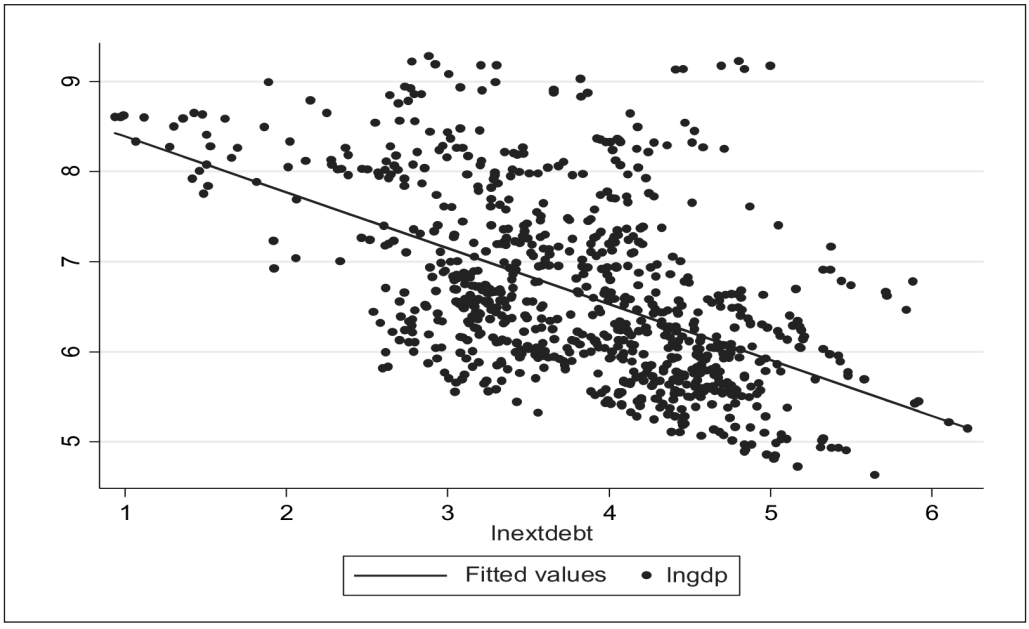
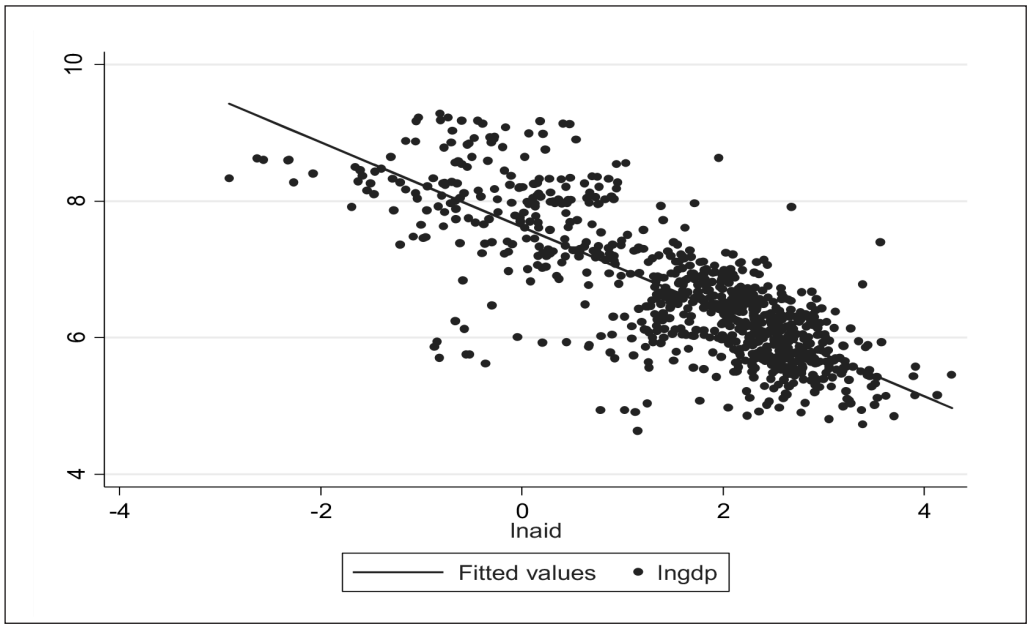


Figure 2: Regression Plot showing the Relationship between GDP and Foreign Aid



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Management of Institutions within Thomas's Analytical Framework: A Ugandan Higher Education Case

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Abstract

The management of higher education institutions (HEIs) is quite a complex phenomenon. Many times, higher education institutions have become arenas of political betting rather than places of knowledge, skill generation and skill development. There is a great assumption that institutions exist to achieve rational ends. In the light of Thomas's analytical framework (2003:27), this paper, through examining the four perspectives – the rational professional view, political view, agency of capital view and the magic/religion view – indicates that management in institutions of higher education cannot be explained by only one perspective. The paper overlays Thomas's framework on to the management of selected higher institutions in Uganda to generate a theoretical meaning of how management in these institutions can be comprehended. The paper is theoretical with practical illustrations of what management actually entails in higher education institutions in Uganda.

Keywords: management, higher education institutions, rationality

Introduction

Management is one of those common activities applying to all kinds of organisations. While management might be traced way back during the industrial revolution, modern organisations borrow management principles and practice from Frederick Winslow Taylor's Scientific Management Theory at the beginning of the 20th century. Subsequent schools of thought towards the mid 20th century such as the Human Relations Movement by Mary Parker Follett, the Systems Approach by Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Talcott Parsons and others, Theory X and Y by Douglas McGregor as well as Contingency Theory by Fred Edward Fiedler and William Ouchi's Theory Z went a long way to create a firm foundation for management practice today (Clegg, Kornberger and Pitsis, 2005).

It is clear that throughout the entire century, the search for a common meaning of the concept

of management remained elusive. Consequently, many scholars document variants in definitions of management as:

> "Knowing exactly what you want men to do, and then seeing that they do it in the best and cheapest way" (Taylor, 1911, p. 7), "to forecast and plan, to organize, to command, to co-ordinate and to control.... (Henri Fayol, 1916, p.5-6), "the art of getting things done through people" (Mary Parker Follett...), "the art of getting things done through and with people in formally organized groups", (Koontz 1961, p. 186).

The understanding of what management is, therefore, continues to generate controversies and conceptual debates among management thinkers, scholars and researchers in different organisations and contexts. This paper explores the meaning of management in the context of higher education institutions in Uganda that have undergone unprecedented mega changes as in other countries elsewhere (Daigneau, W. et al. 2005; Staley and Trinkle, 2011).

In this paper, we also acknowledge and re-echo Olum's (2004) concern that elements of the external environment – economic, technological, social, political, and ethical, combine to impact on the way organizations, including HEIs, are managed. Therefore, management practices in HEIs in Uganda, and elsewhere in the world, cannot avoid being shaped by the external environment. However, the paper's focus is on Thomas's (2003) analytical framework of four major perspectives to management that include: rational profession view, agency of capital view, magic/religion view and politics view.

Thomas's (2003) analytical framework typology examines the 'means' and 'ends' of management to explain what management does and how it does it. His view is that management is a social practice in which various means are deployed to achieve various ends. The view is in congruence with Dunham & Pierce (1989) who claim that management involves the process of planning, organising, directing and controlling organisational resources in the pursuit of organisational goals.

Defining and Managing of Higher Education Institutions in Uganda

United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines higher education as all types of education or training provided at post-secondary level by universities or other tertiary educational establishments approved by the competent state authority (UNESCO, 2009). Globally, higher education in many countries such as those in the USA, UK, and Australia generally fits into this definition. In Uganda's context, higher education refers to all forms of training beyond a full course of secondary (post A' level) provided by universities and other tertiary institutions, leading to the award of certificates, diplomas and degrees and conducting research (Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act, (2001) as amended). Although the higher education landscape in Uganda is still dominated by universities, the system is fast evolving to accommodate more

tertiary institutions. Currently, other than universities, HEIs in Uganda include business colleges, technical colleges, national teachers' colleges, agricultural colleges and management institutes, among others. HEIs in Uganda operate under the legal and regulatory frameworks provided by the Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act (UOTIA, 2001) as amended and other frameworks by the National Council of Higher Education (NCHE) respectively. The Act provides for the governance structures of HEIs through laws, policies, and rules that act as standard operating procedures. HEIs are directed under the leadership of governing bodies and management who lead these institutions on behalf of the owners or stakeholders. The university management, according to UOTIA, 2001 for instance, consists of officers like the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the University Secretary, the Academic Registrar, the Librarian, the Bursar and the Dean of Students. Universities have organs of administration that include the University Council, the Senate and other academic bodies that are comprised of stipulated membership as per the law to ensure that a management function is carried out effectively for the purpose of realising institutional goals.

Considering that management is central in running HEIs, this paper aims at elaborating what management is, not in terms of a structure but in the context of a function within HEI. The discussion is based on Thomas's (2003) analytical framework for management that explains the relevance of rationality in management. This framework was specifically selected for its attempt to provide an insightful and thought-provoking study of controversies surrounding management of contemporary organizations.

Rational Profession Perspective and Management of HEIs in Uganda

According to Herbert (1947), rationality is a relation of conformance (efficiency) between pre-established 'ends' and 'means' to reach them. Hodgkinson and Healey (2011) view rationality as an analytic, systematic, rule-based and explicit mechanism for decision-making. Thomas (2003) views rationality as an attribute of the means managers use to achieve given ends. From these sample definitions, it can be observed that rationality is all about calculative and conscious decisions and actions taken by managers to ensure that an organisation achieves its intended objectives.

In order to analyse management of HEIs in Uganda in the light of the rational professional view, the basic assumptions of the model need to be outlined. These assumptions include:

i. Managerial behavior is based on conscious reasoning and not just on intuition or experience. This implies that managers make decisions based on formal and systematic analysis of the available information. Choices are influenced by rules and cause-effect relationships (Evans, 2003; Hodgkinson, Sadler-Smith, Burke, Claxton and Sparrow, 2009).
ii. The decisions and actions of managers are guided by clearly defined vision and mission of the organisation.
iii. Organisational goals are also clearly and specifically defined and hence managers can

determine the likely outcome or what they expect to achieve.

iv. Managers operate in a highly formalised social structure.
v. Managers are assumed to determine alternative choices and courses of action (strategies).
vi. Managers take decisions and act in the interest of the organization, that is achievement of unitary ends.

Although some claims of the rational profession model of management may be challenged, by contemporary management scholars and practitioners on the basis that present day organizations operate in a highly complex and dynamic environment. In this paper we argue, based on our experience in HEIs, that there is still substantial evidence of management practices in HEIs in Uganda that draw on the rational model discussed herein.

The bureaucratic model of management, with its rules, regulations, and standard operating procedures guiding decisions and actions of those in management remains a dominant feature of management in HEIs. Generally, managers of HEIs largely rely on formal structures and processes when taking critical decisions that affect their institutions. For instance, the decision taken by the management of Makerere University to "discipline" staff implicated in the recently publicized sexual harassment at the University was based on the University's Policy and Regulations against Sexual Harassment (2006) as amended. This and other policies and regulations in many other HEIs apparently are the bases upon which HEIs' managers execute their day to day functions. In this regard, managerial decisions and actions appear to be highly professional, objective and rational. However, unlike the traditional bureaucracies found in the corporate world, private sector, or in ecclesiastical where decision-making is a preserve of a few individuals in the top administrative hierarchy, bureaucracies in HEIs are thought to function in a different way and considerable power is decentralized to units such as colleges, schools, or departments (Makerere University, 2017)

In additon, universities and other HEIs have visions, missions, goals, strategic objectives and core values that act as guidelines for rational managerial decisions and actions. Uganda Christian University (UCU), for instance, has core values that reflect their Christian background. One of their core values, for example, is Christ-centeredness. UCU may not recruit personnel into top management positions if they do not have strong Christian values and most specifically are of the Anglican faith (UCU Strategic Plan 2012-2018). Another vivid point of illustration is the Uganda Management Institute (UMI) – a government institution building management and administrative capacities of public and private organisations. UMI has strategic objectives as well as core values. One of the strategic objectives is to attract, develop and retain high-quality staff. The recruitment of highly qualified and competent staff currently at the institute could be a manifestation that managerial decisions at UMI are largely influenced by the institute's strategic objectives and core values.

Strategic planning carried out by HEIs can also be considered as a highly objective rational process. This is because it essentially involves careful and systematic analysis of available data and information in order to make forecasts (Thomas, 2003). It is important to note that strategic plans

drawn by HEIs, for example, Makerere University's Strategic Plan (2008/2009 – 2018/2019) in Uganda are essentially informed by broader policy frameworks such as the National Development Plan (NDP) II, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Uganda Vision 2040, among others. This implies that strategic plans are a product of highly professional, rational thought processes. In fact, in management literature and practice, strategic decision-making is considered a highly rational process because it is analytical, systematic and linear (Elbanna, 2006; Cabantous & Gond, 2011). The bureaucratic linear paradigm in strategic planning seems to be what most administrators and managers of HEIs engage in, especially in government institutions like public universities. Bureaucrats in these public universities still tend to have a mechanistic view that there is a standard way of thinking and behaving. For instance, university managers continue to heavily rely on institutional vision and mission statements as foundations of strategic plans, and the use of techniques such as SWOT analysis in strategic planning. Hinton (2012) opines that linear thinking in strategic management seems to be so entrenched in HEIs that it is equated with logical or rational thinking. But the dynamic, unpredictable and competitive conditions in the higher education landscape are making HEIs that are still in the mechanistic paradigm lose touch with the reality of today's world. HEIs inevitably need to embrace an adaptive model of planning to accommodate changing situations.

Objective rationality in human behaviour, however, has been challenged, especially by behavioral scientists and the neo-classical school of thought. Human beings, it is argued, do not behave as rational machines, even in the most organised organisational structures (Herbert, 1955). Findings from cognitive psychology and behavioral studies indicate that judgment, decision-making, and behaviour are not exclusively based on logical reasoning, but are also subject to heuristics, cognitive biases, intuition and pressure towards conformity with the group or authority (Marnet, 2008). In fact, according to Herbert (1955), bounded rationality explains actual behaviour other than theoretical behaviour. The implication is that the behaviour of managers or administrators of HEIs may not at all times be objectively rational. Some circumstances may require a quick, practical response without necessarily resorting to the traditional bureaucratic, rule-based approach. Public universities like Makerere and Kyambogo, for example, have frequent staff and student strikes. Such a state of affairs demands a fast response from management to control the possible adverse effects.

One critical factor that has put to test Thomas' (2003) objective rational professional model of management (which pre-supposes that management operates under circumstances of socio-economic stability) was the introduction of public sector reforms in Uganda in the mid 1990's instigated through World Bank sanctions. Such a development impacted on management and other institutional practices in public HEIs (Bisaso, 2010; Nabaho, 2019). Among the reforms included cut in budgetary allocations to the higher education sector, with funding priorities reallocated to support lower education sector (Musisi, 2003; Mamdani, 2007). New public management demands that public Universities introduce market elements as components into their management practices in order to raise funding to support management of these institutions. As a result, public

Universities in Uganda have had to introduce reforms like cost-sharing, and private students' scheme to raise additional funds. In such complex, uncertain and dynamic economic environment, purely objective rationality explaining managerial behavior in which managers have total control of situations is highly questionable. Adopting business-like characteristics also implies that HEIs managers interface with an intricate network of people- parents, government, donors, political actors, business communities, civil society organizations among others. Rationality in managerial behavior in such complex environment is subjective and managers require to adapt to emerging challenges and realities of the time. In the same way, globalization with its emerging issues of internationalization of higher education, new technologies, academic collaborations, increasing competition in the higher education landscape, massification of education, and changes in students' demands among others, all require adaptive and innovative management practices that may not necessarily be hinged on the rigid classical rational objective model. Managers of HEIs instead need to continuously endow themselves with innovative management and leadership skills to be able to successfully manage HEIs in this 21st century (Onen, 2014) as cited in Emunemu & Akinwumi (2014).

Agency of Capital Perspective and Management of HEIs in Uganda

The agency of capital perspective to management draws its origin largely from the Agency Theory or the Principal-agent Theory. The theory describes the relationship between two or more parties in a contract where one party (principal) engages another party (agent) to perform some services on their behalf (Jensen and Meckling, 1976). Owners of the firm or company (principals) have to employ managers (agents) to run the business as they monitor the performance of the agents to ensure that the latter act rationally in the interest of the principals.

In a capitalist structure, the interest of the principal, which is profit maximisation and cost minimization, is usually parallel to the employees' interest. Profit maximisation results in exploitation of labour in terms of excessive workload for employees, sometimes longer working hours and yet in most cases, inadequate payment is made for labour service. Management decision and actions that are usually considered rational results in the exploitation of employees' labour. This explains why management is considered an exploitative activity under the agency of capital perspective to management (Thomas, 2003). How can this perspective be overlaid on to the management of HEIs in Uganda? We discuss the agency of capital perspective to management by considering two separate scenarios: management of private HEIs and management of public HEIs.

Agency of Capital and Management of Private HEIs in Uganda

Private HEIs in Uganda are largely for-profit institutions. Based on the Agency Theory, the owners of private HEIs such as private universities are the principals. The owners may be private individuals or an organisation such as the church. Universities such as Uganda Christian University, Uganda

Martyrs University, Islamic University in Uganda, Bugema Adventist University, are some of the faith-based private universities. Others like St Lawrence University, Cavendish University, Victoria University, Kampala International University, among others, are owned by private individuals or a group of private individuals. The agents are the top management that is involved in the day-to-day running of these universities. These may include Vice-Chancellor, Deputy Vice-Chancellor and other members of the management team such as the Board of Trustees. Private HEIs, unlike public HEIs, have a relatively high degree of autonomy in the way they are managed, although government, through NCHE, provides an oversight role (Echel-Ochwa, 2016).

Managers of private HEIs are accountable to the owners of these institutions and are expected to take rational managerial decisions that maximise the wealth of the owners (shareholders). Owners of private universities, for instance, provide the capital and other resources and expect management to utilise these resources efficiently and effectively to maximise returns to the owners. The managers are usually under pressure to fulfill the interest of the owners or shareholders. Often, this has resulted in putting staff – academic and non-academic – under pressure to deliver results. The workload for academic staff is usually high, especially in terms of teaching hours, regular assessment of students and other assigned tasks. Management on their part is involved in rigorous supervision and monitoring of staff, all in the name of ensuring efficiency and effectiveness.

Quality assurance mechanisms and performance measurement techniques are applied basically with a view to ensure that shareholders' wealth is maximised at the end of it all. This, in Ochwa-Echel's opinion, (2016), is a common practice in private universities and other private HEIs in Uganda. Management, in this perspective, is considered an exploitative activity, the type that Karl Marx describes in a capitalist socio-economic structure.

However, research by Tusubira and Nkote (2013) also indicates that managers of private universities often fail to align the interests of the agent with those of the principal due to conflicting goals, casting doubts on the expected objective rationality. Managers of private universities are said to have personal interests and goals to pursue, which tend to conflict with those of the owners. Pursuing of personal interests by the managers oftentimes is to the detriment of the private institutions, worse still to shareholders. This could be part of the causes of dismal performance displayed by private universities in Uganda in areas such as finance (Tusubira and Nkote, 2013; Ochwa-Echel, 2016).

Agency of Capital and Management of Public HEIs

Unlike private HEIs that are basically profit oriented, public HEIs are essentially meant to deliver higher education as a public good, without profit maximisation consideration. This view is, however, changing as public HEIs are under pressure to embrace the new public management model that is market-oriented, requiring managers of public HEIs to become entrepreneurial in their functions (Nabaho, 2019). But even in their largely not-for-profit nature, the agency dilemma can be experienced, which arises whenever owners of an organisation or company cast doubt

on the motive of agents, that is whether the appointed agents will manage the organisation in the interest of the principal. Based on the Principal-agency Theory, the government is the principal while the university managers are the agents. Managers of public universities (agents) are expected by government to manage the university on the latter's behalf (Kagaari, Munene, and Ntayi, 2013). The government, for example, provides funds for research projects, teaching, and learning programmes with the expectation that public HEIs will be more accountable and produce higher education output in line with government objectives and strategic plans. To ensure that managers of public HEIs are responsible and accountable to tax payers who are funders of public HEI governing bodies like university councils are instituted by government to provide an oversight role of supervising the management of public HEIs. This, in a way, portrays the principal-agency relationship (Kagaari et al, 2013) in line with Thomas's (2003) analytical tool. Otherwise, having been developed within the discipline of financial economics, with emphasis on wealth or profit maximisation, the agency theory seems to be of little relevance to the management of public HEIs in Uganda.

The complexity of governance and management structures of public HEIs in Uganda also renders the agency theory too simplistic to be used in explaining management of public HEIs in Uganda, since it is erected on a single abstraction that governance involves a contract between two parties. But public HEIs like Makerere and Kyambogo Universities, with their intricate management and governance structures (Nabaho, 2019), may produce different agency relationships from the single principal-agency relationship perceived by the agency paradigm. In other words, the question of "who is agent for who?" can arise where management structure is complex.

It may, therefore, sound reasonable to support Thomas's view (2003) that neither real managerial work has much to do with the classical functions of planning, organising, issuing commands using formal and scientific techniques, etc. as in Fayol's view, nor is it a neutral administrative function executed for the benefit of those who cooperate in productive activity. In the agency and Marxist perspective, management is seen as an exploitative and repressive function by managers (agents) who engage in the maintenance of the organisational systems and in the systems of power and advantage of the principals/owners of HEIs.

Political Perspective and Management of HEIs in Uganda

The political perspective to management, according to Berkley (2003), employs a pluralist view in which managers are believed to use power and influence to determine 'means' and 'ends' regarding resource allocation. Cairns (2017) describes organisational politics as a process and behaviour in human interaction involving power and authority. According to him, organisational politics is a natural part of organisational life; it is the lubricant that oils an organisation's gears; it governs how decisions are made in organisations; and that it is a tool to balance diverse views of interested parties and actors. This makes management or administration even in HEIs innately political. In this approach to understanding management, objective rational decision-making alone may not work when interests are fundamentally incongruent. Instead, political behaviours and

influence tactics emerge in which managers have to engage 'cliques' or groups in bargaining, negotiating, alliance building and conflict resolution (Thomas, 2003).

No wonder that Bacharach and Lawler (1980) described organisations as politically negotiated orders rather than celebrated rational, harmonious entities. Based on the background given above, politics in the management of HEIs in Uganda stems from diversity of interests and the need to resolve those competing interests in some way. In public universities, for example, there are various actors or stakeholders such as government, university managers, staff, students, development partners, politicians, civil society organisations, and the community in general. All these actors have varied as well as competing interests in HEIs that university managers must take into consideration. Moreover, HEIs, just like any other organisation, provide power bases and platforms for expression of individual interests and motives. Therefore, university managers require not only a rational professional approach in dealing with these various interest groups, but also the political and interpersonal skills to handle conflicting agendas and shifting power bases. Effective managers of HEIs need to be in close touch with the different interest groups and coalitions so that they attend to the prevailing mood of their institutions. Keeping close with organisational members necessitates that those mandated to manage HEIs must be political so as to be effective in monitoring institutional morale and nipping problems in the bud. Sometimes it entails engaging in behind-the-scenes, informal, one-on-one relationships with different actors.

Further, politics in management of HEIs becomes unavoidable where there is scarcity of resources and managers sometimes require political maneuvers to make difficult decisions regarding resource allocation. Oftentimes, scarcity of resources and how it should be allocated results in disagreements and power struggles among individuals and groups within the organisation. For instance, government has cut its budgetary allocations to fund HEIs in Uganda. A decrease in public resources to fund public HEIs seems to be a global trend (Agasisti, 2017). Consequently, meager financial resources have to be allocated between various competing uses such as research, teaching and students' welfare, among others. Such a state of affairs requires not only professional managerial expertise but also political astuteness to make the appropriate decisions. University managers need to use their tactics of power to strengthen their influence over decision-making and control of the social dynamics within the institutions.

Politics is also an inevitable and integral part of managing organisations and institutions such as HEIs when it comes to change management. Receptivity to change in organisations sometimes depends on how managers and administrators skillfully use their power, influence and authority to successfully drive the change agenda. For instance, recent attempts to raise tuition at Makerere University have been met with stiff resistance, not only from the concerned students and parents, but also from legislators. Such contentious issues demand skillful political maneuvers on the part of university managers to be able to get the desired results.

We acknowledge that although politics can be a healthy way to get things done in organisations, managers of HEIs have often misused their political power by engaging in self-serving behaviour that is destructive to the institutions. Sometimes university managers engage

in manipulative behaviour to serve their own interests or interests of a group, and maintain power by employing harsh management tactics – what Cairns (2017) refers to as 'Machiavellianism' in the workplace. Self-serving political actions by HEIs managers can negatively influence social groupings, cooperation, information-sharing and other organisational functions. Misuse of power and selfish personal ambitions in universities, for instance, could be the major cause of wrangles between or among university top management. Recently, there were media reports concerning the heightened intrigue between the Principal of Makerere University Business School (MUBS) and the chairperson of the MUBS Council. Behind such scenes usually lie managerial behaviour laced with selfish political ambitions. Politics in management displayed in this manner portrays it as a negative activity.

Political behaviour in the management of HEIs in Uganda, especially public HEIs, is also evident where institutional politics is interlinked with national politics. Oanda (2016) argues that Africa's politicians view universities as critical outputs for building political clients. Politicians usually have a deep interest in who becomes vice-chancellor, guild president or who ascends the academic rank because of having hidden motives to influence decision-making to serve their own interests. Even when it comes to procurement services in these HEIs, research indicates that university leaders are influenced by politicians to employ service providers from their own networks (Oanda, 2016). Therefore, on the surface, HEIs governance organs appear free to make rational decisions about academic and other institutional matters. But in actual fact, 'opaque' networks have dominant influence over most managerial decisions in HEIs in Uganda. Sometimes management practices like promotion of staff, recruitment, staff appointment to certain positions, allocation of research funds for projects, and funding of foreign travels by staff at HEIs in Uganda portray a lot of negative politics on the part of HEIs managers.

On politics in management of HEIs in Uganda, we conclude that politics is an inevitable part of managerial behaviour. Managers of HEIs do not only need objective rational decisions and actions to get things done in their institutions; having political awareness and skill is equally important to be able to achieve results. In spite of the negative image portrayed, organisational politics is not inherently bad.

Magic/Religion Perspective and Management of HEIs in Uganda

The magic/religion view of management according to Thomas's analytical framework compares the behaviour of managers to that of magicians and religious leaders. It is based on the claim that management as an activity or practice may not necessarily be based on scientific or verifiable facts. It questions the basic assumptions of the rational profession model and contends that managers may sometimes base their rationality on their personal belief systems and values. According to Thomas (2003), both magic and religion are associated with managing life's uncertainties, and finding solutions to specific 'ends'. Although the dominant view is that managers should act in a calculating manner on the basis of well-validated scientific knowledge, this rational behaviour is sometimes subject to their deeply held belief systems.

Shenoy (2017) contends that magic is all about creativity and making the impossible possible. Managers, just like magicians, are expected to be exceptionally innovative and courageous, consistently winning against all odds, and instilling confidence among the organisation's members. The magic/religion perspective argues that just like magicians and religious people, managers use techniques that are regarded as mysterious in the belief that certain desired outcomes will be achieved. Managers of HEIs operate in conditions of uncertainties and complexities in the higher education environment. For example, university managers deal with employees, students and other stakeholders whose behaviour cannot easily be predicted. Even for the most professional or expert university manager, objectively rational decisions may not adequately address staff or student morale, expectations, interests, goals, etc. Sometimes managers have to step out of their default style and provide tailor-made solutions that are beyond objective testing in the hope that staff motivation will increase. Therefore, what managers of HEIs sometimes do and how and when they do things can be comparable to what magicians and religious people do that are not scientifically grounded. This, according to Evje (2012), is what actually creates the magic. Managers deal with the belief that certain desired outcomes will follow their actions.

Universities and other HEIs also continuously undertake forecasting, long-range planning and other future-oriented activities in extreme uncertainties. Such managerial faith in the possibility of control of uncertainty is not necessarily always based on objective rationality and professionalism. Managers may merely use managerial 'symbols' and 'rituals' based on their belief that a desirable outcome will be achieved (Thomas, 2003). Take for instance the requirements of enforcement of regular class attendance by students – to a specified percent regulation, often a minimum of 75% attendance of the course unit. It is believed that regular attendance leads to good student performance. However, it is evident that unless a combination of other measures in the form of sanctions or penalties is executed, there is no guarantee that class attendance enforcement is equal to high performance of students.

Rationality in this case is relative to a manager's belief system and values. Forecasting and making strategic plans by managers of HEIs have the same functions that magical rights have, that is, they are manifestations of anxiety-relieving superstitious behaviour (Shenoy, 2017).

Conclusion

There are as diverse views to what management is dependent on as to the people who attempt to define it. However, there is more to the reality of management than the formally defined functions. A discussion on management in HEIs in Uganda being perceived in a four-lens perspective suggests to us that management is no simple function to define and undertake. Individual managers apply context-specific objective or subjective means to obtain either collective or personal/group benefits (outcomes). It is only when we interpret the means and ends correlation that we can ably explain the managerial behaviour and actions. Rationality, beliefs/values, politicking and exploitation offer a comprehensive framework to understand the meaning of management in HEIs and other organisations.

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Teacher Support Systems and Quality of Pedagogical Practices in Uganda's Public Secondary Schools

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Abstract

This study explores the extent to which teacher support systems influence the quality of pedagogical practices in public secondary schools in Uganda. It specifically examines the extent to which supervision and evaluation of teachers explain variations in quality of pedagogical practices. It was triggered by the persistent criticisms about the deteriorating quality of teaching and learning in public secondary schools in the country. A descriptive cross-sectional survey research design was used to conduct the study. Data was collected from 76 head teachers and 934 teachers drawn from 95 public secondary schools and six officials from the Uganda's Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) using survey, interview, observation and document analysis methods. Data collected from teachers was analysed using descriptive statistical analysis and ordered logistic regression, while content analysis was used to analyse qualitative data collected from lesson observations, document analysis, head teachers and ministry officials. The study findings revealed that first, teacher supervision (Odds ratio =1.89; p=0.000<0.05) and teacher evaluation (Odds ratio =1.54; p=0.000<0.05) have statistically significant influence on the quality of pedagogical practices in public secondary schools in Uganda. Second, the study established that teacher supervision was based majorly on fault-finding, schools lack appropriate teacher evaluation tools, and third, the study established that school administrators, in attempt to ensure quality of teaching and learning, used a 'monitoring tool' to supervise teacher punctuality and attendance, used previous national examination results to evaluate teacher performance and encouraged peer coaching. The study recommends that in order to enhance the quality of pedagogical practices, the Ministry of Education and Sports should (i) build the capacity of the schools to provide effective teacher support supervision; and (ii) develop standard formative evaluation tools that can be used for continuous teacher evaluation as well as train head teachers on how to effectively appraise their staff.

Keywords: teacher supervision, teacher evaluation, quality of pedagogical practice

Introduction

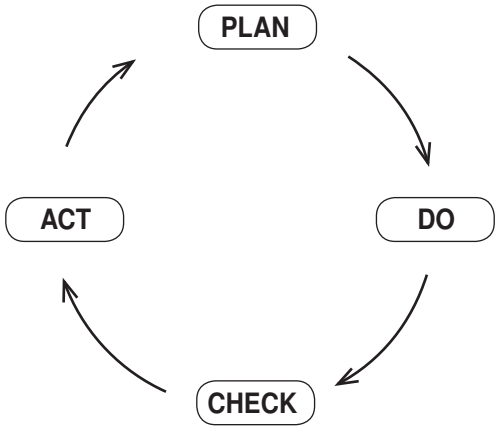
Public education is one of the primary duties of the state and over the last two decades, the Ugandan Government has invested heavily in improving access to and quality of education. The government recognises the fact that education is a powerful tool for transformation of society and plays a key role in a country's sustainable development and its competitiveness within the global society. Although access at both primary and secondary levels of education appears to have been achieved, quality remains a big challenge (The Education and Sports Sector Annual Performance Report (ESAPR), 2016/17; National Development Plan 2010/11-2014/15). According to the Directorate of Education Standards (DES) report (MoES, 2017b), this challenge is explained by low-quality pedagogical practices at the primary and secondary levels. The pedagogical practices in these schools are at variance with the expectation of the government and the curriculum planners. Teachers do not conform to the classroom standards set by the Directorate of Education Standards and National Curriculum Development Centre (CURASSE, 2007).

Historically, Uganda's education system was one of the best on the African continent in the 60s and early 70s (Government of Uganda, 1992). Teaching focused on developing learners' competencies and students were taught in a way that fostered higher order thinking skills. Graduates at different levels of education were equipped with adequate skills tailored to the job market. The wars and civil strife during the 70s and 80s led to the neglect of educational institutions and the erosion in the quality of education at all levels (Uganda Government, 1992). The quality of teaching suffered because several teachers fled the country while the morale of those teachers that remained declined. In order to re-establish the quality of education and as a strategy of accelerating development, government introduced and implemented major reforms in education in line with the Education White Paper (MoES, 2009). The reforms included implementation of Universal Primary and Secondary Education, among others. Universal Secondary Education has expanded access to secondary education for many Ugandans, including some of the vulnerable poor who would not have even attended secondary school. Despite the reforms, many students completing the secondary cycle are not able to speak and write good English given the fact that they are taught and assessed in English (Uganda National Examination Board [UNEB], 2018). There are also indications that all is not well with the quality of teaching at secondary school level, despite the increase in the numbers of first and second grades in the national examinations. Some of the indications include: increasing examinations malpractices, the rising levels of rote learning, holiday coaching of most of the students, examination-oriented teaching and part-time teaching by several teachers.

Theoretically, the study anchored on the Plan-Do-Check-Act (PDCA) model of quality enhancement that was popularised by the quality guru Edwards Deming. According to the model, a continuous feedback loop is essential in order to analyse, measure and identify sources of variation from customer requirements so as to act for continual quality improvement (Deming, 1986). As a result, the model emphasises and demonstrates that any improvement programmes must always start with careful planning. This, the model adds, must result in effective action, and

move on again to careful planning in a continuous cycle. Oakland (1993) refers to this pattern of quality improvement where the completion of one cycle continues with the beginning of the next – Deming's never-ending quality cycle. The PDCA cycle is illustrated as follows:

Figure 1: The PDCA cycle.



Source: Deming (1993, p.134)

According to Figure 1, the PDCA cycle goes through four phases. Phase 1, Plan – it involves establishing the objectives and processes required to deliver results in agreement with the expected output. Phase 2, Do – it involves executing the plan or effecting the processes and making the product. Phase 3, Check – it involves studying the actual results and comparing them against the expected results. Finally, Phase 4, Act – it involves using the results to improve further what is being done. According to Phillips, Balan and Manko (2014), the PDCA model is relevant in ensuring quality improvement in different aspects of education, including the quality of pedagogical practices. The researchers agree with this observation. Thus, in this study, the model was opted for because the researchers also concurred with Ayeni (2011) who hypothesised that to ensure continuous improvement in the quality of education, the teaching and learning activities need to be regularly evaluated against the set objectives and standards, and corrective actions need to be taken to produce the desired changes with regard to efficiency, quality and satisfaction. As a result, it was believed that the quality of pedagogical practices in secondary schools in Uganda would be improved through the process of collecting data for evaluation purposes; making classroom observations, evaluating the teaching practices, analysing data to determine areas that need to be improved, and providing relevant professional development for teachers following the PDCA cycle.

The study focused on two main concepts: Teacher support systems and quality of pedagogical practices. According to Elfers, Stritikus, Calaff, Soo Von Esch, Lucero, Knapp, and Plecki (2009),

support systems in a school system refer to a set of intentional and differentiated efforts that are focused on the continuous improvement of student and teacher learning. These are programmes, services and activities designed to marginally assist and facilitate the achievement of instructional goals and objectives in a school system. Examples of such programmes, services and activities include teacher supervision, teacher evaluation (appraisal) and teacher professional development. These mechanisms are deliberately designed to support teachers in gaining the knowledge and competencies they need to implement services that result in positive outcomes for learners by the Ministry of Education and Sports or schools in which the teachers operate. The systems are meant to enhance performance of teachers in the delivery of quality education services (MOES, 2017). In this study, attention was paid to formal and informal support systems at both national and school levels focusing on teacher supervision, teacher evaluation and teacher professional development in Uganda.

Quality of pedagogical practices was used to mean the teaching strategies that enhance learning and focus on the quality of the learning outcomes (Kahsay, 2012). It was defined in this study as the teaching practices that conform to the guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education. Teachers in Uganda are expected to adhere to the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) and the Directorate of Education Standards (DES) guidelines while executing their duties in the teaching and learning process. Teachers are expected to prepare and plan for lessons by making schemes of work, lesson plans and lesson notes. During the teaching process, teachers are expected to employ a range of appropriate methods to meet lesson objectives, use real-life examples to explain concepts, nurture a positive relationship with students, give and build on homework.

Contextually, this study was undertaken in public secondary schools in Uganda. It was prompted by the fact that despite Government's initiatives to improve the quality of education in Uganda, the quality of pedagogical practices at secondary school level remains poor (MoES, 2017). The poor quality of pedagogical practices has been manifested in diverse ways. For instance, there have reportedly been poor scheming and lesson planning by teachers; more use of teacher-centred rather than learner-centred pedagogies; and dominant application of theoretical rather than practical approaches to the teaching of sciences (UNEB, 2018; MoES, 2017; Uganda National Council for Science and Technology Report [UNCST], 2012). Furthermore, assessments of students have been geared towards passing national examinations while other objectives of the curriculum such as the promotion of moral values, practical skills and participation in social and cultural activities have been ignored, and many such practices that modern day educationalists consider undesirable. In fact, the decline in the conformance to guidelines laid down by NCDC by teachers in secondary schools has been attributed to the weak teacher supervision and evaluation systems (MoES, 2017). Kagolo (2014) earlier revealed that the evaluations of teachers in public secondary schools in Uganda have been badly conducted with very appalling feedback being given to the teachers. Teacher Initiative in Sub-Saharan Africa (TISSA) advised in their 2013 report to urgently address this kind of scenario if the quality of Uganda's education system

is to improve (MoES, 2017). Nagel (2003), in fact, counselled that neglecting the quality of pedagogical practices could have serious repercussions on the country's quality of education in general and its development. Therefore, the study investigated the extent to which teacher support systems explained quality of pedagogical practices in public secondary schools in Uganda since Government and specifically the extent to which supervision and evaluation of teachers explain quality of pedagogical practices in public secondary schools.

Literature review

A number of studies in relation to teacher supervision and quality of pedagogical practices have, in the past, been conducted (Sule, Ameh and Egbai, 2015; Usman, 2015; Veloo, Komujji and Khalid, 2013). For example, a study on the relationship between supervision and the roles teachers play in ensuring effectiveness that was conducted in secondary schools in Nigeria by Sule, Ameh and Egbai (2015), revealed that teacher supervision through classroom observations positively contributed to teacher effectiveness in a school. Similarly, Veloo, Komujji and Khalid (2013), in their study about the effect of clinical supervision on the teaching performance of secondary school teachers in Malaysia, relatedly established that formal observations significantly contributed to improved teacher preparation, lesson development, learner assessment and classroom control. However, literature (e.g. Tesfaw and Hofman, 2014; Campbell, 2013; Milanowski, 2011; Marshall, 2009; Holland, 2004) argues that formal classroom observations have little effect on teaching practices. These scholars, meanwhile, advocate for more frequent, short, unannounced, informal classroom observations by school authorities to motivate teachers to adopt effective pedagogical practices. They contend that informal classroom observations actually provide a better picture of the teacher's competence and his or her pedagogical practices than the formal observations. Zepeda (2010), on the other hand, asserts that classroom observations can only positively influence teacher effectiveness when supervisors focus on strengthening the relationship between themselves and teachers by holding coaching discussions one-on-one after the observations but not on fault-finding. In congruence with Zepeda's assertion on the approach of giving feedback, findings in a study on the impact of instructional supervision on students' academic performance by Usman (2015) revealed that the manner in which supervisors give feedback to supervisees significantly impacts on the teachers' pedagogical practices and performance in classroom settings. Although these studies indicated that classroom observations impacted on the teachers' pedagogical practices, the studies were mainly conducted in the context of developed countries. This study was conducted to fill the contextual gap.

With regard to portfolio supervision, findings of several studies reveal that portfolio supervision significantly explains teacher effectiveness in the classroom (e.g. Peretomode, 2001, Sule et al., 2015, Usman, 2015). A study conducted on the impact of instructional supervision on academic performance of secondary school students in Nasarawa State, Nigeria by Usman (2015), for instance, revealed the existence of a significant positive relationship between portfolio supervision and teacher performance. Similarly, findings of Sule et al. (2015) and Peretomode (2001) also

exposed the presence of a positive relationship between portfolio supervision and teacher effectiveness. However, unlike Usuman (2015) who took into consideration the review of lesson plans, lesson notes, students' notes and teachers' recordkeeping as important ingredients of portfolio supervision, Sule *et al.* and Peretomode concentrated their focus only on the review of the teachers' lesson notes. Orenaiya (2014) and Musaazi (2006) meanwhile counsel that it is imperative for supervisors to review teaching artefacts that include, among others: schemes of work, lesson plans, teachers' notes and students' work to establish relatedness, completeness of task and syllabus coverage. However, Zepeda (2010) thinks that what to include in the supervised portfolio should be based on the purpose of the supervision. Bird (1990), as cited by Zepeda (2010), emphasises that to improve students' learning, portfolio artefacts should focus on teaching tasks of planning and preparation, teaching in class and student evaluations.

In regard to teacher evaluation and quality of pedagogical practices, findings of some of the previous studies revealed a strong relationship between teacher evaluation and the quality of teaching and learning in schools. Milanowski (2011) and Marshall (2009), for example, established that formative evaluation through regular classroom observations, review of classroom artefacts, and checking of learners' notebooks by school administrators lead to improved quality of teaching and learning. Findings of a related study by Pappy (2012) concur with Milanowski and Marshall, however, the study emphasised linking results of the formative teacher evaluation to teacher professional growth and development for enhanced quality of pedagogy. Kalule (2014), in a study carried out in three rural districts of Uganda, asserts that for formative evaluation to be effective, the appraisers should have the competence to appraise. Kalule (2014) established that head teachers who are expected to conduct formative teacher evaluation lacked the required training and skills needed for the job.

In relation to summative evaluation, Mpokosa and Ndaruhutse (2008) assert that this type of evaluation significantly influence the quality of pedagogical practices. On the other hand, Mielke and Frontier (2012) are of the view that summative evaluations do not support teacher professional growth since the judgmental nature of the evaluation impacts negatively on the self-esteem of the teachers. In fact, they suggest that an evaluation system that allows teachers to appraise themselves and suggest areas for professional development is better than the one carried out at the end of the activity. Tanya (2013) further reiterates that summative evaluation contributes to the deterioration of collegial relationships, feelings of mistrust, fear, nervousness, and tension during the time of appraisal. Therefore, such a kind of appraisal can be harmful to the staff who are praised if it is not appropriated conducted. Musaazi (2006), like Tanya, advises that summative evaluations should be conducted in a cordial and collaborative manner in order to enhance the quality of pedagogical practices. However, this does not seem to be the case in most secondary schools in Uganda. A report from the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES, 2013a) shows that summative teacher evaluations in Uganda are irregular and inconsistent. In fact, the Education and Sports Sector Annual Performance Report (ESAPR) of 2013 (MoES, 2013a) indicated that several schools had not conducted annual teacher appraisals for the previous two years. Donaldson and

Peske (2010), in their study of schools in the USA, attributed failure of the school administrators to conduct regular teacher performance appraisals and provide quality feedback to lack of time. They observed that few school administrators had evaluation systems, competencies and skills to effectively appraise and provide quality feedback on the appraisals that could inform professional growth. This may partly explain Uganda's scenario. In addition, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) report (2013) also observes that summative teacher evaluation in the OECD countries influence career and remuneration and endorsements for under performance. However, in Uganda, teacher performance appraisal contributes only 20% in the criteria considered for promoting staff and does not have a direct influence on teacher salaries. This de-link between results of performance appraisal and professional growth and remuneration renders teacher appraisals ineffective in the country.

Methodology

The study adopted a descriptive cross-sectional survey research design. The target population comprised teachers, head teachers and officials from the Directorate of Education Standards (DES). The study sample consisted of 934 teachers selected through the multi-stage sampling technique, 95 head teachers, and two officials from DES who were purposively selected. Data was collected using three different data collection methods, namely survey, interview and observation methods. Three different instruments were also used to collect data. First, a questionnaire whose items were adopted and modified from the teaching and learning assessment instrument of DES comprised three sections: A, B and C was used to collect data from the teachers. Section A of the questionnaire had six questions pertaining to respondents' background information. Section B included 12 items that sought teachers' opinion on supervision. Section C was composed of seven questions aimed at finding out the respondents' opinions pertaining to teacher evaluation; and section D had 15 items aimed at collecting respondents' opinions on the quality of pedagogical practices in public secondary schools. The items in sections B, C and D were measured on a five-point Likert scale with the following categories: Strongly Agree (5), Agree (4), Non-committal (3), Disagree (2) and Strongly Disagree (1). The questionnaire was preferred in this case because the respondents were many but they could all read and write. This helped to save time and costs during the study. Second, to elicit the opinions of DES inspectors and head teachers of the selected schools on the contribution of teacher supervision and teacher evaluation to the quality of pedagogical practices, the interview method and its corresponding interview guide were used. The interview method was opted for because it enabled further probing of the issues that were being investigated. Third, the researchers used the observation method to collect data. An observation checklist was adopted from DES' teaching and learning quality instrument and used to conduct the observations. This method made it possible to triangulate the information obtained through the use of the other two methods described above. Overall, the instruments used were pre-tested before the actual data collection was carried out. Descriptive and inferential statistical methods were used to analyse quantitative data. Specifically, the logistic regression model was

used to establish the extent to which teacher support systems influence the quality of pedagogical practices. The tests of significance were performed at the probability level of $p < 0.05$. Qualitative data were, on the other hand, analysed using the content analysis method. In the next section, the researchers present the findings of the study.

Results

First, the researchers present herein the background characteristics of the respondents in order to portray that data was collected from an authentic group of subjects. The results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Age	Less than 20 years	6	.6
	20-40 years	664	71.1
	40 years and above	264	28.3
Gender	Male	644	69.0
	Female	290	31.0
Qualification	Diploma	208	22.3
	Bachelors	577	61.8
	Postgraduate	149	15.9
Length of years in the school	Less than three years	175	18.7
	3-10 years	554	59.4
	10 years above	205	21.9

The results in Table 1 show that the majority (71.1%) of the teachers were aged between 20 and 40 years, demonstrating that the majority were young and energetic to effectively discharge instructional tasks. Results also suggest a gender disparity in employment of teachers in public secondary schools with more male teachers (69.0%) employed compared to their female counterparts (31.0%). The results also show that the majority (83%) of the teachers had the requisite qualification (at least a diploma) to teach at secondary school level, demonstrating that the teachers in the system have the necessary qualifications to offer quality teaching. In relation to numbers of years spent in the schools, findings in Table 1 show that the majority (81.3%) of the teachers had spent more than three years in the sampled schools while 18.7 per cent had spent less than three years, indicating that teachers had longstanding cognate experience in serving as teachers.

Teacher Supervision: The study sought views on teacher supervision in public secondary schools from teachers and head teachers. This sub-section presents the analysis of descriptive results of

the teachers' views on teacher supervision using frequencies and percentages, ordered logistical regression results and results of qualitative data on teacher supervision from head teachers. Table 2 below presents the frequency and percentage distribution of teachers' views on teacher supervision.

Table 2: Distribution of Teachers' Views on Supervision in Public Secondary Schools

Teacher supervision	Disagree	Non-committal	Agree
The head teacher reviews schemes of work at the beginning of the term	162 (17.3%)	29 (3.1%)	743(79.6%)
The head teacher regularly observes classroom teaching	401 (42.9%)	74(7.9%)	459(49.2%)
The head teacher notifies me before he/she observes me	578 (61.9%)	63 (6.7%)	293(31.4%)
The head teacher discusses with me how to improve on areas of my weakness after observing my teaching	467 (50%)	63 (6.7%)	40(43.3%)
The Heads of Department (HoDs) review schemes of work and lesson plans	100 (10.7%)	27(2.9%)	807(86.4%)
The HoDs monitor the setting and marking of tests/exams	122 (13.2%)	27 (2.9%)	812(86.9%)
The HoDs supervise the teaching process	300 (32.1%)	60 (6.4%)	574(61.5%)
I plan with my HoD for the lesson observation	482 (51.6%)	78 (8.4%)	374 (40%)
I hold discussions with my HoD after the classroom observation	484 (51.8%)	61 (6.5%)	389 (41.7%
Our school is inspected by officials from the Ministry of Education	394 (42.2%)	28(3%)	512(54.8%)
Inspectors from the Ministry of Education (MoE) supervise the way I teach in class whenever they visit the school	594 (63.6%)	108(11.6%)	232(24.8%)
I get feedback whenever MoE officials supervise me	639 (68.4%)	93 (10%)	202 (21.6)

The results in Table 2 show that there was an effort to conduct portfolio supervision by head teachers and HoDs in public secondary schools. Findings indicate that 79.6% of the respondents agreed that head teachers reviewed their schemes of work at the beginning of every term and similarly 86.4% respondents agreed that HoDs reviewed their schemes of work and lesson plans. There is significant evidence that HoDs supervise the setting and marking of tests and examinations. Results also suggest that lesson observations are mostly conducted by subject HoDs, probably because they have an in-depth understanding of the subject areas and head teachers were more

involved in regular short visits to classrooms (49.2%). Results further demonstrate that less than 50% of the teachers whose lessons were observed ever received feedback from the supervisors. Whenever classroom observations were carried out, supervisors hardly notified teachers of them or even held discussions with the teachers after the observations.

Analysis of interview data revealed that head teachers of non-USE schools did not see the necessity of conducting classroom observations unless students or parents complained about the quality of teaching of a particular teacher. When one head teacher of a non-USE school in Buganda region was asked how often he carried out classroom observation, she had this to say:

> ...the teachers posted to this school know exactly what is expected of them as per the posting instructions; and since they are all university graduates, they should be able to learn the culture of quality teaching that they have found here. I do not think it is really necessary to go and sit in their classes to observe how they teach. Maybe when students or their parents complain...

Yet, findings from interviews with head teachers of USE schools revealed that classroom observations were more pronounced in these schools because teachers taught in several schools or were engaged in other income-generating activities. One head teacher of a USE school in the Elgon sub-region, for instance, had this to say during an interview:

> ...our teachers earn only [a] government salary; we do not pay monthly allowances like our colleagues in the non-USE schools because we are not supported by parents through the Parents Teachers' Associations (PTA). And because of this, our teachers teach in several private schools to raise extra income and many times miss teaching learners in their 'mother' schools. As a head teacher, I have to closely monitor the teachers by walking around the school and conducting regular lesson observations in order to ensure that my students are taught well.

Teacher evaluation: The study also sought views on teacher evaluation in public secondary schools from teachers and head teachers. This sub-section presents the analysis of descriptive results of the teachers' views on teacher evaluation using frequencies and percentages, ordered logistical regression results and results of qualitative data on teacher evaluation from head teachers. Table 3 below presents the frequency and percentage distribution of teachers' views on teacher evaluation.

Table 3: Distribution of teachers' views on evaluation in public secondary schools in Uganda

Teacher Evaluation	Disagree	Non-committal	Agree
The head of department assesses the way I teach	369 (39.5%)	51 (5.5%)	514 (55%)
I agree with my HoD on the teaching and learning targets at the beginning of every term	391 (41.8%)	37 (3.9%)	507 (54.3%)
Evaluations by HoDs are based on the targets set and agreed upon at the beginning of the term	391 (41.8%)	51 (5.5%)	492 (52.7%)
My head teacher annually appraises me	148 (15.8%)	57 (6.1%)	729 (78.1%)
The head teacher discusses with me the results of the annual appraisal	277 (29.7%)	67 (7.1%)	590 (63.2%)
Appraisal of my work is fair assessment of my performance as a teacher in this school	359 (38.4%)	66 (7.1%)	509 (54.5%)
Appraisal of my performance has a great impact on the way I teach in the classroom	306 (32.8%)	77 (8.2%)	551 (59.0%)

The results in Table 3 indicate that slightly over 50% of the teachers agreed with their subject heads at the beginning of the academic term on the teaching and learning targets and were appraised basing on these targets. Although 78% of the teachers agreed that they were annually appraised by the head teachers, a lower percentage (63.2%) indicated that head teachers discussed with them the results of the appraisals. This implied that several teachers did not participate in setting performance targets and some head teachers did not give feedback on the appraisals undertaken.

Information from the interviews demonstrated that public secondary schools did not have a systematic approach of evaluating teachers. Most schools evaluated teachers based on the students' performance reflected in UNEB examination results. The teachers of students who performed well in their subjects were rated as good performers and recognised with prizes! Furthermore, information from the head teachers demonstrated that annual performance appraisals of teachers in the majority of the selected secondary schools were not frequent despite it being a requirement by the Ministry of Public Service. The inconsistency in the annual appraisal of teachers was more pronounced in the Universal Secondary Education (USE) schools than non-USE schools. Only 32% of the interviewed USE school head teachers conducted the appraisals the previous year. Further analysis revealed that 42 percent of the head teachers in the Elgon and 38% head teachers in West Nile sub-regions had not appraised their teachers for the previous two years.

Findings showed that some head teachers lacked the competency to effectively appraise the teachers. Head teachers in the districts of Bulambuli, Manafwa and Ntungamo acknowledged

failure to determine the key performance indicators and targets that would be used to appraise teachers. According to one head teacher, "the design of the appraisal form was general for all civil servants and tailoring the format to teacher appraisal was our big challenge". Some head teachers from West Nile Sub-region confessed that they invited "senior head teachers from neighboring schools towards the end of the year to help in the appraisal of their teachers. However, some of those head teachers were unwilling to help junior ones." This means that lack of evaluation skills among head teachers could be responsible for the irregular teacher evaluation in secondary schools in Uganda.

Quality of Pedagogical Practices: The study sought the teachers' and head teachers' perceptions on the quality of pedagogical practices in public secondary schools as well. Furthermore, evidence of the quality of pedagogy was sought from documents, analysed and presented in this sub-section.

Table 4: Distribution of Teachers' Views on Quality of Pedagogical Practices in Public Secondary Schools in Uganda

Quality of Pedagogical Practices	Disagree	Non-committal	Agree
I make a scheme of work at the beginning of every term to make my teaching better	154 (16.5%)	2 (0.2%)	778 (83.3%)
Using a lesson plan during teaching is a waste of time	367 (39.3%)	40 (4.3%)	527 (56.4%)
I always prepare class exercises for students before the lessons	257 (27.5%)	17 (1.8%)	660 (70.7%)
I assess the students' prior knowledge and skills at the start of a lesson	82 (8.8%)	16 (1.7%)	836 (89.5%)
I use a variety of teaching methods to improve the quality of teaching	325 (34.8%)	5 (5%)	604 (64.7%)
I use clear and purposeful questions during lessons	89 (9.5%)	12 (1.3%)	833(89.2%)
I give class exercises while teaching to make my teaching easy	401(42.9%)	21 (2.2%)	512 (54.8%
Students learn best by finding solutions to problems on their own	281 (30.1%)	35 (3.7%)	618 (66.2%)
I always mark the class exercises while in class to help me teach better	388 (41.5%)	32 (3.4%)	514 (55.0%)
I regularly give homework at the end of each lesson	89 (9.5%)	27 (2.9%)	818 (87.6%
I usually go through marked homework exercises with the students at the start of the lesson	353 (37.8%)	53 (5.7%)	528 (56.5%)
I give at least two tests in my subject per term	260 (27.8%)	31 (3.3%)	643 (68.8%)
I return marked scripts in time before the next test	134 (14.3%)	22 (2.4%)	778 (83.3%)

Quality of Pedagogical Practices	Disagree	Non-committal	Agree
I make corrections when I return marked scripts to students	111 (11.9%)	19 (2.0%)	804 (86.1%)
I find explaining concepts clearly to learners using real life examples a challenge	374 (40%)	35 (3.7%)	525 (56.2%)
I give remedial lessons to correct students' areas of weakness	361 (38.7%)	54 (5.8%)	519 (55.5%)

Results in Table 4 show that whereas 83.3% of the teachers agreed that they made schemes of work at the beginning of every term, 56.4% perceived making lesson plans a waste of time and 70.7% indicated that they prepared class exercises before their lessons. Other than making lesson plans, results indicate that there is an effort made by teachers to prepare for lesson notes. Concerning the teaching and learning process, 89.5% of the teachers indicated that they assessed the students' prior knowledge and skills at the beginning of the lesson and 64.7% agreed that they used a variety of teaching methods to improve the quality of teaching. Results also indicate that 54.8% of the teachers gave class exercises while teaching. The majority (56.2%) of the teachers indicated that they had challenges with explaining concepts using real-life examples. Regarding evaluation of students, 55.0% of the teachers marked class exercises. Whereas 87.6% of the respondents agreed that they gave homework, only 56.5% agreed that they revised marked homework with the students. While 68.8% of the teachers gave at least two tests in the subjects they taught per academic term, 83.3% returned marked scripts before giving the next test. The majority (86.1%) of the respondents agreed that they made corrections whenever they returned marked scripts. These results show that teachers put more emphasis on marking tests rather than the class exercises and homework.

Despite a general pattern of teachers indicating that they were conforming to the set standard, the majority (60.6%) of the respondents indicated that were not satisfied with the performance of their schools, and also interviews with the head teachers, lesson observation, and document review results demonstrated otherwise. This cast doubt on the teachers' positive responses to items on quality of pedagogical practices. Could it be that teachers feared to give negative responses to items that examined their conformance to professional standards? Further analysis of data was conducted using ordered logistic regression analysis to establish the variability in the overall quality of pedagogical practices accounted for by factors of quality of pedagogical practices and demographic characteristics.

During document analysis, it was discovered that although schemes of work were made at every beginning of the term, most schemes of work lacked evidence of planning for teaching or

learning aids and use of learner-based methods of teaching. Scrutiny of the schemes of work revealed that most teachers did not refer to the NCDC guidelines that emphasised learner-based approaches of teaching and practical teaching of science subjects. In fact, with regard to making lesson plans, analysis of interview data revealed that teachers perceived making lesson plans as a waste of time; hence, many of them relied mainly on lesson notes and text books in order to teach. As one head teacher observed, "Teachers only make lesson plans during their teaching practice and when they expect inspectors from DES. To them, making lesson plans only wastes their time. It is an unfortunate practice – but one that we have learnt to cope with."

With regard to using a variety of teaching methods and specifically learner-based methods of teaching, the head teachers explained that teachers often find it difficult to go by the NCDC guidelines because they would not be able to complete the syllabi in time for the national examinations. Results of the lesson observation showed that of the 106 lessons that were observed, only 36 (33.9%) of the teachers varied methods of teaching, and of these, 31 (86%) were science or mathematics teachers. One head teacher from West Nile sub-region described the situation as:

> Teachers shun learner-based methods of teaching because these methods consume a lot of time. The teachers cannot complete the syllabi if they are to follow the NCDC guidelines. However, mathematics and science teachers, to a certain extent, use learner-based methods of teaching since these subjects are practical in nature.

These meant that the teachers' pedagogical practices were skewed towards doing what could be considered undesirable, thus ineffective practices.

Verification of the hypotheses

The data collected from teachers was subjected to ordered logistic multiple regression to test the following null hypotheses:

i) Teacher supervision does not in any way explain variations in the quality of pedagogical practices
ii) Teacher evaluation does not in any way explain variations in the quality of pedagogical practices

Results of the multiple regression analysis are presented in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Multiple Regression Results on Teacher Support Systems and Quality of Pedagogical Practices

Quality of Pedagogical Practices	Co-efficient	P-value	95% Conf. Interval	
Teacher supervision	1.89	0.000	1.495	2.279
Teacher evaluation	1.54	0.000	1.225	1.846
Sub-region	0.001	0.946	-0.153	0.164
School status	0.15	0.481	-0.272	0.578
Age	0.48	0.003	0.161	0.801
Gender	-0.08	0.669	-0.453	0.291
Marital status	-0.05	0.702	-0.288	0.194
Education level	-0.45	0.005	-0.771	-0.136
Duration	-0.36	0.005	-0.604	-0.107
Subject type	0.35	0.071	-0.030	0.728

Pseudo $R^2 = 0.5047$, Number of obs = 934, LR χ^2 (10) = 890.10, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.0000$

Results in Table 5 show that all the 934 observations were used in the analysis. The likelihood ratio chi-square of 890.10 with a p-value of 0.000 indicated that the model as a whole was statistically significant compared to the null model with no predictors. Pseudo $R^2 = 0.5047$ means that the explanatory variables in the model explained 50.5% variability in the overall quality of pedagogical practices. In the model, teacher supervision, teacher evaluation, age, highest level of education and the number of years a teacher taught in the school were found to be statistically significant at 5% level of significance. The null hypotheses that teacher supervision does not in any way explain quality of pedagogical practices, and teacher evaluation does not in any way explain quality of pedagogical practices is rejected. The results mean that with the other explanatory variables held constant in the model, the quality of pedagogical practices would significantly improve with increased teacher supervision and evaluation. Other variables in the model that included sub-regions, school status (USE/non-USE), gender and category of subject taught did not significantly explain variations in the quality of pedagogical practices. Teacher supervision with the highest coefficient of 1.89 significantly explained variation in quality of pedagogical practices the most in public secondary schools.

Discussion of Results/Findings

The research findings indicate that both teacher supervision and teacher evaluation significantly explain variations in the quality of pedagogical practices. The findings are consistent with earlier studies (Sule, Ameh and Egbai, 2015; Veloo, Komujji and Khalid, 2013; Peretomode, 2001). Also, in agreement with Usman's findings in Nigerian schools, findings of the study demonstrate

that teacher supervision significantly contributes to teachers' conformance to teaching standards. The findings were, however, in contrast to the findings of Wilcox (1995) and Kogan and Maden (1999), which revealed that instructional supervision generally brings about little improvement in the quality of teaching and learning within schools.

Despite the significant contribution of teacher supervision to conformance of standards, results indicate that teacher supervision in public secondary schools faces a number of challenges. The Directorate of Education Standards that is responsible for monitoring and evaluating the quality of teaching and learning at national level lacks an adequate workforce and logistical support to effectively supervise the teaching and learning process. The head teachers, as affirmed in the Education and Sports Sector Annual Performance Report (ESAPR) (FY 2013/14), focus on fault-finding and criticising teachers rather than helping teachers to improve on their teaching competencies (MoES, 2017). For effective instructional supervision, supervisors are expected to monitor the teaching and learning process and give feedback to teachers on their performance in the classroom through pointing out errors or commending the teachers for good work done (Mulkeen, 2010).

The study discovered that the head teachers found the use of the 'monitoring tool' an effective instructional supervision method because it kept them well informed about the teachers' practices in the classroom. The form is designed to monitor teacher attendance, punctuality, teaching and time on task. However, this form had shortfalls because the class monitors only ticked the column of lessons taught or not taught, other columns of arrival and departure time were rarely ticked, which made determining teachers' time on task difficult. This form would be more effective if teachers were signing their time in and out of the classroom. Supervision of schemes of work appeared to be conducted as a ritual to comply with the Ministry of Education policy. Supervisors hardly checked for whether the preparation of the schemes of work is in adherence to NCDC guidelines. The guidelines emphasise planning for teaching aids, clearly spelling out objectives for teaching specific topics and indicating a variety of teaching methods. Findings also demonstrated that head teachers and subject heads rarely checked students' notes to determine relatedness of what was being taught with what was planned in the schemes of work. Monitoring the relatedness of students' notes to the schemes of work and coverage of instruction form a basis of purposeful guidance and support to teachers' classroom teaching (Orenaiya, 2014).

In regard to teacher evaluation, findings agree with those of previous studies (Phillips, Balan and Manko, 2014; Orenaiye et al., (2014) that revealed a positive correlation between teacher evaluation and quality of pedagogical practices. However, several public secondary schools in Uganda do not have a system of continuous evaluation of teachers' output as indicated in the ESAP report of 2013/14 (MoES, 2013). There is, in fact, no evidence of formative evaluation systems that focused on classroom activities or specifically pedagogical practices such as teacher preparation, the teaching and learning process, and assessment of learners on a continuous basis. Lack of such systems is detrimental to teacher professional development and quality of teaching (Papay, 2012). Findings of this study also demonstrated that teacher performance was

gauged by the students' performance reflected in UNEB examination results. Use of national examination results may not measure teachers' conformance to standard pedagogical practices. The study further established that in the few schools where formative evaluations were conducted, the approach was not for the purpose of continuous professional development, but rather for punishing individuals with poor performance. For example, the head teachers' transfer of teachers to lower classes after establishing their low performance levels without addressing the areas that needed to be improved could be interpreted as punitive by the affected teachers. The OECD (2013) asserts that feedback that is oriented towards judging and control of teachers rather than professional growth and development cannot improve quality of pedagogical practices. Teacher evaluation systems should be used to help teachers to know how they are teaching and how they can improve on their teaching (Mpokosa and Ndaruhutse, 2008).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Quality of pedagogical practices is significantly anchored on teacher support systems, yet the formative evaluation systems are barely in place and summative teacher evaluation is irregular in public secondary schools in Uganda. Head teachers of several public secondary schools lack the competence in teacher performance appraisal. To improve the quality of pedagogical practices in public secondary schools, head teachers and subject heads of department should continuously supervise and evaluate teacher performance in the classroom and provide constructive feedback for professional growth and development that will lead to improved quality of pedagogical practice. This implies that if the quality of pedagogical practices is to improve, the Ministry of Education should put in place training programmes for all the newly appointed head teachers, specifically in teacher performance appraisal and providing necessary support in the area of instructional supervision and effective use of the appraisal tools. The Ministry should further develop a standard formative teacher evaluation tool for all secondary schools in Uganda for the continuous assessment of teachers' performance. The 'monitoring tool' is an efficient approach of instructional supervision, however, the administrators, together with the teachers, need to train students how best to manage these forms.

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Health Remedy Fallacies Strike Social Media: What is the Role of Development Education?

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Abstract

The advent of social media has resulted in unequalled excitement but also risks, especially when postings are health-related and not supported by scientific evidence. Unfortunately, the majority of social media users tend to embrace and utilise every health remedy (alternative medicines) posted on social media without questioning their authenticity or even the authors' credibility, since these 'information creators' never display their addresses of even their identities, but the users proceed to 'ingest' these remedies. The paper further discusses why social media users become receptive and passive to unsubstantiated information, thereby threatening their health. The authors adopted 'The Uses and Gratifications Theory' and 'The Theory of Social Media Interaction' to explain the increased fallacies appearing on social media, while the masses continue to be duped. Through an interactive approach, most users, although educated, were found to get excited the first time they landed on 'useful information' that hinders most of them from applying logic and critical thinking skills, which presumably, 'development education' should ably address at every level of education. Secondly, the power and popular appeal of social media, which quickly convinces and sways users, has affected their questioning stance. The paper thus concludes that people respond differently when it comes to health matters and this impacts their ability to critically analyse health related information. Further, medical professionals do not participate in fallacious arguments on social media is that (1) they make assumptions that the users are logical enough, and will only use such remedies after consulting with physicians and perhaps doing some research, and (2), their medical professional ethics do not allow them to publicly discuss unfounded claims related to medicine.

Keywords: development education, health fallacies, medical practitioners, social media

Introduction

The recent few decades have seen social media (SM) dominating other forms of media in the world and gaining unmatched prominence with its endless provision of opportunities for users to both consume and create media (Thompson, Dawson and Ferdig, 2008). This interactivity on SM, therefore, has come with both opportunities and challenges, thereby plunging users into serious medical quandaries (Fox, 2011). Commonly used SM avenues include Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, which are actually a powerful new generation of online tools and applications that foster user-generated content, social interaction, and real-time collaboration (Merchant, Elmer and Lurie, 2011). These technologies encompass blogs, social networks, video and photo-sharing sites, Wikis, and a myriad other media, and are pervasive around the world (Elmer et al, 2011). As espoused by Yamout (2011), Facebook has become so popular and has in fact surpassed a billion users worldwide. Invariably, however, although SM is positively shaping peoples' personal lives, it is steadily distorting health-related information as well. This is because a growing majority of modern patients – particularly those with chronic conditions – are fast responding to social media and other online sources – not only to acquire health information but alternative medicine (health remedies) and this avenue is considered extremely useful because it enables the users to connect with others affected by similar conditions and play a more active role in their healthcare decisions (George, 2011).

Nonetheless, even with the level of education as well as development achieved so far, social media users continue to adopt and utilise health-related remedies posted on SM, with no evidence of authenticity at all – thereby plunging thousands of lives in jeopardy. Yet, the advancement and promotion of 'development education' currently 'preached' is intended to promote human emancipation by curbing dominance and passivity. In fact, as efforts in the field of 'development education' are being proliferated, especially in developing countries like Uganda for the last two decades, there has been little or no awareness created among the beneficiaries, which has perhaps resulted in populaces become passive recipients of information – with little attempt to critically evaluate their authenticity. In particular, the system seems to have lost the quality and nature of learning that takes place in schools, which has resulted in 'a need to recapture the broad understanding of education and its purpose in future goals and frameworks' (UN, 2013). It would make sense if the consumers of façade information were exclusive to the 'baby boomers', but in fact, all categories of SM users have fallen prey to fallacious 'health-related arguments" and discussions. Surprisingly, this fallacy has affected even the professors – the promoters of 'critical thinking and research' and even medical practitioners – who preach 'the importance of conventional treatment' and only 'alternative treatment such as exercise and diet'. Considering such challenges, therefore, Dudková (2008) emphasises a 'learning process' and the quality pedagogy' in the provision of at all education levels, rather than concentrating on 'equity, access and outcomes', which Jefferess (2008) attributes to passive reading that has affected the critical thinking capacity of the populace. Consequently, Greysen and Chretien (2010) argue that whereas the emergence of technology has eased information creation and transfer, there was a need to

develop skills for the users for appropriate utilisation.

Nonetheless, while there are signs that these technologies are being used to enhance self-directed, lifelong learning, professional networking, communication and improved efficiency and effectiveness of health systems, they are a danger to humans because they promote self-medication (Greysen and Chretien, 2010), which has largely distorted the 'would be' health remedies, especially because the posted remedies often display incomplete or sometimes wrong information to the users. The authors are not concerned with traditional herbalists whose outlets are known, but rather, unidentified 'self-acclaimed professionals' who post conflicting medical remedies using technologies with no address to enable users to seek further clarification. While most of the time medical professionals agree with information published as medical remedies, sometimes they are not. Yet, the users are often kept in the dark because the competent professionals remain silent (Mostaghimi and Crotty, 2011). That's perfectly okay, although oftentimes these herbalists decline to meet up with medical professionals to engage in more productive conversations (Shrank et al. 2011). Clearly, SM has, to some extent, become perilous not only for health professionals and users, but the community as a whole. Yet, academic literature, replete with admonishments of how SM is dangerously breeching the old 'boundary markers' of medicine, is enabling all manner of distasteful content on health remedies to be publicly posted (Mostaghimi and Crotty, 2011).

Nevertheless, in a time of fake news, 'alternative facts', newspeak and attacks on credible publications, it is high time users recognised genuine or fallacies in what they see, hear and read (Atherton and Majeed, 2011). Although such fallacies sometimes carry useful information, most times, the information is either conflicting or incomplete as some postings lack scientific evidence. These include an appeal to ignorance by using the lack of evidence on a topic as support for the conclusion, and confirmation bias – where people notice, seek out, select and share evidence that confirms their own standpoint and beliefs, as opposed to contrary evidence (Hawn, 2017). Other fallacies include 'hasty generalisation' where the publisher makes assumptions about a whole group or range of cases based on a small or inadequate sample – sometimes called stereotypes; 'slippery slope' – a claim that one thing inevitably leads to another without stating evidence for the assumption. As users embark on remedies, 'straw men' characterise the claim as phony, weak, extreme or ridiculous, and then knock it down or reduce it to absurdity (Flew and Smith, 2011; Ramos, 2017 and West and Turner, 2007).

The Context and Problem

There has been information bombardment on social media full of all sorts of information for every type of user – including health-related remedies. The mass information has made it difficult for the users to decipher how much of this information is simply spurious assertions, conspiracy theories, misinterpreted information or genuine. In fact, Bustamente, et al. (2015) found that the problem was not the type of information, but rather, the users' ability to navigate and appropriately process the information that requires not only analytical abilities, but adaptability and critical thinking. In fact, critical thinking is necessary for information processing and making decisions on the legitimacy

of numerous assertions in SM. Instead, the users are getting more confused as 'cognitive load' increases (Sweller, 2010). Many designers and policymakers found SM harmless and, in fact believe that its associated risks are minor and ignorable (Boudry, 2017). However, because health information technology is designed, built and implemented by humans, it will invariably have 'bugs' and latent failure modes that may be detrimental to health. Fallible humans have learned to build generally reliable complex physical systems (e.g., bridges, buildings and cars), but it took more than a century to understand and mitigate the myriad hazards of these systems. In contrast, we cannot yet design and deploy complex software systems that are on time, within budget, meet the specified requirements, satisfy their users, are reliable, maintainable and safe (Walton, 2010).

Whereas the majority of users of SM are educated and enlightened, many fail to distinguish genuine from fake, complete from partial, and researched from opinion information. Secondly, although the debate on information credibility has been ongoing, users continue to rely on SM for health-related remedies, perhaps because they fail to respond to conventional treatment. The problem of relying on Facebook, however, has remained the concealed identities and contacts of the sources of information, which Bahendeka (2015) called deception since the publishers often use other devices of argumentation to sway thinking, such as logical fallacies. The fallacious postings have nonetheless caused more harm as users continue to degenerate into worse health as a result of relying on false and incomplete information (Bustamente, et al. 2015). In order to explore implications for users, three objectives were formulated: (1) to establish why information creators on SM conceal their identities, (2) to evaluate some of the conflicting health-related remedies posted in SM, and (3) to explore causes of receptive usage of SM information.

Literature Review

As medical professionals turn their heads away amid mind-blowing information on SM, we cannot stop interrogating the role of 'development education', which presumably promotes self-efficacy and critical perspectives. Questions about how individuals can use information without processing and ascertaining its authenticity need explanation. Development education has become one of the key current debates within international education policy that has immensely contributed to other forms of development that have attempted to promote emancipation and critical thinking (Freire, 1972). Although the field of development education has mainly focused on international education policy, it could become pertinent to the quality of education quality and the process of learning and teaching to enable the actors to think and act critically and creatively as opposed to the current preoccupation with education access, equity and outcomes (Dudková, 2008).

Similarly, Bourn (2011) argues that development education came to overturn the early practices that used an uncritical view of development and economic growth to educate what was perceived to be a largely ignorant or disinterested public with the goal of 'opening up hearts and minds as well as purses to the problem of poverty in countries overseas' (Cascant and Kelbert, 2012). As a creation to promote a strong critical pedagogy within development education, it was premised to emancipate actors to overcome the 'mentality of passivity', which includes developing

partnerships between educators and learners in the Global North and Global South; the promotion of social justice, empathy and solidarity; a commitment to participatory and transformative learning processes, with an emphasis on dialogue and experience; and a critique of dominant power relations and media messages about development that portray peoples from the Global South as helpless victims (Damtew, 2012).

Health is defined as the state of equilibrium of the mind and body, and research has found that health is managed through effective transfer of knowledge to individuals, clients and families (van Eemeren, 2009). SM has also become an integral tool for medical societies, professional and advocacy groups. These groups are using SM to engage, teach and connect, and they play an important role in providing accurate, vetted health information. Additionally, organisations have realised that encouraging live tweeting or blogging of conferences provides opportunities for wide dissemination of content that far surpasses in-person attendance (Carroll, Bruno, Bosslet and Ramachandran, 2015). Given that SM is a recent development (Walton, 2010), there has not been concrete theory to clearly explain the consequences of SM. Hence, some scholars have attempted to patch up some models and theories that are still being tested. The authors adopted three theories to explain some fallacies and reasons users embrace medical remedies that are provided through SM postings indiscriminately. Hence, although the authors adopted some of the theories, they are cognisant of their recency. In recognition of the challenges, many researchers and theorists use typologies and classification systems to describe types of theories in the context of purpose, functions, boundaries and goals, especially in the area of technology (Gay and Weaver, 2011).

Need for Theory to Extend to Health Behaviours

Against the backdrop of these theories, most of them based on the communication field, researchers have called for theory to be more specific to understand influence or behaviour change in the setting of a type of media in which users were both creators and consumers (Collins, Martino, and Shaw, 2011). Moreno et al. (2013) argued that existing theories of media and behaviour may be able to stretch to cover these factors under broad conceptual labels, but the development of new theory may also be warranted. However, the perspective of how SM may be perceived as influential to its users has left a gap in the interpretation (Henderikus, 2007). Further, the representation of users' views in the development of theory was also missing. Consequently, the authors sought to review existing theories that are specific to SM and networking platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

Uses and Gratifications Theory

Uses and Gratifications Theory (UGT) discusses how people actively seek out specific media content for particular purposes and intentional goals (Atherton and Majeed, 2011). The theory establishes an active, rather than passive audience member who has the ability to consciously examine and evaluate SM sources in order to accomplish specific outcomes (Wang, Fine, and

Cai, 2008). The theory embodied a functional shift of communications scholarship from examining not what media did to people, but what people could do with media. In fact, the theory of Uses and Gratifications initially grew out of the Needs and Motivation Theory by Maslow (1970), which suggests that people act in line with a specific personal hierarchy of needs. Communications scholars quickly caught on to this notion and sought to determine typologies of needs for media consumption. There are many versions of these typologies. Therefore, Darling-Hammond (2008) suggest a variety of categories of purposeful media consumption that people may engage in, especially usage of a critical lens to be able to live a 'healthy life' or to be 'free from disease'. Therefore, the theory "provides a framework for understanding when and how individual media consumers become more or less active and the consequences of that increased or decreased involvement" (West and Turner, 2007). The theory proposed five main assumptions: (1) an audience is active and goal-oriented in their media consumption; (2) media is used for gratification; (3) media is in competition with other means of need satisfaction; (4) people understand their personal media use, interests and motives enough to communicate with researchers about their choices; (5) the audience members are the only people who can make judgments regarding the value of the media content. The authors find assumptions four and five to be more relevant for this paper, especially when 'the would-be enlightened' users of information from SM surprisingly adopt it, sometimes without a critical stance. Hence, whereas the first three assumptions are relevant, especially the existence need for users with health conditions, the theory also articulates interests of the majority of SM users (Kahneman, 2011). Consequently, the fourth assumption that people are self-aware of their media usage, and the fifth assumption that assumes that researchers make a concerted effort to remove their personal value judgements from the study of media content, become very contributory to this discussion because whereas both assumptions are logical, in reality the practice defies these two assumptions, because most users do not evaluate the value of the given media content.

In support of persuasive argument, Fox (2011) identified some forms of persuasion techniques, illogical argumentation and fallacious reasoning that users commonly encounter in their use of SM. By learning about these devices, users will be more likely to recognise their use, avoid using them themselves, and better assess arguments presented to them (Shrank et al. 2011). They include: ad hominem, anecdotal evidence, an appeal to authority, an appeal to emotion, the bandwagon argument, appeal to popularity, appeal to tradition, appeal to ignorance, appeals to emotion, begging the question, false dilemma or false dichotomy, decision point fallacy or the sorites paradox, the slippery slope fallacy, hasty generalisations and faulty analogies (Fox, 2009). One reason that fallacies are common is that they can be quite effective and the publishers can be extremely convincing. Unfortunately, we often get convinced by a fallacious argument – we will not be acting as good logical and critical thinkers.

The Theory of Social Media Interaction

The Theory of Social Media Interaction was formulated to explain how stable SM interactions

legitimise particular thoughts and practices regarding issues such as health and illness, and help to transform individuals through the effective transfer of knowledge through SM (Carroll, et al. 2015). Hence, the Theory of Social Media Health Interaction, which potentially provides a valuable contribution to SM health research, offers a new theory-based approach for studying how the media and citizens represent personal and social agenda colours according to age or situational frames (Gay and Weaver, 2011). Fundamental communicative mechanisms, therefore, such as SM exchange, SM interaction, and personal integration are posited in this theory. SM and the Internet have fundamentally transformed not only the way we communicate and interact, but also the way we comprehend and make decisions on the content published on SM (Hawn, 2017). Similarly, with all the required information, knowledge and experiences readily available with just a click of the mouse, information is easily accessible and free to anyone with a computer, and communication across continents is as easy as emailing someone next door. As the Internet expanded into our homes, there was a growing expectation of free and open access to information (Bosslet et al., 2011). Since information was easily accessible on so many sites, there developed an expectation that all information should be free and reliable. SM is broadly defined as the use of platforms of electronic communication through which users create online communities (Social Networking Fact Sheet, 2015). SM use is common: 74% of Internet users spend time on social networking sites, with 71% of online adults using Facebook and 23% using Twitter (Deuze, 2007).

The Theory of Social Media Interaction was formulated to explain how stable SM interactions legitimise particular thoughts and practices regarding issues such as health and illness, and help to transform individuals through effective transfer of knowledge through SM. The key concepts of the theory are defined accordingly: personal health agenda, SM transaction, social exchange and social integration (Meleis, 2007). The theory of Social Media Interaction has four underlying assumptions: (1) SM is a means of accessing and gaining information; (2) SM creates a virtual community where interaction occurs; (3) Different groups may have diverse cultural practices regarding the acquisition and dissemination of information; and (4) People who engage in interaction are rationally seeking to maximise their health. Similarly, the theory of Social Media Interaction has four fundamental propositions: (1) Interaction changes over a period of time; (2) SM promotes wellness; (3) Successful interaction leads to active participation; and (4) SM proliferates information quickly. SM has both intensive and extensive influences on individuals and groups (Ramos, 2017), therefore, the theory of Social Media Interaction conceptualises how health interaction can be influential in SM – both positively and negatively (Katz, 1974). Hence, effective usage can help people to understand the role of SM in disseminating health information and influence personal health agendas and behaviours.

Related Literature

A fallacy is the use of invalid or otherwise faulty reasoning, or 'wrong moves' in the construction of an argument. A fallacious argument may be deceptive by appearing to be better than it really is (Walton, 2010). On the other hand, medical fallacies connote the ways in which arguments may be used and

abused in medicine and health. The central claim is that a group of arguments known as the informal fallacies – including slippery slope arguments, fear appeal and the argument from ignorance – undertake considerable work in medical and health contexts, and that they can, in fact, be rationally warranted ways of understanding complex topics contrary to the views of many earlier philosophers and logicians (Frans, 2009). Consequently, modern medicine and healthcare require lay people to engage with increasingly complex decisions in areas such as immunisation, lifestyle and dietary choices and health screening (Damer, 2009). Many of the so-called fallacies of reasoning can also be viewed as cognitive heuristics or shortcuts that help individuals make decisions in these contexts (West, et al. 2007). Therefore, one wonders why, despite the levels of education of the users, they still lack critical thinking, reasoning, logic, the ability to counter-argue and rhetoric.

Whereas the current discussion demonstrates that SM can make numerous contributions such as job advertisements, missing and found people and property, medical experts from overseas to handle complex ailments, sometimes the quality of the information, especially the medical remedies, has confused SM users, thereby placing them in hazardous circumstances (Bustamente, et al. 2015). Consequently, the fallacy of health-related information on SM has been consistent across the globe and the popularity of SM usage is uncontested. However, what has not been clear is the passive reading and usage of information that has put users in an unfamiliar situation. The authors, therefore, have attributed passive usage of SM to be the lack of development education competencies by the users. Yet, it reinforces SM efficacy and promotes critical thinking of the users to enable them to examine a series of misguided beliefs about SM (West and Turner, 2007). The implications of these health-related fallacies on SM and their usage need to be acknowledged and addressed in order for SM to effectively offer its predicted benefits.

SM is many things: announcements, whistle blowing, entertainment, education, networking, health interventions, just to name a few. Unfortunately, it is also a vehicle for promoting faulty thinking and may actually lead to more detrimental consequences (Moreno, et al., 2013). West and Turner (2007) identified some forms of persuasion techniques, illogical argumentation and fallacious reasoning that users commonly encounter in their use of SM. By learning about these devices, users will be more likely to recognise their use, avoid using them themselves, and better assess arguments presented to them (van Eemeren, et al. 2009). Considering that new media is digital, they inevitably have the characteristics of being manipulatable, networkable, dense, compressible, and interactive, which aids any information posted on SM to spread like a 'bush fire' (Flew and Smith, 2011). The emergence of new, digital technologies actually raises numerous questions of who is in control of information, sources, experience and resources (Boudry, 2017).

Methodology

This paper mainly employed an ethnographical inquiry and interactive synthesis as advocated by Creswell (2011). Considering the enigmatic nature of the topic, this design enabled a summary of existing research, which became confirmatory to behaviour observed. Integrative synthesis provided more evidence that made comparison possible. In fact, it was found to be the most

suitable mode of inquiry for investigating SM usage patterns among the masses. Integrative synthesis also compensates for single-study weaknesses in research design, according to Gall (1994). Further, it was also useful in improving the internal and external validity of various research findings, as supported by Kothari (2006). For this matter, therefore, observation and documentary analyses were used to comprehend reasons that SM users fail to employ logic before adopting the misinformation published. The analysis was guided by content and narrative analyses as well as histories and storytelling. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) recommend this analysis, especially when there isn't much that has been scientifically proven. Histories and storytelling also were helpful in generating rejoinders that helped the authors to arrive at the causes of passive reading. Although Creswell (2013) recommends triangulation for quality purposes, a quantitative approach was deemed inexpedient. Instead, the author resorted to more analytical and interactive techniques to unravel the reasons why SM users do not employ a critical approach to analyse information published on SM.

Findings and Discussion

According to a survey conducted by Pew Research in 2018, Facebook and YouTube dominate the SM landscape for both the young and old, where adults resort to SM for fast information, the young for employment, relationships and fun, and the sick resort to SM mostly for health remedies (West and Turner, 2007). During the rapid growth of technology, SM seems to have overtaken other forms of media such as television, radio stations and newspapers, thereby causing so much excitement that it has affected the critical thinking of some users. Similarly, according to Flew and Smith (2011), 71% of the people around the world have adopted SM, especially Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, for various reasons.

Nonetheless, although many times information on SM is useful, sources are often concealed, they use codes or fake names, they use pictorials instead of photos, etc. Yet, SM is about putting on a personal face to promote one's intentions and products. Although many 'creators' of information have found SM handy, especially in sharing useful information, others use Facebook with the intention to deceive people, which surprisingly gives them pleasure. Walton (2010) also found that by deceiving people, they get more satisfaction by thinking that they are so clever. However, Lieing (2018) found that the reason this deception goes on unabated is because it is easy to post information on SM and get away with it because the chances of getting caught are quite small. Nonetheless, the authors found that most idlers enjoy this attention and sadistically watch users get into trouble, especially as they try to save their lives. Considering that life is so precious with no 'spare parts', it can be understood that the users do it out of desperation because 'health' is extremely valued by everyone. What is confusing, however, is that whereas the young and perhaps semi-illiterate can consume the information with little questioning, the highly educated too have been duped by such fallacies. Similarly, Frans et al. (2009), found that such fallacies have affected the area of unemployment, where the masqueraders post-employment opportunities abroad on SM and dupe thousands of unsuspecting users.

Chronic diseases such as diabetes, high blood pressure, gout, etc. have become a nightmare to the sufferers, leading them to resort to alternative remedies. Maintaining blood sugar levels is part of managing diabetes (Advertising, 2009). Doctors often prescribe traditional treatments like insulin injections to keep blood sugar levels normal. Some people with diabetes also use complementary and alternative therapies (Atherton and Majeed, 2011). Alternative treatments for diabetes include herbs, supplements, diet, exercise and relaxation techniques, among others. Similarly, it is no secret that exercise and a healthy diet are among the key ways to lower blood pressure. Incidentally, the author found that after using conventional medication with no visible improvement, patients with chronic ailments resorted to remedies published on SM that included Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc. (Bustamente, et al. 2015). Hence, the remedies with conflicting information are discussed in the following sub-section.

Consumption of Sugars

Sugar consumption has been widely acknowledged for being a danger to humans, although SM has exaggerated its hazards. The mainstream media can't stop demonising sugars, and this trickles down to general fear of sugars among the broader population, which is often expressed via SM (Chretien et al. 2011). Often, there are misinformed statements regarding sugars and how they are the cause of all ailments in the world and, in fact, blamed for causing obesity, diabetes, high blood pressure, cancer, ulcers etc. Oddly, whether the claims about the sentiments of sugar are valid or not, not many have bothered to seek clarification from medical practitioners in order to get the correct version of the actual benefits and dangers. Yet, the majority of the users believe that sugars alone cause chronic disease – a belief that runs counter to the volumes of published literature on the subject, especially on SM (Dwyer, 2011). Comment after comment have mentioned 'unidentified studies' that have purportedly 'proven' the dangers of sugars in and of themselves and how they cause diabetes, hypertension, weight gain or obesity, among other adverse health effects (George, 2011). Nonetheless, as to whether sugar consumption is solely responsible for ill-health has not been proven by any scientific investigation. In fact, Hawn (2017) concluded that sugar can be consumed in moderate and balanced quantities, but does not call for total elimination. When it comes to SM, it's easy to disagree without a second thought, although, users cannot find the right persons to argue with.

Consumption of Water

Consumption of water is the most controversial discussion on SM. Water is important for our overall health and wellness because hydration is essential for our organs and other bodily functions (Jones and Treiber, 2010). In fact, research has found that drinking an adequate amount of water each day will benefit your body in ways you may not be aware of (Merchant et al., 2011). Although drinking water has been found to be the healthiest habit you can have, some postings on SM have discouraged excessive consumption of water but with no clear measurement of how much is excessive. Nonetheless, Moreno, *et al.* (2013) found that water has become the second most

popular drink. However, SM recently published hard news that the benefits of drinking water may have been oversold (Ramos, 2017). Apparently, the old suggestion to drink eight glasses a day was nothing more than a guideline, not based on scientific evidence (Shrank, *et al.* 2011). Issues of containers are often discussed on SM, such as storing hot water in a plastic bottle or drinking left- over water previously opened and left in the car. While we may not need eight glasses, there are plenty of reasons to drink water. In fact, drinking water (either plain or in the form of other fluids or foods) is essential to one's health (Thompson, *et al.* 2008). Water is present in liquids and foods, and is essential for daily usage to replace the large amounts of water lost continuously each day from skin evaporation, breathing, urine and stool. It is essential to consume adequate amounts of water on a daily basis (Walton, 2010). Nonetheless, the source of information that gives us the upside is the same that publishes the downside – sometimes with different codes instead of names. The postings often caution the consumers that "drinking too much of it (overhydration) can lead to water intoxication, and even results in hyponatremia, impaired brain function and sometimes death" (Yamout *et al.* 2011). Whereas both unidentified publishers had genuine concerns and valid arguments, the ideal amount of water that should be consumed was never suggested. Often, doctors and dietitians advise that since 50% of adults are dehydrated, they should endeavour to keep hydrated by drinking 'enough water'. This information too, is often misconstrued, and people end up drinking more water than their body actually needs. Further, the postings often don't provide symptoms of water intoxication and how it can be reversed. Surprisingly though, with all the users being enlightened and some medical professionals, no expert comes out to clear the confusion or conflicting information.

Use of Ginger

Although not scientifically proven, there is some evidence that ginger can lower blood sugar levels because it is the type of herb that people have used for thousands of years in traditional medicine systems (Damer, *et al.* 2009). Ginger has been found to help treat digestive and inflammatory issues, yet according to a study conducted by (Chou, *et al.* 2009) in 2015, ginger was found to help in treating diabetes. According to this research, although ginger lowered blood sugar levels, it did not lower blood insulin levels. Whereas the published information on SM strongly recommends the use of ginger in every meal to treat digestive and inflammatory issues, other sources suggest that actually "ginger was dangerous to the stomach lining and had a high potential of destroying enzymes, thereby causing ulcers" (August, 2017). Although evidently, information on the usage of ginger from different sources conflicts, users never consulted healthcare professionals for the correct information. Nonetheless, although complementary medicine is used with conventional treatments, alternative medicine is used instead of conventional medicine. Another contradiction is that the dosage for alternative remedies is never prescribed, but users never even bother to question the implication of 'open treatment' (Bosslet *et al.* 2012). Hence, although the majority of users are enlightened or more so 'educated', they rarely consult their physicians in conjunction with using complementary or alternative medicine.

Honey Consumption

Worldwide, honey has been found to be a wonder drug that has been used for generations. The naturally sweet substance has so many benefits, ranging from cleansing the gut, soothing an irritated throat, working wonders for the skin, relieving sinus symptoms, among many other benefits (Atherton and Majeed, 2011). Some publishers have advised that honey mixed with a glass of warm water right after waking up has numerous benefits (Bustamente, *et al.* 2015). It is believed that this mixture keeps the body fresh and free from toxins and promotes a healthy mind (FaceBook, June 2018). However, another publication on Facebook in February 2019, cautions consumers of honey with the habit of drinking honey in hot beverages, to stop doing so as soon as possible. In fact, Jithin (2018) equates drinking honey in hot water or any hot substance to poison. Therefore, honey was beneficial in its natural goodness or in its raw form, but warm honey causes 'ama' in the body – a kind of toxic substance that causes indigestion. Consequently, as honey slowly gets digested in the body, its properties turn similar to that of a poison, which, in turn, can lead to many different diseases (Chretien *et al.* 2011; Ayurveda, 2018). This can happen if consumers buy or extract honey from the source. The most dangerous honey is that found in supermarkets, which is usually preheated under extreme temperatures, heavily processed and mostly stored in plastic containers, which in itself makes it toxic to consume (Chou, *et al.* 2009). Yet, SM keeps suggesting that honey is the 'thing' and should be part of our everyday lives without explaining the quantities, quality and packaging concerns.

Lemon Water Consumption

A glass of water with fresh lemon juice is for many people the perfect way to start the day. However, it really has health-related challenges. Many restaurants serve it routinely, and some people start their day with lemon water instead of coffee or tea, which is okay, because there is no doubt that lemons are delicious. However, Damer, *et al.* (2009) doubts whether adding lemon in water makes one healthier. Much of the evidence supporting lemon water's health benefits is anecdotal. The only information available is what is posted on SM by unknown 'scholars'. The origin of the concoction of lemon and hot water has continued to be a mystery since there is no scientific claim to support this information. Literature can be the only remedy since postings on SM can only be substantiated by empirical research. Damer *et al* (2009) also express their concern about the lack of scientific research done specifically on lemon and hot water as there are enormous health benefits of lemon and water separately. According to research, lemons are a source of Vitamin C. In fact, studies have shown that Vitamin C strengthens the immune system and protects against skin aging, infections and heart disease.

Lemon checks the excessive flow of bile and cleanses the mouth, helps in digestion and relieves constipation, prevents vomiting, acidity and rheumatism, as well as destroys intestinal worms. Similarly, lemon juice is a powerful antibacterial for malaria, cholera, diphtheria, typhoid and other deadly diseases (Deuze, 2007).

Use of Garlic

Garlic is best consumed on a daily basis (in food or raw) helps to lower cholesterol levels because of the anti-oxidant properties of Allicin. It is also immensely beneficial to regulate blood pressure and blood sugar levels (Fox, 2009). Garlic is used for many conditions related to the heart and blood system, which include high blood pressure, low blood pressure, high cholesterol, inherited high cholesterol, coronary heart disease, heart attack, reduced blood flow due to narrowed arteries, and 'hardening of the arteries' (atherosclerosis) (Darling-Hammond, 2008). Garlic can also be used to prevent colon cancer, rectal cancer, stomach cancer, breast cancer, prostate cancer, multiple myeloma and lung cancer. It is also used to treat prostate cancer and bladder cancer. Garlic has been used for treating an enlarged prostate, cystic fibrosis, diabetes, metabolic syndrome, osteoarthritis, hayfever (allergic rhinitis), traveller's diarrhoea, high blood pressure late in pregnancy (pre-eclampsia), yeast infection, flu and swine flu. It is also used to prevent tick bites, as a mosquito repellant, for preventing the common cold, and treating and preventing bacterial and fungal infections. Garlic is also used for earaches, chronic fatigue syndrome, menstrual disorders, abnormal cholesterol levels caused by HIV drugs, hepatitis and shortness of breath related to liver disease. Other uses include the treatment of: fever, coughs, headache, stomachache, sinus congestion, gout, joint pain, hemorrhoids, asthma, bronchitis, shortness of breath, low blood sugar, snakebites, diarrhoea and bloody diarrhoea, tuberculosis, bloody urine, diphtheria, whooping cough, tooth sensitivity, stomach inflammation (gastritis), scalp ringworm, a sexually transmitted disease called vaginal trichomoniasis, fighting stress and fatigue, treating skin and nails, warts, and corns (Dwyer, 2011). Nonetheless, with all the health benefits mentioned above, eating too much garlic can also have adverse effects such as ulcers, cancer of the stomach, gastrointestinal discomfort, bloating, diarrhoea, indigestion and pain in the stomach. Yet, these claims are not supported by empirical evidence, which makes it difficult to adopt it wholesale. While the available information does not suggest an upper limit of garlic consumption, it takes cognisance of the side effects that may exist from eating raw garlic such as an upset stomach (Fox and Purcell 2009). Other users, of course, resent garlic because of the bad breath it causes. According to Frans, et al. (2009), garlic increases the potential of developing skin lesions where you came in contact with it, and he recommends wearing protective gloves. George (2011) further identifies garlic as a potential trigger for headaches. Therefore, people who suffer from frequent headaches may want to avoid using garlic. By possibly lowering blood pressure, cholesterol and the initial effects of atherosclerosis, garlic can contribute to a heart-healthy diet much as the lowering or burning of fat would.

Consumption of Aloe Vera

Aloe Vera juice might cause your blood sugar levels to drop. It has laxative effects, which may increase the chances of electrolyte imbalance in diabetics. Stomach discomfort is one of the most common side effects of drinking aloe vera juice. The latex can cause excessive cramps and pain in the tummy (Flew and Smith, 2011). Aloe vera is an ingredient that barely needs an introduction.

It is a rage in the beauty and health world, all thanks to the presence of numerous medicinal properties. There is no denying the fact that it is loaded with nutrients, but there is a chance that aloe vera may not suit your body, skin or hair, which can further lead to side effects. Many people are allergic to the wonder plant (Jones and Treiber, 2010). Whereas aloe vera may have numerous benefits, it has diverse implications that include: latex, which comes from underneath the plant's skin, causes skin allergies, redness in the eyes, skin rashes, irritation and a burning sensation (Kahneman, 2011). Aloe vera also leads to a drop in blood sugar levels, dehydration and lowered levels of potassium in the body, further causing an irregular heartbeat, weakness and fatigue, especially in the elderly and sick people. Aloe vera is further discouraged among pregnant women and lactating mothers due to its qualities that stimulate uterine contractions, which may lead to birth complications. Similarly, the bio-active compounds in aloe vera might interfere with the liver's detoxification process, further causing health complications. With all these health-related challenges, such information is never packaged together for the user, yet even users never bother to consult competent professionals.

Consumption of Green Tea

Although there are little-to-no-known side effects or contra-indications to drinking green tea for adults, the dosage is never provided. However, green tee has the following risks or complications that should be made clear: Caffeine sensitivity – those with severe caffeine sensitivities could experience insomnia, anxiety, irritability, nausea or upset stomach (Katz, 1974). Green tea is 'suspected' to lower cancer prevalence rates yet it is impossible to ascertain such claims since there could be other variables responsible for reduced cancer occurrences. Researchers found that it is the high level of polyphenols in tea that helps to kill cancerous cells and stop them from growing. However, the exact mechanisms by which tea interacts with cancerous cells is unknown. Nonetheless, other studies have not found that tea can reduce cancer risks. The amount of tea required for cancer-preventive effects also varies widely in studies (Walton, 2010).

General Discussion

Wrong medication can lead to permanent ailments or even death. Currently, research has found that 12% of wrong medication is due to misuse because of lack of information or sometimes wrong information (Tomas, et al. 2012). Whereas most beneficiaries of health remedies posted on Facebook are at the same time permanently of conventional treatment, they receive little or no information of combining the two remedies or even other types of prescription in case one is taking both. Yet, taking the wrong medication or right medication but in the wrong doses or timing can also lead to harmful side effects (Boudry, 2017 and Tomas, et al. 2012). Research has shown that whichever mismanagement or wrong dosage with medication – herbal accessed on SM or conventional from hospital, can lead to organ failure, and even death (Jones and Treiber, 2010). Unfortunately, although Facebook is blamed for wrong medication, we found mishaps even among those on conventional medication. Nonetheless, wrong or inconclusive health-related information

has been found to cause challenges among users (Tomas, et al. 2012). This is because taking the wrong medication can exacerbate one's health conditions. Sometimes medication mistakes are not mistakes at all, but are actually administered incorrectly on purpose. This happens when caregivers are trying to improperly sedate a patient and when nursing home staff try to illegally steal or reallocate medication. In fact, Culberson and Ziska (2008) found that error in medication does not always stem from wrong information, but even concealment of previous history and current medical status can lead to undesired consequences. Further, there are many reasons why mistakes occur among health-challenged people. This may include, but is not limited to, over-the-counter drugs, food and vitamin interactions, or timing and dosage (Jones and Treiber, 2010).

Generally, although information on SM spreads like a bush fire, surpassing sometimes the creators, recent articles have implicated medical professionals, especially nurses and paramedics, for being responsible (Tomas, et al. 2012). Notably, stories invoking the 'dangers' of SM have particularly been condemned for the misjudgements of errant health professionals, however, they also often implicate the privacy control problems that have dogged SM, which are especially hazardous to users from the health professions (Walton, 2010). Academic literature has also been found to be replete with admonishments of how SM is dangerously breeching the old 'boundary markers' of medicine, which has enabled all manner of distasteful content to be publically posted, sometimes by healthcare providers, leading to disastrous consequences (Culberson and Ziska, 2008). Consequently, the overall tone and content has focused on the risks rather than the benefits of SM and concentrated on the misuse rather than consideration of how technologies might be used in a positive manner (Jones and Treiber, 2010). Regardless of the approach, the implications of posting wrong, misguided or inconclusive information have had diverse negative implications on unsuspecting users of SM.

Conclusion and Recommendation

While users hastily embrace such remedies and genuine medical professionals remain adamantly against such claims, such information is often conflicting. Nonetheless, the remedies are quickly embraced because of their popular appeal. Yet, without any scientific method, it is difficult to discourage. Unfortunately, most victims lack deep-seated psychological and effective logical and critical analysis. We, therefore, conclude that the reason that medical practitioners do not respond to the fallacies is because they make assumptions that the users are intelligible enough to apply logical reasoning and are capable of understanding that such purported remedies should be used in consultation with physicians. Similarly, the reason that proponents of alternative remedies never critique such information because they possess superior skills in their arguments and can really persuade the followers to 'see their side' of the argument. Whereas there is nothing wrong with trying to persuade someone else to look at a topic from their perspective, it would be more trusted and believed if there was credible evidence to support their claims or assertions. The lack of strong emphasis on development education in the Ugandan educational system shows a lack of focus on critical pedagogy and processes of learning that would have made a major contribution

to such debates. Education is pivotal for development in a rapidly changing world and there is a need to place a greater emphasis on the social role of education in enabling people to fulfill their individual potential and to contribute to the economic, political and social transformation of their countries. Consequently, development education, as a form of emancipatory and dialogical learning, is based on 'critical humanist pedagogy' – which, unfortunately, most social media users lack. Such dialogical education, therefore, is where learners should ideally pose problems, enquire and seek solutions collaboratively. Although this approach is an open and ongoing enquiry aimed at liberating people from servitude and instilling mutual respect and trust, SM users who seek alternative healthy remedies have not applied critical thinking.

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Social Accountability Mechanisms in a Decentralised State: Exploring Implementation Challenges

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Abstract

This paper reports on research that examined the challenges encountered by the City of Tshwane in responding to citizen demands for social accountability. The research draws on data collected through a mixed-method approach in selected communities within the City of Tshwane in the Gauteng province of South Africa. The research established that a range of challenges hamper public officials' quest for social accountability mechanisms. These include not just a lack of political will or a lack of interest by the citizenry but also to a lack of the requisite skills and resources needed to carry out a full blown consultative and communication process.

Keywords: social accountability, service delivery, citizen participation

Introduction

The growing demand for quality delivery of basic services has seen communities in South Africa embarking on many service delivery protects as a way of demanding social accountability from state officials. Nonetheless, the concept of social accountability has not been fully embraced due to complexities around municipalities fully exercising their reporting duty to the communities they serve (Claasen, Lardies & Ayer, 2010; McGee and Gaventa, 2010). In their study, Gaventa & Barret (2010) admit that the applicability of social accountability in the public sector has grown considerably, although it has its own practical challenges. Their argument is premised on the notion that policymakers are aware of various fundamental questions that need to be answered when it comes to citizens' demand for social accountability. To this end, various arguments, questions and debates around social accountability emanate from the mixed records of successes and failures of this approach in various public sectors globally (McGee & Gaventa, 2010). The failure by scholars to provide conceptual clarity for social accountably is evident, making it difficult to contextualise intervention strategies. In his observation, Schouten (2011:2) opines that social accountability programmes seem to be influential in areas of perilous statehood due to the shortage of formal

structures of governance. Carmago and Jacobs (2013:13), however, differed distinctively when they argued that citizens' demand for social accountability emanates from poor administrative capacity that impoverishes communities and leads to underdevelopment.

The World Bank (2011) advises that the demand for social accountability is hinged on a number of factors that include, *inter alia*, a favourable socio-political environment, enabling legal frameworks, state support, institutional capacity and strength of civil society, as well as the institutionalisation of social accountability initiatives (Ackerman, 2005; Blair, 2011). In the absence of the aforementioned, demanding social accountability from accounting authorities can be a challenge, which results in poverty and inequalities in communities as a result of poor service delivery (Fox, 2014; Sarker & Rahmnan, 2014). In South African municipalities, upholding social accountability has become a challenge for many local authorities due to weak understanding of social accountability and reluctance to account to communities on how public funds are utilised (Carmago & Jacobs, 2015; Brinkerhoff & Wetterberg, 2015). Drawing from these arguments, therefore, the research reported on in this paper responds to the following questions:

- Do the City of Tshwane officials understand the concept of social accountability?
- What are the obstacles they encounter in upholding social accountability?

Theoretical framework: New Public Management (NPM)

The demand for social accountability in South Africa is informed by the New Public Management approach that has since been developed to address the service delivery challenges affecting local municipalities. The transition from the old bureaucratic public administration in South Africa into NPM brings about a new governance model for running the public service. The political transformation in South Africa enabled the restructuring of state bureaucracy in the early 1990s (Naidoo, 2015).

Various aspects underpin the NPM paradigm and these have an influence on how government departments in South Africa are expected to exercise social accountability within the NPM paradigm. These include: strategic approach, management within the administrative framework, focus on results, improved financial management as well as the relationship with politicians (Hughes, 2003). The NPM model assumes that officials need to exercise direct accountability to citizens. The concept is premised on the notion that citizens as clients have the right to demand accountability and public managers are required to respond to their needs. This idea has roots in the traditional public administration and has been modified under the NPM model when it speaks to the Results-based Management (RBM) model. Under the RBM model, a coherent and strategic planning and management-based framework founded on learning and accountability needs to be established in a decentralised environment. This idea corresponds to the organisational learning theory, which stipulates that an organisation is ever-growing to meet the demand of citizens. The NPM model aims to improve the management and efficiency of public managers through accountability (Sarker, 2006).

The NPM focuses more on efficiency, disregarding the traditional public administration principles that speak to equality, fairness, equity and control, among others. The fact that it ignores these aspects makes scholars wonder if it can influence the present gap in terms of state accountability to communities (Christensen & Laegrei, 2014). Nonetheless, NPM reforms disregard solidarity as they elevate an enlightened citizen who is able to demand accountability, hence its narrow focus on individuals sparks more questions than answers (Andrews & Van de Welle, 2013).

This view in some ways contradicts the aims of social accountability as it is premised on the understanding that citizens and civil society organisations need to collaborate to demand accountability from the public officials. The lack of social inclusiveness in the NPM model defeats the purpose of citizen engagement in social accountability as the aim is to integrate all concerned communities to speak in one voice, which is fundamental for attracting government attention. Nonetheless, citizen participation is enabled under the NPM where social accountability mechanisms can be used to engage the public officials on service delivery matters (Hughes, 2003). In line with this thinking, South Africa's White Paper on Transforming Public Service delivery reiterates that "... the Public Service cannot develop a truly service-oriented culture without the active participation of the wider community, including the private sector and citizens themselves" (RSA:1997).

Contextualising Social Accountability

Malena and McNeil in the World Bank (2010:1) define social accountability as "the broad range of actions and mechanisms beyond voting that citizens can use to hold the State to account, as well as actions on the part of the government, civil society, media and other societal actors that promote or facilitate these efforts". The World Bank (2004) explains further that such mechanisms are demand-driven programmes backed by the State, civil society and citizens. The triple relationship, if well-coordinated, can enhance social accountability and increase service delivery. Claasen & Alpin-Lardies (2010:3) elaborate that social accountability is "about how citizens demand and enforce accountability from those in power". This definition is largely concerned with citizen-led forms of accountability and claimed political space in-between elections.

The demand for social accountability is increasing following previous studies (Ackerman 2005; Foresti *et al*., Malena *et a*l., 2004; Peruzzotti & Smulovitze, 2006), which attempted to conceptualise social accountability in growing democratic institutions. Further attempts to understand and assess the effects of social accountability on various government service delivery programmes were made by (Claasen, McNeil & Muvuma, 2006; Novikova, 2007; Sirker & Cosik, 2007). These studies interrogate transparency, accountability, and participatory budgeting among public entities to assess efficiency. Other studies (Gaventa & Barrett 2010; Gaventa & McGee 2010; McGee & Gaventa 2010; Rocha *et al.*, 2008) examined the growth and effects of social accountability in public institutions. They assessed how leaders in organisations conduct their communication with citizens who are the end recipients of the services offered. This article draws recognition from the critical context that seeks to shape, make and break social accountability mechanisms in the South African local government context (Levy, 2014).

Mechanisms used in Social Accountability Processes

Various social accountability mechanisms are used by citizens to demand accountability in service delivery from local municipalities. Basheka and Mubangizi (2012) examined citizen – driven mechanisms of fighting corruption by comparing principles and process in Uganda and South Africa and conclude that constructive engagement between citizens and government, should be aimed at improving performance in the use of public resources to deliver services, enhance people's welfare, and protect individuals' rights. Further Basheka and Mubangisi (2013) considered opinions from a survey of respondents from Uganda's four regions. The findings identify the critical success factors for mainstream citizen participation in procurement processes and on this basis, suggestions on how these could be operationalised are made. There are thus a number of studies in this regard. However, this paper focuses on some of the mechanisms, which include, inter alia, oversight committees, izimbizos, integrated development plans (IDPs), ward committees and most popular, public protests.

Oversight Structures: Committee System: Choice between Section 79 and Section 80 Committee

Social accountability in South Africa is exercised through oversight structures as provided by Section 79 and 80 of the Structures Act. The Act stipulates that the Council must make decisions whether or not portfolio committees will be established using the given legislation. The generic requirements for the establishment of committees are legislated in the Act. The role of oversight committees is to assist the Council with oversight on how municipalities operate. The Municipal Structures Act further requires a municipality to establish committees when there is a need or signs that it will be efficient, and the powers of that committee are delegated by the municipal council to ensure efficiency and effectiveness in the powers and functions. Section 79 and 80 serve different purposes and they report differently to different entities. More importantly, the oversight committees are the one that enhances municipal capacity to conduct oversight. The rationale is that the mayoral committee is not a committee of the council and do not have the right to conduct meetings on vital council matters without disclosing the contents of such meetings and opening it up for public scrutiny. Furthermore, section 33 of the Municipal Structures Act allows the establishment of committees to ensure the smooth running of municipal affairs. Based on this discussion, it can be deduced that oversight committees in local government in South Africa play a pivotal role in overseeing that municipal officials do not abuse the powers given to them and they exercise transparency and accountability when executing public duties. The committees assist citizens who intend to demand social accountability from the municipalities as the committees can investigate and assess any key weaknesses or corrupt acts that may compromise the effective delivery of services.

Izimbizos

Izimbizos, introduced by Thabo Mbeki, the former president of the Republic of South Africa. are platforms where senior government officials and public managers conduct meetings with ordinary people from the local communities (Venter, 2007). Sikhakhane and Reddy (2011:93) point out that this form of citizen participation is fundamental as the government is taken to the people who are the beneficiaries of the elected officials that represent each community. The significance of izimbizos lies in the fact that citizens got the chance to ask officials about the nature and strategy of service delivery in their communities. Makgoane, as cited in Van der Waldt (2007:38), holds that izimbizos have since gained popularity among the citizens as all criticism is screened, isolated and responded to in order to curb individuals from misleading other citizens or accusing the government of underhand dealings. At izimbizos, citizens constructively engage Government in fruitful debates that spearhead the economic development of local communities. Nevertheless, the success of izimbizo as a social accountability mechanism is determined by citizen participation in policy development to ensure that local government responds to citizens demands and is accountable and transparent to the public (Theron, 2005:64; Buccus and Hicks, 2008). The ward councilor, as Van der Waldt (2007:38) perceives, should ensure that information is widely disseminated to communities on the need to participate as izimbizos since this is the enabling platform for demanding accountability from local municipalities. Citizens should, therefore, hold local government officials accountable for their actions in service delivery. It can be argued from this discussion that izimbizos provide an enabling platform for a citizens to engage public officials, however, citizens' participation is imperative to make izimbizos function well for effective service delivery.

Ward Committees

At the grassroots level, the demand for social accountability in South Africa is championed by ward committees, which came into existence in 2001 as principal mechanisms for community participation in local government affairs. Ward committees are believed to be powerful political tools for mobilising community support and improving the capacity structures of community forums (Mazenda & Masiya, 2018). However, the significance of ward committees as social accountability mechanisms is somehow underrated as their influence in holding the state accountable seems less influential (Thornhill & Madumo, 2011). Whereas one may wonder why ward committees are claimed to be doing minimal justice to demanding social accountability, the reason might be the fact that cultural diversities and little faith in ward councillors are the contributing factors. Existing information from the Department of Local Government (DPLG) in 2007 showed the establishment of ward committees in six of the nine provinces of South Africa (Gauteng, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Northern Cape, North West and Western Cape). The lowest rate of ward committees being established was in the Western Cape, which constitutes 66.4% with 105 wards not featuring these committees. Free State's establishment was at 84.7%, with Mpumalanga establishing committees in all wards except one. These previous statistics show

the implementation of ward committees as social accountability tools to represent the people in communities, although many communities perceive them as either useless or dysfunctional.

Social Audits

The Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) (2013) describes a social audit as "a monitoring process through which organisational or project information is collected, analysed and shared publicly, and investigative findings are shared and discussed publicly." As social accountability tools, social audits have been widely used, mainly in developed countries, to enable citizens to engage public officials on how they spent public money. Ringgold, Holla and Srinivasan (2012) posit that social audits are effective intervention strategies because they involve face-to-face interaction between citizens and service providers.

In South Africa, very few studies have been conducted to assess the use of social audits when demanding social accountability from officials. An example of where a social audit was conducted was in Khayelitsha in Cape Town, where the audit was done by the Social Justice Coalition, in partnership with HSRC and the National Development Agency in 2015. The audit was meant to establish the perceptions of local residents to foreigners or what triggers xenophobia. The findings from this audit revealed gross dissatisfaction among residents, as basic services were in a bad state. The residents raised grievances such as lack of toilets and clean water, inadequate accommodation and schools, as well as poor health facilities. The audit showed the eagerness of citizens to participate in surveys, although they anticipate something in return.

Service Delivery Satisfaction Surveys

The World Bank (2017) describes service delivery satisfaction surveys (SDSSs) as quantitative assessments conducted to assess government performance and service delivery based on citizen experience. SDSSs often depend on collected data on a wide range of topics such as citizen perceptions of elected officials and perceptions of citizens on the level of service delivery. SDSSs have been previously used in many countries to monitor the quality of basic service delivery. For instance, in South Africa in 2016, the Public Service Commission (PSC) conducted an SDSS to assess the perceptions and satisfaction levels of citizens in many sectors. The survey assessed knowledge and competence of service providers and rated the value for money on services delivered.

The findings of the South African PSC survey reflected that among public officials, the value of money was not clearly understood. This lack of understanding was indicated by the service delivery backlogs (PSC, 2016). The World Bank (2017) further points out that citizen satisfaction surveys have been carried out in many African countries, 130 using the Living Standards Measurement Survey (LSMS) or the Core Welfare Indicator Questionnaire (CWIQ). Governments, civil society organisations or private sectors may conduct these surveys often to accelerate the delivery of services.

Factors that may Affect the Adoption of Social Accountability Mechanisms

The success of social accountability mechanisms in South African municipalities is dependent on various enabling factors that can work for and against the capacity or will power of State institutions to account to the citizens. These have been elaborated below.

Lack of Skills and Competence

The success of social accountability mechanisms depends on the capacity of institutions to implement mechanisms such as social audits or public expenditure tracking (Hansen, 2013). Service providers, including government actors in South Africa are expected to exercise social accountability, although competence is often lacking among public officials (Munzhedzi, 2016). Political will and capacity often determine the implementation of social accountability mechanisms as citizens may want to engage the State and service providers without success due to reluctance to account for their actions (Melena, Forster & Singh, 2004). However, caution needs to be exercised as citizen groups and other civil society organisations (CSOs) may lack the capacity themselves to be accountable to a local government due to ideological or political differences (Batanon, 2015; McNeil & Melena, 2010). To ensure that social accountability mechanisms become effective, citizen participation in social accountability mechanisms such as participatory budgeting is fundamental. Citizens can utilise such a platform, especially at local government level, where Integrated Development Forums (IDP) can debate concerns on service delivery. As a tactical method to increase state accountability, Agarwal & Van Wicking (2011:8) hold that a performance-based reward system is necessary for developing performance standards and codes of conduct. Incentivising public officials can be subject to debate, although it can be instrumental in enhancing social accountability and willingness to deliver quality services. The effect of not incentivising public officials was witnessed in Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality in the Free State Province in South Africa for their financial year 2014/2015 where about R996 million was lost in fruitless and wasteful expenditure as a result of poor performance and general managerial incompetence (Gerick, 2016:4). Drawing insights from these arguments, therefore, incentivising public officials to account to the public may not be a sound idea as corruption is still rampant, particularly at local government level.

Political Interference

The interference of political forces in the running of local municipalities deters citizens' demand for social accountability. This was confirmed by Cameroon (2003), who describes the politics/administration disputes as detrimental to the development of local municipalities and delivery of services at large. A widely debated issue in South Africa, political interference cannot be entirely divorced from the day-to-day running of local municipalities. Svara (2001) has a different view as he highlighted that conflicts that occur in local municipalities have adverse effects on social accountability and municipal service delivery (Cameroon, 2003:6). Although legislation defines the role of political office-bearers and administrators, overlapping and interference is the

main bone of contention that results in service delivery backlogs. The disputes that often occur between the two offices of the municipal manager and mayoral office creates factions and derails service delivery in communities (Nealer, 2007). Political infighting over high municipal positions (Nengwekhulu, 2009) and mismanagement of available resources result in corruption and ultimately poor accountability to communities (Cameron, 2010). Drawing from these assertions, Mafunisa (2013) argues that interference of politicians, for example, in supply chain management decision-making processes, disrupts the office of the municipal manager to effectively adhere to proper supply chain regulations.

Corruption and its Effects on Social Accountability

Du Plessis and Breedt (2013:2) affirm that corruption in South Africa has grown dramatically and manoeuvred its way into the three spheres of government, leading to increased government expenditure and erosion of the moral fabric of local communities. Pillay (2004:589) and Ristey (2010:348) argue that corruption has flourished due to institutional weaknesses or poor design of state departments. This led Munzhedzi (2013:284) to criticise the wasteful expenditure of taxpayer's money every year in the hands of government institutions. In many cases, the lack of transparency and accountability in local municipalities especially lead to citizens, mistrust and in some cases public demonstrations. Upholding social accountability becomes challenging whenever corruption flourishes. McNeil and Malena (2010:197) and O'Meally, 2013:8-12) found that social accountability mechanisms are being affected by a lack of transparency, accountability and poor leadership, which discourages citizen groups, oversight groups, public or ward committees to participate and hold the state accountable. To regain credibility and legitimacy, government institutions need to conduct research and identify key areas of weakness that discourage accountability and engage relevant stakeholders through networking and capacity building on the way forward to enhance social accountability for effective service delivery in communities (World Bank, 2011).

Poverty and Unemployment

In the World Bank Report (WDR) (2004), it was revealed that the global state of basic service provision in states has declined to constrain the poor in communities to attain an average living standard. Batanon (2015) asserts that some countries have undertaken measures to mitigate poverty and promote human development, although inadequate resources act as a barrier. Levy & Walton (2013) lament the limited access to resources, inequitable distribution of wealth, poor infrastructure and corruption as barriers to social accountability and improved service delivery. In South Africa, the legacy of apartheid, as analysts and commentators believe, left irreparable damage on many black communities due to spatial development planning of the apartheid era. Nengwekhulu (2009:344) argues that the post-1994 Mandela government could have done something to equitably redistribute wealth, however, corruption, incompetence, poverty and inequalities hindered the transition process into forming a democratic local government. Recent corruption cases in South Africa involving state capture mention popular names such as Former

President Zuma and the Gupta family, among other high profile government people. The instituted commissions of inquiry such as Zondo and Mokgoro indicate the damage corruption and lack of accountability have done to ordinary citizens in South Africa. Social accountability in local municipalities is at risk as corruption and fraud have created citizens' mistrust of state institutions (Moloi, 2012). Arguably, therefore, the State failed to account for services delivered, which has had devastating consequences on the poor people who would lack the basic services, let alone the voice to hold the State accountable (Wild & Forestri, 2013).

Methodological Issues

The paper draws on data that was collected from five communities in a mixed-method approach within the City of Tshwane in the Gauteng Province of South Africa.

Participants

The paper triangulated various data collection techniques that included questionnaire surveys, interviews and documents. This paper draws on data acquired from questionnaire surveys, semi-structured interviews and document sources. The paper employed a systematic sampling technique to choose participants who respond to questionnaire surveys from selected communities within the City of Tshwane. The recruitment and selection of participants included all races and started from the ages of 18 to 65 years. The purposive sampling technique was used to identify participants from the selected five departments within the City of Tshwane. These 20 participants were interviewed based on their knowledge of social accountability and its effects on community service delivery.

Instrumentation

A questionnaire survey was designed to examine the effectiveness of social accountability mechanisms used by citizens to demand service delivery in the City of Tshwane. Two broad themes were explored in the questionnaire to obtain an in-depth understanding of the use of various social accountability mechanisms to demand services by communities. The first theme focused on the perceptions of citizens on the use of social accountability mechanisms. The second focuses on the effectiveness of the identified social accountability mechanism towards improving service delivery in the communities governed by the City of Tshwane. The respondents were asked their opinions on the social accountability mechanisms to assess if their lives have been improved or not, or if the City of Tshwane responded to their demands or not. The data collection instruments were a five-step Likert scale where respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement/ satisfaction on the use of social accountability mechanisms (1=Not effective at all, 2= Moderately effective, 3= Effective, 4= Moderately effective, 5=Very effective). The Cronbach's coefficient was 0.70. The questionnaire contained open and closed-ended questions where respondents were able to express themselves regarding social accountability mechanisms and their effectiveness in demanding service delivery.

Data Collection Procedures

In this research, questionnaires, surveys and semi-structured interviews were administered simultaneously. Firstly, the researchers distributed questionnaires to 270 participants drawn from selected communities within the City of Tshwane. Secondly, the researchers interviewed 20 participants drawn from five departments within the City of Tshwane. These were public officials who hold senior positions and have accountability authority. The entire data collection process took about a month to complete and permission to conduct the study was granted by the City Manager of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

Data Analysis

Since the respondents were drawn from various communities in the City of Tshwane, the responses were based on various responses from close-ended questions in the questionnaire for the residents in numerous communities governed by the City of Tshwane. The data analysis procedures for quantitative assessments were conducted using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) Windows version 21 based on the responses from various respondents. Descriptive statistics are used to explain the basic characteristics of the data in the research (Gerber-Nel et al., 2005:2004). Frequency distribution, standard deviation and mean, median and mode scores were some of the descriptive statistics used in this paper. Qualitative data from interviews were transcribed verbatim and presented in themes following study objectives.

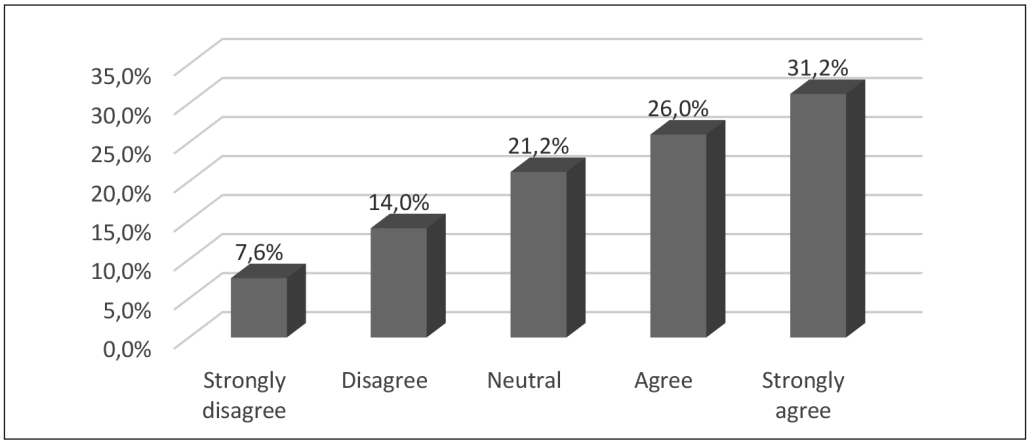
Results and Discussion

This section discusses the results, interprets and analyses the quantitative and qualitative data collected from both citizens and municipal officials in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. Various themes were derived from the research objectives to guide the discussion on data.

Public Official's Response to the Grievances of People in Service Delivery

Public protests for basic service delivery are rampant in South African municipalities. In the City of Tshwane, these are normal challenges that emanate from municipal citizen relationships that are punctuated with low levels of communication and feedback strategies.

Figure 1.1: Municipal Response to Citizen Demands



From the above graph, the respondents were asked on whether officials do not listen to their grievances or address service delivery queries in their communities. Of those who participated in the study, 31.2% strongly agreed that municipal officials do not listen to their grievances on the need to improve social accountability. About 7.6% of the respondents strongly disagreed and about 21.2% of the respondents remained neutral. Comparing these percentages, it shows that a significant number of respondents are not satisfied with the manner in which the municipality responds to their grievances, which may imply that feedback on what transpired at either *imbizos* or public forums takes a long time.

Findings from key informant interviews revealed that in an attempt to implement social accountability in various communities, the City of Tshwane encountered many obstacles that compromise the effective delivery of services. In some situations, residents took to the streets to protest against delays or unavailability of services. In communities such as Hamanskraal and Mamelodi and some parts of Pretoria, violent community protests became rampant as citizens accused the municipality of corruption and failure to exercise transparency and accountability. One official laments that:

> When we run our campaigns where we address issues such as cable theft. These challenges do not reflect our negligence but a human error on the side of citizens. Since we are at the core of service delivery people tend to blame us although some of those challenges are beyond our capacity. Some citizens cause a stir for political mileage which is a challenge we may not be able to solve. Community-based forums are often conducted where people engage the municipality on some service delivery concerns.

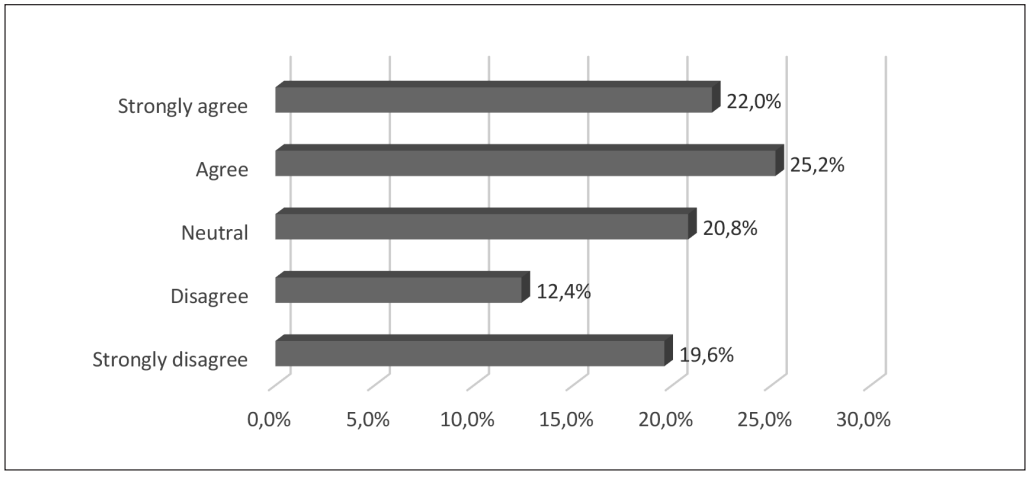
Drawing insight from the assertions, social accountability in the municipality was not effectively exercised as communities took a violent route to force officials to account for their actions in

service delivery. Such a scary scenario brought about by ineffective communication between the municipality and communities tends to ignite public protest that sometimes degenerates into criminality through looting and destruction of public infrastructure. The citizens argue that delays or failure by the municipality to inform citizens on the current state of service delivery creates a situation of discontent. Findings revealed further that public demonstrations in some cases do not have anything to do with social accountability as some unscrupulous citizens seize the opportunity to engage in some criminal acts under the guise of poor service delivery. Drawing from these findings, it can be argued that municipal officials could not entirely take the blame for not providing feedback to citizens as resources are not always at their disposal and the communication channels are often distorted, either due to incompetence or lack of goodwill among elected community representatives.

Municipal's Limited Financial and Human Resources to Implement Social Accountability Mechanisms

A study conducted by Hickey and King (2016) in Uganda, India and Brazil shows a common thread, suggesting that implementing social accountability mechanisms require access to adequate human and financial resources. In South Africa, the demand for social accountability by communities is limited by a lack of political will but also by a lack of resources required by municipal officials in giving account for their actions (Nengwekhulu, 2009; Khale & Worku, 2013). The ability to communicate technical and sometimes complex implementation issues, the ability to communicate widely and to a detailed level is often lacking as is access to appropriate communication channels. All this requires financial and human resources.

Figure 1.2: Municipal's Limited Access to Human and Financial Resources



The bar graph shows that 25.2% of the respondents who participated in the survey agree that the municipality does not have enough human and financial resources to conduct social accountability, whereas 19.6% of those respondents strongly disagree that communities themselves are reluctant to initiate social accountability programmes due to perceived negative perceptions of municipal responses to demands for accountability. Findings from key informant interviews revealed that in most cases, citizens are not aware of the availability of innovative opportunities that they may tap into to increase social accountability. As a result, public officials are blamed for a lack of transparency and accountability. The participants pointed out that there is a need to increase awareness in communities served by the metro as this can help citizens to understand how local government works and where to report in case they are disgruntled about a certain service. Nonetheless, the municipality aims to exercise accountability to the people through the proper delivery of good and services. One key informant noted that:

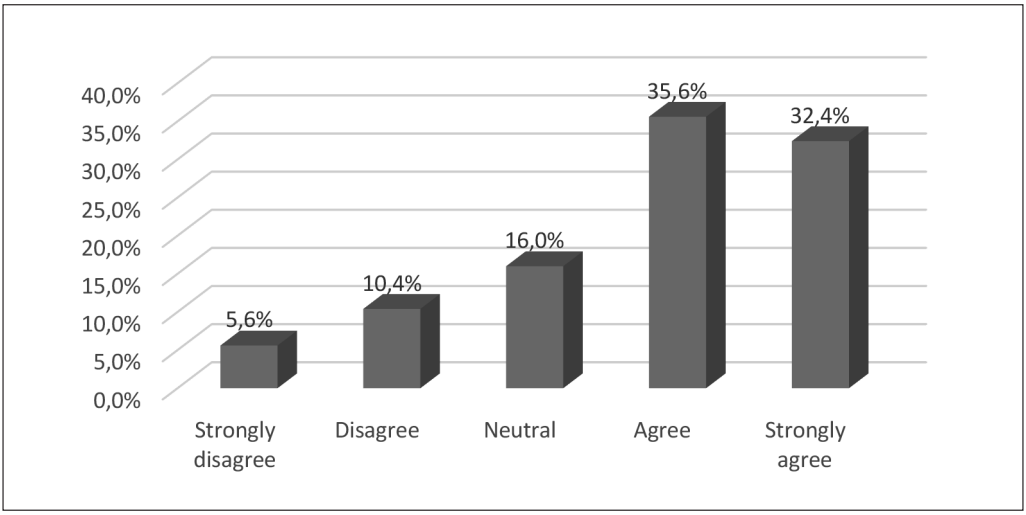
> Increasing access to both human and financial resources is key to exercising social accountability in the communities we govern. However due to other service delivery demands our municipal finances are somehow limited to reach all the communities and provide feedback on the manner we spent public money rendering services.

These findings concur with a study conducted by Mfene (2013:17), which revealed that to enhance social accountability, municipalities must be capacitated with developmental requirements that include extensive human and financial resources.

Corruption and Poor Governance in Social Accountability Mechanisms

In their studies, Mafunisa (2013) and Public Service Commission (2013) revealed that corruption is the scourge that has destroyed the capacity of local government to exercise accountability (Thornhill, 2012). The graph below shows the opinions of citizens on the state of corruption and how it affects their participation in the social accountability processes.

Figure 1.3: Corruption and Poor Governance in Social Accountability



From the graph, a question was posed to respondents on whether corruption and poor governance discourage social accountability in communities. Of the respondents who participated in the survey, 35.6% agreed that corruption is the root cause of misusing resources that target social accountability programmes. This may be the reason why citizens do not want to engage officials in the manner in which they deliver services. Only a few of the respondents (10.4%), however, disagreed that corruption and poor governance discourage social accountability. About 32.4% of the respondents strongly agreed that corruption and poor governance affect the implementation of social accountability programmes and disrupt citizens to engage officials in social accountability mechanism that aim to improve service delivery. Meanwhile, 16.0% of the respondents who participate in the survey remained neutral on whether corruption or bad governance discourage citizen participation in social accountability. These findings provide a departure point of analysis as they revealed that a significant number of respondents do believe that corruption and poor governance affect the potential of the municipality to exercise social accountability in the communities it serves.

Key informant interviews reflected that corruption in local government has escalated to the extent of compromising service delivery. One official lamented:

> In our department, corruption has been tolerated for a long time and no one is being held accountable. If you try to raise your head to talk about corruption issues you can be either isolated in municipal meetings or fellow officials may plot your downfall. There are very powerful political voices behind corruption, for example, in the procurement systems, government tenders are being manipulated where they are granted to relatives and friends. Nobody is being held accountable as long as you are affiliated with the ruling party.

Another participant added:

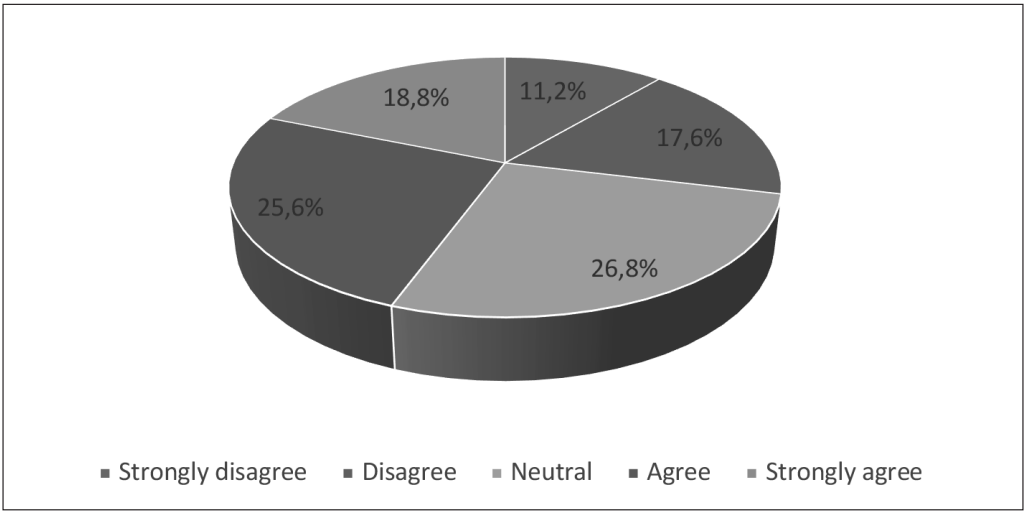
> Talking about corruption raises my emotions as in some cases, the national government does what they call money dumping. This is when the excess budget is allocated to local government for use in forms of tenders and these funds are always abused by the powerful forces. Citizens, in this case, have no say in holding officials accountable as their voice is unheard unless in[a] few cases when the internal auditing picks [up] some issues of corruption.

These findings concur with a study conducted by Du Plessis & Breed (2013), which revealed that corruption in South African municipalities has reached alarming levels and has made the lives of ordinary South Africans much harder as services are not efficiently delivered in communities. In their study, Masilone & Dinntwe (2014:181) concurred with the findings, arguing that corruption has become a complex societal ill that the government as to contend with. Given these arguments, it could be deduced from the assertions that citizens are reluctant to participate in social accountability mechanisms due to corrupt actions of the municipality, which do not adequately provide feedback on how public money is being spent on service delivery.

Influence of Political Environment and Social Accountability

The World Bank (2011) and Devajaran, Kheman & Walton (2014:29) suggest that social accountability in South African municipalities has been eroded by political patronage, which is associated with heavy bureaucratic structures. These structures have no desire to account to citizens, which is a step backwards towards achieving social accountability.

Figure 1.4: Politics and Social Accountability



The pie chart above shows that 25.6% of the respondents who participated in the survey strongly disagree that the political environment is a barrier to exercising social accountability. This can be attributed to the freedom of speech and association enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa 1996. About 18.8% of the respondents strongly believed that the political environment indeed has an effect on social accountability. Nonetheless, 26.8% remained neutral on whether politics have a say in the way municipal officials exercise social accountability in communities. This percentage may represent those citizens who lack the means or are reluctant to participate in any political movement in their communities.

Key informant interviews reflected that political interference when rendering services is another challenge faced by the municipality. The political differences can be a challenge as politicians tend to override officials, which is a challenge to effectively implement social innovation programmes. Van de Walle & Jilke (2013) assert that ideological disposition and partisan ideology can trigger citizens to participate in social accountability or not as supporting government policies may affect the benefit or outcome from engaging officials, for instance, in participatory budgeting. Findings from key informant interviews further revealed that citizens have limited capacity to hold officials accountable for service delivery despite the abundance of social accountability mechanisms. The researchers probed further as to whether citizens can effectively hold officials accountable, taking into consideration the political factors that always influence or drive service delivery. The municipal official responded:

> Yes, they can and they have the law on their side. Citizens themselves have the duty to play in society to improve service delivery not relying on government. For instance, when a community went on a rampage to protest for services by burning schools, roads they may hinder social accountability as the officials have to sit down and plan again on which service to render first based on priority. So, citizen action sometimes disrupts social accountability and socio-economic development. The government needs to raise awareness of citizens in terms of service delivery. They must not destroy the existing infrastructure but demand services in a responsible manner.

Drawing from these assertions, social accountability in the City of Tshwane is often hindered by political interference that disrupts or distorts citizen action during service delivery protests, which delays decision-making. The destruction of infrastructure by angry citizen proves to be a challenge to the municipality, which often does not have enough human and financial resources to restore such broken infrastructure. Also, such violent communities are not conducive for the officials to go and conduct public forums with the citizens and map a way forward on which services to provide.

Conclusions

This paper focuses more on the challenges that confronted the City of Tshwane from becoming an effective service provider through the exercising of social accountability. Drawing from the

analysis of findings, the researchers noted that a myriad of factors such as corruption, limited skills, political interference, lack of compliance with legislation and manipulation of recruitment systems adversely affect the capacity of the municipality to exercise social accountability. The analysis of literature, however, shows not just a lack of political will or a lack of interest by the citizenry but also to a lack of the requisite skills and resources needed to carry out a full blown consultative and communication process. To increase social accountability in service delivery matters, the City of Tshwane needs to provide more awareness on the importance of citizen engagement of municipal officials. Such participation by citizens in social accountability mechanisms can help to bring municipal officials to account for their actions in service delivery. The participation of citizens in social accountability can be influential through the use of the already existing digital platforms (WiFi hotspots, social network platforms, Facebook, Twitter and the municipal website). These modern information communication technology (ICT) innovations can be utilised effectively to exercise accountability to communities at the same time enabling communities to voice their concerns in terms of service delivery. Therefore, citizens need wide engagement and enlightening on how social accountability mechanisms such as social audits and citizen-based monitoring can be utilised to bring officials to account for their actions in service delivery.

Acknowledgements

The authors acknowledge the support of South Africa's National Research Foundation for funding the time spent writing this paper.

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BOOK REVIEW ESSAY

Governance and the postcolony: Views from Africa

DAVID EVERATT (ED.) (2019).
Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, (pp. x, 327)

Introduction

This review first considers the overarching argument and structure of the edited volume along with the contributors thereto. Using critical discourse analysis, this review goes on to explore the extent to which various chapters seem to deliver or not deliver on meeting the book's promise of new perspectives about governance in the so-called postcolony. Finally, the analytical assessment is followed by a conclusion that highlights the strengths and weaknesses of the book.

Overarching argument, structure and contributors

In the introduction to the volume, which is penned by the editor David Everatt, the authors argue that the term governance is "facing a substantial risk of losing urgency and relevance as it drowns in multiple definitions, forms, applications, and is used more as a method of reprimand than a tool to unleash local and global democratic energies. Intellectually, governance has to navigate context, power and application in the global south, where the postcolony is under attack from decolonialists and others (p. 7)". To buttress this argument the table of contents is organised in two parts. Part I, entitled 'Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa in Theory and Practice' is comprised of seven chapters. Part II, 'Sectors and Locations' entails six chapters. Front matter to the edited volume includes figures and tables laid out by chapters and a delineation of abbreviations and acronyms. Each chapter ends with its respective reference list. Back matter of the edited volume lists the contributors, followed by the index. Among the contributors are highly experienced and accomplished academicians and practitioners. These include David Everatt, head of Wits School of Governance with a far reaching background in applied socio-economic and development research, distinguished professor Patrick Bond, economist and Wits research director Pundy Pillay, Wits academic Darlene Miller and PhD candidate Rebecca Pointer along with sociologist Babalwa Magoqwana who employs ethnographic methodologies and historian Naledi Nomalanga Mkhize who ushers pre-colonial African history into the contemporary era – both of whom are with Nelson Mandela University.

Analytic Review of Governance and the postcolony: Views from Africa

Admittedly and unapologetically the reviewer uses critical discourse analysis to discern whether the 'views from Africa' are undergirded by African epistemologies. Time and space constrain

exploration in this review of all thirteen chapters. Therefore, certain chapters of the volume are highlighted to help assess the convincingness of the foretasted argument and achievement of book's aims. Taken as a whole, a book that offers fresh insight on improving governance across the African continent – or even region by region, is long overdue. Generally, the chronology of chapters delineated in the table of contents differs from the order of chapter arguments discussed in the introduction. Unquestionably, as Everatt states in Chapter 1, the term governance "is so replete with content that it is in some danger of bursting, while meaning less and less" (p. 31). Too often, Everatt continues, "governance is reduced to a set of indicators – usually of 'good' governance – which are stripped of context, and fail to address power, complexity and competition" (p. 32). That first chapter sets the tone for the volume emphasising consideration of context – but it also tends to sway the reader toward seeing governance as dynamic power differentials and accountability measures.

Governance is not the only contested term. The term 'postcolony' appears problematic and the sub-titles do not necessarily reflect the contents therein. Not unlike exogenously driven treatment of governance in Africa, it seems that the term 'postcolony' is monolithic as if each African country endures the same experience. Was there only one colony and one coloniser, is diversity rendered meaningless? In Part I, only Pillay's Chapter 3 dwells on 'sub-Saharan Africa' per se. Chapter 1 (David Everatt) comparatively analyses and intricately captures salient issues regarding the meanings and contextualisation of governance or the lack thereof. Chapter 2 (Salim Latib) reminds us of African Union instruments. Chapter 6 (Anthoni van Nieuwkerk and Bongiwe Mphahlele) is about West Africa (Guinea, Liberia and Sierra) regarding poor crisis management and weak institutions that arguably exacerbated the spread of the Ebola virus epidemic. The Southern African region is brought to bear in Chapters 4, 5 and 7. Both Chapters 4 and 7 focus on South Africa with Patrick Bond's use of South African foreign policy to tease out the global/local nexus of imperialism and conflict and Susan Booysen's discussion of adversarial network governance for public policymaking in South Africa. Chapter 5 (Caryn Abrahams) provides lessons from Zambia about governance of urban food systems. All of the chapters in Part II are about South African sectors and locations.

Next, using the term 'sub-Saharan Africa' in the Part I sub-title is further problematised as exogenously imposed terminology that has gained worldwide currency. It would seem that views from Africa would begin to dispel and deconstruct notions such as 'sub-Saharan Africa' and the 'Middle East' – another geopolitical construction which perpetuates coloniality. Views from Africa should deliberate epistemological grounds for delinking such terminology as Anglophone, Francophone and Lusophone countries in Africa which give deference to colonisers (although these terms were not used in this book). Pointedly, unless 'views from Africa' are grounded in African ways of knowing (meaning pre-colonial and indigenous worldviews and values), 'views from Africa' will not differ from views that originate elsewhere.

For example, Chapter 2 discusses 'African Shared Values in Governance for Integration', drawing upon African Union (AU) governance instruments and institutions which are well

presented. However, what are these shared values? Who pronounced them and to what extent are African values included? Whilst the chapter author could raise these issues as part of 'voices from Africa', the questions are not easily answered since the AU instruments themselves are epistemologically inexplicit as is AU Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want. To better understand continental governance, a brief mention of regional governance and the intersection of continental, regional, national and sub-national governance would be useful. In Chapter 3, Pillay strategically tackles varied distinctions between governance, 'good governance' and the relevance of these to development. He engages scholars from different parts of the world with divergent views, including the global south context. We see revealing human development categories and rankings regarding 'sub-Saharan African' countries from the United Nations Development Programme and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (pp. 72, 74) before he delves into governance of education and health sectors (75-78). About African countries, Pillay concludes that "corruption, a key aspect of governance, has undoubtedly played a role in preventing more equitable patterns of development" (p. 79), which is a view generally held the world over. But how can 'African views' change the tide? Were slavery, colonisation and apartheid not legalised corrupt acts generating global finance capital sustained by westernised values embedded in coloniality? See, for instance, Michael Bradley's (1978) 'The iceman inheritance: Prehistoric sources of Western man's racism, sexism and aggression'. How can African epistemologies be employed as a value-changing governance architecture?

To be certain, African epistemologies are not race-based. In the face of World Bank and International Monetary efforts to require 'good governance' of African countries to access development funds, Tim Kelsall of the Overseas Development Institute in London made an important observation. Kelsall (2008) noted more than a decade ago the utility of harnessing notions of moral and social obligation and interpersonal accountability to advance the development agenda. These ideals are consistent with African ways of knowing and African values in ancient Africa. Network governance is likewise consistent with the holism inherent in African epistemologies. The rise of network governance in the global north came from failure of Weberian modalities fixed on top-down hierarchies of bureaucracy as embodied in the Westphalian state. If we are unaware of the strengths and weakness of African ways of knowing from centuries gone-by, we perceive approaches like network governance as new. Yet, as insightful as Susan Booysen's case studies are about (1) opposition to free speech legislation, (2) subversion of e-tolling legislation and (3) the fast-forwarding of free post-secondary education given the #FeesMustFall and related protests (pp. 145-161), she advocates a theoretical framework that contravenes African values. Booysen's construct of adversarial network governance replaces the African value of cooperation and interdependence with the westernised value of dichotomies inherent in adversarial relations (p. 142).

In contrast, Abrahams' use of primary data to highlight and shape 'deliberative governance' is indicative of African ways of knowing (p. 104). This includes valuing egalitarian approaches (p. 108) and supporting multi-sector agency (p. 112) in designing urban food systems. Similarly, African

epistemologies are evident in Muller's definition of governance as: "the structured interaction between a central government authority and decentralised groups (or networks) of other agencies and non-state actors that have a direct interest in the use of water and its management" (p. 171). It is holistic, contextualised and suggests experientialism. Inclusiveness and holism are represented by the myriad of actors, it is contextualised for water and experientialism is exhibited by the direct interest. We must just remember that, in African ways of knowing, the water is also part of the network as a living being. However, Muller does not use examples of African countries in the discussion on the history of water governance (p. 172).

Africanised views come through in Everatt's Chapter 1 and somewhat in Chapter 13. Africanised views are seen in Miller, Mkhize, Pointer and Magoqwana's Chapter 12. While Chapter 1 "seeks to set the tone for the rest of this volume by arguing that governance ought to be key to making power accountable – wherever that power is located" (p. 25) that chapter and this volume does much more than that. Everatt uniquely pits scholars, constructs, countries and global governance organisations against each other in a way that lends itself to critical discourse analysis and allocates space for Africanised voices in the governance milieu. Miller, et al. use their primary data to contribute a case study on Green Leadership Schools to the global pool of knowledge on higher education curricula. On the one hand, they see 'brown spaces' as wounded spaces in need of healing – university campuses where "the architectural design and forms of learning instruction mirror the epistemic foundations of colonial and commodified learning spaces" (p. 263). On the other hand, establishing 'green spaces' external to geographical confines of the university and within sites of nature facilitates "green consciousness and green leadership" (p. 266). This includes working with "scientifically relevant indigenous knowledge" such as "local economic strategies related to agriculture, fishing, forest management, astronomy, climatology, architecture, engineering, medicine, nursing, veterinary science and pharmacology" [(p. 266, citing Hewson (2012)]. The transformative aims of the Green Leadership Schools should be read in conjunction with Everatt's Chapter 13 which calls for deep-seated transformation of quality of life for South Africans.

For instance, Everatt argues that the post-apartheid government's focus on "the 'low-hanging fruit' or 'brick and mortar' approach represented a significant failure to the postcolonial imagination, compounded by failures of governance" (p. 284). He goes on to indicate that this "may have fundamentally compromised the possibility of a deep-seated transformation of society as a whole" (p. 284). Everatt complains that the focus of the Nelson Mandela Foundation's position paper (Hatang and Harris, 2015) on a black consciousness perspective toward race is misplaced as is the ANC-led government's priority of service delivery. Either proposition fails "to grasp fully the nettle of a deeply divided and damaged society and populace and the need to tackle multiple issues on numerous fronts" (p. 285). Using results of Quality of Life surveys conducted by the Guateng City-Region Observatory in 2009, 2011 and 2013, Everatt highlights that service delivery has improved but Guatengers remain "deeply scarred about race, xenophobia, deeply alienated and anomic, mistrustful of friends and neighbours, isolated and with from civil society"; and that

"apartheid also damaged all South Africans psychologically, whether at individual or communal levels" (p. 304).

Chapter 12 and 13 should be read in juxtaposition to each other for several reasons. First, Hill, et al. provide insight on how the transformative healing for which Everatt is advocating can be achieved. Second, whilst Everatt laments that the ANC-led government failed to exercise power and allocate budgets to fuel transformative healing in the country (p. 304), Hill, et al. exercised power to design transformative healing governance initiatives without waiting for or relying upon government. The former is an example of having expectations of 'government'. In other words, getting back to Muller's definition of governance, it seems that the term governance implies involvement of actors beyond government. Context matters. However, to envisage governance mainly as a centre of power where we determine who is accountable to whom is to conflate government with governance – both instances require accountability and experience power dynamics. Concerning is the extent to which governance actors use power and resources to disingenuously politicise governance. In Chapter 9, William Gumede (p. 206) encourages depoliticising municipal governance and state-owned enterprises whilst many chapters hone the point of embedding power and accountability in governance. 'Everything is political' when we really think about it. But when it comes to new understandings and new knowledge about governance, we want to avoid reversions to Harold Lasswell's (1936) account of politics leading to who gets what, when and how. Rather, we should aim to mitigate consequences of unequal power dimensions in favour of historicised justice-making and novel inroads to African epistemologically informed governance. Unless governance requires a multiplicity of actors with an emphasis on the greater good derived from results of empirical evidence, we are still dealing with government. South African government is yet to be susceptible to multiple ways of knowing. But governance can be easily Africanised and indigenised as shown in Chapter 12.

Third, Africanised views emerge in Chapter 12 through the employment of African ways of knowing such as the aim for oneness of humans and the natural environment and the use of indigenous knowledge. Finally, fundamentals of African ways of knowing can be glimpsed in Chapter 13 from the author's concern with a holistic and integrated approach to healing South Africans, restoring human dignity and for uncovering what is happening beneath the surface (pp. 287, 293). The use of objective and subjective indicators in the quality of life survey (p. 295) show an effort toward holism. But the use of dichotomies also surface such as black consciousness amounting to a rejection of westernised values (p. 285). Whilst the chapter points out that apartheid psychologically damaged all South Africans, individually and communally (p. 304), it is unclear what this means in terms of beneficiaries of white privilege, their healing and the restoration of their dignity. This falls short of a holistic integrated approach to getting at what is happening beneath the surface and what this suggests for governance modalities for transformative healing. See for example, Robin DiAngelo's 'White Fragility: Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism'. These three examples show Africanised views (Chapters 1 and 12) and the unfolding of Africanised views (Chapter 13) of contemporary governance problem-solving in South Africa, not

just views from Africa. Moreover, given the varying degrees of epistemic freedom with which these and a few other authors engaged, some new perspectives on governance are provided.

Conclusion

This edited volume is a worthy read. As with any other book, it has its strengths and weaknesses. The effort to begin to unpack and make sense of the term governance is a strength. Likewise, the insistence in most chapters to contextualise governance is effective. However, some chapters tend to conflate governance with government which is not useful. A number of chapters provide insightful case studies and suggest research agendas, which could help navigate the way forward. Another strength is the application of exogenously-driven concepts and theories to the South African context. However, using results to craft new Africanised frameworks could be instructive for transformation of African countries. Much of the edited volume of the text draws upon the South African context which should be seen as a strength. Different audiences could find certain chapters of this book beneficial. Specifically, chapters that provide a research agenda or way forward from an Africanised standpoint would be useful to policy-makers, civil society organisations, academics and students within and external to the African continent as contributions to the global/local political economy.

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- All Illustrations, pictures, tables and graphs, should be supplied with the highest quality and in an electronic format. These shouldn't be submitted separately.
- Authors should ensure to use tables and figures sparingly, and should not duplicate information presented in the text. All tables must be referred to in the text, numbered sequentially and incorporated into the text as close to the table reference as possible. Captions and content should be Calibri 9pt font. Captions should be in the centre of the table.
- Formatting pictures: Authors should ensure that pictures in the article retain their quality when enlarging them. Please note that the images supplied in colour will be published in colour online.

Submitting the Article

- The African journal of governance and development uses an online submissions process. Authors are requested to register an account with the journal. This can be done by following this link https://journals.ukzn.ac.za/index.php/jgd/user/register
- To submit your manuscript, go to the login page and follow the prompts.
- Please note that we shall accept only electronic submissions in word text. Papers must be clearly written in English and should have a maximum of 8000 words. All manuscripts will be automatically acknowledged by email upon successful submission. Authors will be required to track the progress of the manuscript online after logging into their account.

Author Submission Checklist

- As part of the online submission process, Authors are required to check if the following items on the submission's checklist have been satisfied.
- The submission has not been previously published, nor is it before another journal for consideration (or an explanation has been provided in Comments to the Editor).
- The submission files is in Microsoft Word
- 1st file should be the cover page with details of the author/s
- 2nd file should be the full manuscript without any reference to author/s or their affiliation
- Where available, URLs for the references have been provided.
- The text is single-spaced; uses a 12-point font; employs italics, rather than underlining (except with URL addresses); and all illustrations, figures, and tables are placed within the text at the appropriate points, rather than at the end.
- The text adheres to the stylistic and bibliographic requirements outlined in the Author Guidelines, which is found in About the Journal.

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