

**REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON
CORRUPTION AND THE CHALLENGE OF ECONOMIC
TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**

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***AN EXPLORATION OF IDEOLOGICAL RISE AND SPREAD
OF CORRUPTION: A CASE OF DOMINANT PARTY
SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA'S LOCAL GOVERNANCE***



PRESENTATION OUTLINE

- Introduction
- Problematising corruption
- Theoretical framework
- Post-apartheid transition context
- Local government crisis
- What is to be done?

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INTRODUCTION

- South Africa recently made headlines for all wrong reasons
- Zuma presidency is largely seen as the catalyst for **institutionalisation** of corruption and unaccountability
- The concept '**State Capture**' in SA produces 64 700 000 results in merely 47 seconds in Google search engine
- But the corruption did not start with Zuma? The unresolved Arms Deal saga continues....
- **Animal Farm climate** within the ANC and the state

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PROBLEMATISING CORRUPTION

- There's no disputing the deleterious effects of corruption
- Phantom binaries (Public versus Private; North versus South; State versus Market)
- Example: What's worse between a predatory state and the intentionally engineered global financial meltdown?
- **BOTTOMLINE** – Corruption creates “the flight of faith” from democratic processes and key state institutions.



THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

- What gives rise to corruption?
- Is it **nature** (innate orientation) or **nurture** (environmental influence)?
- Rational choice: inevitability of maximizing self-interest?
- The dominance of **rules-in-use** over formal rules (efforts are made to subvert and circumvent institutions);
- Is corruption “an integral part of social life”, therefore “inevitable”?
- What are the costs of challenging the status quo?
- Realists: the need for survival against the greater good of humankind? What about collective pauperism?
- Chang’s IPE: **human beings are not naturally preformed**

3



POST-APARTHEID CONTEXT

- A culture of dominant party system
- Consequences: rising arrogance; unaccountability; intra-party factionalism and selective disciplining; politics seen as the ticket for quick self-enrichment; civil society containment and **sullen quiescence**; tolerance for corruption in exchange for self-preservation; numerous pathologies including the intentional weakening of state institutions

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT CRISIS

- Numerous studies confirm state failure at local government level;
- Auditor General 2015-16 report: an increase from 1648 to 2015 of false declarations of suppliers; political leadership turning a blind eye on this. **Why?**
- Irregular expenditure stood at R41.7 billion; increased number of contracts secured through SCM Regulation 32; no consequences



POLITICAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP SYSTEM

- Manipulate public meetings that select candidates
- Impose weak candidates as party regional leaders and municipal council office bearers (mainly from the PR list)
- Impose weak candidates as senior managers in municipalities
- Create a **pimping system** rooted in mutual distrust
- Divide and rule (create instability)
- Impose service providers
- Punish competent and ethical dissidents while rewarding the loyal but incompetent followers

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WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

- “The proof that the state is a creation of nature and prior to the individual is that the individual, when isolated, is not self-sufficing...” (Aristotle)
- Short-term solutions: strengthen the current interventions but **move beyond placebos**
- Long-term solutions: corruption studies to be part of curriculum from the very junior level

THANK YOU

