Discussion Document – Local Government Priorities for Manifesto Development

This discussion document's aim is to put forward a set of recommended priorities for policy development by the party ahead of the 2021 local government election, in line with the resolution taking by Federal council.

In order to develop the recommended list a vision for local government has been developed. An analysis has been conducted, assessing the vision against:

- the current national context,
- challenges and tensions inherent in performing the basics of local government well,
- internal party governance values and practices,
- and coalition dynamics.

This gap analysis has led to 11 recommended priorities. Policy development on these priorities is vital for the achievement of the proposed vision for local government.

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Local Government Vision

Innovation for Delivery Amidst State Failure

The DA governs almost 30 local governments across four provinces in our country. Many DA governments have proven to be islands of efficiency and good governance in a sea of mismanagement and maladministration. Some have not.

On almost every matrix or index, the majority of DA governments outperform their counterparts run by other parties, resulting in an improved quality of life for the people who live in DA-run towns and cities.

The DA needs a compelling and distinct vision for local government in order to maintain these levels of service delivery, overcome the structural challenges of a failing national government and convince more and more South Africans that voting for the DA means voting for better governance and ultimately a better life.

South Africa faces a host of serious and systemic challenges.

The most serious and impactful of these is unemployment. Unemployment, caused by low economic growth, is the main driver of poverty, inequality and a myriad other socio-economic problems in our country. In the context of broader South African challenges[1], and within the ambit of what is possible to achieve through governing at a local level, the attainment of economic growth should be the primary priority for policy development.

Local governments have a significant role to play in stimulating economic growth and creating many more employment opportunities for South Africans. This role of 'city governments' in economic growth is not only mandated by the Constitution but also recognised increasing across the globe. Cities and town are becoming engines/nodes of growth, but only attract investment where they are governed well, deliver reliable services and a conducive environment. This is why this vision for local government has, as its central aim, establishing conditions for job-creating economic growth.

The DA's vision for local government, ahead of the 2021 election, primarily focusses on three facets - each is essential for creating the kind of environment that will attract the investment needed for job-creation.

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[1] See working note 2 for a more detailed discussion of the broader national challenges.

This vision needs to speak to all functional areas local governments are legally responsible for, but should also be forward-looking and innovative – in order to address how systemic challenges can be overcome by pushing the boundaries of what municipalities can do.

Well-run and innovative local governments are not enough. Many people vote for the DA because they believe in a specific set of values and principles that should be evident where we govern. These principles and values set us apart from our opponents and governing in line with them gives expression to the DA's vision for our country.

In this context, our vision for local government ahead of 2021 will focus on:
1. Adopting a values-based approach to local government
2. Getting the basics right
3. Innovating to deliver despite the failure of other spheres of government

1. Adopting a values-based approach to government.

The DA believes in a governance style which is vision-led and values-driven. Our values and principles should apply not only to how we govern, in other words the choices we make (how to use resources and the formulation of policies and strategies) but also to how we select candidates for executive positions and the conditions under which we will enter into coalition arrangements with other parties to form governments.

This values base is essential for all the work that governments must do and is particularly important for the promotion of investment friendly environments. Our governments must put forward, and drive, strategies and policies which speak to the values of opportunity, accountability, resilience, integrity and the promotion of a social market economy, among others, if businesses and entrepreneurs are to invest, grow and create jobs.

In line with this our vision for local government is based on the following values, principles and qualities discussed in the draft values and principles document to be presented at the policy conference in April 2020[2]:

- Freedom
- Opportunity
- Fairness
- Diversity
- Openness
- Social market economy
- Separation of Party and State
- Separation of Powers
- Federalism
- Nonracialism
- Redress
- Accountability
- Evidence-based decision making
- Excellence
- Resilience
- Compassion
- Integrity

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[2] See the working notes for a full description of each

Priorities for further development

The above mentioned are well-defined in the draft document on values and principles – however, their specific application in local government, including some tensions and trade-offs, will need to be carefully considered. These include:

- Separation of powers – at a local government level there is no separation between legislative and executive powers, as is the case in the other spheres of government. Nonetheless, many often apply this principle incorrectly believing that it is key to the maintenance of checks and balances.

- Separation of party and state – We need to reach agreement on the degree to which the party should be involved in as well as monitor the performance of those governments (including coalitions) where we are elected. We must find a balance between the principle of separation between party and state and the imperative of ensuring that public representatives are held to account for the mandates on which they were elected.

- Accountability – this is a vital quality both in terms of the candidates the party fields for local government leadership positions, and as a quality of local governance in general.
    - Because there is no separation between the legislature and the executive, there needs to be alternative checks and balance in place – many of which are described in local government legislation. This also necessitates a level of monitoring and evaluation of governments' performance and office bearer performance by the party. A clear position on the party's role in terms of monitoring and evaluating its local governments and its executive office bearers is vital to achieve accountable governance.
    - On the point of compliance with legislation (checks and balances) it is also important for the party to take a position on the 'cost of compliance'. A distinction needs to be drawn between accountable governance and the overly onerous and cumbersome requirements for clean audits. These requirements very often hamper our governments' ability to be responsive to crises and resilient to shocks – the cost of compliance is lost innovation as governments veer on the side of extreme caution to receive clean audits.

Other values, principles and governance circumstance are also important to consider in terms of the values-based approach to local government. These will need to be fully developed in terms of their application to governance – and will need to be a priority area for consideration ahead of the development of the manifesto. These include:

- Leadership – many of the qualities, values and principles mentioned above go a long way toward describing a good leader, including accountability, excellence, integrity etc. However, more work needs to be done to tease out the exact characteristics, values and qualities (as well as how these should be measured and tested) which should be embodied by candidates selected by the party for leadership roles in local government. The process of selecting candidates based on this approach should favour meritocracy so that we select only those people who are shown to be fit-for-purpose. In line with this the party should favour those candidates who can credibly prove they can get the job done.

- Small government – this principle impacts on a number of functions of local governments such as: regulations/by-laws; town planning and the development, and staffing and renumeration levels. Important considerations when developing this principle are the constitutional imperative for a developmental approach to local government and the call made by the party for the devolution of more powers to the local government level.

- Consultative vs executive decision-making – the position of an executive mayor in South Africa is one of the most powerful in the country's broader governance framework. This Mayoral committee model of governance has many benefits, on the assumption that the elected Mayor embodies the required characteristics. The power inherent in this position is especially valuable for turning around broken municipalities, landing the DA's vision in these governments and making governance responsive. However, this can also lead to tensions between the executive and their caucuses who often feel left behind or excluded in terms of decision making and the governance trajectory chosen in these governments. The system can also lead to an abuse of power if there are not well defined checks and balances. It is vital for the party to define an approach to executive decision-making in local government which both ensures caucuses are brought along on the journey and that the position of Mayor retains its nimbleness and power to make the necessary governance improvements where we govern (which would be more difficult to achieve under an executive committee system). There needs to be a model which provides for consultative processes in caucus and executive decision making in governance.

- Coalition – the principles, values and qualities discussed in this section need to be at the centre of any decision to enter a coalition. Detailed coalition agreements must be drawn up, which not only enumerate priority projects and programmes, but also emphasise the values and principles that should be upheld by all coalition partners to ensure that the best of chance of success at co-governance.

2. Getting the Basics Right

Our vision for DA-governments getting the basics right includes:

- good quality basic services (including water cleansing and reticulation, electricity reticulation, sewerage, refuse removal and the maintenance of roads) delivered to all residents,
- infrastructure (both maintaining existing and building new) and the roll-out of bulk and other services to underdeveloped areas,
- good governance practices which promote sustainability and transparency,
- the attraction of investment leading to economic growth and employment creation, and
- prioritising the social development of residents to improve their quality of life.

In 'getting the basics' right it is vital for DA governments to ensure that they are fulfilling their constitutional mandates. Different spheres of government are responsible for different functions, each sphere is distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. Local governments are responsible for a raft of constitutional responsibilities, of which the main ones are as follows:

Sec 152 of the Constitution states:

(1)   The objects of local government are—
   a) to provide **democratic and accountable government** for local communities;
   b) to ensure the **provision of services to communities** in a sustainable manner;
   c) to promote **social and economic development**;
   d) to promote a **safe and healthy environment**; and
   e) to encourage the **involvement of communities and community organisations** in the matters of local government.

Further to section 152 schedule 4 (b) and 5 (b) sets out the exact functional areas local governments are exclusively responsible for[3].

Under this 'Getting the Basics Right' section of the local government vision, consideration is given to what local governments constitutionally are responsible for (including unfunded mandates) and how best-practice developed over time to inform how local governments structure themselves.

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[3] See working note 3 for more context on what the functions and mandate of local are how these have been thematically grouped in our previous election offers

With these considerations in mind, this vision proposes that the basic functions DA-led local governments should prioritise, and execute to the highest quality, be organised under the following themes.

Thematic areas of vision for 'getting the basic right'

Basic Services	Economic Development	Social Development
Good Governance	**Safety**	

It is important to consider that local governments across South Africa come under immense pressure from both local and national contextual realities. These realities create numerous hurdles that must be overcome to 'get the basics right'. These challenges are listed as areas of policy development in the final section of this document. An overview of how South Africa's national context affects local government is also provided in working note 4.

Basic Services

One of the main priorities of Local Government is delivering good basic services. When people have access to good basic services their quality of life improves as a direct result.

Good governance and service delivery also lead to improved investor and business confidence, which in turn has a positive impact on the economy and employment.

Well-maintained and lit roads and public spaces also lead to safer neighbourhoods and communities.

The basic governance outcomes which must be achieved under this theme include the:
- Delivery of excellent basic services in a sustainable manner to all:
  - Providing access to electricity, potable water and sanitation.
  - Fixing potholes and maintaining all municipal roads.
  - Weekly refuse collection from formal and informal areas.
  - Installing and maintaining adequate lighting along roads and in public spaces.
  - Systematic area cleaning.
  - Prioritising the regular maintenance and refurbishment of municipal infrastructure.
- Progressive roll out of service delivery to under- or un-serviced informal areas.
- Maximisation of basic service delivery to backyard dwellers, who must be included in the ambit of basic service delivery.
- Timeous maintenance of infrastructure and repair of breakages.
- Provision of a basket of free basic services to indigent residents.
- Planning and execution, together with provincial governments, of sustainable housing solutions, which aim to address the legacy of apartheid spatial planning.

Economic Development

One of our country's biggest challenges is a stagnant economy and extreme levels of unemployment. Cities and towns are the drivers of economic growth and development across the world. However, investors need to have confidence that they are investing in a place with stable governance and good service delivery. Not many investors will consider investing in a place where there is unreliable energy, potable water or sewage services. Increased investment is a pre-condition for job-creation.

The basic governance outcomes which must be achieved under this theme include the:

- Identification and reduction of the biggest obstacles to investment. This would include ease-of-doing-business measures such as; eliminating excessive red tape and simplifying regulations or processes, especially those relating to zoning, planning approvals, health and safety, traffic and licensing.

- Investing in infrastructure, and facilitating investment by the private sector, to support future economic development. Access to adequate services, high quality distribution networks, public transport and telecommunication infrastructure are all vital for economic growth and jobs.

- Identification by local governments, alone or in partnerships with investment agencies, other spheres of government or the private sector, of local competitive and comparative advantage to help established businesses and potential investors understand how they can fit into broader value chains, both regionally and nationally.

- Incentivisation of investment and development where fiscally prudent and appropriate. The incentives can include: rate rebates and preferential tariff structures, guaranteed energy and water security.

Social Development

Another significant functional area for local governments is the delivery of numerous social services which it is constitutionally responsible for. Residents need to have access to high quality and well-functioning social services and facilities in order live healthy and happy lives.

These services include; early childhood development centres, libraries (unfunded mandate), municipal healthcare, recreation facilities, parks and open spaces.

The basic governance outcomes which must be achieved under this theme include:

- Working with provincial governments to increase access to drug and alcohol addiction treatment programmes and to broaden available treatment options.
- Developing a strategy to contribute to the fight against the spread of HIV/AIDS and creating awareness in communities about prevention and treatment options.
- Passing and enforcing by-laws to prevent the pollution of our natural environment that can lead to illness or injury, which includes monitoring E.coli counts in rivers in all local governments and clamping down on the dumping of toxic waste where this risks polluting the environment in any way.
- Working with other spheres of government to expand access to primary healthcare facilities in cities. Extending operational hours of clinics where possible.
- Creatively using public amenities, including sports and recreation facilities and libraries, to provide young people with constructive alternatives to anti-social behaviour.
- Maximising the quantity and quality of Early Childhood Development facilities in municipalities so that more young children receive pre-school education.
- Establishing and maintaining inclusive and safe community amenities such as childcare facilities, municipal halls, parks, recreation areas, cemeteries, beaches, sports grounds, markets and libraries.

Safety

Local governments are responsible for traffic law enforcement and by-law enforcement. Law enforcement and metro policy services fall under his portfolio. Disaster management is a vital role of local governments to keep residents safe.

Local government also uses its spatial development mandate to ensure violence is prevented through the use of urban design.

Prioritising the establishment of municipal law enforcement services where sustainable, for traffic-policing, crime prevention and the enforcement of municipal by-laws, is an essential facet of getting the basics of local government functioning well.

The governance outcomes which must be achieved under this theme include:

- Maximising the use of crime-fighting technology such as CCTV cameras to improve crime detection and response times, specifically in crime hotspots.
- Increasing the presence of municipal law enforcement officers, in crime hot-spots to deter criminals and criminal activity.
- Creating partnerships with local businesses, communities and other stakeholders to establish and provide resources for neighbourhood watches, crime patrols and other community policing strategies, such as the Rent-a-Cop model.
- Ensuring municipal law enforcement services are efficient, effective and responsive through training to improve quality.
- Assessing the fitness of law enforcement and emergency personnel on a regular basis to ensure that they are well prepared to enforce the law and protect residents.
- Using the latest technology to reduce speeding and drunk driving, and adopting a zero-tolerance approach to this dangerous behaviour.
- Establishing effective municipal courts to enforce traffic regulations and by-laws to improve the rule of law and reduce the burden placed on the courts.

Good Governance

Local governments need to have good internal governance and administration, financial management and planning as well as good controls and systems in place in order to deliver on the mandate set out in the sections above.

Local governments must structure and manage their administrations, budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of communities, and to promote social and economic development within their area of jurisdiction.

Good governance also provides investors the confidence that local government will not burden them with unnecessary bureaucratic inefficiencies. It also ensures confidence that corruption and maladministration will not impact their investments. In this way, good governance becomes a key driver of economic growth and jobs.

The basic governance outcomes which must be achieved under this theme include:

- Upholding the highest levels of prudent and honest corporate governance and financial management.
- Ensuring only the very best people are appointed as officials to serve in DA-led governments. This is critical for the municipal/city manager position and the senior managers reporting to this position.
- Ensuring the principles and values of honesty, accountability, transparency and zero-tolerance for corruption are applied. Any allegations of corruption, fraud, maladministration and abuse of power must be investigated, and consequence management implemented.
- Implementing a system of checks and balances in DA-led governments to ensure good governance outcomes are achieved and underperformance and abuse of power is acted against and prevented.
- DA governments should also ensure that a system of performance management, for individuals and institutions, are in place to strive for excellence.

Priorities for further development

Areas of special interest or tension, that might require further policy development include:

Spatial development

Local governments have extensive spatial development powers that can shape how towns and cities develop and look over time.

A key area of tension and debate include:

Densification vs urban sprawl:

- Prioritising the development of mixed-use and social housing modalities over greenfields developments.
- Using zoning powers and bulk rights to incentivise private developers to densify and create mixed-income developments.
- Undertaking big infrastructure projects to prioritise public transport.

Cost of assuming greater responsibilities

In an environment of failing national and provincial governments, local governments are forced to assume more functions and greater responsibilities in order to serve their communities effectively.

Consideration needs to be given to the impact this has on local governments' ability to deliver on their core mandates. A decision needs to be taken as to whether DA governments should take on these mandates (and if so under which conditions - whether they should pursue court action to recover the cost of performing provincial or national government mandates), or if they should resist this addition of responsibilities altogether.

Part of this consideration should be the effect of assuming these roles (or not) on the well-being of cities and town and how the electorate will view their local government. The issue of eroded trust between local governments and their residents when national and provincials governments fail to deliver on their mandates, is discussed in some detail in working note 4.

This tension was clearly illustrated by the impact of the drought in Cape Town and the management of bulk water (which is a national government competency). Another example is the failure of the SAPS in the Western Cape and the resultant increase in metro police in the City of Cape Town, a cost that must be borne by ratepayers.

Local governments should develop best practice to hold other spheres of government accountable for the execution of their responsibilities as the point of departure.

When local governments do assume greater responsibility for the functions of other spheres of government, mechanisms for the recovery of the money expended should be explored.

Good Governance leading to Increased Urbanisation

As DA-governments deliver good services in an efficient and honest manner, they attract greater investment and spur economic growth. As a result, more and more South-Africans will choose to move to these local governments for a better quality of life.

This can have a positive multiplier effect as capital and skills agglomerate in well-governed towns and cities.

On the other hand, it can significantly add to the financial and service delivery pressures on local governments to look after more and more vulnerable residents.

This will be exacerbated if people fail to find employment and are forced to move into informal areas and become indigent.

Revenue Pressures

Achieving the basic mandate of local government is a costly business. Much of the work which must be done for residents requires expensive infrastructure spending and most municipalities have large numbers of indigent residents. This is coupled with the fact that local governments receive a relatively small portion (usually between 8 and 9%) of the national "equitable share" (the pot of money which is split between all three spheres of government). In addition, the conditions placed on most grants make it difficult to fully spend them, which means that local governments face continuous revenue pressures.

While local governments are able to raise their own funds through tariffs and rates, these resource avenues are also shrinking and face a number of threats due to a difficult national context. Working note 4 discusses these pressures in some detail. As urbanisation escalates, the number of indigent people living in cities places an enormous burden on local governments to provide services, for which growing numbers of residents cannot afford to pay.

More work must be done by the party to explore other revenue sources to ensure the financial sustainability of good governance. This is explored in more detail in the innovation section of this vision.

3. Innovating to deliver amidst the failure of other spheres of government

In the constrained national environment, discussed in more detail in working note 2, it is becoming increasingly challenging for local governments to fulfil their constitutional obligations. Many people would argue this is a reason for local governments to pull back and focus on a narrow set of basic functions. However this would lead to more challenges for residents in towns and cities rather than less.

Local governments need to innovate in order to be successful in our current environment of stagnant economic growth and the failures of national and provincial governance. Local governments need to adapt. This should include finding innovative ways to overcome big structural challenges, rethinking the way local governments currently operate and assuming greater responsibilities in certain functional areas in order to overcome or subvert the knock-on effects of a failing national/provincial government on towns and cities.

An important qualifier to this is instances where the DA has just taken government (first term). In these governments it is often the case that the governance capability of the municipality has been so badly eroded that it will take the entire term in office to simply deliver on the most basic of mandate. While some innovation may still be necessary in these instances, such as revenue maximisation etc., these governments ought to focus on getting the basics right and pursuing a values and principles-based style of governance. Similarly, the innovation discussion mentioned below may also be difficult for smaller local B municipalities to action because of resource and other constraints. In these situations innovation should be applied in the context of what is possible and appropriate for the given government.

Below are a number of issue-areas where local governments need to innovate and which would require further policy deliberations:

Power

We are living through an unprecedented energy crisis which has crippled our economy, led to massive job losses and caused serious disruptions for individual South Africans. The death of Eskom seems inevitable after it implemented stage six load-shedding, for the first time ever, in December 2019 (during a traditionally low power demand time of year).

DA governments have led the fight to secure reliable electricity supply by lobbying and instituting litigation against national government to allow local authorities to purchase electricity from Independent Power Producers.

Many DA-led municipalities in the WC have also passed by-laws to legalise and regulate Small Scale Embedded Generation to enable people to install solar panels at their homes or businesses for self-use.

Further policy development is needed to determine how to achieve greater electricity autonomy from Eskom and to enable cities and towns to ensure a stable electricity supply.

This should include key considerations on the maintenance of the grid and regulatory preparedness to enable local governments to procure from IPPs and allow for innovations like wheeling of electricity.

Finance

We are also a country fast running out of money. By the end of 2022 our national debt will grow to 71.6% of GDP, or R4.4 trillion! This massive state debt has yearly repayments, in the same way that a credit card needs to be paid off monthly. Years and years of corruption, fraud and mismanagement mean that R229 billion will have to be paid this year alone on interest on our national debt.

The impact of national debt levels of local governments' ability to perform its basic functions well is serious – there is less money available for both equitable share (the money that local governments receive from the national pot) and from conditional grants (like the Municipal Infrastructure Grant and the Urban Settlements Development Grant).

Consideration needs to be given to innovations local governments can pursue to ease this ever-tightening fiscal space.

Good examples of the kind of innovation that is already taking place, and could in the future extend to more local authorities, include the following.

The City of Cape Town has had great successes on the bond market, raising R1 billion in 2017 for its "Green Bond". It has also recently received a €5.7 million (R93m) grant from the German government to fund a range of water projects.

It is easier for big metros to access this level of international funding. DA governments should however explore other sources of funding to make up the shortfall from shrinking national grants and rates bases.

Other sources of funding can include international and developmental grants and loans.

Another policy directive that should be considered is lobbying national government and even garnering public support to change the tax system to allow municipalities to raise more revenue. Innovative solutions such as municipalities receiving a portion of the VAT that was raised within their jurisdictions should be considered.

The Party should also consider lobbying for a change in the equitable share structure to benefit local government more directly and increase the discretionary funding it receives. The rationale for this is that local governments assume more and more functions that failing provincial governments or the national government can't fulfil at a time when their rates base is shrinking.
For the 2021 financial year the equitable division is as follows:
-   National government- 49.2%
-   Provincial government - 42.2%
-   Local government – 8.6%

While local governments receive conditional grants, these can be overly prescriptive and restrictive and do not represent discretionary funds which the local government itself can apply to its priorities.

The rationale for conditional grants is to prevent the misallocation and wastage of money. An innovation in this field could be to lobby national government to relax the conditions on grants paid to well-functioning local governments that are in good financial standing.

Resilience

The impact of this challenge was best displayed by the Day Zero crisis in the City of Cape Town. The crisis was the result of an unprecedented drought but also of the failure of national government to adequately plan and implement projects to extend bulk water storage schemes for a growing Western Cape population.

While water treatment and reticulation are competencies of local government, the role of ensuring that people have enough water (calculated both for population growth and for the impact of climate change) is the job of national government.

Innovation and further policy development are needed to ensure local governments become more resilient in the delivery of services.

This would in some instances require assuming functions outside its area of responsibility.

The obvious tension this creates needs to be discussed and a way forward needs to be developed, as resource scarcity is only set to worsen.

Safety

While policing is a national competence, crime has far-reaching consequences for local governments which often struggle to deliver new infrastructure projects or bulk services to areas where there is a high crime rate. Low-levels of access to service are likely a contributing factor in the perpetual cycle of crime in these communities, however, unchecked crime and insecurity can make it impossible for municipalities to improve conditions in these areas without adequate policing.

This is also true for the core mandate of local government in social development. Many community projects rely on a basic level of law and order to be successful (such as after-school activities) and this is not possible without adequate policing.

Keeping in mind the differing levels of law enforcement powers between local B municipalities and metros (which are able to institute a metro police service) we need to reflect on the extent to which DA local government policies for local government should prioritise law enforcement and other safety initiatives.

The Western Cape Provincial Government in partnership with the City of Cape Town is pushing the legal boundaries of its powers and responsibilities with the Western Cape Safety Plan.

The Province and City is aiming to train 3000 law enforcement officers, 150 investigators and a raft of other non-policing interventions.

Some DA municipalities have also established specialised units to deal with specific safety and crime related challenges, such as cable theft, destruction and vandalism of trains, gangsterism etc.

An important part of any policy discussion should include non-law enforcement interventions such as:

- Diversion and after school activities for at-risk youth;
- Urban development that deters crime;
- Upliftment and training programs in poorer communities;
- Resourcing neighbourhood watches and the
- Use of technology.

Transport

Transport is one of the few functional areas that is envisioned to be completely concurrent – with the Constitution making "public transport" a shared provincial and national competence and "municipal public transport" a local competence.

DA-led local governments have proven that Bus Rapid Transport system can function well and play an important role to impact the spatial development dynamics of towns and cities. The MyCiti and Go George systems in Cape Town and George are good examples of this.

Innovation in the transport space from local governments should include rail. Policy development is needed in relation to how this function will be devolved down to provincial and local government spheres and how the funding model would work.

The offer of rail managed by a local governments has its origins in the shocking failure of metro rail to deliver in the City of Cape Town. The City has been seeking to take over the running of metro rail within the City for quite some time and plans for it to fall under its Vision of One (running public transport in the City under a single transport authority, timetable, ticket etc.).

This is an excellent workable plan and we believe that cities should have more control over all the forms of public transport within their borders. However, the reality of rail transport in major urban areas is that lines will extend beyond the border of one local government. This is true even in the case of Cape Town. For example, in Cape Town – the line between the metro and Stellenbosch has significant potential if properly managed. Similarly, in Gauteng, there are multiple metropolitan governments, with significant volumes of traffic between and within their borders.

We believe that metros should be able to take the lead on rail services within their borders but we recognise the importance of an integrated system between local governments. Because of the need for integration and cooperation to make these routes between local governments work we have suggested that there be a provincial rail system as well. In essence, what we are suggesting is a concurrent competency between metro governments and provincial governments.

Is this feasible in law and what have we already done to make this a reality?

- The National Land Transport Act of 2009 as well as the National rail policy draft white paper proposes that the rail assignment can be devolved to other spheres of government.
- The City of Cape Town and Western Cape Provincial government have engaged with the minister extensively on the intention to take over the rail assignment.
- The City of Cape Town has put out a tender for a feasibility study on receiving the rail assignment. This will include a needs assessment to ensure the functions operates optimally once the functions is devolved.
- The City is aiming to speed this process up due to the failure of Prasa and the lack of competition for Metro Rail.

Other important issue areas which would benefit from innovative policy making include:

- Safety
- Economic Development
- Healthcare
- Communication

Priorities for Further Policy Development

The recommendations below are drawn from the vision and working notes. These are the areas of policy development which should be explored ahead of developing a manifesto offer for the 2021 election.

1. A clear position on how the principles, values and circumstances highlighted in the first section of this vision apply to DA local governments. This should include some directives on how to navigate the tensions identified and provide the party with a clear mandate in relation to its governments, where relevant. This should be undertaken in consultation with the Governance Unit.

2. A clear position on how the party's values and principles should be embodied in coalition agreements which the party may enter into after the 2021 poll. This should be undertaken in consultation with the Federal Executive of the party and the Governance Unit.

3. A recommendation as to how the party's values and principles could inform the candidate selection process as well as the party's disciplinary processes. This should be undertaken in consultation with the relevant department in the party's federal structure.

4. The development of an amendment to the Party's Constitution, taking into account the legal precedent set in recent years, to allow for the efficient and timeous cessation of party membership in instances where there are credible findings of maladministration, corruption, fraud and egregious violation of the party's values and principles.

5. A clear position on the DA's preferred approach to spatial development which take cognisance of the difference between the realities of development and urban planning in metropolitan and category B municipalities.

6. A clear directive on whether or not local governments should actively lobby to assume more of the powers of provincial and national government and under which circumstances. There should be a position paper which contemplates the functions that would best be fulfilled by either provincial or local spheres of government (and at which level of local government), what funding mechanism we would pursue for additional functions and what level of competency local governments would have to demonstrate in order to attain new functions and competencies.

7. The development of an implementable position on how local governments can deal with rapidly expanding urban populations, often living in informality and as part of the indigent base.

8. An implementable overview of new options for local governments to increase their revenue sources.

9. The development of a local government innovation policy aimed at addressing the issues raised in this vision, as well as any other relevant issues.

10. Workable solutions to prevent the erosion of trust between local governments and residents, and where possible to rebuild trust, when national and provincial governments fail to fulfil their mandates.

11. Lobby best practice guidelines for governments to represent their residents interests when provincial or national governments fail to deliver. Much of the innovation part of this vision recommends that local governments lobby for greater mandates and new funding sources. This can include concrete steps like petitioning (or driving court cases) to take over the governance functions, with the requisite budgets.

Working Notes

Note 1. Vision Frame

- South Africa is increasingly becoming a collapsed state run by an incapable government
- This results of state failure place enormous pressures on local government – both in terms of preventing local governments from fulfilling their mandates (and by placing additional pressures on them where other spheres of government fail)
- Our focus for the vision must be:
  - Adopting a values-based approach to government. *[This is where we display clear blue water in terms of ideology/principle]*
  - Getting the basic responsibilities of local governments right and to performing these functions well; *[This is where we display we can and have formed capable governments]*
  - Innovating to deliver to residents amidst the failure of other spheres of government and to work around the challenges which make delivering on the core mandate challenging; [*this is where we display the 'clear blue water' in terms of policy deliverables]*

Note 2. Contextual Analysis for Local Government Vision

South Africans are facing the toughest circumstances since our country became a democracy in 1994. Corruption, cadre-deployment, mismanagement and a deeply flawed system of governance which demands suffocating state control have left our the country on its knees. Nonetheless, there are islands of good governance in South Africa which, despite numerous odds, are delivering services to the people of South Africa. These successful DA local governments have managed to improve the lives of millions of people, but circumstances in our country are becoming more dire and good governance at a local level is becoming more of a challenge.

Any vision for local government must recognise these challenges and include workable, innovative solutions in order to keep delivering services amidst what can only be described as state collapse under the current government.

Below we introduce some of the core challenges that we face as a nation but which also impact on the ability of local government to fulfil their mandates and deliver services to their residents. The specific impact of each of these challenges on local governments is discussed in more detail in the next section.

We are living through **an unprecedented energy crisis** which has crippled our economy, led to massive job shedding and caused serious losses and disruptions for individual South Africans. The death of Eskom is undeniable after it implemented stage six load shedding, for the first time ever, in December 2019 (during a traditionally low power usage time of year). Government leaders have not only failed to provide a credible and implementable plan for a way out of the energy crisis, they have also failed to agree on a single way forward with the Minister of Energy proposing one set initiatives and the President announcing others.

We are also **a country fast running out of money**. By the end of 2022 our debt will grow to 71.6% of GDP, or R4.4 trillion! This massive state debt has yearly payments, just like a credit card needs to be paid off monthly. Years and years of corruption, fraud and mismanagement mean that R229 billion will have to paid this year alone on interest on our national debt. That is the same as we will spend on healthcare (R229 billion), more than we will spend on social grants for the poor and elderly (R221 billion) and more than double what we will spend on policing (R106 billion)!

Our serious national debt is also paired with **an economy in recession.** Economic growth shrank by 1.4% in the fourth quarter of 2019, according to new Gross Domestic Product (GDP) numbers, released by Statistics SA in early March. This followed a contraction of 0.8% in the third quarter, which means that the economy was in recession for the last half of 2019. South Africa last entered a recession - when the GDP falls for two consecutive quarters - in the second quarter of 2018. This is South Africa's third recession since 1994.

The results of the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) for the 4th quarter of 2019show that **South Africa remains knee-deep in a jobs bloodbath**, with an official unemployment rate of 29.1% and an expanded rate of 38,7%.

A recent CDE report stated that every day almost 1700 adults join the labour market in South Africa but fewer than 500 of them can find work. Young people aged between 15 and 34 are the hardest hit. Between 2008 and 2019 the population of young people grew by 2.2 million but the number employed declined by more than 500 000.

These numbers will be no shock to the average South African. Many of us can relate on a personal level to these figures (except perhaps if you are part of the ruling elite) whether you are yourself unemployed, know someone who is desperately looking for work or see the increase in the number of destitute South Africans fighting for survival on the streets of our country's cities and towns. For these South Africans, the numbers bear testament to a very struggle to make ends meet and provide for their families every single day.

Driven in part by our country's massive unemployment challenge, and a combination of other complex socio-economic factors, **crime in South Africa is out of control**. Unfortunately, it very often involves the kind of shocking and disgusting violence one would associate with asymmetrical warfare and acts of terrorism. Just as the majority of South Africans have been touched by the country's unemployment crisis, so too have they been impacted by crime and the violence that so often goes with it. Policing in South Africa has failed to check crime by any standard. Our police are under-trained, under-resourced, under-staffed and under-equipped.

Outside of the DA-governed Western Cape, **National and provincial governments are failing to fulfil their basic mandates**. Education and healthcare are in a state of near to complete collapse across the rest of country. Departments like Home Affairs have admitted in court papers that they do not have the capacity or capability to enforce the country's Immigration Act. The Department of Water and Sanitations has left numerous towns and cities in the country without water through poor planning, corruption and mismanagement.

Finally, we are also facing **serious resource challenges related to the impact of climate change.** The Day Zero events in the City of Cape taught two important lessons. The first, is that South African urban populations are very likely to increasingly be influenced by changing climate conditions. The second, that national government is not ready, both in terms of planning and implementation, to deal with the consequences. While the City of Cape Town was able to avoid a Day Zero scenario this was not because the national government had planned and built sufficient bulk water storage for a growing population in the Western Cape and to ensure resilience in the case of drought. Rather, it was through the momentous efforts of Captonians to save water and the City of Cape Town using innovative techniques like pressure reduction of the reticulation system and minimising water losses.

Pervasive corruption and maladministration in the public sector.

It is in this broad national context of an incapable state that the DA must provide a vision for local governance. One which can be resilient in the face of national and provincial failures and with significant odds stacked every municipality in the country. Given the current state of the nation it is also more important than ever that local governments are functioning well because, this is the level of government which is closest and most accessible to the average South African, and also where the most foundational service delivery for building a decent life (water, sanitation, refuse, roads etc.) occurs.

Note 3. Getting the Basics Right

Local government is a highly regulated sphere of government with many legal mandates it is responsible for. When determining what the 'basics' are that local governments are responsible for and that they should get right it is important to look at this sphere's constitutional objectives.

Sec 152.

    (1) The objects of local government are—

    a) to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;

    b) to ensure the **provision of services** to communities in a sustainable manner;

    c) to **promote social and economic development**;

    d) to **promote a safe and healthy environment**; and

    e) to **encourage the involvement of communities** and community organisations in the matters of local government.

Schedule 4 (b) and 5 (b) of the constitution set out the functional areas local government is responsible for; these competencies are the exclusive responsibility of the local government sphere:

Schedule 4 (b)	Schedule 5 (b)
Air pollution	Beaches and amusement facilities
Building regulations	Billboards and the display of advertisements in public places
Child care facilities	Cemeteries, funeral parlours and crematoria
Electricity and gas reticulation	Cleansing
Firefighting services	Control of public nuisances
Local tourism	Control of undertakings that sell liquor to the public
Municipal airports	Facilities for the accommodation, care and burial of animals
Municipal planning	Fencing and fences
Municipal health services	Licensing of dogs
	Licensing and control of undertakings that sell food to the public
	Local amenities
Municipal public transport	Local sport facilities
	Markets

Municipal public works only in respect of the needs of municipalities in the discharge of their responsibilities to administer functions specifically assigned to them under this Constitution or any other law	Municipal abattoirs
	Municipal parks and recreation
Pontoons, ferries, jetties, piers and harbours, excluding the regulation of international and national shipping and matters related thereto	Municipal roads
	Noise pollution
Stormwater management systems in built-up areas	Pounds
	Public places
Trading regulations	Refuse removal, refuse dumps and solid waste disposal
	Street trading
Water and sanitation services limited to potable water supply systems and domestic wastewater and sewage disposal systems	Street lighting
	Traffic and parking

The functional areas of local government set out above are organised into portfolios by local governments. These arrangements are not universal however, there are many similarities in the way in which local governments structure themselves. These structures also include functional areas which are vital for the operation of the municipality itself, such as its HR and finance.

Over time the grouping of these functions into portfolios across local governments have formed a best practice structure for local governments. When we are contemplating a complete list of functions local governments are responsible for, considering how municipalities structure themselves to execute their duties is a helpful starting point.

The constitutional obligations set out above do not prioritise certain functions over others to show relative importance. However, the way local governments organise themselves provides insight into which mandates have the biggest impact on service delivery and the quality of life of residents.

Utility Services	This would include the main utility services a municipality provides; water and sanitation, refuse removal and electricity reticulation.
Finance	The main finance functions; revenue, expenditure, supply chain management, and budgeting.

Human Settlement	This would include the development of new housing (BNG and social housing) and the management of all government owned rental stock.
Economic Development	Focus on local economic development levers and local economic development planning. These can include; tourism, informal trading, investment promotion, ease of doing business interventions etc.
Transport	All forms of municipal public transport and roads.
Spatial Development and Planning	Each local government's Spatial Development Framework must determine how the town or city will develop into the future. Important functions are included here such as; zoning, building plan and land use application approvals and the municipal planning tribunal.
Corporate Services	Important administrative functions such a human resources, legal services, internal audit and information technology, and customer relation management would normally fall under this portfolio.
Social Development	Social development is one of the main constitutional responsibilities of municipalities and includes a wide range of functions; childcare facilities (including ECDs), municipal health services and substance abuse services.
Community Services	Overseeing all municipal amenities such as: libraries, sport and recreational facilities. Parks and recreation would also fall under this portfolio which includes open public spaces and even cemeteries.
Safety	Local governments are responsible for traffic law enforcement and by-law enforcement.

	Law enforcement and metro policy services fall under his portfolio.
	In recent years many local governments have pushed the boundaries of their mandate to keep their residents safe.
	Specialised units to home in on illegal activities such as gang violence, drug abuse and cable theft (to name a few) have been established.
	Local governments also use its mandate on spatial development to ensure violence is prevented using urban design.

Many local governments have been forced to assume a number of unfunded mandates, simply because national or provincial government have not taken responsibility for them.

They include:

- Libraries;
- Ambulance services (some metros have assumed this function);
- Law enforcement, greater powers for metro police and specialised units (such as stabilisation and rail safety units);

The next consideration is how we should present the basic functions of local governments in a compelling and exciting way.

The 2016 local government manifesto grouped the Party's local government offer accordingly:

The central hexagon reads "2016 Local Goverment Offer" surrounded by: Creating more opportunities and jobs, Making local government responsive, Providing better service delivery, Stopping corruption, Providing meaningful redress, Making communities safer.

Note 4. Getting The Basics Right – The Role of Local Government in the National Context

An important part **of this local government vision is "Delivering well on the basic mandate of local government". It is important to understand the constraints facing local governments as a result of the national context explained above. It is becoming harder and harder for local government to deliver on its basic mandate because of the stressors of low economic growth, unemployment, crime etc. Overcoming these or finding innovative solutions will be the key to either achieving this first part of the vision or not. Understanding the specific impacts also gives a clearer idea of where the party should focus future policy development.**

These local government specific impacts of national 'state failure' are fleshed out below:

1. The energy crisis and the death spiral of Eskom
   a. Municipalities are partly reliant on the sale of electricity and water for revenue generation. As Eskom has become increasingly financially unsustainable it has raised its tariffs repeatedly. This often puts municipalities in a very difficult position. They must choose between maintaining their mark up on each unit of electricity sold, traditionally a significant revenue generator for local governments, and attempting to keep their rates and tariffs as low as possible for their residents. In this context DA governments have 'absorbed' some of the Eskom tariff increases by cutting into this margin – the result is that they can raise less revenue. In addition to this loss, load shedding, by design, also reduces the amount of electricity that municipalities can sell – in other words when the

power is off, that area is not consuming units. Finally, middle- and higher-income households are increasingly investing in 'off-grid' solutions. While off-grid solutions take strain off the national demand for power they also represent a long-term loss of revenue for local governments.

b. Load shedding has had dire circumstances for the national economy, which is now in a technical recession, but the macro-economic figures are but a conglomeration of the devastating impact that these outages have had on local economies in every city and town in South Africa. Again, the knock on effect for local governments of poor or contracting economic growth is on the revenue base. Businesses which close down and individuals who lose jobs are less able to pay their rates and tariffs. Over time this has a devastating impact on local governments' ability to deliver services to residents.

c. Load shedding is taking a very heavy and expensive toll on municipal infrastructure. When an area's power is shut off during load shedding it is not as easy as flipping a switch. Rather it requires disconnecting power to sub-stations (which are generally municipal property in areas which are supplied by the municipality and not direct Eskom supply areas). Sub-stations are not built to be 'turned on and off' – and certainly not to be turned on and off multiple times in a day. Compounding this issue, much of the electricity reticulation infrastructure across the country is aged and well-beyond its useful life. This makes it far more susceptible to damage caused by power surges when connecting/disconnecting sub-stations. The replacement of damaged parts, or in extreme instances the entire sub-station, will continue to place a heavy financial burden on local governments.

2. Massive national debt

a. The impact of national debt levels of local governments' ability to do the basics well is simple – there is less money available for both equitable share (the money that local governments receive from the national pot) and through conditional grants (like the municipal infrastructure grant) and the Urban Settlements Development Grant. Minister of Finance, Tito Mboweni announced cuts to conditional grants in his February 2020 budget speech: 'For human settlements, adjustments amount to R14.6 billion over the MTEF. There are also adjustments of R2.8 billion to the municipal infrastructure grant.' These cuts will impact the ability of local governments to meet already high levels of demand for housing and access to basic services as South Africa's population increasingly urbanises.

3. Low economic growth and rising unemployment

a. Economic development is a core mandate of local governments. While there is much that can be done by this sphere of government to stimulate the development and growth of local economies, national level pressures and realities cannot be escaped and often have serious impacts on local governments. Rising unemployment will increasingly place pressure on both the revenue streams of local government, and its expenditure obligations. Households which lose breadwinners will be less able to afford rates and tariffs and many more families will fall into the 'indigent' category and therefore qualify for a free basket of goods and services. As the revenue streams available to local governments narrow, increasing pressure will have to be placed on the existing rates base for cross-subsidisation. In the medium- to long-term, this is an untenable situation.

b. Rising unemployment also poses the risk of pushing more and more people into informal living arrangements. This can lead to an increase in homelessness and/or increasing populations in informal settlements. If high unemployment trends continue, local governments will increasingly have to service more and more informal households. This places a burden on expenditure but also poses a significant challenge to urban planning, the capacity and capability of local governments to extend bulk services to new/expanding informal settlements and the prevention of illegal occupation of land.

c. Related to point B above, as revenue shrinks and the indigent/informal population of local governments expand, there will increasingly be pressure to cut maintenance and repair spending on existing infrastructure. This trade-off can have disastrous consequences if allowed to perpetuate and eventually leads to significant additional costs such as through water losses. It can also create significant ill-will, lower customer satisfaction levels amongst ratepayers and diminish the ability of local governments to maintain high collection ratios. These pressures will be compounded by shrinking conditional grants.

4. Unchecked crime
a. While policing is a national competence the consequences of crime have far reaching affects for local governments which often struggle to deliver new infrastructure projects or bulk services to areas where there is a high crime rate. Low-levels of access to service are likely a contributing factor in the perpetual cycle of crime in these communities, however, unchecked crime and insecurity can make it impossible for municipalities to improve these conditions without adequate policing. This is also true in terms of the core mandate of local government for social development. Many community projects rely on a basic

level of law and order to be successful (such as after-school activities) and this is not possible without adequate policing.

  b. Anger, protest action and frustration, in response to often abhorrent criminal activity can also be misdirected at local governments. It can lead to damaged municipal infrastructure but also to a deep sense of mistrust for government. As crime is often violent and 'at best' leaves individuals and families dealing with a loss of property, the perception that the local government is not doing enough to fight crime can be become pervasive and is understandably highly emotive. This is in part because local government is the sphere of government which is closest and most accessible to residents and there is not always an understanding of the different competencies and functions of the different spheres. The erosion of trust between residents and their municipal governments over the issue of crime can hamper the government's ability to work with residents in general and is a significant issue which needs to be addressed.

5. National and provincial governments failing to fulfil their mandates
  a. The example of failed policing and its consequences have been highlighted above. These are by no means the only areas where an increasingly incapable state has impacted on the ability of local governments to fulfil their basic mandates. Poor health care systems place enormous pressure on municipal health facilities, where these exists, and particularly in the context of metropolitan municipalities. This is a largely unfunded mandate (if one excludes equitable share) of local government (although one which is conferred by the Constitution). As more and more people are failed by their provincial health systems they will increasingly turn to primary health care clinics for medical assistance.

6. Resource challenges and the impact of climate change
  a. The impact of this challenge was best displayed by the Day Zero crisis in the City of Cape Town. The crisis was the result of an unprecedented drought but also by the failure of national government to adequately plan and implement projects to extend bulk water storage schemes for a growing Western Cape population. Again, as with crime, and to an extent load shedding, issues where national government has failed can often affect the sentiment of residents towards their local government. While water treatment and reticulation are competencies of local government, the role of ensuring that population have enough water (both for population growth and to survive shock events like drought) is the job of national government. Nonetheless, the Day Zero crisis eroded significant trust between the local government and residents who felt

that the City could somehow have done more. The response to the crisis by the City also came at a significant cost.

Note 5. Values and Principles Draft Document

Our Values and Principles.

The DA advocates a vision of an 'open opportunity society for all'. To achieve this, DA members need to understand and promote the values and principles which underpin it.

Freedom.

Freedom is the ability of individuals to speak, choose, act, think, and associate independently and without coercion.

It is the collective exercise of these freedoms that drives human progress, and which enables individuals to live a self-determined life.

Freedom of speech is the first of these values, without which it becomes impossible to defend the other freedoms.

> Importantly, freedom is a right and not a privilege granted by government.
> The DA will strive to champion freedom and oppose control.

Opportunity.

Opportunity is what gives freedom practical meaning.

Opportunity means that every individual is presented with choices, and the reasonable ability to act on them, in order to create a life of their choosing.

Opportunities, or choices, must not be arbitrarily restricted. In a society based on the value of opportunity, governments focus their efforts on preserving and expanding the choices available for their citizens.

> Individuals also have a responsibility to recognise and to make use of opportunity.
> The DA will strive to enhance opportunities for all.

Fairness.

> Fairness demands us to be impartial and to consider all sides.

It is a correcting principle which allows us to be guided by something other than our own individual interest, and to consider what our position might be on an issue if we were on the other, or different, side.

> Politically, it also implies contingent consent. This means that those who emerge victorious in an election will not use their temporary upper hand to alter the rules as to prevent the losers from taking office or exerting influence in the future.
> The DA will strive to advocate and augment fairness.

Diversity.
The value of diversity, in other words the existence of difference, lies in its potential to broaden learning, debate and healthy competition.

Were it not for the difference of experiences, thoughts, talents and knowledge that people bring, our understanding of the world would be limited, compassionless and without empathy.

Each individual is unique and not a racial or gender envoy; thus, diversity is not demographic representivity.

Individuals, when free to make their own decisions, will not be represented in any and every organization, sector, company or level of management according to a pre-determined proportion.

> The DA therefore opposes race, gender or other quotas.
> When embraced, diversity acts as a potential bulwark against uniformity of thought and closed thinking.

The DA will strive to maximise the potential value of diversity.

Openness.
An open society is underpinned by two foundational pillars:

Transparency
Transparency exists when the exercise of power and authority is made open to interrogation and scrutiny.

Freedom of Information

Freedom of information, i.e. the right of the public to access information that is held by the government, is integral to ensuring that citizens can hold their elected representatives accountable for the actions they take on their behalf.

Information is an exceptionally important resource, allowing those who have access to it to wield power over those who do not.

In a closed society, leaders govern with impunity. The inadequate disclosure of critical information hampers citizens from being able to make informed choices and cultivates an environment where mismanagement and corruption can thrive.

> The DA will strive to be open in its decisions and conduct, and to exercise transparency responsibly.

Social market economy.

A social market economy refers to an economy in which participants (firms and consumers) rather than the government decide on what to purchase, where to invest, and how much to produce.

Ownership of risk by private participants in a market economy, means a right and a duty to own both the rewards and responsibilities of success or failure.

A social market economy, however, is not one where there is no government intervention at all. Left entirely on their own, participants who enjoy market dominance can engage in behavior which keeps out smaller participants and competition. Alternatively, participants can collude and fix prices with one another to the detriment of the consumer.

Governments have an important role to play in improving access to markets by championing open and competitive markets; because openness and competition is not inherently the natural state of affairs.

There are some functions and services that governments can potentially perform better than markets, or to supplement markets. This is particularly the case in contexts where markets cannot function profitably, but for which there is a strong public interest.

> Governments in such an economy have a role to play in enhancing equality of opportunity and providing strong safety nets and trampolines for the most vulnerable.

Markets only function optimally in a context where a capable and corruption-free state provides basic services and upholds independent institutions that defend the rule of law and a culture of accountability.

> The DA will defend and advocate for a market economy, as well as the principles that underpin it: competition, innovation and initiative.

Constitutionalism and the rule of law.

Constitutionalism is an adherence to the powers, limits, rights, and responsibilities conferred by the Constitution. As well as to constitutional principles such as the rule of law, federalism, separation of powers, and the separation of party and state.

Creating a society based on the Constitution is essential for South Africa's progress and economic growth, because a shared social contract provides the stability and solid ground needed for other areas to flourish.

The Constitution allows for uncertainty in a democracy to be bounded. Meaning that adherence to a constitution ensures that even though electoral outcomes and shifts in party/candidate support are uncertain, there remains basic certainty in the basic rules of engagement, and it forms a consistent social contract from one election to the next.

After centuries of confrontation between different groups of people, often not recognising each other as equal citizens, the South African Constitution ushered in a new vision. It not only sets out the boundaries of government power, but it gives government clear responsibilities towards all people, and recognises all as equal in front of the law.

> The DA will strive to uphold and defend a liberal constitutional democracy.

Separation of party and state.

Political parties by nature represent a section of the population and are voted into government by a proportion of voters. As a result, political parties are primarily accountable to their members and supporters.

> In contrast, the state and its representatives are accountable to all, and must operate in the interests of all in society.

Separation of party and state demands public representatives expand their interests and care to all members of society. Simultaneously, to ensure that the resources and authority of the state are employed to serve the nation and not the party.

> The DA will strive never to let its political objectives obscure or interfere with its public duty to all South Africans.

Separation of powers.
Government consists of three separate branches (the legislative, executive, and judicial). The abuse and concentration of power is best curtailed where the branches are kept institutionally separate from each other.

Due to the nature and complexity of government the different branches, in reality, often work closely with one another, but always should do so in a manner which does not compromise the integrity and independence of any one branch.

The DA will strive to ensure that the independence and integrity of the separate branches of state are respected.

Federalism.
Federalism is the devolution of power between different geographic units of the government (i.e. national, provincial, and local) to the lowest effective level.

Federalism is a salient principle of governance because it ensures that decisions are made closer to the local people, communities and businesses they affect.

This value demands a commitment to bring government closer to the people. Devolution of both authority and funding is important because there can be no effective authority if it is not accompanied with the resources to exercise it.

The DA will strive to enhance the federal character of our constitutional democracy.

Nonracialism.
Nonracialism is the rejection of race as a way to categorise and treat people, particularly in legislation.

> The assumption that one's "race" represents people who think, feel, or have the same experience of shared events, based on their physical appearance, is false.

However, while there is a scientific consensus that "race" itself does not exist - racialism and racism do exist and have a profound and damaging impact on the lives of individuals and society. They are abhorrent and detestable.

A great deal of harm was caused, and continues to be caused, on the basis of false beliefs in racial difference.

Social groups based on cultural, religious, political and linguistic factors do exist. However, people who identify with each other on this basis should not be squeezed into narrow racial boxes inherited from our segregated past.

Nonracialism is therefore a commitment, not just to reject racialism and racism, but to fight for the deconstruction of race, and the reconstruction of a non-racial future. The DA unequivocally stands for non-racialism not multiracialism.

Redress.

Redress refers to the need to remedy or correct an unfair or unjust situation.

Our past is littered with myriad injustices including forced removals, job reservation, detention without trial, disparities in education, racial segregation, and concentration camps. The consequences of these injustices remain, compounded by poor governance, and are reflected in high rates of poverty, unemployment, and general inequality of opportunity.

Redress must couple reconciliation with a commitment to ensuring that inequality of opportunity, which has been the hallmark of our past, is not a feature of the present or the future.

Policies which tackle inequality of opportunity - including interventions in education, healthcare, the economy, and safety and security will always be central pillars of our programme of action.

So profound is this commitment to equality of opportunity that it is reflected in our vision of an 'open, opportunity society for all'.

The DA will strive to overcome our past and create a just and equitable future.

Qualities

In order to live up to our values and principles, each member and public representative of the DA must live up to these qualities:

Accountability.

The social contract is built upon trust. At its essence accountability emphasises that there is a two-way

relationship: Those who govern, or have been entrusted with a task, have a responsibility to discharge their responsibilities and fulfil the objectives which they undertook to achieve; and those who are governed, or have delegated the task, have a responsibility to reward or sanction on the basis of how duties were discharged.

- When there is a breakdown of accountability; which is a breakdown in the relationship between performance and reward/sanction, standards tend to drop as leaders and functionaries become accustomed to operating with impunity.
- The DA will strive to ensure that the contract between citizens and their representatives is strengthened through accountability, both inside the party and in society as a whole.

Evidence-based decision making.

Ideas and positions must be able to withstand scrutiny and be open to modification in the face of facts.

Principle and evidence in decision-making complement one another.

Principle without evidence leads to dogmatism and evidence without principle leads to the worst kind of pragmatism, where the ends are used to justify any means.

The DA will respect the value of evidence in decision making and policymaking.

Excellence.

Excellence first and foremost is about action- it is the continuous pursuit to do and be better even when you are the best.

This pursuit to shun not only the mediocre, but also what is average and 'good enough' in favour of the extraordinary differentiates excellence from mere competence.

Innovation is an important result of pursuing excellence, as the pursuit to be more efficient and more effective gives rise to new ways of thinking and doing.

A commitment to excellence necessitates the valuing of expertise, and those with a record of delivering superior outcomes.

The DA will strive to pursue excellence in its practices and appointments.

Resilience.

Resilience is the ability to recover from adversity or failure.

Without personal and institutional resilience, temporary setbacks become permanent, and the likelihood of success is diminished.

The need for resilience is undeniable because the presence of obstacles on the path to success is certain.

A commitment to resilience is ultimately a commitment to the long haul.
The DA will strive to nurture a culture of resilience among all those who work to promote its values.

Compassion.

To best represent people, one must be sensitive to their circumstance and experience. South Africa's history has inflicted on all its citizens much trauma both psychological and physical. Understanding that requires compassion.

Compassion cannot be enforced; it must be authentic.

The DA will strive to be compassionate and will seek out representatives who embody this value.

Integrity.

By integrity we refer to the integration of a person's behaviour and action.

If people profess a set of beliefs, they must be translated into action. We must do as we say and say what we do.

The DA will strive to actively live the values we profess in this document and to hold each other to account.