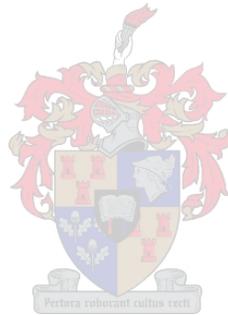# Improved network governance in Regional and Local Economic Development Partnerships: A Management Strategy

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Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Public Management and Development Planning in the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences at Stellenbosch University.

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December 2019

DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

Partnerships have been on the rise as a preferred governance approach in the field of regional and local economic development (R&LED) in South Africa. The researcher as a professional in this field, noted that there were some difficulties experienced in ensuring longevity of these partnerships, already at the nascent stage of its application. Even though collaboration and partnerships, by their very nature, defy the application of a generic design or operating model, it was theorised that there must be some commonality around the key factors that inform the success or failure of partnerships in R&LED. This question was the main motivation for this study and the basis of the research problem.

The main objectives of the study were to (i) contextualise the emergence of partnerships within the current legislative and practice framework for R&LED in South Africa; (ii) apply literature and tools from the fields of networks and governance to two cases in practice; and (iii) provide theoretical groundings for a network management strategy for partnerships in R&LED. The overall aim of the study is to contribute towards finding ways to overcome operational and performance barriers in R&LED partnerships, in keeping with the pragmatic practitioner approach.

The empirical study was undertaken using a multi methods approach, while being heavily influenced as a reflective practitioner to undertake this investigation. The Case Study method was used to provide a rich and in-depth analysis of two R&LED partnership cases in the Western Cape, South Africa (one top-down and one bottom-up). The study revealed in the literature review process that diverse sets of role players in an R&LED landscape can be thought of as a network of actors in which one partner, usually a local authority or subnational government, wishes to influence and steer the network towards a common goal. This would entail the lead entity actively ensuring good network governance within the R&LED network. Partnerships in R&LED could take the shape of platforms, forums or entities established to perform this network governance actions and as such require the application of some set of good network management actions and strategies to be successful – both in delivering positive economic development results and meeting stakeholder expectations.

In answering the research question, findings were distilled into a set of recommendations for R&LED partnership participants, which will allow the partnerships to derive benefit from a network governance focus:

1. **Adopt an explicit focus on networks from the outset of an R&LED partnership formation process.** This approach starts with an acknowledgement and understanding of the network at the start of a partnering process and then moves to a focus on the ideal network form which the partnership works to strengthen or expand over time.

2. **If network governance is a key aim, ensure that the partnership is performing functions that will yield this as result.** Three distinct possible functions could be pursued – namely operating as a networking platform, building a network structure or performing a network governance function.

3. **Understand where in the network governance life cycle a partnership initiative is at any given point in time, and what actions are required to move towards the next.** The time to progress through the stages will differ for bottom-up and top-down partnerships. It is recognised that any partnership may have a logical useful life and, as such, stability should not necessarily be the goal. If objectives have been achieved, or priorities shift, reorientation is desirable. The death or closure of a partnership is also not always negative. If objectives have been achieved, stakeholders will move on to new priorities and even new partnerships.

The study culminates in the crafting of a management strategy for application in bottom-up R&LED partnerships in South Africa. The management strategy offers a roadmap that could be followed at the outset of a bottom-up partnership initiative but might equally be applied at some later stage if the partnership has already been established.

In South Africa, the failure of government-driven R&LED increasingly highlights the need for bottom-up, innovative initiatives and multilevel governance approaches to meet the needs and unlock the potential of localities, be that within provinces, large cities or small towns. This study did not attempt to propose a standard approach or standard structure for R&LED partnerships. Instead, it advocates for the application of underutilised tools from network science to allow partnership leaders, managers and participants to better visualise and manage their own progress. This could secure longer-term support to ensure the longevity of their collaborations.

Ultimately, network governance theory is "not the theory of everything" (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012: 201), but it offers great potential in addressing complex challenges. The field of R&LED, and the practice of establishing partnerships, offers not only an area of application of a basket of network approaches but could tangibly and very practically benefit from this application, as this study demonstrates.

OPSOMMING

Vennootskappe is aan die toeneem as 'n voorkeur benadering in die gebied van streeks- en plaaslike ekonomiese ontwikkeling (S&PEO) in Suid-Afrika. Die navorser, as 'n professionele persoon in hierdie veld, het opgemerk dat daar probleme ondervind word om die langtermyn sukses van hierdie vennootskappe te verseker, reeds in die vroë stadium van die toepassing van die benadering. Alhoewel die toepassing van 'n generiese ontwerp- of bedryfsmodel nie prakties is nie, is dit teoreties moontlik dat daar 'n mate van gemeenskaplikheid bestaan rondom die sleutelfaktore wat bydra die sukses of mislukking van vennootskappe in S&PEO. Hierdie vraag was die motivering vir hierdie studie en die basis van die navorsingsprobleem.

Die hoofdoelwitte van die studie was om (i) die groei in vennootskappe as benadering binne die huidige wetgewende en praktykraamwerk vir S&PEO in Suid-Afrika te kontekstualiseer; (ii) literatuur en benaderings uit die velde van netwerke en publieke administrasie in twee gevalle in die praktyk toepas; en (iii) teoretiese grondslae te lê vir 'n netwerkbestuurstrategie vir vennootskappe in S&PEO. Die oorhoofse doel van die studie is om te help om maniere te vind om bedryfs- en prestasie hindernisse in S&PEO-vennootskappe te oorkom, in ooreenstemming met die pragmatiese en reflektiewe praktisynsbenadering.

Die empiriese studie is onderneem deur 'n multi-metode benadering toe te pas. Die gevallestudie-metode is gebruik om 'n ryk en diepgaande analise van twee S&PEO-vennootskappe in die Wes-Kaap, Suid-Afrika te doen ('n plaaslik gedrewe inisiatief deur 'n groep rolspelers, en 'n voorskriftelike regerings gedrewe inisiatief). Die literatuur studie het bevestig dat verskeie stelle rolspelers in 'n S&PEO-landskap beskou kan word as 'n netwerk van akteurs waarin een vennoot, gewoonlik 'n plaaslike owerheid of subnasionale regering, die netwerk wil beïnvloed en bestuur na 'n gemeenskaplike doel. Dit sal van hierdie sleutel speler vereis om aktief goeie netwerkbestuur binne die S&PEO-netwerk te verseker. Vennootskappe in S&PEO kan in die vorm van platforms, forums of entiteite ingestel word om hierdie netwerkbestuursaksies uit te voer. Dit vereis verder dat 'n aantal goeie netwerkbestuursaksies en -strategieë suksesvol moet wees - beide om positiewe ekonomiese ontwikkelings resultate te lewer en om aan belanghebbendes se verwagtinge te voldoen.

By die beantwoording van die navorsingsvraag is bevindings gedistilleer in 'n stel aanbevelings met 'n sterker netwerkbestuursfokus vir deelnemers aan S&PEO-vennootskappe gefomuleer:

1. **Sluit uit die staanspoor 'n duidelike fokus op netwerke in in die vormings proses van 'n S&PEO-vennootskaps**. Hierdie benadering begin met 'n erkenning en begrip van die netwerk aan die begin van 'n proses en beweeg dan na 'n fokus op die ideale netwerkvorm wat die vennootskap poog om te versterk of uit te brei.

2. **As netwerkbestuur 'n sleuteloogmerk is, moet daar verseker word dat vennootskap funksies uitgevoer word wat hierdie oogmerk as resultaat sal lewer**. Drie afsonderlike moontlike funksies kan nagestreef word, naamlik om te dien as 'n netwerk platform, die bou van 'n netwerkstruktuur of 'n netwerkbestuur funksie.

3. **Verstaan waar 'n vennootskapsinisiatief op enige gegewe tydstip in die netwerk bestuurs lewensiklus is en watter aksies nodig is om na die volgende fase te beweeg.** Die tyd om deur fases te vorder verskil vir plaaslik gedrewe teenoor meer sentraal gedrewe vennootskappe. Enige vennootskap kan 'n logiese nuttige lewe hê en dus is stabiliteit nie noodwendig die doel nie. As doelwitte bereik is, of prioriteite verskuif, is heroriëntering wenslik. Die dood of sluiting van 'n vennootskap is nie altyd negatief nie, aangesien belanghebbendes voortgaan met nuwe prioriteite en selfs nuwe vennootskappe as doelwitte bereik is.

Die studie sluit af met die daarstel van 'n bestuurstrategie vir toepassing in plaaslik gedrewe S&PEO vennootskappe in Suid-Afrika. Dit bied 'n padkaart wat aan die begin van 'n vennootskapsinisiatief gevolg kan word, maar kan ook later toegepas word indien dit reeds gevestig is. In Suid-Afrika beklemtoon die mislukking van regeringsgedrewe S&PEO toenemend die behoefte aan plaaslik gedrewe, innoverende inisiatiewe en multivlak-bestuursbenaderings. Hierdie benaderings poog om die behoeftes van plaaslike rolspelers te bevredig en die potensiaal van lokaliteite te ontsluit, of dit in provinsies, groot stede of klein dorpies is. Hierdie studie het nie gepoog om 'n standaard benadering of struktuur vir S&PEO-vennootskappe voor te stel nie. In teen deel poog dit om die saak te stel vir die toepassing van onder benutte benaderings uit netwerkwetenskap om vennootskapsleiers, bestuurders en deelnemers toe te laat om hul eie vordering beter te visualiseer en te bestuur. Dit kan langtermyn-ondersteuning vir die werk van 'n vennootskap binne 'n netwerk verseker.

Uiteindelik is die netwerk bestuurs teorie "nie die teorie van alles nie" (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012: 201), maar dit bied groot potensiaal om komplekse uitdagings aan te spreek. Die veld van S&PEO, en die praktyk van vennootskappe, bied nie net 'n toepassingsgebied van 'n mandjie netwerk benaderings nie, maar dit kan tasbaar en baie prakties baat vind by hierdie toepassing, soos hierdie studie demonstreer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Peet and Elna, who, within their limited means, gave a strange gifted child every opportunity to excel in this world. They are both not here to see this dream being realised, but I know they have been with me on this journey.

"Do not impose your own ponderous scientific style for communicating results, but diffuse and share what you have learned together with the people, in a manner that is wholly understandable and even literary and pleasant, for science should not be necessarily a mystery nor a monopoly of experts and intellectuals."

-Orlando Fals Borda

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHI	Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut
CGR	Collaborative Governance Regime
COGTA	Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CTP	Cape Town Partnership
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
DEADP	Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (Western Cape)
DEDAT	Department of Economic Development and Tourism (Western Cape)
GCRO	Gauteng City Region Observatory
GTP	Greater Tygerberg Partnership
IUDF	Integrated Urban Development Framework
LED	Local Economic Development
LEDA	Local Economic Development Agency
LEP	Local Economic Partnership
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEC	Member of the Executive Council (of Provincial Government)
NAO	Network Administrative Organisation
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NPG	New Public Governance
NPM	New Public Management
OSCC2020	Outeniqua Smart City Corridor 2020

R&LED	Regional and Local Economic Development
RCF	Regional Communicators Forum
RIN	Regional Innovation Network
SACCI	South African Chambers of Commerce and Industry
SACN	South African Cities Network
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SCBP	Southern Cape Business Partnership
SCEP	South Cape Economic Partnership
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SNA	Social Network Analysis
S&PEO	Streeks en Plaaslike Ekonomiese Ontwikkelings Vennootskappe
SPV	Special Purpose Vehicle
WCEDP	Western Cape Economic Development Partnership

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CHAPTER 1

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

There has been consensus for some time that successful economic development can best be located at a subnational level – be it regional, provincial or municipal (Jones, 2001). There is also a growing recognition of the importance of subnational regions and cities in driving and delivering positive national and global economic development outcomes (World Bank, 2009). Local Economic Development (LED) has been practised for many decades in the developed world and has been growing in popularity in developing countries since the 1990s (Meyer-Stamer, 2006). In a rapidly urbanising world, with decentralisation of government virtually a universal condition (Rodríguez-Pose & Ezcurra, 2009), regional and local economic development (R&LED) has been growing in importance and stature as an approach to stimulate local economies, create local jobs and ultimately increase contributions through local taxes (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2010).

Simultaneously, the utilisation of collaborative, networked forms of governance to implement policies and programmes has been an emerging feature of the public management landscape, both in theory and in practice (Ulibarri & Scott, 2016). The establishment of partnerships, in their various shapes and forms, has emerged as a popular model for the effective and efficient pursuit of complex development goals (Zadek & Radovich, 2006). The field of R&LED has also been influenced by this trend, resulting in increasing support for the establishment of partnerships at subnational level as vehicles for the collaborative pursuit of R&LED outcomes. Most often, developmental success at the local level is characterised by a constructive role of government working in collaboration with various key local stakeholders (Commonwealth Local Government Forum, 2011).

Notably, this partnership approach has been on the increase in the economic landscape of the Western Cape Province. The first such partnerships which were established date back to 1999 in the form of the Cape Town Partnership (CTP). More recently, in 2012, also in the City of Cape Town, the Greater Tygerberg Partnership (GTP) was established. Outside of the Cape Town metropolitan area, the South Cape Economic Partnership (SCEP), broadly including the towns in the Southern Cape within the Eden District, has evolved through different processes and

particularly in the absence of formal local authority support, which was provided to the CTP and the GTP. On an even smaller scale, the Langeberg Municipality has recently (2014) formally approved their support for a local level collaborative entity referred to as a LED partnership (De Jongh, 2014).

At a geographical level, broader than the metropolitan, local or district municipalities, the Western Cape Government has, since 2011, supported a process to establish the Western Cape Economic Development Partnership (WCEDP). This growing popularity of partnerships in the Western Cape are based on the success of similar approaches in developed countries, with very little having been researched or published around the unique challenges that partnerships in a developing country might face (Hamann, Pienaar, Boulogne & Kranz, 2011). Partnerships, by their very nature, defy the application of a generic model and are informed by the specific situation and/or locality, type of partnership and role players who are involved (Rein & Stott, 2009).

The researcher is an LED practitioner. She was previously in service of a local government (municipality) in one of the Western Cape's secondary cities, namely George, and has been employed by the World Bank in South Africa in the same field for the past two years. Having the experience of working for government in a smaller locality, with limited economic resources, the researcher firmly believes that collaboration across administrative boundaries is key to achieve positive economic results. This informed a keen interest in the proliferation of partnerships and resulted in the researcher being involved in the formative stages of a number of these in the Western Cape. During this time, the researcher was introduced to the fields of governance, public value and social network analysis, which resulted in an academic exploration of some pressing questions around how partnerships could improve delivery with regard to the governance role they often pursue ambitiously.

This study draws on the field of collaborative and network governance and network theory, employing tools such as social network analysis (SNA), to better understand relationships within the economic networks, the structure of the networks and the role of the partnerships within these networks. In addition, the study incorporates a growing body of academic literature about how success in shared governance networks may be defined (Cristofoli, Markovic & Meneguzzo, 2014); what constitutes network effectiveness (Milward & Provan, 2003; Provan & Milward, 2001) and which network management strategies could be employed in order to maximise the potential for success (Agranoff, 2006; Agranoff & McGuire, 2001; Bartelings, Goedee, Raab & Bijl, 2017). The research ultimately aims to make a positive contribution towards improved network

governance and network management practices in the South African R&LED partnership environment.

1.2 Relevance and contribution of study

Regional and local economic development is fundamentally different from most mandates or activities performed by subnational government. Although the function is almost universally accepted as a role within local government, the government does not have control over most resources required to deliver on the aim, often economic growth, but more broadly improved societal outcomes in terms of, for example, income and equality (OECD & Mountford, 2009). In a capitalist and democratic system, government cannot create jobs and economic growth, as this can only happen through the private sector at work within markets. Stimulation through government expenditure is possible and there are many examples of large-scale government public works programmes, although these are often designed as short-term stimulation to aid in rebuilding interventions or social safety nets (Alderman & Yemtsov, 2013). However, sustained economic growth and development, resulting in those much sought-after improved societal outcomes, requires a much more nuanced approach involving all actors (public, private and society) to work together towards a common goal (Swinburn, Goga & Murphy, 2006).

Local economic development is entrenched in policy and practice as a function of local government in South Africa, but has been plagued by consistent failure to deliver on expectations of local growth and development, often focussing on small-scale social projects in poverty-stricken areas (Nel & Rogerson, 2016a; Rogerson, 2011, 2019). This has resulted in numerous attempts to apply different models and approaches, including employing LED agencies (Lawrence, 2013) and using maturity assessments to steer municipal approaches towards a theoretically sound basis for performing the LED function (Lawson, 2014). A stronger understanding of the importance of regions are now also developing in South Africa, with the Gauteng City Region Observatory (GCRO) leading the way in this regard. With pressure mounting in the wake of slow economic growth and high levels of unemployment, government, and particularly local authorities, continues to look for ways to stimulate and support economic activity. It should therefore not be surprising that the growing global narrative of partnerships has also found traction in the South African R&LED landscape.

In terms of potential broader social impact, it can reasonably be expected that in future the shift towards a networked governance approach to improve service delivery will continue and possibly accelerate. It can, however, also be expected that the same problems such as failure to deliver

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against expectations, slow growth and growing unemployment will continue to arise. As stated by McGuire and Agranoff (2007: 39), "Networks often find reasonable solution approaches, but then run into operational, performance or legal barriers that prevent the next action steps". The aim of this study is to contribute towards finding ways to overcome these operational and performance barriers in future. From an academic perspective, the study aims to test, specifically in the field of R&LED, the almost universally accepted position that networks and governance may be solutions to all societal challenges. It is also believed that this research is undertaken at a time in South Africa when the acknowledgement of the need to move from public administration to networked public administration is emerging.

1.3 Research problem

Although a relatively new phenomenon in the R&LED space in South Africa, a number of partnerships have already experienced existential crises of sorts recently. Invariably, this seems to culminate in a withdrawal or reduction in funding from main stakeholders due to a mismatch between expectations and results. Most publicly, the longest running of these, the Cape Town Partnership, came to an end in 2017 after the City of Cape Town withdrew its funding (Cape Talk, 2017; Cape Town Partnership, 2017). Metcalfe and Lapenta (2014) point to the danger in partnerships when discrepancies emerge between the set of values that a partnership is presumed to embody and pursue, and the management tools through which these must be or are implemented. In the case of the Western Cape Economic Development Partnership (WCEDP), the partnerships were supported initially with the aim of improving coordination and collaboration in their various economic networks. However, in terms of monitoring and reporting traditional economic results, economic growth and job creation, for example, were expected by funders (mainly government) in an unrealistically short period.

Collaboration and partnerships by their very nature defy the application of a one size fits all approach and are informed by the specific situation and/or locality, type of partnership and role players involved (Rein & Stott, 2009:79). It is theorised that there must be some commonality around the key factors that informs the success or failure of partnerships in the R&LED space in South Africa. This may be further explored by considering how success in partnerships is measured, possibly at different stages of partnership maturity. Some studies have suggested that network analysis offers another layer of analysis of partnerships, specifically before long-term effects could be observed (Lewis, Baeza & Alexander, 2008).

In the R&LED landscape in the Western Cape it has been observed that partnerships originate in different ways – some top-down, strongly influenced and driven by government, in other cases more organically, bottom-up movements by key local role players aiming to address a local problem or challenge. In practice, these partnerships have been observed to have different trajectories, seem to mobilise different types of stakeholders and deliver varying levels of success or results.

The premise of this study is to analyse several R&LED partnerships case studies as a means of investigating which factors and at which stages of the life of a partnership, may be important contributors to success or longevity. The critical aim is to establish if success can be equated to longer term survival of the initiative, as in the work of Macciò and Cristofoli (2017). If the measure of success is reaching consensus to form a partnership, the key inputs or commonalities to reach this consensus position could also be explored. The key success factors in how a partnership is governed and how it delivers against set internal targets would possibly look very different and include organisational design and management strategy considerations. There is then finally, within the economic landscape, a concern around measuring the success of partnerships in directly influencing economic indicators or contributing to economic growth and other development goals. It seems from other case studies that the monitoring and evaluation function is lacking in partnership implementation and is a constraint in determining whether intended and tangible benefits were realised (Rein & Stott, 2009:79).

1.4 Research goal and objective

The goal of this study is to explore partnerships as emerging model for R&LED in South Africa, with a focus on case studies in the Western Cape, and then to introduce a network governance perspective with a view to improve understanding of the evolution and role of these partnerships. Through pursuing the research objectives and answering the research questions below, the contribution to new knowledge will be to propose a strategy for improved network governance in R&LED partnerships. The objectives of the study can be outlined as follows:

- To contextualise the emergence of partnerships and a possible shift towards greater regionalism in R&LED in South Africa;
- To develop an evaluation approach for application to R&LED partnerships based on insights from the field governance and networks (and specifically network governance),

- To examine two cases (one with embedded subgroupings) of existing formalised R&LED partnerships from a network governance perspective using a newly developed evaluation approach and additional tools, such as network mapping, from the field of social network analysis; and
- To provide theoretical groundings for a network management strategy for application in R&LED partnerships in South Africa.
- To contribute to the body of knowledge on economic partnerships and network governance

1.5 Structure of dissertation and research questions

The dissertation chapters have been structured around the various research sub-questions as follows:

Figure 1-1: Structure of Dissertation – adapted from Klaster (2015)
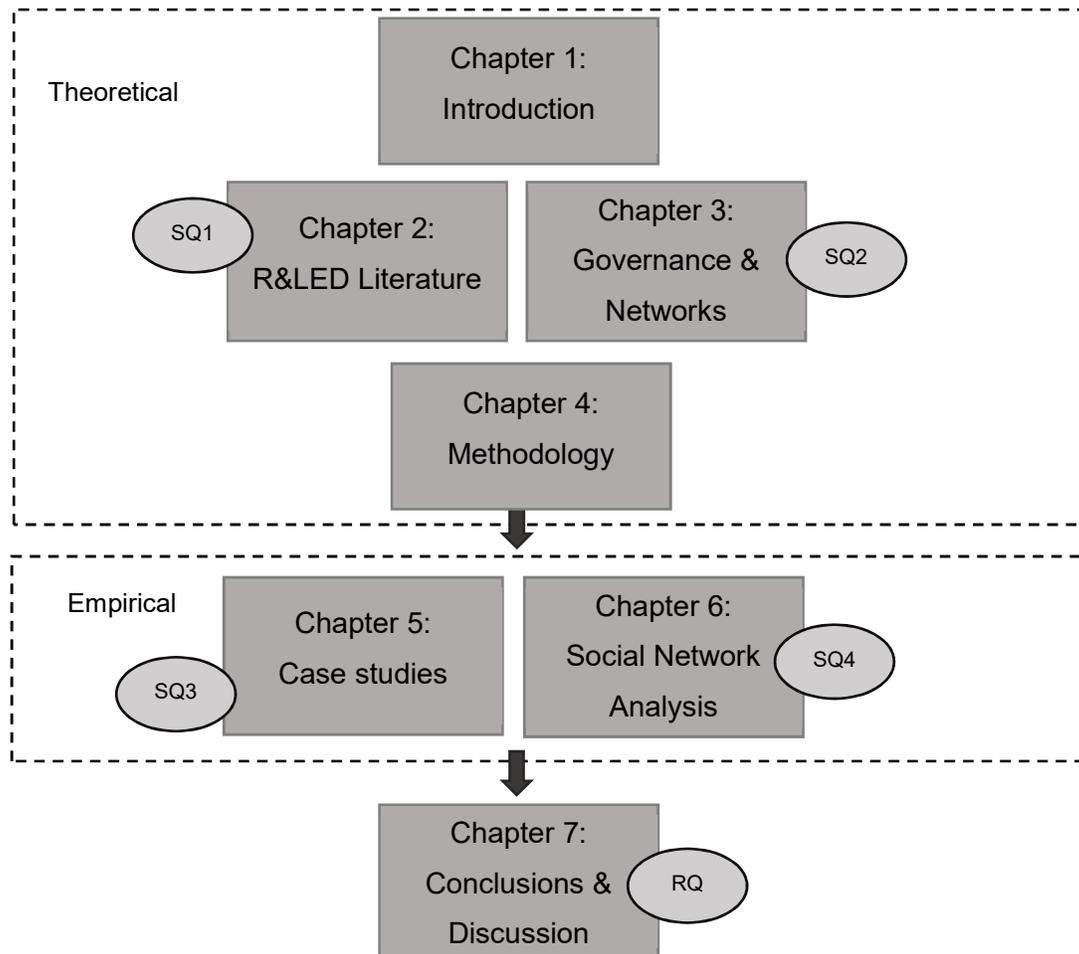
The main research question, which will be answered in Chapter 7, is:

RQ: How can R&LED partnerships benefit from a focus on network governance?

The research sub-questions are:

SQ1: How has the South African R&LED policy and legislative environment evolved and how can this be contextualised in terms of emerging international trends in this field?

SQ2: Could theories and lessons from the fields of governance, partnerships and particularly the application of a network lens provide alternative options to evaluate and ultimately manage R&LED partnerships?

SQ3: Considering different types of R&LED partnerships in the Western Cape, are these applying network management strategies and are they performing a network governance function?

SQ4: Could the application of advanced network analysis tools (such as SNA) provide further insights into the management strategies and governance role of these partnerships?

1.6 Literature Review, Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Framework

In this study the research frameworks were initially informed by the researchers own experiential knowledge in the field of regional and local development partnerships. Through a broad academic inquiry during the literature review process – driven by a curiosity about a problem observed in the field - a research problem and set of research questions were constructed. The literature review which focuses on the potential theoretical groundings of the study (particularly Chapter 3) was instrumental in the theoretical and conceptual framework design. This can be interpreted as an inductive approach to construction of a conceptual framework, which emerged as the researcher pieced together various theories and pieces of literature with which to address the research question (Imenda, 2014: 193).

1.6.1 Literature Review

The literature review was conducted in two parts, firstly focussing on the field of R&LED (Chapter 2) and then the various relevant areas of academic literature (Chapter 3). The choice of fields of study to review in the latter part was informed by R&LED being assigned to sub-national government as an administrative function and it (by definition) requiring local actors to collaborate towards local development outcomes. The literature review concluded with the design of a theoretical evaluation process, consisting of an evaluation checklist, a life-cycle analysis and a management activity assessment, for application to R&LED partnerships. The findings and highlights form the literature review is briefly summarised here.

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1.6.1.1 Regional and local economic development

The meaning of development is usually socially determined by a specific interest group or sector of society (Pike, Rodríguez-Pose & Tomaney, 2007). Globally, over the past decades, the practice of development has shifted from a narrow focus on economic targets such as GDP growth to a more human-centred approach. This happened as first the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and later the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted and pursued (Reed & Reed, 2009; Thorbecke, 2006). Within economic development a similar shift has seen a move from a focus on projects, to policies and more recently institutions and good governance (see for example Easterly, 2001; Sen, 2001; Stiglitz, 2016). The recent Stockholm Statement by the world's leading economists confirmed that pursuing economic growth in the absence of appropriate policies and developmental frameworks could actually result in negative impacts on well-being and exacerbate inequality (Alkira, Bardhan, Basu, Bhorat, Bourguignon, Deshpande, Kanbur, Yifu Lin, Moene, Platteau, Saavedra, Stiglitz & Tarp, 2016).

Moving from a macro view, there is a growing body of work advocating for considerations as to how any developmental approach or strategy is grounded some local reality (Crescenzi & Rodriguez-Pose, 2011). This is referred to as new-regionalism and attributed to rapid urbanisation which is requiring on-the-ground responses to developmental challenges, which often requires action not possible within the realm of national and macro level policies (Scott & Storper, 2007). Local Economic Development is a specialist field within the realm of economic development, popularised in the 1990's and practiced widely in the global north (North America and Europe) (Bartik, 2004; Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005). It is defined as "the process by which public, business and non-governmental sector partners work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation. The aim is to improve the quality of life for all" (Swinburn *et al*., 2006: 1). In a rapidly urbanising world, LED at city level, or the competitiveness of cities and city regions, are gaining more attention from scholars and practitioners (Kilroy, Mukim & Negri, 2015; Pugalis & Bentley, 2014a).

The practice of LED is dominated by an orthodox planning-based approach, initiated and led by government (Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005; Leigh & Blakely, 2016). This presents some challenges in developing countries, including South Africa, with low capabilities at local government level (Andrews, Woolcock & Pritchett, 2017). Even though well entrenched in the legislative and policy environment in South Africa, the practice has suffered from a tension between a project driven, pro-poor focus and a more market-driven (competitiveness and

business environment) focus (Rogerson, 2011). There is mounting evidence of the failure of the practice of LED, with the adoption of the approach not having realised its potential (Rogerson, 2009; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2010).

Regional Economic Development in South Africa equates to a provincial government function, suffering much the same fate as LED. Some initial examples of a move beyond narrow administrative boundaries to a stronger regional focus in the economic development landscape are found in the establishment of the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO), tellingly at the initiative of multiple research institutions and not government (GCRO, 2013). For the purposes of this study definitions from the field of economic geography is adapted to the local South African context (Scott & Storper, 2003). A region is defined as an administrative or geographical space corresponding to a provincial boundary and /or spanning multiple district boundaries. Local (in LED) refers to initiatives in spatial areas corresponding to an area equal to a district or local authority boundary or to areas smaller than a municipal boundary (for example a Central Business District within a city).

The failure of government-driven or government led R&LED has resulted in growing numbers of bottom-up, innovative and multi-level governance approaches to meet the needs of localities (Atkinson, 2015; Atkinson & Ingle, 2010; Rogerson, 2019). This development in the field of R&LED is taking place against the backdrop of a similar search for and testing of alternative governance approaches in the field of public administration (Head & Alford, 2015), as examined in detail later in Chapter 3 of this study.

1.6.1.2 Public Administration and Governance

Using collaborative approaches with networks of entities and role players (private sector and civic society) to deliver basic services and improved results is now commonplace in public administration, as are discussions around networked governance, i.e. the question of how to govern these arrangements (Cepiku, Mussari, Poggesi & Reichard, 2014; Milward & Provan, 2006). In practice, this has required a shift from traditional hierarchical structures and approaches to more relationship-based governance, which extends beyond outsourcing government delivery, to managing and navigating multi-stakeholder networks (Goldsmith & Eggers, 2005). This is known as collaborative public management (McGuire, 2006), or in some cases referred to as new public governance (NPG) (Osborne, 2010). This paradigm is explicitly informed by the need to deal with complexities and interdependencies in a networked society (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012).

There are many definitions of governance, with one highlighted as "the structures, processes, rules and traditions through which decision-making power that determines actions is exercise, and so accountabilities are manifested and actualised" (Zadek & Radovich, 2006: 5). Governance is not about finding a single solution to a complex problem, in fact it recognises that there may not be a single solution and focusses on discovering how to proceed in a way that multiple participants find acceptable (Scarlett & McKinney, 2016). It is often contrasted with hierarchies and bureaucracies, but in reality these should be seen as complimentary (Scarlett & McKinney, 2016) with the aim of reconciling top-down vertical lines of authority with horizontal lines of action (Goldsmith & Eggers, 2005).

Narrowing the field of literature further, the focus moves to collaborative governance which is more specifically concerned with bringing together public and private sector stakeholders towards consensus-oriented decision making. Definitions of collaborative governance vary from broad descriptions (see for example (Emerson, Nabatchi & Balogh, 2012) to much narrower and detailed outlines such as six criteria for meeting the definition by Ansell and Gash (2008). The latter was preferred for use in this study, as it highlights the involvement of government as prerequisites for governance and it provides the relevant emphasis for the notion that R&LED is a function or responsibility of government.

Other authors distinguish between cooperation (short term and informal), coordination (mechanisms that link components in a system) and collaboration (stable, long terms and high levels of interdependence) (Brown & Keast, 2003). Vangen, Hayes & Cornforth (2015) distinguishes between collaborative governance and the governance of collaborations. In short, the difference is that the former is considered a public policy tool involving state and non-state actors, whilst the latter refers to structures and process employed towards collaborative decision making (Bryson, Crosby & Stone, 2015). Regional and local economic development, as a function or activity of government is uniquely positioned when considering this distinction. It focusses on a location's competitive advantage and the need to mobilise stakeholders to work together to unlock this competitiveness. It thus shows elements of both government-mandated consensus building around public policy (through R&LED strategies) and actors working jointly (with or without government) to realise increased economic return for each one. It is important to note that the inability to make this distinction and understand in which of the two areas a specific action is located, may be one of the drivers of the tensions within the field of R&LED, and thus cannot be ignored.

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1.6.1.3 Networks, network governance and network management

There is very limited research on networks and network governance in the field of R&LED. As a result, it is one of the aims of this study to explore the applicability of this under-utilised field and these concepts in relation to R&LED.

It is important to note that while there has been an exponential increase in recent publications on networks across a multidisciplinary academic landscape (Barabási, 2014), there is no single overarching network theory. Evidence suggests common understanding over the importance of the relationships between and among actors, and that the structure of a group (patterns, number of connections, positions) is seen as just as consequential for the group as the characteristics of individuals in the group (Borgatti, Brass & Halgin, 2014). A number of basic definitions were considered – summarised as networking being classified as a verb (the action of networking) whilst a network is used as a noun (a state or condition or structure) (based on the work of Klaster, 2015 - see Figure 3-2).

Various authors have conducted retrospective reviews of the origins and evolution of the use of networks in public administration (see for example Berry, Brower, Choi, Goa, Jang, Kwon & Word, 2004; Hwang & Moon, 2009; Isett, Mergel, LeRoux, Mischen & Rethemeyer, 2011). The most recent of these seem to have settled on three broad domains, summarised by Lecy *et al.* (2014) as policy formation networks, governance networks and policy implementation networks. There is significant overlap between these three broad domains. In addition to the focus on research domains, several scholars have also focussed on defining the types of networks found in practice. Some of these types of networks identified include implementation, outreach, action, service implementation, and information diffusion (see Agranoff, 2003; McGuire, 2006). Further, three broad categories (3C's) – cooperation, coordination and collaboration – can also be applied as types of networks (Mandell, Keast & Chamberlain, 2017).

The literature on the governance of networks in public administration is firmly rooted in the seminal work by Provan and Kenis (2008) which identified three forms of network governance, namely shared governance network, lead organisation network and a network administrative organisation (NAO) network (see figure 3-4). The traditional coordinating role of subnational government in R&LED correlates with a role as lead organisation. The NAOs correlate more closely with entities such as LED Agencies or, more recently partnerships. One cautionary note is that the existence of a perceived governance mechanism (like an LED forum) does not equate to a governance function being performed (Parker, 2007).

Literature on network management was an important sub-section to consider, especially as this study aims to contribute to improved practice, ultimately through the crafting of a network focused management strategy for bottom up R&LED partnerships. It has been argued that deliberate attempts to govern processes in networks or to employ strategies to initiate, facilitate or mediate within networks should be defined as network management (Klijn, Steijn & Edelenbos, 2010; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012). Studies on the impact of management actions on network results have been lagging behind other focus areas such as network structure, but a number of studies have been able to confirm that management strategies do have a strong impact on network outcomes (Klijn *et al.*, 2010; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012; Ysa, Sierra & Esteve, 2014).

The authors Agranoff and McGuire did extensive work in the early 2000's to determine whether there are functional equivalents to traditional management activities (POSDCORB model) present in network management. They identified four management activities, often carried out in combination with each other (Agranoff & McGuire, 1999; Ysa *et al.*, 2014). More recent literature refers to the work of network managers as "orchestrational work" and find that network managers tends to perform network management tasks in addition to traditional management activities (such as described by the POSDCORB model) (Bartelings *et al.*, 2017). It has also been found that network managers' ability to identify key stakeholders and activate and connect with those is the most crucial to network outcomes. It is cautioned that an overemphasis on the institutional vehicle or structure holding a network management functions should be avoided, with a more productive strategy being to focus on network management activities in relation to actors in the network (Klijn *et al.*, 2010).

Network effectiveness or success can be assessed at an output level, which focusses on the community or stakeholders that should benefit from the network, or at a network level. A concept found in the realm of conservation governance, and which particularly resonates with the researcher is that of the "useful life of network governance"(Imperial, Johnston, Pruett-Jones, Leong & Thomsen, 2016). The idea of usefulness of a network or governance arrangement contrasts more traditional views that success equates longevity. The concept of "useful and healthy life" rather than traditional monitoring and evaluation approaches focussed on outputs underscores that network governance attempts to create value in other ways beyond merely outputs. It further emphasises the constant nurturing requirements of such initiatives which may also require radical reorientation due to changing conditions or bringing an initiative to an end.

1.6.1.4   Partnerships

The focus now turns to partnerships, another popular term with a growing research interest, considered a more prescriptive form of network governance which takes shape as a deliberate attempt to join up disconnected parts of a network (Pope & Lewis, 2008; Selsky & Parker, 2005). Researchers emphasise that there is no single model for successful partnerships and that the selective application of good practice, framed by local conditions and constraints are most likely to yield success (Pope & Lewis, 2008; Rein & Stott, 2009).

Many types of partnerships have been identified in literature and various classifications and typologies have been devised (see section 3.4.2) – the aim of this research was not to attempt another classification of R&LED partnerships. Rather the literature in this field informed the evaluation criteria for the cases and ultimately the recommended management strategy. Some of the recommendations from literature around partnership establishment include that the chosen type should be informed by the purpose, who is involved, the timing of the partnership formation process and the geographical area. A common type of partnership in South Africa is a PPP – public-private partnership – used to refer mostly in the government sphere to the delivery of an infrastructure investment by means of leveraging private sector financing and risk sharing. This study excludes a focus on PPP's as the focus is not on the mechanisms to execute a single project but rather the governance of a broader economic agenda with a local or regional focus.

There may be an argument that focussing on collaboration, partnerships and networks are an unnecessary effort and that a focus on one might suffice. Networks tend to be a general term referring to inter-organisational relationships, whilst partnerships and collaborations are specific artefacts in or types of networks. In the words of Bryson *et al.* (2015: 13), "not all networks are collaborations, but all collaborations and partnerships are networks". Particularly, the field of R&LED governance has only to a limited extent been explored from a network perspective and, given the growing use of partnerships, this offers an exciting intersection for this study to explore.

1.6.1.4   Themes in literature review as it applies to R&LED

As a final section in the literature review, the broad themes of governance, partnership and networks were considered as it relates to R&LED specifically. Governance approaches in practice includes LED Forums (the dominant global approach) and LED agencies. Partnerships are more common at regional level, and often facilitated by third parties (NGO's, etc.) in order to mitigate for some unhealthy competitive behaviour between localities or to pursue some broader

regional goal (Chen, Feiock & Hsieh, 2015). R&LED is fundamentally a task that is multi-actor, multi-level and multi-sector (Helmsing, 2003) and local problems are often caused by a variety of drivers emanating from multiple levels (Gupta, Pfeffer, Verrest & Ros-Tonen, 2015). Pennink's multi-actor multi-level model (2014:47) (see figure 3-10) is a very useful depiction of the complexity of the environment, requiring sophisticated management approach by subnational governments, often not well equipped to fulfil this task.

The application of a network focus in R&LED was found to be severely lacking, with only a handful of academic articles by a narrow group of scholars published on this in recent years (see for example Lee, Feiock & Lee, 2012; Hawkins, Hu & Feiock, 2016). Partnerships is a topic that is much better studied in the R&LED field. They are used as governance approach across local and regional scale in the USA, UK, Australia and broadly across the EU for the implementation of wide social agenda's. Cloete (2015) makes a good case for the use of partnership in R&LED in South Africa with motivations such as that the scale and complexity of economic challenges in the country requires a multi-actor approach, that partnerships may build higher levels of mutual accountability and that structured partnerships may build longer term trust and joint action.

1.6.1.5 An evaluation approach with multiple tools

From the literature review, the researcher constructed a multi-step sequential process to evaluate R&LED governance mechanisms (and partnerships particularly), in order to determine if the arrangement is indeed fulfilling a network governance function. The first step is to consider the lifecycle of the partnership and determine where it is currently located – this is important because the argument is made that different management actions are appropriate at different points in the lifecycle. Next an evaluation checklist was constructed (see table 3-4), using various definitions and indicators of what it would mean in practice to fulfil a networking function, build or influence a network structure or perform a network governance function. This checklist is focussed at network level or systemic results within the broader landscape of actors. Finally, a first theoretical network management model was constructed which would allow for a consideration of the results produced through the actions of network managers. This tool could be used as a gap analysis to determine where action can be improved (see table 3-5).

Although the focus in this research is heavily on network governance, and the tools places network governance being achieved as the most advanced of the options, it should be noted that not all R&LED steering or coordinating mechanisms would necessarily have network governance as a goal. In some cases the arrangement might simply be facilitating information flow or creating

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an opportunity for networking to happen. The tool merely allows for a clear understanding of the actual role being played by an entity, partnership or platform, and then allows for checking whether the actual function being performed is the intended function at its establishment. An improved understanding and awareness of this network approach by stakeholders and network managers could assist in adjusting actions and strategies to ensure that the intended results are achieved over time.

As mentioned previously, this study was conducted in an inductive manner, with the literature review informing the theoretical and conceptual frames, outlined in more detail in Chapter 3.

1.7 Research design and methods

1.7.1 Research design

The study was conducted through the application of a mixed method approach. Firstly, rooted in qualitative case study work, preceded by a literature review, a diagnostic tool for application in the cases was developed. Social network analysis, a quantitative technique, was then applied utilising proxy data sets as the basis for the networks to be analysed, and, as suggested by Prell (2012), was well informed by the rich initial qualitative portion. The study was always aimed to reflect some of the broad criteria typically associated with qualitative research, such as adopting a flexible research strategy, using methods which usually involve close contact between the researcher and the people being studied, where the researcher is the primary instrument, respecting the uniqueness of each case and, finally, conducting cross-case analysis (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2013).

As pointed out earlier, the researcher has a very close association with the cases studied and the initial aim was to conduct action research including elements of qualitative case study work. Action research resonated with the researcher as it offered the opportunity to introduce new theories and techniques in practice and then to observe the emergent features within the cases (Reason & Bradbury, 2001). This stemmed from a desire to improve practice and assist the partnerships to achieve better results. Due to changing personal circumstances, involving a geographical relocation, the close association with the cases was severed in early 2016, which significantly impacted on the original research design, and made it virtually impossible to continue to pursue action research. This resulted in the mixed method research methodology presented in this dissertation; namely a focus on qualitative case study work, supplemented by quantitative analysis.

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Yin (quoted in Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010: 717) describes case studies as "research situations where the number of variables of interest far outstrip the number of data points". Drawing on Yin's original definition, Gerring (2004: 241) defines a case study as "an in-depth study of a single unit (a relatively bounded phenomenon) where the scholar's aim is to elucidate features of a larger class of similar phenomena". Case studies can be used to both generate and test theories (Gibbert, Ruigrok & Wicki, 2008). The case study as research method is most often faulted for lack of representativeness and lack of rigor (Hamel, Dufour & Fortin, 1993). These issues are addressed in more detail in the methodology chapter (Chapter 4).

1.7.2 Case selection

When considering case studies, researchers have a choice between considering many cases superficially (cross-case approach) or a very limited number or a singular case in depth (Gerring, 2006). Since partnerships of this nature are relatively new in South Africa and the first of their kind are found in practice in the Western Cape, four potential case studies within the province were identified. This list of potential cases was informed by the researcher's high, but varying, levels of direct contact with the cases and thus direct access to information with these specific cases. Finally, care was taken to ensure that a variety of spatial contexts were represented through the cases, given the local and regional economic development lens of the study. Two cases (the WCEDP and SCEP) was ultimately selected (more detail on the selection criteria provided in Chapter 4).

With the selection of two cases, this study allowed for detailed in-case analysis as well as a search for patterns across cases (Eisenhardt 1989). Reducing the number of cases to two, rather than a potential four, also represents a regular trade off in research between comparability and representativeness (Gerring, 2004: 348).

The researcher's association and involvement with the two cases required a specific consideration and sensitivity throughout the study in terms of potential researcher bias (Mays & Pope, 1995). Case study research in general has been criticised for bias towards verification, however Flyvbjerg (2011) states that it is in fact more often the opposite, with experience indicating that "the case study contains a greater bias towards falsification of preconceived notions than towards verification". This is attributed to the researcher's proximity to the case and results in a learning process which often leads to an advanced understanding.

1.7.3 Research methods and data collection

Different methods and techniques were applied throughout the study, including desktop research, recording of the researcher's personal involvement, case studies, social network analysis, semi-structured and in-depth interviews, etc. As first phase, an extensive literature review relating to public value, governance, collaboration, networks and cross-sector partnerships was conducted. The researcher became particularly interested in networks and the potential of network visualisation in this literature review process.

With the addition of a life cycle analysis and management strategy review, a sequential evaluation process was designed and applied to the two cases in Chapter 5. The broad evaluation process can be outlined as follows:

> Step 1: Consider the life cycle of the partnership/governance arrangement to determine in which stage the network is located;
> Step 2: Apply the heuristic checklist (developed further in this section) to determine if networking, network structure or network governance results are being achieved; and
> Step 3: Consider the network management actions (management model) to determine if any management actions might not be present (gap analysis).

Although depicted as sequential the process was iterative, with multiple reviews and reconsiderations as the evaluation progressed along the steps. This reflects a conscious attempt to ensure the overlap of data collection and data analysis through an ongoing evaluation and questioning of data collected. This allowed freedom to probe emerging themes, make adjustments to data collection (e.g. adding questions during interviews) and most importantly allow the pursuit of opportunities as they present themselves (Eisenhardt, 1989). This study includes detailed in-case analysis as well as a search for patterns across cases (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Next the focus shifted to conducting SNA and visualisation of the two cases, particularly as a tool that is growing in popularity and which has not been utilised regularly in the field of R&LED or governance. Visualisations or images have been used for many generations to provide researchers with insights into network structures and allow a user-friendly way to communicate those insights (Freeman, 2000). Social network analysis is defined as a focus on patterns of relationships between actors and examines the availability of resources and the exchange of resources between these actors (e.g. individuals, groups or organisations) (Haythornthwaite,

1996). A relationship is further defined as a specific kind of interaction between actors and the type of interactions to be considered will be determined by the researcher (Haythornthwaite, 1996). Social network analysis as method is unpacked in detail in Chapter 4 and the specific application in this study is outlined in Chapter 6.

After multiple requests and attempts to collect participant reported network data, it was clear that the response rates were too low to do any meaningful visualisation. As alternative, proxy data sources had to be identified, resulting in the decision to utilise attendance registers contained in meeting minutes. This necessitated access to archival data, which was granted readily by both cases. The archival data provided a grounding for the actual case study write-up through unpublished organisational information in addition to information that was readily available in the public domain (e.g. published annual reports).

In the earlier conception of this study, the visualisation results were expected to point to the key role players in the network, which could in turn determine which of them would be invited to participate in some form of participatory process utilising versions of the Delphi technique (Fielding & Warnes, 2009). As already outlined, since the research approach moved away from an action research approach, the SNA was ultimately rather intended to investigate the structure of the network as an additional level of analysis, particularly the change in structure over time and in different phases, and test whether key individuals as perceived by participants and staff were indeed important when analysed quantitatively.

Triangulation, particularly between-method triangulation, allows for another means of addressing bias. As stated by Denzin (1978 as quoted in Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007; 115) "the bias inherent in any particular data source, investigators, and particularly method will be cancelled out when used in conjunction with other data sources, investigators, and methods". There was a conscious attempt in this research to ensure triangulation of findings between the researchers own practical experience and observations in cases, literature and the quantitative portion in SNA.

1.8 Ethical considerations

The researcher submitted an application for ethical clearance on an originally approved research design which included a large action research component. It is important to note that the study originally intended to be entirely action research based, and aimed to be a reflection of working in practice with three partnerships. This has arguably more onerous ethical requirements than the final simpler case study design, not that ethical requirements in any research should be taken

lightly. It is acceptable for studies to be adjusted during a research process and final ethics clearance has been secured during the academic submission process. Broadly the study utilised the same envisioned case studies (only two rather than the original three), but the relationship between researcher and case was significantly different.

The original three case studies had agreed to participate, availing staff to work as co-researchers as the project develops. A strong commitment was made to the so-called "Action Research Spiral" (plan-act-observe-reflect), with a specific strong focus on reflection as a specific step in each cycle (this is in addition to ongoing reflection by the researcher through reflective journal writing and logbooks). The Action Research spiral reflects elements of what is referred to as The Spiral Research Approach in the field of qualitative research (Berg & Lune, 2014), emphasizing the non-linearity of the planned research. Multiple iterations of this spiral were anticipated with each case study, with co-researchers to contribute significantly to the design and implementation of next phases. In this research design, staff from the case studies would work with the researcher and co-design and implement the actual research process.

Authors such as McTaggart (1994: 315) have gone to great lengths to emphasise that merely or strictly following the action research spiral or steps does NOT constitute action research. He states that "Action research is not a 'method' or a 'procedure' but a series of commitments to observe and problematise through practice the principles for conducting social enquiry". Reason (2006) outlines four characteristics or dimensions of action research, namely:

- That it is concerned with addressing worthwhile practical purposes (defined as issues of concern to individuals and communities in their everyday conduct)
- It encompasses many ways of knowing
- As it is primarily engaged with people, it must be necessarily democratic and participatory, and
- It is an emergent process

In terms of the final characteristic (emergence) it is emphasized that the process of inquiry is as important as the final outcomes and secondly that good action research emerges and evolves over time, even questions may change in the process (Reason, 2006).

In the execution of the study the researcher ensured that informed consent was obtained, also from individual participants during the administration of initial SNA questionnaires – although this approach was ultimately abandoned, and the data not utilised. The researcher disclosed her intent to utilise data, meeting minutes and the participation of attendees in those meetings for

research purposes at every engagement. The researcher obtained written consent from case study managers to secure access to data and have kept the data confidential and secured in digital storage formats to which only the researcher has access. In terms of the participant data used for the SNA portion of the study, all individuals were assigned numbers to anonymise results. Annexures to this study and graphs included has been designed in a way that a specific individual cannot easily be identified. Entities however remain identifiable and where reference is made to specific individuals in relation to the positions they hold in those entities these individuals were more closely involved and consulted in the research process.

1.9 Chapter outline

The dissertation chapters are briefly outlined to depict the structure of the dissertation.

Chapter 1 serves as background and introduction to the study, including a consideration for the relevance and contribution of the study. It outlines broadly the research design and method (unpacked in detail in Chapter 4). A high-level overview of the literature review is also provided in the context of the theoretical and conceptual frame for the research.

Chapter 2 provides a theoretical basis of the field of R&LED, within which this study is primarily rooted. The literature review starts broadly in the field of international development and is gradually narrowed to economic development, the emergence of regionalism and the specific field of LED. Emerging themes in R&LED are discussed. These include the growing prominence of urban areas in economic geographical studies and highlight a few country comparisons. Finally, a more detailed review of the South African legislative, policy and practice environment of R&LED is presented.

Chapter 3 introduces alternative governance approaches as society struggles to deal with intractable challenges, particularly in the field of R&LED. The chapter outlines concepts of governance, collaboration and a networked society through the lens of public administration. There is explicit consideration of network management strategies and a focus on partnerships as a more prescriptive and very specific form of network governance. From the literature review, a series of three evaluation tools, together constituting an evaluation approach, is developed. The aim is consequently for the evaluation approach to be applied to R&LED partnerships, as it offers an opportunity to determine where in the life cycle a partnership is situated (Imperial *et al.*, 2016), on a spectrum of functions, if a network governance function is indeed performed, and, finally, what network management strategies are being applied.

Chapter 4 contains a detailed outline of the research methodology applied in this research, it particularly outlines the theoretical and conceptual frameworks as well as decisions in terms of research design, made by the researcher and justified. It includes a consideration for researcher bias and rigour, as well as the limitations of this study.

Chapter 5 presents a detailed and rich account of the two cases selected for this research, namely the Western Cape Economic Development Partnership (WCEDP) and the South Cape Economic Partnership (SCEP). Following an account of the initiation, development and maturation of the partnerships, the evaluation approach is applied. This allows for documenting some initial observations, commonalities and differences between the cases. Chapters 2, 3 and 5 are broadly based on an unpublished conference paper by the researcher presented in 2016[1].

Chapter 6 sees the focus turning to the quantitative analysis of the cases utilising SNA. Adjacency matrices are constructed based on attendance of meetings and visualisations are then produced for and evaluated against the previously plotted life cycle of each partnership. The WCEDP, due to its size and management decisions to not continue to convene a larger network, did not allow for a direct SNA application. The discussion of this case is firstly theoretical in terms of its depiction and then a sub-network within the larger partnership is used for SNA.

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter in which research findings are presented. The findings are presented along the same structure outlined in this chapter – firstly, addressing each research sub-question and, finally, focussing on a concise response to the main research question. This logical structure and explicit design of a set of research sub-questions also means that if each of the sub-questions is answered satisfactorily, the answers could be aggregated into a satisfactory answer of the main research question. The chapter concludes with the presentation of a management strategy for application in R&LED partnerships.

1.10 Summary

This chapter provided an introduction to and broad overview of this research, starting with a problem statement and describing the researchers interest in the topic, particularly as practitioner in the field of R&LED. As networked forms of governance to implement policies and programmes

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[1] Bunding-Venter, C. 2016. Networking, Networks or Network Governance – does the distinction matter for Regional and Local Economic Development Partnerships in South Africa? 15th International Winelands Conference, Stellenbosch, 30 March-1 April 2016.

has been an emerging feature in the public management landscape, partnerships (as one such networked approach) is noted to be on the increase in R&LED in South Africa. These partnerships emerge and form in different ways (top-down or bottom-up) and seem to follow different trajectories. Some have been noted to experience challenges in terms of long-term sustainability and traction.

While a generic model or approach for partnerships is not likely feasible (due to the heterogeneity of the landscape), it is theorised that there must be some commonality or at least best practice approaches to be noted. The study is framed around a series of research questions, each unpacked in a chapter of the thesis (see figure 1-1). The chapter also included a very brief overview of the main strands of literature considered, including R&LED, public administration and governance, networks (including network management and governance) and partnerships.

The research is designed as a mixed-method approach. It is based on qualitative case study work, preceded by a literature review from which a diagnostic tool for application in the cases was developed. Social network analysis, a quantitative technique, was then applied to gain deeper insights. Various research methods were applied in an iterative process, reflecting a conscious attempt to ensure the overlap of data collection and data analysis through an ongoing evaluation and questioning of data collected. This allowed freedom to probe emerging themes and adjust data collection as needed. An example of this responsiveness is the decision to rely on minutes of meetings as proxy for network interaction after other data collection approaches were not successful.

This chapter also highlighted ethical considerations and the steps taken by the researcher to ensure compliance with the relevant standards and guidelines in this regard. Of particular interest here is explicit consideration to obtain informed consent and the anonymisation of results of analysis. Finally, an outline of the content of each chapter is provided. The following Chapter will provide an overview of the field of R&LED, locating it within the context of development and economic development as well as dominant global trends and features such as urbanisation.

CHAPTER 2

2. Review of Regional and Local Economic Development as a field of practice

Ever-evolving approaches and no single or guaranteed recipe for success

2.1 Introduction

The world today, is a very different place since the 2008 financial crisis. Ongoing and rapid global economic changes and increasingly complex economic, social and environmental challenges continue to impact on social and economic development efforts (OECD, 2014). Even as developing countries have experienced unprecedented economic growth in the past decades, ensuring advances of living standards for a high percentage of the world population (Rodrik, 2014), the future looks increasingly uncertain. With the slowdown in growth in China, speculation abound for some time around the potential of Africa as future growth engine for the world economy (Rodrik, 2016). However, growing income inequality and youth unemployment coupled with a more connected society across the globe (Stepanova, 2011) could threaten stability, as has transpired during the "Arab Spring"[2] in Middle Eastern countries. Continued rapid urbanisation, with more than half the world's population now living in cities (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, 2014), offers opportunities for productivity gains but at the same time the growing challenges of slums and inequality (Alkira *et al.*, 2016).

The policies that impact on development outcomes are far-reaching and broad (Rodrik & Rosenzweig, 2010) – arguably just as broad as the concept of development itself. Designing these development-oriented policies is usually the mainstay of government, and in a decentralised world the role of the subnational government is becoming increasingly important. Decentralisation has been a global trend for some 40 years, and 95% of democracies around the world have devolved political, fiscal and administrative powers to some form of subnational government (World Bank, 2000 quoted in Rodríguez-Pose & Ezcurra, 2009: 5).

This chapter explores various concepts and ultimately situates R&LED within the realm of development and economic development. The focus then moves to emerging trends and key

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[2] A series of democratic protests and civil uprisings, originated in Tunisia and spread through other Arab countries in 2011

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themes within R&LED globally. Finally, the chapter explores R&LED in South Africa from both a policy and practice perspective. The current chapter provides one part of the theoretical grounding of this study, with the second part an exploration of governance and networks, specifically applicable to R&LED considered in Chapter 3.

2.2 From development to R&LED

2.2.1 Development

There is no universally accepted homogenous definition for development, as the meaning is socially determined by the specific interest groups or sector of society that is targeted (Pike *et al*., 2007). Cobbinah, Black & Thwaites (2011) note that development is multidimensional in nature, making it virtually impossible to apply a universal definition or interpretation. The common theme in development definitions is the notion of "change", usually towards some improved state of the human condition (Sumner & Tribe, 2008). The literature reveals an evolution of the term from a focus on GDP growth in the post-colonial period, to Basic needs in the 1950 – 1970s, to sustainable development in the 1980s, and on to a focus on the improvement of human welfare in the 1990s (Thorbecke 2006: 33). This evolution reflects that as the world economy became increasingly globalised over the past decades, so too the discourse around development has advanced. Initially, this pursuit of development was mostly a state-led economic process, but with globalisation support for more market-led economic development approaches grew. Seers noted as far back as 1969 that, "while it is very slipshod of us to confuse development with economic development and economic development with economic growth, it is nevertheless understandable". He notes the ease and convenience of measurement of national income and GDP versus the measurement of the actual wider social complexities of development as a key factor in using such measures.

This economic focus significantly shifted in the late 1980s and early 1990s with a human-centred approach to development popularised by the Brundtland Commission, which introduced the notion of sustainable development (Reed & Reed, 2009). This human development focus was further entrenched through the adoption, in 2000, of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which set eight development goals for nations of the world to pursue towards 2015. These goals included eradicating extreme poverty, achieving universal primary education and promoting gender equality and empowerment of women (World Bank, 2014). Some authors (Cobbinah *et al.*, 2011; Herath, 2009) have emphasised that development must be considered a process and

not an end state, which places the MDG approach in terms of goals and targets in question. Another criticism of the approach has been that unrealistic targets were out of reach for many countries and increased their dependence on international aid and donations to pursue these goals (Clemens, Kenny & Moss, 2007). This has sparked further controversy with much written about the failure of aid to deliver tangible and sustainable development impacts (Kremer, van Lieshout & Went, 2009; Tarp, 2006).

Although the MDGs have been branded as the "most successful anti-poverty movement in history", many of the ambitious targets (21 targets and more than 60 indicators) were not achieved (Galatsidas & Sheehy, 2015; United Nations, 2015a: 2). As the 2015 target date neared, the 2012 Rio+20 UN Conference on Sustainable Development reached agreement to continue the pursuit of sustainable development. This conference noted the stronger role that developing nations and grass-roots organisations were starting to play in negotiations of this nature (Romero & Broder, 2012). This collective effort towards agreement on global action after the MDGs were branded the "Post-2015 Development Agenda", ultimately resulting in the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which includes 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations, 2015a). The SDGs, also referred to as the Global Goals, are "a universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planed and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity" (United Nations, 2015b).

As this study is located within the specific field of R&LED, a more detailed consideration of specifically economic development within the broad development discourse is required.

2.2.2 Economic development

Like the shift from an economic development lens to a more human-centred lens in the broad field of development, there is also an evolution visible within the narrower field of economic development itself. This can be summarised as moving from a project focus (filling a gap in resources in areas where development has been lagging), to a focus on policies (adopting the right policies with the Washington Consensus as foundation) and then institutions (and good governance). Failures noted in these approaches resulted in an emphasis on societal transformation, requiring a comprehensive development framework informed by Sen and others (Easterly, 2001; Stiglitz, 2016).

The 1950s saw an international focus on economic growth in newly independent and less developed countries, often focussing on industrialisation and modernisation of these economies

(Thorbecke, 2006). The growth-oriented approach evolved in later decades to focus on, for example, agriculture as part of the modern economy, an increasing awareness of the peril of unemployment and underemployment and a recognition of the importance of the informal economy. The Washington Consensus (a term coined in 1989) focussed heavily on macroeconomic stability and growth. It accordingly outlined ten policies that particularly the United States (US) and key development agencies based in the US (e.g. the IMF and the World Bank), would pursue in development interventions (Williamson, 2009).

The failures and criticisms of the Washington Consensus are widely documented and are specifically contrasted with the East Asian economic success, resulting from a very different development approach (Serra & Stiglitz, 2008). Just as with the broad field of development, a more human-centred approach has entered economic development over time. A clear shift has taken place from the initial all-encompassing goal of economic growth, measured through GDP, to an increased focus on poverty alleviation and the building of social capital through development processes. This new international economic development position is referred to as the post-Washington Consensus (Stiglitz, 1998). The current landscape has been influenced by the work of Nobel Prize-winning economist, Amartya Sen's work in which he highlighted the impact of freedom as both the means and the ends of development. Further, while Sen acknowledged the role of increased income on the lives of the poor and their level of freedom, he argued for increased access to opportunities as a means of improving capabilities (Selwyn, 2011).

In the modern development era, the political economy focus has shifted significantly to the value and role of institutions (Rodrik, 2008; Thorbecke, 2006). A further shift in focus to governance reform is attributed to the failure of orthodox policies (e.g. the Washington Consensus) in the complex real world (Chang, 2006). In November 2016, thirteen of the world's leading economists (including four former Chief Economists of the World Bank) issued the Stockholm Statement (Alkira *et al.*, 2016). This statement presents a consensus position on what these economists believe should be the principles for policymaking in the contemporay world. The statement confirms that assumptions that the pursuit of GDP growth will trickle down and result in improved societal outcomes are flawed and that, in the absence of appropriate policies, growth may actually be achieved at the expense of well-being. In addition, the statement emphasises the need for inclusive development, the prerequisite to consider environmental sustainability, and the balancing of the state, market and society for effective and efficient development to be a possibility.

2.2.3 Regional economic development, regionalism and urbanisation

A growing body of literature (referred to as new-regionalism) has called for the consideration of how processes on the ground, grounded in some local reality, shapes development. Scholars have argued in recent years, that globalisation has actually made localities, the spaces within which economic activities take place, increasingly important (Rodríguez-Pose, 2011). This has been in response to both criticisms of a historic overconcentration of focus on national governments and macroeconomic policy, and the acknowledgement that cities and city regions are already playing a key role in driving economic growth (Scott & Storper, 2007).

Due to the rapid pace of modern urbanisation, local and regional development policies (bottom-up policies) are starting to fill voids left by insufficient national and macroeconomic policies (top-down policies) in many countries (Crescenzi & Rodriguez-Pose, 2011; Pike, Rodriguez-Pose & Tomaney, 2006). This has reignited debates around the appropriate size of political units for the purposes of economic development, building on seminal works from the 1970s by authors such as EF Schumacher (in Small is beautiful) and Jane Jacobs (in the Economy of Cities). This argument is neatly summarised by Schumacher (1973: 121) in the following quotation: "A given political unit is not necessarily of the right size for economic development to benefit those whose need is the greatest. In some cases, it may be too small, but in generality of cases today is too large". Although the growing importance of subnational regions and cities within economies are acknowledged (World Bank, 2009), some authors caution that successful regions are most often located in countries with dynamic national political economies (Jones, 2001). Enright (2003) argues that historic information shows how economies of countries developed through the emergence of regional growth points or clusters. In whichever direction the causality runs, there remains a strong reciprocal relationship between the national and subnational levels within the economic policy and practice landscape.

Definitions of regions abound across academic disciplines. For example, in international relations a region would usually refer to a multinational area such as the Middle East (MacLeod, 2001). Other macroeconomic uses of regions would refer to trade blocs or supranational regions, such as the European Union or SADC in sub-Saharan Africa (Jessop, 2003). A subnational region may further be considered from three main vantage points, namely economic, institutional or identity (Ellingsen & Leknes, 2012: 227). For the purposes of this study, the definition of a region as located within the field of economic geography will be applied. As the economic vantage point here is informed by geography, it is important to note that a region is defined by Scott and Storper

(2003: 580), as "any area of subnational extent that is functionally organized around some internal central pole".

Inherent in this move towards new regionalism is the issue around agglomeration and its positive relationship with economic growth. Urbanisation and increased agglomeration is a necessary condition for development within this school of thought (Scott & Storper, 2007). In 2014, it was reported that 54% of the world's population resided in urban areas (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, 2014). It is argued that the phenomena of uneven development across space in a given country or region, resulting in leading and lagging regions, is the effect of an urbanised world (Hudson, 2007; World Bank, 2009). It is important to note that agglomeration does not prevent broad positive developmental outcomes, and a concentration of resources does not necessarily guarantee higher growth. Rather, a supportive policy environment and a range of other initiatives are required to ensure desired growth and development (OECD, 2009).

A long-term goal of regional economic development is defined by Stimson, Stough & Salazar (2005: 24) as "internaliz[ing] a process that ensures a *competitive* and *entrepreneurial* city or region and one that achieves *sustainable development"* (original emphasis). The inclusion of sustainable development as a desired result for regional economic development activities is in line with the modern human-centred position on development as discussed earlier. Stimson goes further to develop what is termed a "virtuous cycle of regional development" which offers a very useful graphic representation of the determinants of successful regional development.

Figure 2-1: The virtuous cycle of sustainable regional development
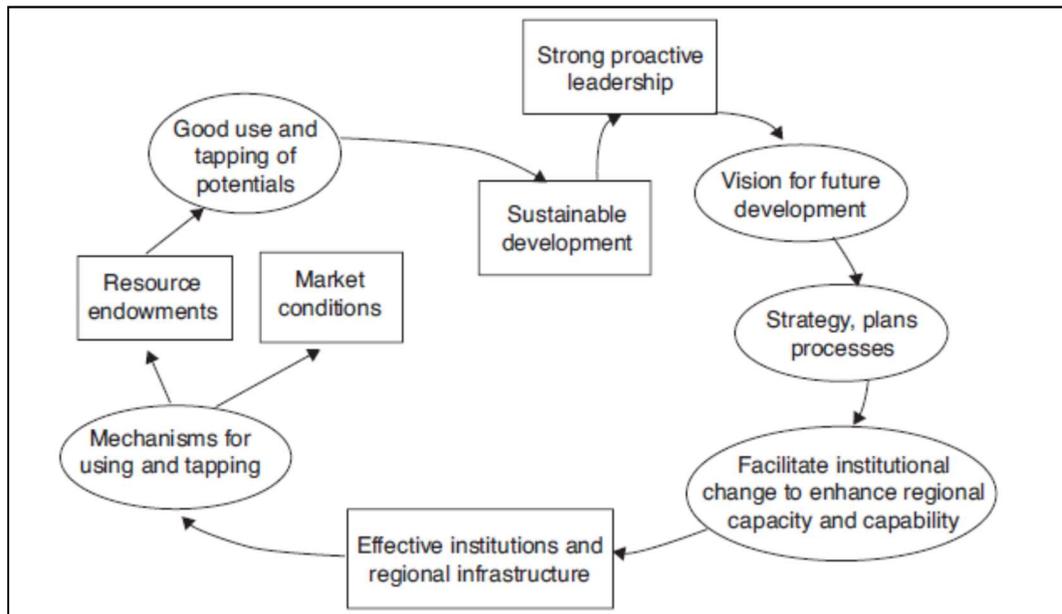
Source: Stimson, Stough & Salazar (2009: 20)

Finally, regionalism offers a cooperative model for inter-local relations (i.e. relations between neighbouring local governments), in contrast to traditional approaches where local governments compete, for example, to attract resources and investment (Olberding, 2002). It has been noted that, in this discourse on regional economic development, the local actors living within a specific situation belong to somewhat of a forgotten level (Pennink, 2014: 44). This argument will be explored in more detail in the following section on local economic development.

2.2.4 Local economic development

Local economic development (LED), as a specialist subset of economic development, grew in popularity in developing countries from the 1990s onwards, has been practised in the developed world for many decades and (Meyer-Stamer, 2006). LED is defined by the World Bank as "the process by which public, business and non-governmental sector partners work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation. The aim is to improve the quality of life for all" (Swinburn *et al.*, 2006: 1). More recently, the Commonwealth Local Government Conference (2011: 1) simplified this definition whilst adding to it: "LED is a process which brings together different partners in a local area to work together and harness local resources for sustainable economic growth. There is no single model for LED, approaches should reflect local needs and circumstances". Although a collaborative approach is implicit in definitions,

the function is often, and generally, located as an action for which responsibility should be taken, or as an action which should be executed by local governments. However, it is acknowledged that LED is unique and very different from traditional local government functions, in that it is primarily "market facing", requiring specialist capacity and expertise (OECD & Mountford, 2009).

2.2.4.1 LED in context of urbanisation

Urbanisation trends and the importance of cities were touched on in the previous section and the links between urbanization and LED are emphasised by the inclusion of an Issue Paper on LED in the Habitat III deliberations in Quito which took place in October 2016 (United Nations, 2015c). The Habitat conferences take place every 20 years and Habitat III saw the adoption of The New Urban Agenda as an extension of the SDGs. An introductory paragraph in the UN adopted resolution summarises the need for such an international agenda:

"By 2050 the world urban population is expected to nearly double, making urbanization one of the 21st century's most transformative trends. As the population, economic activities, social and cultural interactions, as well as environmental and humanitarian impacts are increasingly concentrated in cities, this poses massive sustainability challenges in terms of housing, infrastructure, basic services, food security, health, education, decent jobs, safety, and natural resources, among others." (United Nations, 2016: 1)

In terms of LED, the New Urban Agenda states: "We commit to take appropriate steps to strengthen national, subnational, and local institutions to support local economic development, fostering integration, cooperation, coordination, and dialogue across levels of governments and functional areas and relevant stakeholders" (United Nations, 2016: 10) Although the potential benefits of city growth are clear, if left unchecked rapid, concentrated population growth could have adverse effects on quality of life. For this reason, LED is considered a key activity to ensure that cities exploit their strengths to the benefit of their residents. The Habitat III discussion paper emphasises the need for strengthened local capacity and the ability to apply available LED tools, as well as other key drivers of action such as reliable data, to underpin strategy, the identification and leveraging of local assets and increased coordination amongst other local authority functions (e.g. land use planning and transport).

2.2.4.2 Typical LED Activities

Helmsing (2003) points out that in the internationally accepted process of decentralisation, increasing responsibilities are transferred from national (central) governments to the local governments. This does not always correspond to revenue allocation and has resulted in the need for local authorities to grow their own fiscal base (Helmsing, 2003). This in turn led to increased interest in LED and its potential to grow a local economy and, subsequently, the local tax base. A useful outline of various approaches and activities that could be deemed as LED are summarised below (Helmsing, 2003):

1. Community-based economic development
    a. Creating local safety nets;
    b. Upgrading housing and human settlement;
    c. Delivering basic services; and
    d. Stimulating economic activity (e.g. support access to labour market, construction industry support).
2. Enterprise and business development
    a. Developing local economic base;
    b. Clustering including specialising, supporting institutions and building collective action;
    c. Establishing incentives;
    d. Provision of business development services; and
    e. Establishing special programmes.
3. Locality development
    a. Conduction participatory LED Planning;
    b. Enforcing physical planning and development controls (e.g. zoning and regulations);
    c. Implementing urban planning and design;
    d. Providing economic infrastructure (e.g. roads and water); and
    e. Governance and building social capital.

In keeping with the urbanisation theme and importance of cities, the World Bank in 2015 studied the most competitive cities in the world economy (Kilroy *et al.*, 2015). Of the 750 cities considered in this study, more than three quarters showed growth rates faster than that of their countries (Kilroy *et al.*, 2015) . The argument advanced in this report is that improving city competitiveness

will result in increased firm and industry growth, increased productivity and higher incomes per capita – ultimately reducing poverty. The report outlines four categories of interventions, namely institutions and regulations, land and infrastructure, skills and innovation and enterprise support, and finance. It calls for a focus on tradeable sectors, implementing industry wide as well as sector specific reforms and a simultaneous focus on the three sources of growth (firm expansion, creation and attraction).

The interventions above (from both Helmsing and the World Bank) do not imply that a local authority is responsible to undertake all these functions or activities. This is rather a basket of potential interventions which, as suggested by the Cardiff Consensus definition, should be tailored to meet the local needs. Recent research has also found that strategies tailored to local conditions and integrated into broader regional plans are more likely to succeed (Rodríguez-Pose & Wilkie, 2018). In deciding which activities to pursue, a local authority may choose from various processes and approaches to help identify and prioritise the most important focus areas most likely to deliver in terms of local development goals.   These priorities are typically arrived at through a LED strategy development process, with some approaches to the strategy process outlined below.

2.2.4.2 Approaches to LED strategies

A typical starting point for a LED strategy process would be a situational analysis, which could be expertly led through an interrogation of area-specific economic and social data. More local participatory knowledge and data collection processes such as a Participatory Appraisal of Competitive Advantage (PACA) (Meyer-Stamer, 2008a) are also possible, as are survey-based data collection approaches such as business retention and expansion studies (BR&E) (BRE.guru, 2017). Ideally, a planning process would combine multiple approaches, or a combination of approaches (i.e. some desktop research coupled with a participatory process and some local data collection). These processes or interactions usually result in a local economic plan or strategy, with budgets and other resource allocations such as staff and dedicated offices by the local authority in support of projects and interventions.

The approach outlined above has been termed the orthodox or planning-driven approach to LED (Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005). The main criticism against this approach is that it assigns local government a central and leading role in LED. This is becoming increasingly problematic, especially as the 2008 financial crisis has significantly eroded trust in government (OECD, 2013).

The model also often equates LED and urban planning, which is not correct as the former cannot be executed as a typically mandatory task of government, nor can government play an enforcing role (e.g. issue fines to non-compliant participants in a LED process) (Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005). Other critiques include that the model assumes professional and technical capabilities within government, especially in developing countries, and that the voluntary nature of LED does not make it well suited to a typical government command-and-control approach (Pritchett & Woolcock quoted in Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005: 7; Andrews, Woolcock & Pritchett, 2017).

The World Bank's study, which sought to identify commonalities in strategies, plans or approaches in deep-dive case studies of the most successful cities, found only a single explicit commonality, namely the existence of some form of collaboration, coalition or partnership, amongst multiple stakeholders that outlasted economic and political cycles (Kilroy *et al.*, 2015; Sivaev, Herzberg & Manchanda, 2015). This collaboration by multiple stakeholders broadly introduces the concept of "governance" rather than "government" as appropriate mechanism for the pursuit of local development. This will be unpacked in more detail in Chapter 3, which focusses on the governance approaches relating to R&LED.

The orthodox planning-based approach to LED remains the dominant discourse, with no "new" approaches seemingly finding traction in the international development arena (which remains the key source for LED approaches being adopted in the developing world). This is evident from, for example, the World Bank, UN-HABITAT and ILO not having published any revised approaches in at least the past 15 to 20 years, and one of the most cited works in the field is titled *Planning Local Economic Development: Theory and Practice* (Leigh & Blakely, 2016). An alternative, i.e. an evolutionary, innovative, light touch approach (Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005), does not seem to have found traction, as is evident in the absence of the approach in practice and lack of literature supporting this as an acceptable LED approach. This may be a function of the academic landscape being dominated by publications from large multilaterals and donor agencies whose approach would always be more programmatic and structured in nature. The light touch approach, rooted in relationships, networks and learning-by-doing in a locality, is difficult to plan and deliver. Results may be unpredictable and unexpected, in some instances, outcomes could even be very difficult to attribute to specific interventions.

2.3 Emerging themes in practice

Even where broad consensus on an approach is noted in literature and theory, the practical manifestation of the theory may look very different from place to place or under specific circumstances (Pugalis & Bentley, 2014a). This section outlines a few manifestations of the literature discussed under different circumstances (e.g. developed vs. developing countries) and when applying different focal points (e.g. place-based vs. place-neutral development approaches).

2.3.1 Place-based vs. place-neutral development approaches

There is an ongoing debate about the emergence of a more endogenous and place-based vs. traditional place-neutral policymaking for economic development, outlined in detail by Barca, McCann and Rodríguez-Pose (2012). The OECD in various publications (OECD, 2009; OECD & Charbit, 2009) strongly supports place-based policymaking, whilst the World Bank (2009) still advocate place-neutral policymaking. Tomaney (2010, quoted in Pugalis & Bentley, 2014a) states that the paradigm shift in development approaches "emphasizes the identification and mobilization of endogenous potential, that is, the ability of places to grow drawing on their own resources, notably their human capital and innovative capacities."

Rigg, Bebbington, Gough, Bryceson, Agergaard, Fold and Tacoli (2009) criticise the World Bank's place-neutral approach for conceptualising space as dehumanised and merely as the place in which economic development takes place. Pugalis and Bentley (2014b: 571), however, point out that an "explicit recognition that place matters is also an implicit recognition that people matter, which helps to remind us that place-based mechanisms are also by default people-centred approaches". Place-based policymaking, with a more nuanced approach emphasising the relationships between geography and institutions, is growing in stature and supporters. As basis for success, place-based policymaking specifically requires that local and regional actors are mobilised and play a constructive role in the policymaking and implementation process (Barca *et al.*, 2012). Again, the shift towards a more human-oriented development paradigm is present.

Another feature of the debate has been the difficulty in narrowly defining a place-based approach, as it is now seen as "an innumerable range of place-based economic strategies – each one connected by some attributes, which could form an ideal-typical place-based policy model, although each approach to place-based development is likely to be contextually distinct" (Pugalis

& Bentley, 2014b: 561). The place-based vs. place-neutral debate is far from concluded and indeed it seems that it will continue to grow in depth as a growing body of evidence continues to contrast the two approaches. Even the World Bank (Farole, Goga & Ionescu-Heroiu, 2018) recently published a study on lagging regions in Europe, which draws distinctly on recommendations from the place-based school of thought, possibly signalling a shift in thinking within the organisation.

2.3.2 City regions and growth

Reference has already been made to the growing focus on agglomerations of economic activity within cities and specifically major international cities (Pugalis & Bentley, 2014b). In 2011, six hundred cities produced more than 60% of the global GDP (Dobbs, Smit, Remes, Manyika, Roxburgh & Restrepo, 2011). Globally, cities occupy only 2% of the land area, whilst producing 70% of the global GDP, contribute over 70% of the world's waste and consume 60% of all available energy (United Nations, 2016). However, cities are not neatly contained spaces, with links and spill overs often resonating beyond a city boundary towards broader city regions. A city region can be defined as "a city or group of cities within a wider territory that have a close, interdependent relationship" (Turok, 2009). Jonas and Ward (2007: 170) state that "city-regions are increasingly examined in terms of their functionality for creativity, innovation, development and competition within a globalizing economy. They are theorized as the architectural, social, cultural and spatial building blocks of the global economy, drawing down regulatory authority and territorial control from sovereign nation-states".

Some of the most significant city-regions are in the developing world, including Bangkok, Buenos Aires, Cairo, Jakarta, Lagos, Mexico City and Rio de Jainero. Rapid urbanisation and economic growth in these cities bring with them serious challenges such as informality, environmental challenges as well as pronounced inequality (Cobbinah, Erdiaw-Kwasie & Amoateng, 2015; Sclar, Garau & Carolini, 2005; Scott, 2001). Other well-studied Chinese examples of city-regions include Hong Kong and its links with the wider region referred to as the Pearl River (Enright, Scott & Chang, 2005) as well as the Yangtze River Delta and its mega-city Shanghai (Chen, 2007). Those advocating for city-regions as the panacea for all development challenges have been warned about the possibility that a limited local focus could reinforce tensions between local and regional stakeholders (Turok, 2009) as well as a danger in seeing these regions as self-contained areas and not integrated into wider economic flows (Turok, 2004).

With the growth of city-regions, there is also an increasing focus on urban-rural links and lagging regions. As example, Nel and Stevenson (2014) investigated the evolution of economic development approaches in marginalised small towns well outside the economic mainstream in New Zealand. These towns were forced to adopt innovative place-based approaches given a decline in government financial support and the weaker international economy. They found that much of the positive results were driven by specific individuals, referred to as "benevolent entrepreneurs", in these societies (Nel & Stevenson, 2014: 492).

Clearly, the increasing focus of policymakers on large city-regions as engines of growth also has implications for outlying areas. This is particularly of interest in a time of growing regional inequality (Farole *et al.*, 2018: 10). The European Union has for some time been focussing on not only closing the development gap between member states, but also to address this within countries – the term lagging regions is now commonly used (Farole *et al.*, 2018). Around a third of the EU's total budget is allocated to less developed areas, and regions which include a country's capital tends to be more developed than other regions due to the economic contribution of these cities and the associated spill-over effects (McLaughlin, 2019). A recent report (McLaughlin, 2019) has shown how some countries are re-drawing administrative boundaries to separate these cities from its surrounding regions in order to ensure funding continues to flow to some areas within a larger region that might not qualify for larger amounts of funding. This re-drawing of boundaries increases administrative burdens in terms of data collection and reporting, could result in less cohesion (due to greater administrative separation between cities and neighbouring areas) and results in more funds flowing to regions with lower capacity to implement strategic projects.

2.3.3 R&LED in developed vs. developing countries

Development cannot be discussed without considering the relationship between the developed and the developing world. Many have argued that development is predominantly a concept devised by the developed world, aimed at assisting the so-called "Third World" countries in following the same patterns of growth as experienced by the "First World" (Herath, 2009). This is in line with the definition outlined by Sumner and Tribe (2008: 11) that development is a "western" construct of modernity. Without discussing this specific ideological position further, it suffices to say that realities in the developed world vary greatly from those in developing countries. These differences have some very real implications for the application of any approach or theory, also within the R&LED space.

The first pronounced difference is that institutions and policies of developing nations are often still at an immature stage, are in flux, and they are often marked by considerable variations across time and space (Rodrik & Rosenzweig, 2010). Recently, more nuanced views of institutions in the developing world confirm that development efforts have historically aimed to replicate institutions of the developed world in this different context (Andrews *et al.*, 2017). With the acknowledgement that institutions matter for R&LED (Rodríguez-Pose, 2013), it poses a challenge to the potential effectiveness of policy interventions pertaining to economic development in environments without the requisite maturity of institutions. It does, however, offer a change from the relatively monotonous governance landscape of the developed world and opportunities for learning (Rodrik, Rosenzweig 2009).

The developing world faces a myriad of underdevelopment challenges, such as the lack of sufficient schooling or healthcare (Rodrik & Rosenzweig, 2010). Although it is acknowledged that advances in the provision of such basic and social services can have an extensive long-term economic multiplier effect, it also means that there is a very different government expenditure allocation to R&LED. It was estimated that in the USA in 2002 the local and state governments spent as much as $20–30 billion and the Federal Government a further $6 billion on direct R&LED business support processes (Bartik, 2004). Expenditure in the developing world is often heavily skewed towards the provision of basic infrastructure (both economic and social) which only indirectly facilitates economic activity (Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005; Resuello, 2018).

Donor agencies working in developing countries often advocate strongly for LED as it is the established practice in their home countries (developed countries), whilst not taking into account the skills deficit in local governments in relatively newly decentralised countries (Andrews *et al.*, 2017; Hofisi, Mbeba, Maredza & Choga, 2013). The lack of available or allocated funding coupled with a human resource skills deficit within local government often results in elaborate consultant-designed LED plans, with little or no execution and resultant disappointment in LED as practice (Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005). This is not unique to the field of LED, with growing recognition that traditional developmental approaches focussing on policies, planning and programmes are failing because the key question of how implementation will occur is largely ignored (Andrews *et al.*, 2017). There is the further danger of premature load bearing, which describes a situation where global best practice is applied in a low-capacity environment, resulting in a growing divergence between *de jure* and *de facto* practice and ultimately the failure of the institution or reform initiative (Andrews *et al.*, 2017).

Regional and local economic development is also often approached from an urban planning perspective (Hofisi *et al.*, 2013), focussing on long-term master planning and design of catalytic projects (often infrastructure-driven projects) that take a long time to realise. Urban planning in itself is faced with difficulties in rapidly urbanising developing countries with sprawling slums and informality and the need to follow more participatory processes in designing the long-term plans that shape places (Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005). It can be argued that in a globalised and ever-changing economic landscape such detailed long-term planning (and the long timeframes to delivery of results) in lieu of action to support endogenous potential is increasingly inappropriate in the developing world. New approaches focussing on experimentation and multiple iterations of action are starting to show some positive results in the development arena, including methodologies such as problem-driven iterative adaptation (PDIA) (Andrews, Pritchett & Woolcock, 2013; Andrews *et al.*, 2017).

To conclude, the field of R&LED has been overwhelmingly focussed on practice in the developed or historically industrialised world (the Global North), whilst development studies focussed mostly on the developing and newly urbanising world (the Global South). Scholars have been advocating for increased cross-disciplinary dialogue to ultimately achieve fresh thinking and innovative approaches to global challenges, specifically avoiding "one-size-fits-all" models (Pike, Rodríguez-Pose & Tomaney, 2014: 27).

2.3.4 Economic development partnerships in action

The OECD has been a strong advocate in support of area-based partnerships as means towards improving the performance of existing policies and/or the adaptation of these to better suit the needs of a local economy (OECD, 2006). The Vienna Action Statement on Partnerships (OECD, 2010) highlights the role of partnerships in localising existing policy frameworks and the progression over time to partnerships also aiming to influence policy development processes. Partnerships have thus matured within the OECD economic landscape over the preceding decade. Therefore, the importance of partnerships in recovery from the economic crisis and in a time of austerity is evident.

The UK government changed the governance approach to subnational economic development (or as referred to in this paper R&LED) significantly in 2010 through the introduction of local enterprise partnerships (LEPs) (James & Guile, 2014). These new partnerships replaced the previous regional development agencies as part sweeping reforms under the guise of austerity

measures (Pike, Coombes, O'Brien & Tomaney, 2018). A number of publications have begun considering the effectiveness of this new partnership approach, but with a mixed bag of results it seems too early to fully judge the results (Pugalis & Bentley, 2013; Pugalis & Townsend, 2013; James & Guile, 2014; Johnston & Blenkinsopp, 2017; Martins & Ling, 2017; Marlow, 2019). A review of the 39 established LEPs have found some challenges caused by a fragmented and shifting economic governance landscape and the absence of a longer-term vision and plan for the partnership's development (Pike, Marlow, McCarthy, O'Brien & Tomaney, 2015). There are further ongoing tensions between localism and centralism as well as between collaboration and competition amongst entities, ultimately resulting in a negative view of the potential of the LEPs to influence LED substantially (Pike *et al.*, 2015). Another study has found that there are dangers in blurring the lines between state, market and civil society, even if the intention is to catalyse civil society towards a larger role and accountability for local economic growth (Johnston & Blenkinsopp, 2017).

The European Union Structural Fund and other entities also support partnerships as key vehicles to improve governance and further emphasise the need to integrate local action with regional and national strategies, resulting in multilevel arrangements. Some examples of partnerships in action include territorial employment pacts in Austria, local development companies in Ireland and regional structural fund partnerships in Sweden (Stott & Scoppetta, 2013). In the USA, Olberding (2002) reported the existence of 147 regional partnerships for economic development, with multiple partnerships in some areas (e.g. the Los Angeles region had six partnerships). In a 2001 cross-case evaluation in Latin America, it was found that in the majority of cases new meso-institutions played a crucial role in LED success (Helmsing, 2001). These institutions served to facilitate public-private interactions and there was a trend to locate these new institutions outside of the traditional legal realm, thus removing them from politics and other bureaucratic influences.

The practical partnership applications discussed above are all focussed on broad economic development policy and project execution arrangements in specific localities – place-based when considering the discussion thus far). There are many other published case studies of narrow cross-sector partnerships focussed on very specific deliverables. Van Tulder and Pfisterer (2008) evaluated six Dutch-supported partnerships in Africa, including one that specifically focussed on improved livelihoods of coffee-growing families in a specific province in Colombia. Rein and Stott (2009) similarly considered six cross-sector partnerships in Southern Africa, such as the Chamba Valley Partnership in Zambia, which aimed to support small-scale farming through increased production and guaranteed off-take by a large retail enterprise.

2.4 The South African R&LED landscape

The focus now turns to R&LED policy, approaches and practice in South Africa. Having reached the milestone of 25 years of democracy, a critical reflection on the shortcomings and failures of the transformation process has been taking place through the National Planning Commission. The initial Diagnostic Report (National Planning Commission, 2011a) points out that political change does not guarantee social or economic progress. Although massive strides have been made, pervasive poverty and inequality remain and result in the social and economic exclusion of millions of South Africans. The resultant National Development Plan (National Planning Commission, 2011b) sets a societal development vision for 2030 and the focus is now turning to implementation of this plan. The South African Government faces the challenge of implementation in a collaborative way with society (both business and civic society) which will also require innovative and improved governance structures (Mulder, Bohle, Boshomane, Morris, Tempelman & Velthausz, 2008; Pereira & Ruysenaar, 2012; Rogerson, 2010) .

Although a broad developmental approach is depicted in the NDP, much of South Africa's future depends on positive economic outcomes, including growth, diversification and continued transformation. In keeping with a decentralised mode, when considering the three spheres of government, extensive powers and functions are devolved or assigned to the autonomous, yet inter-dependent, provincial and local levels (Republic of South Africa, 1996). The two spheres of government result in subnational boundaries which could also be referred to as regions.

2.4.1 LED as function of local government

One of the objects of local government in South Africa is "to promote social and economic development" (S152 1 c) and the function referred to as LED is firmly entrenched in local government practice in South Africa. This was supported by the strong promotion of LED by various international development agencies as an approach towards accelerated local development, including the World Bank, UNCDP, ILO and country donor agencies such as the German GIZ and Dutch VNG. However, even with extensive international technical support shortly after democratisation, there has been a poor understanding of and policy void in terms of LED in South Africa, with the function not having delivered on its promise or potential to accelerate the development trajectory of communities in general (Rogerson, 2009).

Despite this, LED has undergone significant maturation and change in the 25 years since democratisation (Nel & Rogerson, 2016b; Republic of South Africa, 2014; Rogerson, 2011). The

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legislative context for LED, in existence since the adoption of the South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996), was further emphasised in the White Paper on Local Government (Republic of South Africa, 1998). The actual practice of LED by local authorities could only really commence after the first municipal elections under the new dispensation in 2000 and a national government policy void was only addressed with the first guidelines in 2005 (DPLG, 2005) and LED framework in 2006 (DPLG, 2006). Much has been written on the policy evolution in LED in South Africa from strongly pro-poor focussed actions to a more internationally accepted, more market-oriented, view of LED with the metropoles leading the way in this regard (Ababio & Meyer, 2012; Meyer-Stamer, 2006, 2008b; Nel, 2001; Rogerson, 2011). Local economic development outside of the metropolitan cities have remained very project focussed, often resulting in unsustainable, small-scale interventions (Ababio & Meyer, 2012; Hofisi *et al.*, 2013). The limited success stories in small towns have often been found in tourism-based initiatives (Boulle & Dibden, 2010; Human, Marais & Botes, 2008; Moodley, 2009; Rogerson, 2002).

Although a comprehensive and constantly growing policy environment exists for R&LED within all spheres of government in South Africa, the translation into action and practice seems to be sorely lacking (Nel & Rogerson, 2016a; Republic of South Africa, 2005b; Rogerson, 2011). The general failures have been attributed to, amongst other issues, a lack of understanding as to what exactly LED entails, a lack of clarity on acceptable LED practices, the lack of supportive national policy and strategies (that is until the first LED Framework in 2006) and limited LED human resources, especially in smaller localities. Rogerson (2011) specifically noted the lack of inclusion of non-government role players in LED practices. The inclusion of these role players in LED practices were identified as a crucial ingredient for delivery on LED strategies (Helmsing, 2003). Rogerson (2014) further points out that a highly fluid economic planning environment (both national and international) requires continuous adjustment by LED practitioners – an unrealistic expectation in an environment constrained by human resource capacity.

Current LED practice in the Western Cape, and a few other provinces in South Africa, is measured against a theoretical framework of what LED should embody as a long-term process from the perspective of local government (Lawson, 2014). The crux of this approach is that LED success depends ultimately on the way local leaders make decisions, supported by data-driven strategic and planning processes. The model by no means advocates a trickle-down approach or assumes that growth will result in development. Instead, it requires action in a step-by-step manner through a sequential set of segments. Some authors (Ndlovu & Makoni, 2014) have suggested that LED, as applied in South Africa (and by implication the model above) is wholly unsuited for this

environment due to its strong westernised bias, assumptions and lack of appreciation for the distinct history and social context. They advocate for a "self-reliance" approach with less focus on the globalised economy, and more on local assets, specifically physical assets such as land within the African context. This alternative is yet to be explored, either academically or in practice.

In a 2009 GtZ (now GIZ) Report commissioned by the then Department of Provincial and Local Government (Rogerson, 2009), it is noted that attention should be given to better understand an appropriate scale for LED. Many practitioners take the reference to local very literally and fail to understand the wider economic scale and context at play in a locality. The Report also notes that many of the challenges, relating to LED specifically, may be overcome by considering and understanding the wider economy. In the most recent draft of the South African National Framework for LED (2014–2019), specific reference is made to the fact that "local competitiveness" (one of the five objectives of the framework), does not mean trying to compete within the constraints of a single municipal boundary, but rather to understanding and collaborating as a functional economic region, usually broader than a single municipality. This significantly updated LED framework (Republic of South Africa, 2014) was expected to provide further clarity in the government policy arena on this function. However, by 2019, which was earmarked to be the end of the five-year period it was supposed to span, the policy framework had not been officially adopted. A decision was also taken by COGTA to partner with the Department of Science and Technology in the drafting of the document, resulting in several new focus areas such as local innovation and science-driven entrepreneurship[3]. This arguably adds to the confusion and lack of implementation of policies and plans in low-capacity local authority environments. Given the failures of government-driven LED to date, increasing alternative governance models for R&LED have been observed, including the use of multi-agent, multisector governance approaches – and specifically partnerships.

2.4.2 Regional economic development

Regional economic development in South Africa has been traditionally understood as being limited to activities and actions seated within the relevant provincial and district municipal authorities. Activities of these subnational governments usually correspond strictly to the administrative boundary. In a progressive research paper, commissioned by the Western Cape Government in 2007, a strong case was made that a new regional development approach

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[3] The researcher has provided peer-review comments on the Framework to the Department, on the basis of the working relationship between the World Bank and COGTA, supported by donor funding.

focussed on city-regions is required in order to meet South Africa's growth aspirations (Clark, Dexter & Parnell, 2007). The case was made with emphasis on the role of the Cape Town city-region within the Western Cape. The Report confirmed and emphasised that "regions" do not have mandates or legislative powers, which will require partnerships and a clear understanding of all potential partners and their respective mandates. Unfortunately, even more than 10 years after this initial report, backed by well-researched arguments and some high-level support for the concept, a coherent city-region strategy has not materialised.

Probably the most publicly visible and successful move towards a regional economic view that does not correspond directly to administrative boundaries, is noted in the launch of the Gauteng City-Region in 2008. A proactive and ambitious collaboration, the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) was conceived as a project between two universities and the Gauteng Provincial Government (GCRO, 2013). The project was a response to the rapid urbanisation of South Africa's economic heartland, namely the Gauteng Province. It focusses specifically on the wider urban region to include smaller, but growingly important centres such as Rustenburg in the North West Province and Sasolburg in the Free State. The area of focus and population are depicted below as the geographical space up to 175 km from the centre of Johannesburg.

Figure 2-2: Gauteng City-Region depicted as area 100km and 175km from Johannesburg City Centre
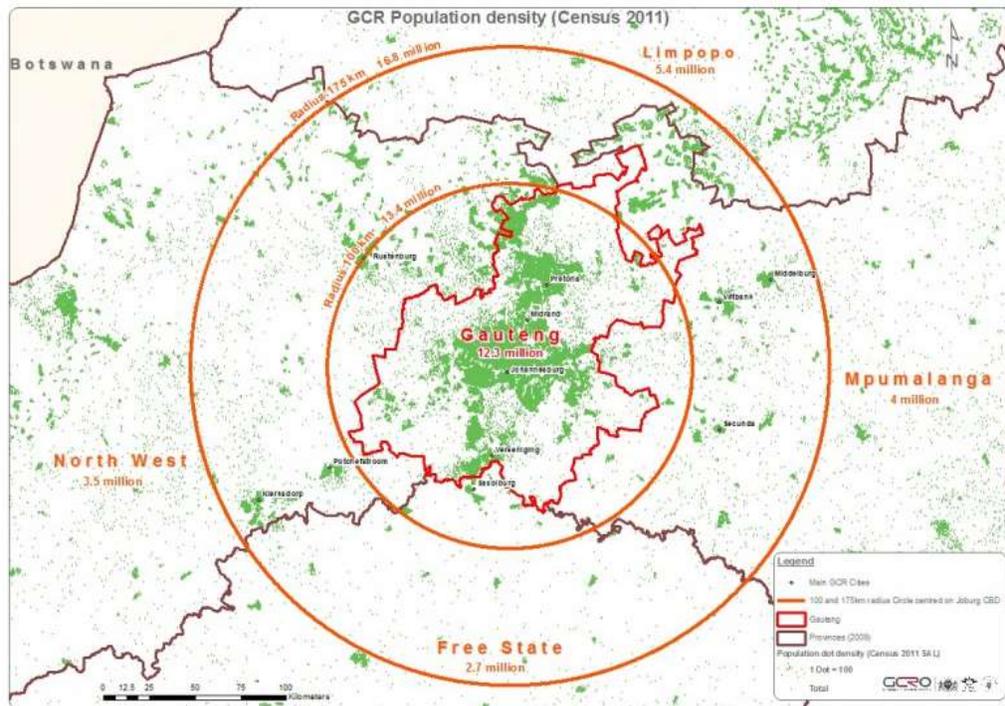
Source: Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO), (2013)

The GCRO has made a significant contribution in terms of applied research and data collection for the area. It has also delivered a number of practical policy-related results such as the development of a comprehensive green economy strategy as well as building an extensive GIS database used for mapping and modelling such as major mobility patterns (GCRO, 2013). This GCRO as project or institution has placed the Gauteng City-Region significantly ahead of the other city regions in South Africa in terms of regional integration.

With the growing focus on cities, there is also acknowledgement that rural South Africa, including its small towns, is in danger of decline and growing social ills if a dedicated effort is not made to support its often geographically remote and isolated settlements (Atkinson, 2014). The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) has been spearheading a small-town regeneration programme, with the first pilot project active in the Karoo area. The Karoo is a vast ecoregion[4] spanning four provinces (the Eastern Cape, the Northern Cape, the Free State and the Western Cape) (Atkinson, 2015). The project has taken a strong regional economic view, with

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[4] An ecoregion is an area defined by its natural features and environment (Oxford dictionary), in this case a semi-desert area.

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analysis focussing on understanding this broader region and not each settlement in isolation. Some agreement has been reached on formalising the collaboration in future, which should include regional, spatial and economic development planning (SALGA, 2016).

From a national government perspective, the focus on regional economic policy is situated within the National Department of Economic Development, with a work stream they term RLED (Regional Local Economic Development) (Rogerson, 2014). This is one actualisation of the National Growth Path, which also focusses on spatial development, and positions RLED to be informed by functional economic regions. Through the establishment of the Economies of Regions Learning Network (ERLN) by the Technical Assistance Unit within National Treasury, there is acknowledgement of the emerging importance of city-regions (Rogerson, 2014: 213). This is a further indicator of the acceptance or incorporation of new-regionalism into the South African economic policy environment. The ERLN brings together policymakers and public officials from the Gauteng City-Region, eThekwini and Cape Town city regions, and plays a crucial role in also building inter-regional co-operation.

2.4.3 Urbanisation and the role of cities

It is expected that by 2030 around 71% of South Africa's population will reside in urban areas. Given the history of the country, however, cities face an inefficient structure resulting in continued residential fragmentation and long commute times to economic opportunity (Republic of South Africa, 2016a). A 2009 study of available quantitative data relating to South Africa's city landscape, Van Huyssteen, Oranje, Robinson and Makoni (2009) concluded that cities offer opportunity for growth and are of critical importance for the future of the country's economy, but that they are also areas of extreme poverty and social distress. The study called for a greater government focus on supportive policy for the four identified city-regions (Gauteng City-Region, Nelson Mandela Bay, eThekwini and Cape Town). However, there has not been any monumental shift in policy and the Department of Economic Development and National Treasury have only recently been focussing on these regions in terms of increased support (Rogerson, 2014) through, for example, the Cities Support Programme (CSP).

The South African Cities Networks (SACN) was established in 2002 as an independent company with membership of the nine largest cities in the country. It is not a statutory body, but rather aims to provide a research, advisory and advocacy role for and on behalf of the cities (Abrahams, 2016). SACN remains a relatively small organisation playing a leading role in driving the urban

agenda and shaping urban policy (Abrahams, 2016). Their advocacy, with ever growing urbanisation pressure and a greater international focus on cities, as drivers of growth, has prompted the South African government to draft a policy position to guide the future growth and management of urban areas. The Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) (2016) is also a response to South Africa's commitment to the SDGs. It does, however, not make provision for city-region-specific support, but rather, aims to provide policy direction and future technical support to virtually all urban areas in South Africa.

The IUDF has as its aim the spatial transformation of cities and economic development is but one of its nine identified policy levers. The priority implementation areas for the IUDF consists of 97 municipalities – home to around 75% of the South African population. Areas are further classified based on the actual urban population and the population growth rates (Republic of South Africa, 2016b). As not all 97 municipalities will have the requisite skills and capacity to respond to IUDF implementation, further diagnostics and classification should be undertaken.

The first of these diagnostic steps specifically deals with secondary cities, also referred to as intermediate city municipalities, whilst a specific support programme for these cities is now under development (Smith, 2017). In 2013, the South Africa Cities Network (John, 2012) published a first introductory study aimed at identifying and starting to understand the dynamics of secondary cities in South Africa. Although they are smaller localities (i.e. not large metropolitan areas), these secondary cities often play a vital role for its surrounding hinterland – effectively city-regions at smaller scale. This publication was instrumental in stimulating the debate around a South African city-hierarchy, and the need for specific support to these local authorities, based on their specific needs.

The definition of regions and localities (and therefore what constitutes regional and local development) varies within and across countries and may also change over time (Pike *et al.*, 2007). It is therefore important to define clearly what constitutes R&LED in South Africa for the purpose of this study from a geographical perspective as much as from an academic theoretical and practical perspective. Region in the South African context and in this study then refers to an administrative or geographical space corresponding to provincial government boundaries and/or multiple district government boundaries. Locality in this study refers to areas that correspond to a local or district municipal boundaries or areas smaller than a municipal boundary (such as a town withing a larger municipal area or a central business district within a city).

2.5 Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the concepts relating to the field of practice that this study is situated in, namely R&LED. Concepts were discussed broadly from the evolution of development practices to a narrower focus on economic development and then R&LED. The focus then shifted to broad and emerging themes in the practice of R&LED, including the increasing focus on the role of cities and city-regions as drivers of economic growth, as well as the growing popularity of partnerships. Finally, the South African R&LED landscape was examined, highlighting a long history of LED in both policy and practice, notwithstanding the varying and limited successes of its application (Rogerson, 2014).

Over the past decades there has been a shift in development thinking that led to a more people-centred view of development, and a growing emphasis on sustainability (Reed & Reed, 2009). Economists have also been challenged to move beyond GDP growth as the aim of all development to a more nuanced approach incorporating concepts and goals such as human well-being and freedom (Sen, 2001; Serra & Stiglitz, 2008). The role of the state is always a point of contestation, but it is acknowledged that governments do have an important role to play through appropriate policymaking to ensure stability and equitable growth (Andrews et al., 2017). There is also a growing focus on development processes and results at grass-roots level and how they translate to specific localities – shifting from the historic focus on macroeconomic policies and nation states to regionalism (Scott & Storper, 2007). With rapid urbanisation, a recognised megatrend that will shape the future of the world, there is a growing focus on cities and their role in development and growth (Kilroy *et al.*, 2015; Pugalis & Bentley, 2014a). This seems to converge with the long-held popular development approach of LED and may signal a resurgence in focus on local strategies crafted by local stakeholders that are based on the asset base present in a specific locality (Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005). The role of subnational governments and their capacity to support such initiatives will be key.

In South Africa, LED has been well entrenched in the legislative and policy environment. However, even with extensive international support, it has not delivered on its promise of robust and inclusive growth. The field has particularly suffered from the tension between a pro-poor focus (often project based and with local community participation) and a more market-driven approach (with a stronger focus on the business environment and competitiveness) (Rogerson, 2011). There are encouraging signs of a more regional economic development focus around large

metropolitan cities, but it is too early to draw conclusions on the success or failure of such boundary-spanning initiatives in the South African context.

The failure of government-driven R&LED is increasingly highlighting the need for bottom-up, innovative initiatives and multilevel governance approaches to meet the needs and unlock the potential of localities, be that within provinces, large cities or small towns. The next chapter will focus on the academic literature on governance, particularly relating to partnerships and network governance. The explicit application of a network lens informs the development of an evaluation approach for application to R&LED governance arrangements and tests whether their role and functions match the aims and ambitions. This application of a network lens further allows for a network specific consideration of what management strategies are being applied.

CHAPTER 3

3. Governance, Networks and Partnerships in Regional and Local Economic Development

Ubiquitous terms explored and defined

3.1 Introduction

It has been established in the previous chapter that in the field of development, government is still broadly considered an important role player, and that R&LED is most often assigned or adopted as a function of local government. However, governments functioning in an increasingly complex environment, dealing with wicked societal problems that are multifaceted and resistant to resolution (Rittel & Webber, 1973), have to find alternative governance models where traditional single-sector approaches have failed to deliver significant societal progress (Jessop, 2004; Van Tulder, 2008). The World Economic Forum (WEF) points out that in future the situation will increasingly be that governments alone (especially in developing countries) will struggle to deliver basic services, even more so the robust growth required for economic advancement. This will be the case whilst market forces alone will also not deliver public value (Fountain, Bertucci, Curtin, Hohlov, Holkeri, Jarrar, Kang, Lanvin, Noveck, Obi *et al.*, 2011). The WEF sees the future of government in a network across sectors, scales and levels, with the understanding that governance in this complex ecosystem will be a critical success factor. To this end, partnerships between public and private role players in pursuit of development goals have become a common feature in the governance landscape (Zadek & Radovich, 2006). This resonates with the definition of LED (as discussed in Chapter 2) as a collaborative process involving a multitude of local stakeholders.

This search for improved development outcomes and alternative governance approaches in the field of R&LED is taking place against the backdrop of a similar and wider debate in the field of public administration (Head & Alford, 2015). The emergence of new forms of public management paradigms beyond traditional management and the more recent new public management (NPM) has been receiving increasing attention from scholars in this field. Using collaborative approaches with networks of entities and role players (private sector and civic society) to deliver basic services and improved results is now commonplace in public administration, as are discussions around networked governance, i.e. the question of how to govern these arrangements (Cepiku *et al.*,

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2014; Milward & Provan, 2006). In practice, this has required a shift from traditional hierarchical structures and approaches to more relationship-based governance, much more than merely outsourcing government delivery, but managing and navigating multi-stakeholder networks (Goldsmith & Eggers, 2005). This is known as collaborative public management (McGuire, 2006) and another approach to governance is termed NPG (Osborne, 2010). The latter paradigm is explicitly informed by the need to deal with the complexities and interdependencies in a networked society (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012).

This chapter will discuss concepts relating to governance, collaboration and networks, with a closer look at partnerships as a vehicle to achieve collaboration and governance. Although no overarching network theory exists, certainly not in the field of public administration, an overview of the broad schools of thought is provided. Then the traditional governance approaches contained in R&LED literature and applied in practice will be examined. There has been significant interest in studying R&LED from a network perspective (Ha, Lee et al. 2016) but the focus has historically been on clustering and relationships between firms in localities. Only a handful of authors have started to study the networking approaches of local government in terms of R&LED (Kapucu, Hu & Khosa, 2017).

Drawing on the theories about governance and networks, the chapter concludes with a heuristic evaluation tool that may be applied to R&LED governance arrangements to determine, on a spectrum of functions, if a network governance function is indeed performed. With both governance and networks being such widely used terms and in danger of being devoid of all meaning, a simple check to determine the actual role or aim of what is deemed a governance arrangement may provide greater clarity.

3.2 Understanding the Relevance of Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

Theoretical and conceptual frameworks serve the important purpose of providing grounding to any study and ensures findings are acceptable in terms of the theoretical and/ or conceptual constructs of a study. The two concepts are often confused or incorrectly used interchangeably. Some authors argue that the theoretical framework and literature review are components of the conceptual framework (Ravitch & Riggan, 2016), whilst others argue that the conceptual framework is located within the higher order theoretical framework (Imenda, 2014: 187). This study will utilise the latter approach. Another way to distinguish between the two frameworks is that a theoretical framework could generally be applicable broadly within a field of study, whilst a

conceptual framework is only applicable to the specific study under consideration (Imenda, 2014: 189).

Thus, the theoretical framework must be grounded in a thorough understanding of the problem and the study area, and selections made in terms of the framework must be relevant for addressing the problem (Adom, Adu-Gyamfi, Agyekum, Ayarkwa, Dwumah, Abass, Kissi, Osei-Poku & Obeng-Denteh, 2016). Essentially a researcher is borrowing a set of well-studied theories against which the problem will be researched, with the aim of confirming, extending or modifying these theories (Adom *et al.*, 2016).

On the other hand, a conceptual framework is constructed by the researcher and is used to explain both the variables to be studied, the theoretical relationship between these and how these will be approached through the research process (Adom *et al.*, 2016; Ravitch & Riggan, 2016: 438). This is a tentative theory of what is to be studied (Maxwell, 2005). A conceptual framework could be informed by the researchers own experiential knowledge, existing research, pilot and exploratory research or thought experiments (Maxwell, 2005).

In this study the frameworks were initially informed by the researchers own experiential knowledge in the field of regional and local development partnerships. Through a broad academic inquiry, through the literature review process, a research problem and set of research questions were constructed. This was further refined during the research process creating an iterative process. The literature review focusing on the potential theoretical groundings of the study, particularly this chapter, was instrumental in the framework design. This can be interpreted as an inductive approach to construction of a conceptual framework, which emerged as the researcher pieced together various theories and pieces of literature with which to address the research question (Imenda, 2014: 193). This is in keeping with the tradition of social sciences research in which there is usually no single theory to adequately answer a research question (Imenda, 2014).

3.2.1 Public Administration and Governance

This research is grounded in the realm of public administration and is particularly concerned with governance as a research field. Public administration is admittedly a very broad field of study covering from government and governance systems to social, political and economic systems (der Waldt, 2017: 9) Two broad trends have contributed significantly to a changing view of public administration. Firstly, the intractable nature of societal challenges referred to earlier is becoming increasingly clear. Secondly, a more entrepreneurial workforce, increased use of technology and

a more demanding public require a change in how government is organised and responds to demands for delivery (Keast & Mandell, 2014).   This has resulted in a search for and growing body of knowledge around new or alternative approaches to traditional governance, and within this broad field the work is then firmly located in the realm of collaborative and network governance.

The research focus on networks started with O'Toole's call to take networks seriously in public administration, as far back as 1997. A seminal work in the field is that of Goldsmith and Eggers (2005) – *Governing by Network: The new shape of the public sector* – which argued that direct service delivery by government and government officials were becoming less important than their ability to create public value through activities to coordinate and work within a web of multi-organisational and multi-sectoral relationships. The next very important piece of literature is broadly the work of Kenis and Provan during the 2000's, but particularly *Modes of network governance: Structure Management and Effectiveness* (2008).

It is important to note that networks do not only feature in the field of public administration, and that there has been an exponential increase in books and articles published on the topic (Barabási, 2014). Despite the multidisciplinary evolution of academic work relating to networks, there is no single overarching network theory (Brandes, Robins, McCranie & Wasserman, 2013), as will be outlined in more detail in section 3.4. One fundamental characteristic of any network-related theory, is that it focusses on the relationships between and amongst actors to explain outcomes for both the actor and the network (Borgatti *et al.*, 2014) – as is also evident in public administration through the work of Provan and Kenis cited above.

3.2.2 Governance as a Conceptual Framework

As a conceptual frame the researcher locates the work in the intersection and overlap between regional and local economic development, networks and governance, and particular narrow concepts within each of these three fields. The conceptual framework is illustrated below, also showcasing the relationship between variables and the overlap of sub-themes.

Figure 3-1 Conceptual Framework for this research
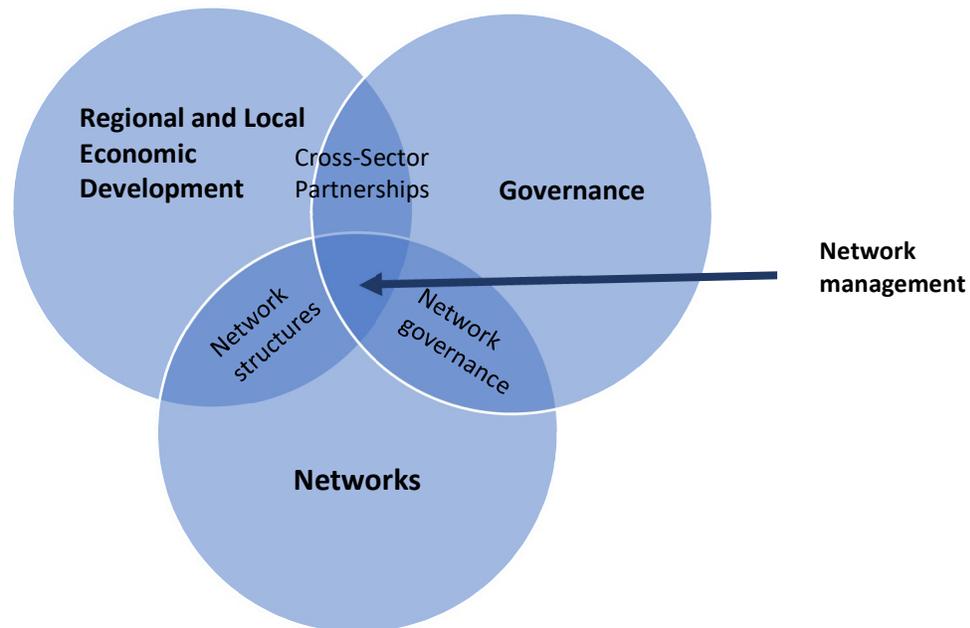
The field of R&LED has many theoretical and practical examples of governance approaches and structures (see Chapter 3, section 3.6.1) with cross-sector partnerships emerging as an ever more popular approach (section 3.4.1 and 3.5.3). Network governance theoretically is found in the overlap between networks and governance, and at the overlap between R&LED and networks one could locate theories about network structure, how this can be influenced or what is most appropriate for a specific locality and situation (Raab, Mannak & Cambré, 2013).

The conceptual frame proposes that at the intersection of network structures, network governance and cross-sector partnerships lies network management – strategies and activities employed by R&LED partnership managers, staff and role players to pursue results. From the pragmatic and practitioner focussed approach utilised by the researcher the theoretical position is that the practice of partnerships and governance in R&LED can be improved through a) an increased focus on or awareness of network governance and b) the application of improved network management strategies.

The conceptual frame can be further expanded by considering the appropriate research methods and research design (discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 on methodology). Broadly it suffices to say that the researcher brings practical experience in the field of R&LED, extensive literature review in all three domains, applied case studies from the cross-sector partnership space, and

SNA from the realm of networks to triangulate findings and recommendations to improve network management. In the following section each of the components of the conceptual framework will be unpacked in more detail.

3.3 Governance and collaboration concepts

Both the terms governance and collaboration have become so central to the discourse and so widely used that many do not bother to consider definitions or clarify what is meant using the terms (O'Flynn, 2009). Definitions of both concepts can vary from very narrow to very broad and can be interpreted in terms of the theoretical tradition under consideration (Gupta *et al*., 2015). In this instance, the focus is within the realm of public administration, incorporating a spatial perspective through considering space, nodes and networks as applied in the work of Gupta *et al.* (2015) in urban governance.

3.3.1 Governance

Zadek and Radovich (2006: 5) state that "Governance concerns the structures, processes, rules and traditions through which decision-making power that determines actions is exercised, and so accountabilities are manifested and actualized". In keeping with this working definition, Jessop (1998: 31) provides one broad definition for governance as "any mode of co-ordination of inter-dependent activities". In later publications, he provides a narrower definition (Jessop, 2004: 142):

> "… governance is […] the reflexive self-organisation of independent actors involved in complex relations of reciprocal interdependence, with such self-organisation being based on continuing dialogue and resource-sharing to develop mutually beneficial joint projects and to manage the contradictions and dilemmas inevitably involved in such situations. Governance organised on this basis need not entail a complete symmetry in power relations or complete equality in the distribution of benefits: indeed, it is highly unlikely to do so almost regardless of the object of governance or the 'stakeholders' who actually participate in the governance process."

Scarlett and McKinney (2016) note that, in addition to asymmetry in benefits in the definition above, governance is also not about finding the best solution (as a single best solution in complex environments is often not likely). Instead, it is about discovering ways of proceeding which multiple participants find acceptable. Scarlett and McKinney (2016) further simply outline a

distinction which may often be assumed but not explicitly stated, namely that government refers to entities as holders of institutional and legal mandates whilst governance refers to the style or method by which decisions are made or conflict between participants is resolved. One key feature of governance is then that it is carried out through horizontal links and not through improving vertical links in traditional bureaucracies (Klijn, 2008).

Governance is often contrasted with hierarchical, bureaucratic and market approaches (Ansell & Gash, 2008), although some authors do argue that governance is no better or worse than hierarchies or markets, but merely another tool available under specific circumstances (Rhodes, 1996). The challenge rather lies in reconciling the vertical lines of authority in top-down hierarchies of government with the growing horizontal lines of action (Goldsmith & Eggers, 2005). Governance and traditional decision-making and bureaucracies should be seen as complementary rather than competing (Scarlett & McKinney, 2016). As the term is used in many fields and across varying environments and situations, it is also argued that for improved clarity, it is advisable to add qualifying adjectives when using the term governance (Rhodes, 2007), which leads to a more in-depth focus on the term collaborative governance in this study.

3.3.2 Collaborative governance

The practice of collaboration, or at least the use of the term or concept as a mechanism, has emerged as a "pathway of choice" for governments across a broad spectrum of activities, from delivering basic services to addressing complex policy issues (Zadek & Radovich, 2006: 4). This approach emerged even though there has been some evidence that collaboration increases costs and that outcomes are difficult to attribute and also to achieve (Huxham, 2003). O'Flynn (2009) warned of the "cult of collaboration", i.e. the ongoing talk of collaboration and all the promise it holds rather than finding the most appropriate approaches to problem-solving under specific circumstances.

Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh (2012: 2) define collaborative governance as "the processes and structures of public policy decision-making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished". Whilst broadly focussing on the bringing together of public and private stakeholders towards consensus-oriented decision-making, Ansell and Gash (2008: 544) provide a very detailed and more restrictive definition of collaborative governance, including six criteria, in one of the seminal

works in this field when they note that collaborative governance is "[a] governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets". The six criteria are: 1) initiation by public sector; 2) non-state participation; 3) direct decision-making engagements (not consultation); 4) formal forum with collective meetings; 5) decision-making by consensus; and 6) the collaboration focus on public policy or public management. This definition has been criticised for its limiting focus to include the involvement of government, as it excludes the myriad of community-based collaborations or private-civic partnerships (Emerson *et al.*, 2012). It does, however, seem the most appropriate definition for application in this research, given the already established role of government (and particularly subnational government) in R&LED.

Scholars found it necessary to distinguish between different types of collaborative actions, the most popular being the 3Cs coined by Brown and Keast (2003). In further work, Keast and Mandell (2014) expand on the distinction between cooperation (short-term and informal), coordination (mechanisms to link together different components in a system) and collaboration (stable, long-term and high-level interdependence) along a continuum of formality and intensity (Cepiku *et al.*, 2014).

In addition to this continuum, work is also progressing on the view that collaboration is a system, embedded in and interacting with a broader environment – also referred to as a "collaborative governance regime (CGR)" (Bryson *et al.*, 2015; Emerson *et al.*, 2012). The system context contains several influencers, offering either opportunity or constraint from which emerges drivers of collaborative governance, such as leadership. This initiates the CGR, within which a set of dynamics is then contained, namely principled engagement, shared motivation and capacity for joint action. These dynamics, in varying degrees of importance in each CGR, result in collaborative action and ultimately in impacts. The integrative framework also introduces adaptation and the proposition that sustainability of CGRs depend on their ability to adapt and consider feedback from impacts (Emerson *et al.*, 2012). The integrative framework is depicted below.

Figure 3-2: The integrative framework for collaborative governance
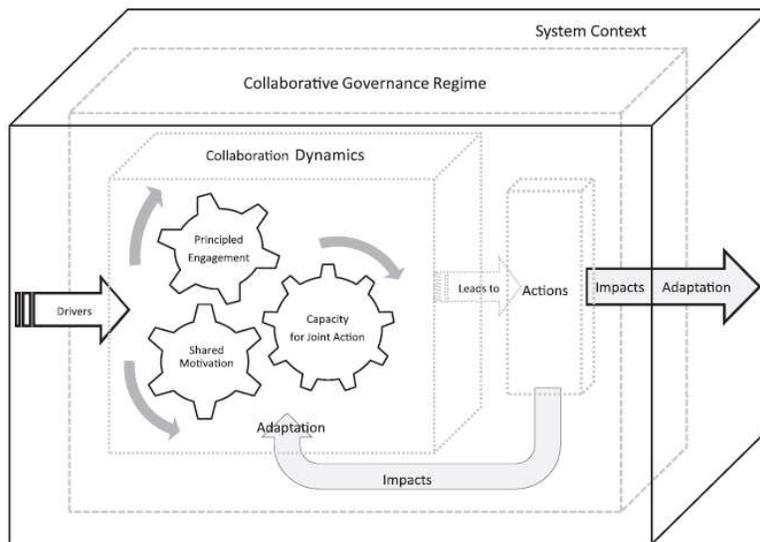
Source: Emerson et al. (2012: 722)

Looking back on the definitions of R&LED explored in the first chapter, it should be clear that the practice is by nature collaborative and should be achieved through a governance approach involving multiple stakeholders. As a summary of this section, a few key points are highlighted:

- Governance relates to coordination or collaboration of actions between various actors;
- In the public administration realm, collaborative governance is actualised through engagements between public and private actors; and
- In both governance and collaborative governance, there is an element of policy, rules and regulations and the achievement of a consensus position around these to ultimately influence resource allocation and results.

3.3.3   Collaborative governance or governance of collaboration

Vangen, Hayes & Cornforth (2015) draws a distinction between "collaborative governance" and "governing of collaborations", which is not often found in the works of other authors. They argue that a key distinction between the two concepts is that, in the former the participation of government is required alongside private and civic organisations, mainly aiming at crafting and implementing public policy. In the latter, the collaboration is not necessarily mandated or funded by government, and the aim is to gain a collaborative advantage beyond the capabilities of one

organisation acting on its own. This goal-oriented approach in governing of collaborations is important to note, as it invokes a focus on efficiency, leadership and management towards improved results. In collaborative governance, the aim is most often to contribute to public value and at a societal level, implement public programmes or manage public assets in a collaborative way. In short, collaborative governance could be considered a public policy tool involving state and non-state actors, whilst the governance of collaborations refers to the structures and processes employed in collective decision-making (Bryson *et al.*, 2015).

Regional and local economic development, as a function or focus of government, seems uniquely positioned when the aforementioned distinction is made. With the activity focussing on a location's competitive advantage and mobilising stakeholders to collaborate to unlock or enhance this competitiveness, it shows elements of both a government-mandated consensus building on public policy (through crafting participatory R&LED strategies) and actors working jointly (with or without government's presence) towards realising a competitive advantage and ultimately increased economic benefits for each separate actor. It may be that R&LED as a field of practice suffers from this tension or that at the very least the inability to articulate and understand the difference between collaborative governance and governing of collaborations.

Government-led governance, especially in South Africa, does not always fit ideologically with the need for the private sector to pursue and realise a collaborative advantage, ultimately profiting and growing (Rogerson, 2010). Regional and local economic development practitioners are left with balancing the demands of a government system focussing on consensus orientation and a strong role for government (maybe governance for the sake of governance) and the private sector's realisation of a collaborative advantage requiring leadership and management towards a narrow goal. Jessop (1998) highlights this tension as a dilemma of governance, specifically of accountability vs. efficiency, where collaborations are to serve the public interest and should therefore follow due procedure and be subject to oversight whilst also providing a more efficient delivery mechanism than traditional government-led processes.

As this study falls in the field of public administration, and is approached from a government and government practitioner perspective, it is primarily situated in the realm of collaborative governance. However, given the unique nature of R&LED, which involves a market-oriented view of the private sector, the research also contains an element of leadership and management focussing on a result (often economic growth). Later in the chapter, literature on recommended

governance approaches for R&LED will be discussed, but next the focus turns towards networks and network governance.

3.4 Concepts in the absence of an overarching network theory

Many authors point to the exploding interest in networks during the first decade of the 21st century, as shown by the exponential increase in books and articles published on the topic (Barabási, 2014). Given the multidisciplinary evolution of academic work relating to networks, it is little wonder that there is no single overarching network theory. A common claim is now that "networks are everywhere", which poses as much of a danger as an opportunity for researchers in the network environment (Brandes *et al.*, 2013). Increasingly, the collection of work in this space is being referred to as "network science", defined as "the study of the collection, management, analysis, interpretation, and presentation of relational data" (Brandes *et al.*, 2013: 2).

Powell (1990: 303) observes that "networks are lighter on their feet" than hierarchies, and that resource exchange in networks occur because individuals engage in reciprocal and mutually beneficial actions. One fundamental characteristic of any network-related theory is that it focusses on the relationships between and amongst actors to explain outcomes for both the actor and the network (Borgatti *et al.*, 2014). Put differently, at a group level, the structure of the group (pattern and number of connections) is as consequential for the group as is the characteristic of individual members (Borgatti *et al.*, 2014).

3.4.1 Basic definitions

This is meant only as a limited overview and broad introduction to the set of key concepts relevant to this study. There are many more detailed and nuanced elements to networks that are not considered here, including overlap of networks, trust and control of networks, among others.

Networking

Often seen as the "least formal" level of interaction or cooperation is networking, defined as the exchange of information for mutual benefit (Himmelman, 2002; O'Flynn, 2007). Other characteristics of networking include that it requires minimal time commitments, relatively low levels of trust and no sharing of resources. The act of networking and interactions between actors is what essentially gives rise to networks.

Network

Where networking refers to the act of connecting or interacting, network contains an element of structure. The following definitions of network should be considered:

- "Networks are structures of interdependence involving multiple organisations or parts thereof, where one unit is not merely the formal subordinate of the others in some large hierarchical arrangement. Networks exhibit some structural stability but extend beyond formally established linkages and policy-legitimated ties." (O'Toole Jr, 1997: 45)
- "Networks, consisting of two or more organisations that consciously agree to coordinate and collaborate with one another, are used to deliver services, address problems and opportunities, transmit information, innovate and acquire needed resources." (Kenis & Provan, 2006: 227).
- "In the field of public administration, networks are defined either as interorganisational collaboration arrangements or as new governance structures designed to achieve a common goal that cannot be achieved (or that cannot be achieved effectively) by one single organisation." (Kapucu et al., 2017: 4)

The idea of a structure is clearly introduced, with some level of formality required, and a common thread that conscious agreement towards a common goal is required. After the initial flurry of excitement over networks, and the position that the mere presence of networks was something positive, the focus in recent years has turned to whether networks are actually performing and, if so, under which circumstances and whether the cost of collaboration is justified (Kenis & Provan, 2009). It is important to also note that networks are more than just the sum of the activities of all the actors, as the relationships or links between and amongst actors provide an additional dimension that could also be studied (O'Toole Jr, 1997).

An excellent overview of public sector network literature is provided by Klaster (2015), who also produced the practical typology depicted below. Networking, defined above, refers to the verb (the act of) and a network, as defined above, would be the noun (the state or condition). The classification also aligns with the notion of distinguishing between different types of collaboration, along a continuum from lower to higher intensity and dependent on network aims (Cepiku *et al.*, 2014; Keast & Mandell, 2014). In the following section, the attention is turned to network as a metaphor, mode of governance or instrument, specifically in the field of public administration.

Figure 3-3: A classification of extant network typologies
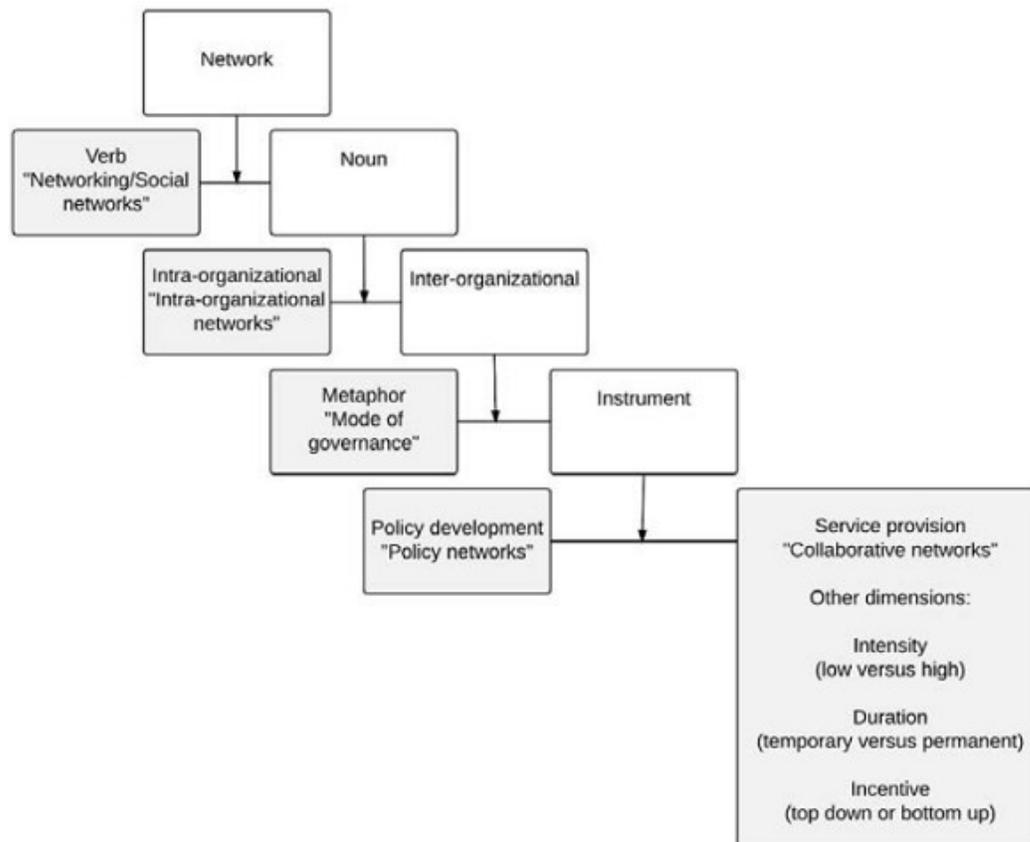
Source: Klaster (2015: 69)

3.4.2 Networks in the public administration realm

The field of public administration and public policy has also seen a notable increase in the study of networks over the past 20 years, with O'Toole's seminal work in 1997 calling for researchers to "treat networks seriously" certainly heeded. McGuire (2006: 34) refers to "the age of networks and collaboration". As the network approach gained prominence in public administration, an initial criticism was that the theories assumed government to be just another actor (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000). This has to a large extent been resolved in literature and practice with the acknowledgment of the unique position of power that government's available resources afford it in public and policy networks (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000). It is worth keeping in mind that government, when faced with a networked situation, has a range of options, from opting to not participate in the network (e.g. to unilaterally execute actions), to cooperating with other actors, to facilitating interaction or perform as network builder (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000).

Several articles have conducted retrospective analyses of the origins and evolution of the field (Berry *et al*., 2004; Hwang & Moon, 2009; Isett *et al.*, 2011; Kapucu *et al.*, 2017; Lecy *et al.*, 2014). Berry *et al.* (2004) distinguished between three origins or traditions of network research emerging in public management, namely the sociological tradition (social network analysis), the political science tradition (policy change and innovation analysis) and the public management tradition (network management and structures analysis). However, SNA is more commonly considered a method to apply in the analysis of networks (Kapucu *et al.*, 2017; O'Toole, 2015). An empirical examination of the article and citation network in the field was also conducted for the period 1992–2007, with several clear groupings identified around key authors (Hwang & Moon, 2009).

3.4.2.1   Three domains of research

The most recent attempt to structure and cluster network research in public administration (Isett *et al.*, 2011; Kapucu *et al.*, 2017; Lecy *et al.*, 2014) shows the emergence of three main streams or distinct domains of work on networks in public administration, namely policy networks, governance networks and collaborative networks (also referred to as implementation). Although identified as distinct domains, there is considerable overlap, as depicted visually below, following the citation network mapping conducted by Lecy *et al.* (2014). Utilising these three domains as anchor points, an array of definitions and terms from multiple authors can be overlaid and aligned. Klijn and Koppenjan (2012) distinguish between policy networks and service implementation networks, correlating to the two ends of the figure and adding network management as a distinct field. In Lecy *et al.*'s (2014) work, the concept of network management seems to fall in the overlapping space between governance networks and policy implementation networks. The three domains and alignment of definitions by other authors are discussed in more detail in the next section, with network management (i.e. the more active function) considered in a separate section (3.4.4).

Figure 3-4: Three domains of network research in public administration
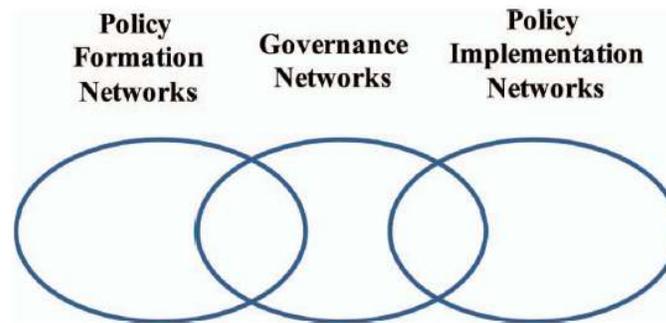
Source: Lecy et al. (2014: 649)

Policy Formation networks (or just policy networks) are defined by Rhodes (2007: 1245) as "sets of formal and informal institutional links between governmental and other actors structured around shared interests in public policymaking and implementation." This definition, however, is too wide when considering the three domains of research, spanning from policy formation to policy implementation. In this classification, policy formation networks are especially concerned with inputs towards policymaking, often referred to as lobbying (Lecy *et al.*, 2014). This theme is located more within the political science field, most often associated with how decisions are made, rather than in the realm of implementation (Rethemeyer & Hatmaker, 2008) and will not be considered further in this study.

A governance network is defined by Sørensen & Torfing (2007: 9) as "a horizontal institutionalization of the interaction of interdependent but operationally autonomous actors who collaborate in a shared effort to define and create public value through a process of regulated self-regulation". This self-governing capacity is often framed by government, but governing responsibility is shared amongst all actors. With the failure of governance networks also a possibility, scholars have coined the term "meta-governance" – simply meaning "the governance of governance" (Kooiman & Jentoft, 2009: 818). This is aimed at defining the important role of public authorities to govern these networks without reverting to traditional command-and-control approaches (Sørensen & Torfing, 2017). Klijn and Koppenjan (2012) argue that the use of the term meta-governance, referring to strategies employed to mediate, facilitate and manage networks, removes some of the ambiguity contained in the term governance, now retaining its definition relating to self-organisation of actors.

Policy implementation networks (also referred to as collaborative networks) are considered mechanisms for public service delivery. Research relating to these types of networks overwhelmingly focus on delivery rather than the governance of the process (Lecy *et al.*, 2014). Governance issues in this stream often focus on negotiations and resource allocations. These networks may still be subject to centralised authority. They are also often focussed on the effectiveness and efficiency of outcomes produced through networks (Milward & Provan, 2006; Provan & Milward, 2001) and the management challenges of such delivery (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001).

3.4.2.2   Types of networks

In addition to broad domains of research in relation to networks in the academic realm of public administration, several scholars have focussed on networks in practice. It was in fact noted that the academic literature lagged behind the practice of working collaboratively in networks in public administration (Goldsmith & Eggers, 2005). Several types of networks, each with key distinguishing characteristics, have been identified. Agranoff (2003) identified four types of networks, namely informational, developmental, outreach and action networks. The first three types of network see implementation, or action at individual organisational level, whilst action networks carve joint action plans for delivery at network level (McGuire, 2006). Milward and Provan (2006) also identified four types of network: service implementation, information diffusion, problem-solving and community capacity building.

Linking to the definition of collaborative governance discussed earlier in this chapter, the concept of 3Cs is also relevant to types of network, distinguishing between cooperative, coordinative and collaborative networks (Mandell *et al.*, 2017). Cooperative networks refer to a sharing of information and expertise, with low risk attached to them, e.g. informational or information diffusion networks. Coordinative networks refer to a more closely integrated approach, which may include joint planning and alignment of individual activities, e.g. problem-solving and developmental or outreach networks. Collaborative networks are characterised by an interdependence which results in a recognition that collaboration will result in system change, e.g. action networks and possibly problem-solving networks. In this 3Cs classification of networks, there is no comparator for service implementation-type networks, which in some instances may be equated to an outsourcing of government service delivery, rather than pure collaborative networks originating from a recognition of interdependence between actors.

3.4.3 Governance of and in networks

Where a governance network broadly refers to a set of relationships amongst multiple actors around societal challenges, network governance refers to the strategies and conscious steering attempts within these networks (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Having considered Kenis and Provan's (2009) definition of networks earlier (see heading 3.1.1), it is appropriate to specifically consider the following definition they offer of network governance:

> "Although all networks comprise a range of interactions among participants, a focus on governance involves the use of institutions and structure of authority and collaboration to allocate resources and to coordinate and control joint actions across the network as a whole." (Provan & Kenis, 2008: 231)

These seminal authors in the field of network governance, with Milward (see for example Provan & Milward, 2001b; Milward & Provan, 2003, 2006), have published extensively on various modes of network governance, how the structure of networks influence performance, and specifically what constitutes the effectiveness of networks (specifically in terms of the performance of an entire network, rather than individual organisations within a network). Network governance finds expression through various forms and structures, however loose these may be. Kenis and Provan (2009) identified three forms of network governance, as depicted below.

Figure 3-5: Forms of network governance

a) Shared governance network	b) Lead organisation network	c) Network administrative organisation network
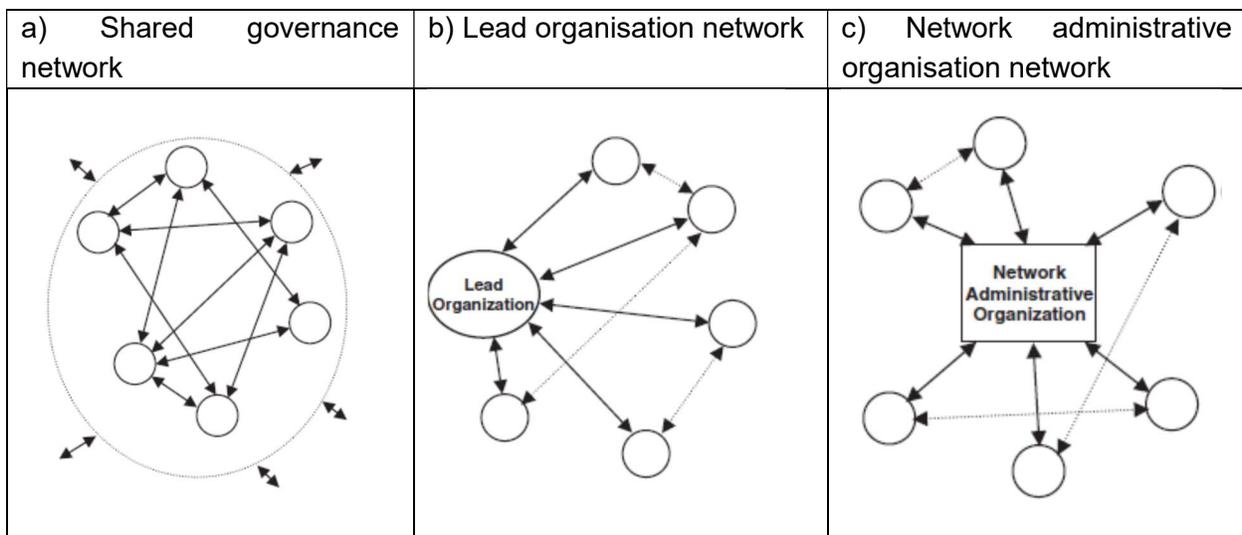
Source: Provan and Kenis (2009: 447)

The traditional coordinating role of subnational governments in R&LED correlates with them playing a role as lead organisations. Network administrative organisations in network governance literature seem to correlate with what is commonly referred to as LED agencies or formal partnerships in the R&LED field. Provan and Kenis (2008) stress that the choice of form is not arbitrary and involves careful consideration of the network's needs and conditions.

Although the distinction should be clear from the structuring and various definitions above, it is worth emphasising that there is a distinct difference between a network and network governance (Parker, 2007). Parker (2007) points out that not all network arrangements are governance networks, as has been discussed earlier in this study, and that, in some cases an information-sharing function, rather than a governance function may be performed. She cautions that claims of new forms of governance in local spaces may be exaggerated if all networks are taken as evidence of transformative governance arrangements. Linking these cautionary points to the R&LED literature and practices reviewed up to this point, it should be clear that the existence of a perceived governance mechanism (like an LED forum) does not equate to a governance function being performed.

3.4.4 Network management

As mentioned briefly under the discussion on domains of research (3.3.2.1) and specifically under the domain of governance networks, network management is seen as a distinct field of research by some authors, notably Klijn and Koppenjan (2012). They point out that governance definitions refer both to a focus on self-organisation and more active strategies to initiate, facilitate and mediate networks – all constituting network management (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012). In keeping with these definitions, it has been argued that deliberate attempts to govern processes in networks should be defined as network management (Klijn *et al.*, 2010).

Broadly, network management strategies can be classified as either process management strategies (seen as more facilitative and indirect, taking network structures as a given and rather aimed at actors and interactions) or institutional design strategies (which are aimed at altering the network through intervening in the structure or influencing actor positions) (Klijn *et al.*, 2010) However, network management is not an easy task and is itself mired in tensions between stakeholder involvement and beneficiation through participation (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012) and the impact of trust and complexity (Ysa *et al.*, 2014) to the extent that some authors refer to chaos in network management systems (Agranoff & McGuire, 2004).

Agranoff and McGuire (1999, 2001) have published extensively on the functions of network managers. The aim of Agranoff and McGuire's 2001 work was to determine if there are distinct network management activities that are the functional equivalents of traditional management activities (Rethemeyer & Hatmaker, 2008). This is equated to the POSDCORB model – found in traditional management literature, attributed to Luther Gulick (1937), referring to planning, organising, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting. Four distinct network management processes were identified (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001), noting that the management tasks relating to the processes are often carried out in combination (Ysa *et al.*, 2014):

a) Activating/deactivating members;
b) Synthesising favourable conditions;
c) Framing the work of the network; and
d) Mobilising resources for the network.

McGuire (2002) further explored the four processes by devising a set of theoretical management strategies that may be employed under differing conditions. This was represented as three possible options (although not exhaustive), which are a linear strategy (in a technical environment with clear objectives and project basis), a recursive strategy in an environment with a lack of support and a recursive strategy in an institutional environment with a lack of goal consensus (McGuire, 2002).

In addition to network management requiring distinct activities beyond traditional management within organisations, it is also argued that the horizontal nature of the management actions places it beyond traditional inter-organisational management (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012). It requires managers to have specific skill sets including employing negotiation skills, forging multi-actor solutions, mobilising resources from multiple sources and building a sense of urgency amongst actors in the network (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012). More recent literature refers to the work of network managers as "orchestrational work" (Bartelings *et al.*, 2017). Network managers typically perform the network management tasks in addition to the traditional activities as captured in the POSDCORB paradigm (Agranoff, 2006; Bartelings *et al.*, 2017).

Literature studying the impact of management actions on network results have been lagging behind other focus areas such as network structure, but a number of studies have been able to confirm that management strategies do have a strong impact on network outcomes (Klijn *et al.*, 2010; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012; Ysa *et al.*, 2014). Klijn *et al.* (2010) conducted a large sample data

study to not only consider whether network management has a positive impact on network outcomes, but also to determine the strategy that was most successful. They constructed the table below, summarising an extensive literature list on the topic, although narrowly concentrating on process management strategies which take network structure as a given. This means that influencing or changing the network structure is not part of this approach. When compared to the Agranoff and McGuire list, connecting includes both activation/deactivation of members and resource mobilisation in this model. Process agreement equates to framing, with arranging equating to elements of synthesising favourable conditions and framing. Finally, exploring content relates most closely to framing the work of the network.

Table 3-1: Overview of process management strategies

Types of Strategies	Process agreements	Exploring Content	Arranging	Connecting
Main strategies mentioned in literature	Rules for entrance into or exit from the process, conflict-regulating rules, rules that specify the interests of actors or veto possibilities, and rules that inform actors about the availability of information about decision-making moments.	Searching for goal congruency, creating variation in solutions, influencing (and explicating) perceptions, managing and collecting information and research, and creating variation through creative competition.	Creating new ad hoc organisational arrangements (e.g. boards and project organisations)	Selectively (de)activating actors, mobilising resource, initiating new series of interactions, building coalitions, mediating, appointing process managers, removing obstacles to co-operation, and creating incentives for cooperation

Source: Klijn et al. (2010: 1070)

The study found that although each of the four management strategies produced statistically significant results, connecting was the most effective strategy. Thus, the ability of managers to identify key stakeholders and activate and connect those is crucial to network outcomes. This links to the point made earlier about the skill sets required in network managers. As the focus turns next to partnerships (3.5) as an organisational form within the field of network governance, this study also provides an interesting finding that "management matters more than organisation". In other words, a specific organisational form or how the engagements are arranged from a

process perspective is less important than other management strategies (Klijn *et al.*, 2010). An overemphasis then on the institutional vehicle or official structure holding a network management function should be avoided, with a stronger focus on actual network management activities in relation to actors.

3.4.5 Network success or effectiveness

The need to measure whether networks were effective or successful developed as networks themselves grew in popularity. The initial application of traditional, output-focussed measurement approaches applied to a single organisation functioning in a network engagement was not sufficient (Mandell & Keast, 2008). Various models and frameworks have been developed to measure network effectiveness, particularly giving expression to the complex nature and value in processes, rather than only outputs in networks (Mandell & Keast, 2008; Provan & Kenis, 2008; Emerson *et al.*, 2012). These frameworks generally call for multiple levels of analysis, for example considering actions, outputs and results in the broader system (Emerson *et al.*, 2012).

In line with the various theoretical groupings in network literature, authors have emphasised the importance of their focus area for successful or effective networks (Cristofoli, Meneguzzo, Riccucci & others, 2017). Some emphasise the importance of network structure and context, underpinned by the work of Kenis and Provan (2006, 2008 and 2009), whilst others emphasise network functioning and formalised mechanisms, underpinned by Sørensen and Torfing (2009) and Klijn *et al.* (2010). As outlined in the preceding section, network management or management action has also been a distinct focus area in terms of its impact on success of networks (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012; Ysa *et al.*, 2014). More recent studies have utilised case study research (both single or limited cases and larger studies) to highlight how the combination of multiple elements in practice result in success (Cristofoli, Macciò & Pedrazzi, 2015; Raab *et al.*, 2013; Wang, 2016).

The different emphasis influences how network effectiveness or success is defined, as does the network setting, goals and other environmental factors (Mandell & Keast, 2008). The literature broadly makes reference to network success, network performance and network effectiveness, as interchangeable terms and these are operationalised by different authors in different ways (Cristofoli *et al.*, 2017). For example, Macciò and Cristofoli (2017) equate effectiveness to endurance, but particularly in the context of service delivery networks in which sustainability and endurance is conceivably a goal at its establishment. The focus on sustainability is relatively new in the literature, with greater emphasis recently on whether network arrangements were

successful in achieving the goals that were initially set (Turrini, Cristofoli, Frosini & Nasi, 2010). An interesting concept put forward by Imperial *et al.* (2016), in the field of conservation governance, is that of the "useful life of network governance". The idea of usefulness of a network or governance arrangement contrasts with more traditional views that success equates longevity. The failure of network members to recognise a point where usefulness has been exhausted may strain relationships and result in ongoing resource commitments whilst these may have been better suited elsewhere.

The concept of "useful and healthy life" rather than traditional monitoring and evaluation approaches focussed on outputs underscores that network governance attempts to create value in other ways beyond merely outputs. It further emphasises the constant nurturing requirements of such initiatives, which may also require radical reorientation, due to changing conditions or bringing an initiative to an end. The authors use a four-stage life-cycle model to consider large landscape conservation governance attempts (activation, collectivity, institutionalisation, stability, decline or reorientation). They argue that the developmental stage of a governance arrangement greatly influences the appropriate or required actions (Imperial *et al.*, 2016).

Figure 3-6: The useful life of network governance
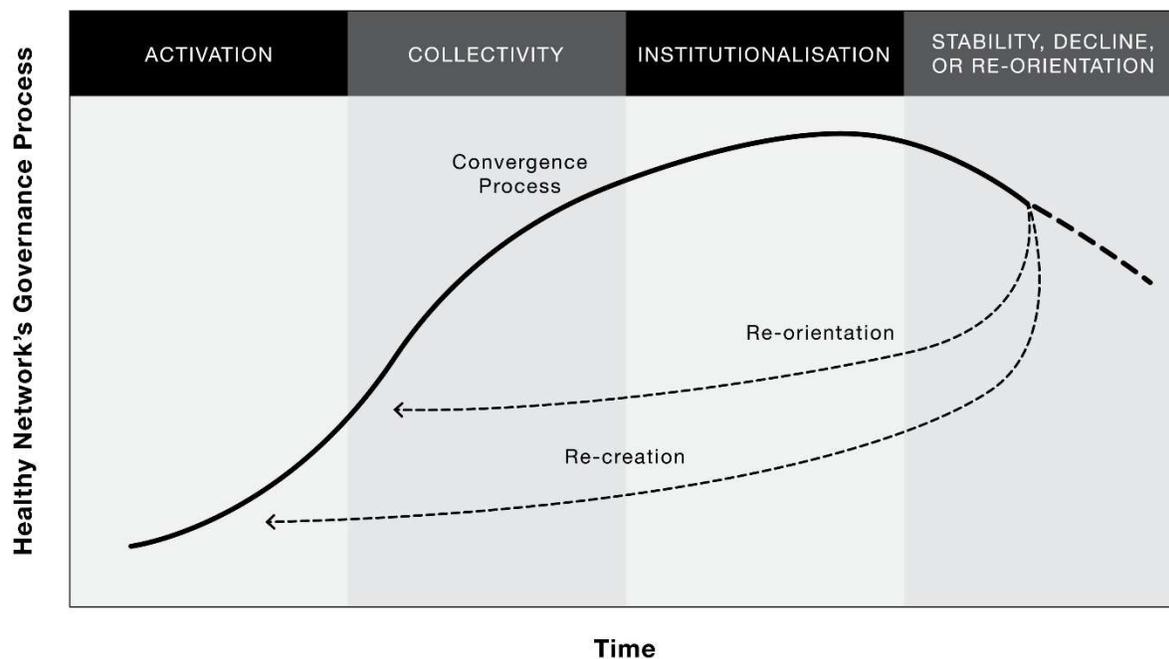
Source: Imperial et al. (2016: 137)

Broadly speaking then, effectiveness can be assessed at an output level, which focusses on the community or stakeholders that should benefit from the network, or at a network level, which is grounded in the work of Provan & Milward (2001). Raab *et al.* (2013: 479), while considering multiple elements contributing to success, defined effective networks as "centrally integrated networks that have been in existence for at least three years (age) and which show a high degree of stability […] [T]hey either have considerable resources at their disposal or they have been set up with a network administrative organisation". The most comprehensive review of literature and summary of the determinants of network effectiveness come from Turrini *et al.* (2010) who developed the framework below. This framework separates the various determinants into three broad categories, namely structural characteristics, functioning characteristics and contextual characteristic.

Figure 3-7: Integrated framework of network effectiveness
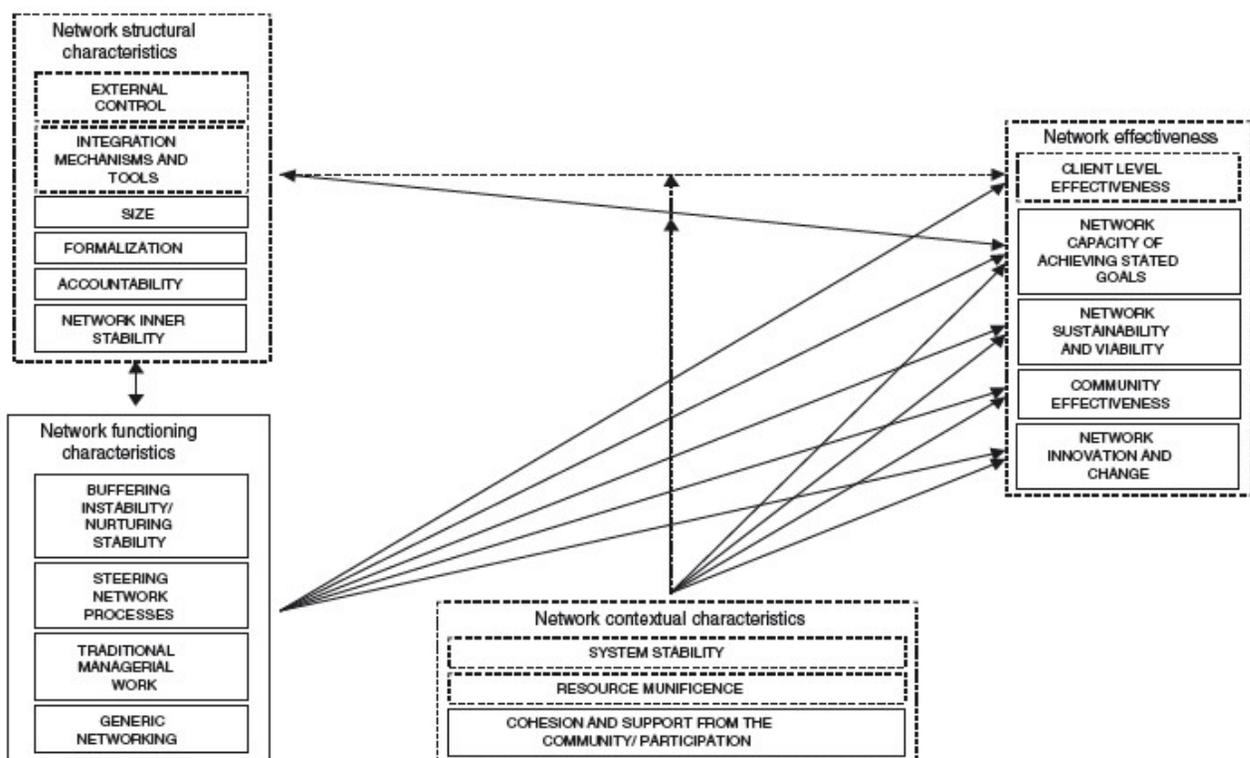
Source: Turrini et al. (2010: 546)

3.4.6 Failures of networks and governance

Although collaboration and networks clearly matter in the process of solving complex societal problems beyond the reach of a single organisation, they are also complex in nature, face resolution barriers and have shown mixed results over recent decades of studies (McGuire & Agranoff, 2011; Vangen, 2017). It has also been found that large numbers of collaborations and networks fail, or do not exist for long periods of time, and that there is a lack of literature to define particular theories of network failure (Schrank & Whitford, 2011). O'Toole and Meier (2004) pointed out that most research on this topic focusses on how to establish and manage networks, or how to achieve network performance whilst to a large extent ignoring the political dimension of networks. It is argued that networks, embedded in a larger societal and political context, are unlikely to be purely neutral producers of public goods with network managers responding to already-present powerful political elements and in so doing magnifying existing inequalities.

Collaborative approaches in particular may be slow to produce outputs and are not guaranteed to deliver synergy and is argued to be a result of the paradoxical nature of collaborations (Vangen, 2017). The paradox stems from collaborations having to protect a partner's unique character and resources that they contribute, whilst requiring sharing and in some ways utilising or integrating these unique characteristics (Vangen, 2017). Governance, specifically in the realm of economic development, also suffers from a number of tensions or dilemmas, outlined by Jessop (1998) as cooperation vs. competition, openness vs. closure, governability vs. flexibility and accountability vs. efficiency.

Governance through collaboration and networks are not the only governance options being employed in the public sphere. Principle-agent relations (in the form of loans or grants), contractual agreements and growing internal cross-silo work in government departments are some of the alternatives to network governance (McGuire & Agranoff, 2011). Networks are unlikely to succeed in environments of policy uncertainty and particularly in areas with overwhelming short-term considerations exposed to regular changes in funding as well as political and administrative personnel (Raab *et al.*, 2013). A final word of caution is to not expect too much of networks, whilst appropriate for problems requiring multiparty collaboration, a great many basic societal challenges today still require simple decision-making and delivery, not complex multiparty delivery arrangements (McGuire & Agranoff, 2011).

3.5   Partnerships as governance mechanism

With the proliferation of network forms of governing around the world, another common term and approach used in the field of public administration is "partnerships". Internationally, partnerships have been growing in popularity as appropriate means to pursue development, both in developed and developing countries (Selsky & Parker, 2005) having originated in the field of sustainable development (Reed & Reed 2009). Partnerships are considered a more prescriptive form of network governance, where deliberate attempts are made to join up disconnected parts to produce a greater whole (Pope & Lewis, 2008; Selsky & Parker, 2005). Distinction should be made between deliberately designed partnerships and voluntary partnerships not driven by government (Mandell, 2001).

Some scholars (Rhodes, 1997 quoted in Martin & Guarneros-Meza, 2013) argue that networks are by their very nature self-organising, whilst others (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012) argue that networks can benefit from some form of government steering. Metcalfe and Lapenta (2014: 61) point out that "one network may contain many partnerships, combining different types of power and correspondingly diverse patterns of role relationships". In this study, as in that of Pope and Lewis (2008), the term partnership is used to refer to the entities under discussion, often established with some sort of management or oversight imperative. The term network refers to the larger structure and relationships within which these partnerships operate. The network view allows for the application of a set of academic techniques from this field to evaluate partnerships.

The OECD in 1999 recognised the increase in partnerships establishment as a local governance tool and launched the Study on Local Partnerships with results published in 2001 (OECD 2001: 32). They define partnerships as "[s]ystems of formalised co-operation, grounded in legally binding arrangements or informal understandings, co-operative working relationships, and mutually adopted plans among several institutions. They involve agreements on policy and programme objectives and the sharing of responsibility, resources, risks and benefits over a specified period of time." Another broad term that is particularly relevant in the focus on R&LED is that of area-based partnerships. It largely refers to governance and collaboration initiatives designed to mobilise relevant stakeholders in a specific area (local or regional) to contribute to the improvement of a given economic situation (OECD 2006). The term partnership is often used interchangeably with other terms such as alliance, compact or collaboration (Findlay-Brooks, Visser *et al.*, 2007).

A danger of the growth in use of partnerships is the assumption that there is a model for successful partnering that can easily be replicated (Rein & Stott, 2009). Case study research on partnerships in various fields (including healthcare, education and economic development) have shown that selective application of relevant good practice, framed by the local conditions and constraints, will yield the best opportunities for success (Pope & Lewis, 2008; Rein & Stott, 2009). This research from the late 2000s noted that monitoring and evaluation of partnership processes and results were lacking and made it difficult to assess the success of these arrangements. Pope and Lewis (2008) identified several key factors that resulted in what they identified as "effective partnerships". These factors are a) having a good broker or facilitator to build relationships, b) having the right decision-makers at the table with a commitment to contribute, c) having a clear purpose, d) having good administrative processes and e) having ongoing motivation through champions and achievement reports.

3.5.1 Types of partnerships

Austin (2000:44) is quoted as positioning partnerships as "the collaboration paradigm of the 21st century, needed to solve increasingly complex challenges that exceed the capability of any single sector" (Van Tulder, 2008). The sectors referred to are government, private business and NGOs and civic society. In addition to being a new form of organisation between public and private, partnerships can also be considered instruments of public policy (Giguère, 2005). Not only do partnerships contribute to a strengthening of local networks (Giguère, 2005), but they also have the potential to address a number of failures as outlined by Van Tulder and Pfisterer (2008: 7):

- Failures of government through bureaucracy or not meeting developmental promises;
- Market failures through crowding out by means of globalisation; and
- Civil or civic society failures through special interest groups defining the development agenda (OECD, 2006).

McQuid (quoted in Osborne, 2010: 127) states that "different types or organization of partnerships are appropriate in different circumstances". The chosen type is informed by, amongst others, the purpose (i.e. what it seeks to achieve), who is involved, the timing of the partnership formation within a broader process and geographical factors. Various classifications or categorisations of partnerships have been published. Some of these are:

- Partnerships that involve core business activities or advocacy for strategic investment (United Nations Global Compact (UNGC quoted in Reed & Reed 2009: 15);

- Partnerships that involve business for development as either conventional business partnerships, corporate accountability partnerships or corporate social responsibility partnerships (Reed & Reed 2009);

- Partnerships that are service based, provide resources or set rules and a convergence of these three forms (Zadek & Radovich 2006);

- Transaction (usually short term) or integrative (and developmental usually long term) partnerships (Selsky & Parker 2005);

- Reciprocal exchange (transactional), developmental value creation or symbiotic value creation partnerships (Googins & Rochlin 2000);

- Facilitating (strategic policy level), coordinating (management following agreed priorities) or implementing (often project-focussed) partnerships (Stewart, Snape 1996); and

- Implementation or dialogue partnerships and bifurcated partnerships (a mix of the two potential focus areas) (Hamann, Pienaar *et al.* 2009).

Some commonality exists across this literature in that partnerships are usually cross-sector (either public-private or including all three sectors) and multi-stakeholder collaborations. Cross-sector partnerships refer to collaborations amongst government, business and civil society (either amongst all three or only between two of the three sectors), with the aim of achieving joint objectives (Hamann, *et al.*, 2009). Another feature of cross-sector partnerships is that they are often underpinned by some form of government funding (Cairns & Harris, 2011). Although they exist across a diverse landscape, and operate at various scales and levels, there is always the commonality in partnerships that parties believe that objectives can be better or more effectively achieved through collaboration rather than through individual efforts (Hamann *et al.*, 2009).

One type of partnership often used by governments, also found in the South African public sector, is the public-private partnerships (PPP), which has a very specific association with infrastructure development. This is usually a means of leveraging private-sector expertise and financing for large-scale developments, usually operated for a period by the private entity with a profit motive and potentially transferred back to government after some time (Hodge & Greve, 2010). This study specifically excludes PPPs as the focus is not on the execution of singular projects but rather governance of a broader development agenda at regional and local levels.

3.5.2 Classification and typology of partnerships

Given the array of possible partnerships and the various classifications already discussed above, attempts have been made to classify partnerships along a continuum or typology. These classifications are useful when considering many partnerships and assist in understanding the role fulfilled by different arrangements in a specific environment. It is possible that in a specific geographic area many partnerships may exist to pursue different goals broadly relating to economic development. Understanding the partnerships' exact role along a typology could add a layer of information to consider when reviewing a chosen governance structure. One such classification is provided by The Partnering Initiative (Findlay-Brooks, Visser & Wright, 2007), considering several factors such as structure, goals and activities, depicted below. Importantly, it is noted that partnerships can rarely be fitted purely into a single classification category along this continuum.

Figure 3-8: Classification scale by partnership objective
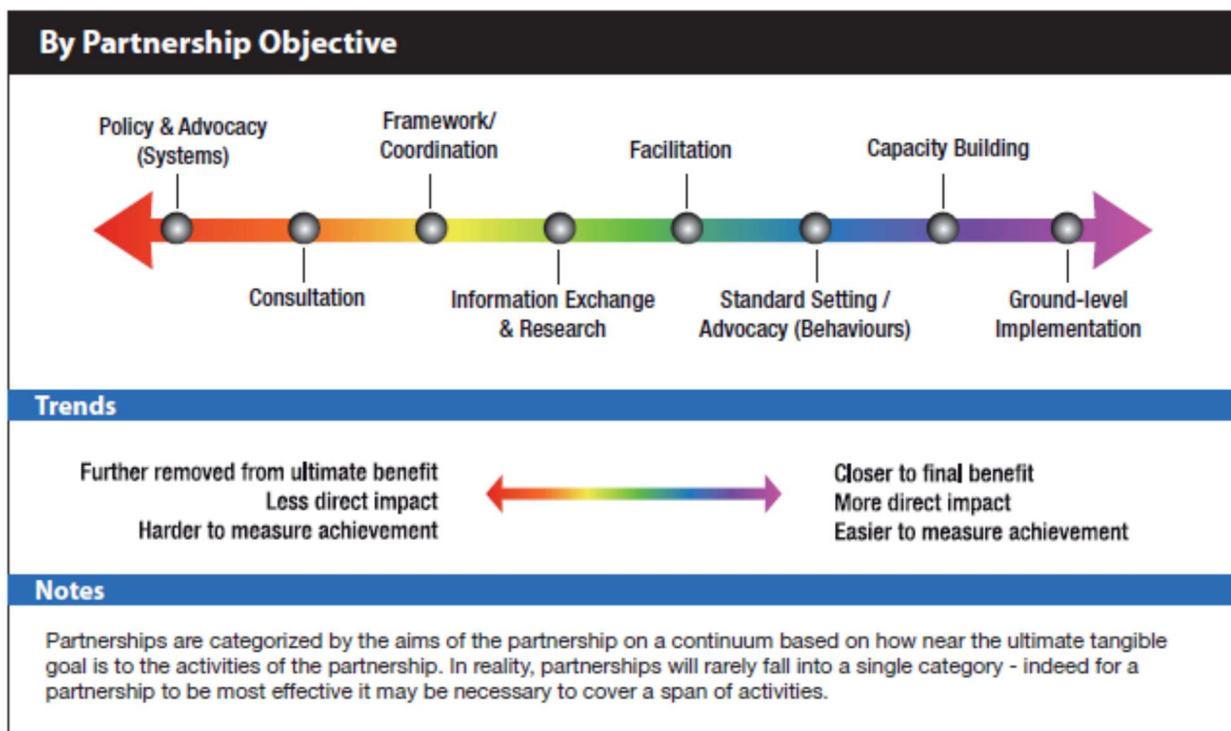
Source: As quoted in Findlay-Brooks, Visser & Wright (2007)copyright IBLF/The Partnering initiative).

Other classification alternatives include a two-dimensional space, based on two axes, designed by Hamann, Pienaar, Boulogne and Kranz (2011) and is depicted below.

Figure 3-9: Schematic illustration of partnership typology along two dimensions
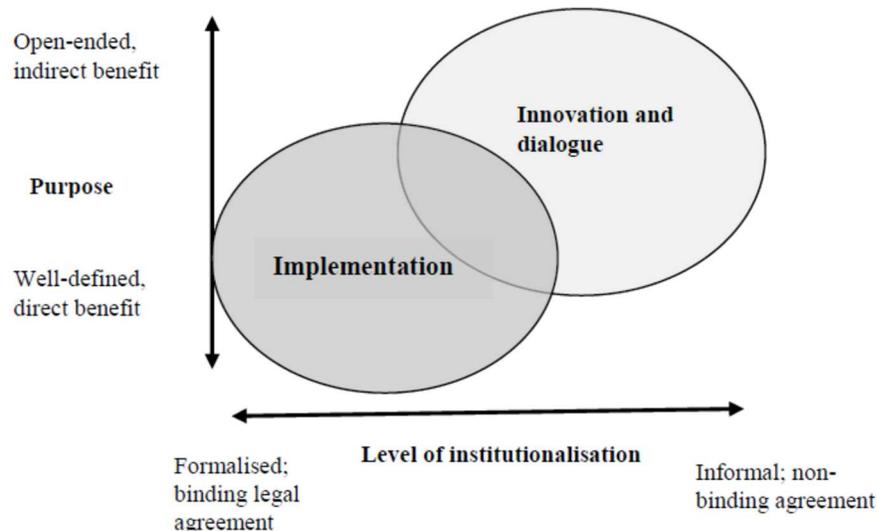
Source: Hamann *et al.* (2011*:* 11)

3.6   Governance, networks and partnership approaches for R&LED

3.6.1   Governance approaches for R&LED

Matovu (2018) outlines four broad policy options for governance of LED, namely a) promoting partnerships; b) encouraging participation of local stakeholders; c) anti-corruption policies and strategies; and d) accountability and responsiveness to the public. The dominant internationally advocated governance mechanisms for the execution of LED include the establishment of an LED forum (Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005) for consultation and interaction purposes. The establishment of such a forum or a steering committee is usually listed as one of the firsts steps in an LED strategy development process (Swinburn *et al.*, 2006). This entails identifying and then mobilising appropriate stakeholders in a specific location. Most often, implementation of the strategy (in the form of multiple projects) is left to the local authority, with potential periodic inputs from the forum, or a revitalisation of the mechanism after some time when a strategy review or update is required. This approach fits within the orthodox (planning-driven) approach to LED and often suffers from an unclear mandate, including inconsistent and unrealistic expectations resulting in stakeholder fatigue or frustration (Cunningham & Meyer-Stamer, 2005).

Some role players (notably the UNDP and ILO) advocate for the establishment of LED agencies (LEDAs) (separate legal entities) for implementation purposes and funded by the local authority (Rodríguez-Pose & Tijmstra, 2005; Suarez, Chicas, Troshani & Coelho, 2003). There is said to be more than 15 000 LEDAs around the globe, operating at both local and regional levels (Clark, Huxley & Mountford, 2010; Lawrence, 2013). At least positioned outside the government system, agencies could have a more market facing and market-oriented approach. However, they often remain reliant on regional or local governments for funding of their activities (OECD & Mountford, 2009).

In South Africa, LEDAs are formally considered "special purpose vehicles" (SPV)[5] focussing on performing the LED function in a defined geographical area. Municipalities, however, remain politically accountable for LED and cannot delegate this responsibility to another agency (DPLG, 2008). This proximity to local government means that there is often a focus on community development or infrastructure development, as per the local authority's priorities, rather than on broader LED governance functions (Lawrence, 2013). LEDAs had seen a mixed success rate in South Africa, with many more failures than successes, mainly attributed to a lack of institutional readiness at local government level and a lack of capacity, skills and leadership in localities (Lawrence, 2013).

Governance approaches for broader regional economic development initiatives provide an even greater challenge than that of LED, given the implied larger geographic area, more stakeholders and potential impacts across multiple local governments. This environment is often competitive, with neighbouring localities for example competing to attract investment (Chen *et al.*, 2015). Regional economic development partnerships seem to be the most common utilised approach, often established with the help of third parties (e.g. NGOs) and largely voluntary in terms of participation (Chen *et al.*, 2015). It has been theorised that adjacent localities will pursue collaboration when transaction costs are perceived to be low, with three types of transaction costs to be considered, namely coordination problems arising from information asymmetry, the

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[5] The term has a long history of use in financial markets, where it is defined as "an off-balance sheet vehicle (OBSV) comprised of a legal entity created by the sponsor or originator, typically a major investment bank or insurance company, to fulfil a temporary objective of the sponsoring firm" (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011). In the public sector in South Africa SPV's are separate legal entities set up through special legislation or council resolution to fulfil a specific and narrow development or service delivery function, deemed to be beyond the capacity of government (Voges, 2018).

negotiation cost around dividing inputs and sharing outputs and finally the cost associated with monitoring and enforcing any type of agreement (Feiock, 2007; Hawkins, 2010).

There is, however, a range of possible governance options depending on the legislative and policy environment in a locality, Feiock (2013) outlined a framework with multiple options for the USA. The term often used within new-regionalist literature is collaborative regional governance and it is argued that inter-organisational collaboration will improve the quality of local services and enhance the competitiveness of a region within the global economy (Parks & Oakerson, 2000). Studies tend to focus on the role of regional authorities in solving collective problems in larger geographical areas, but recently recognition has been given to self-organising collective action (Hawkins *et al.*, 2016). This refers to voluntary collaborative action across jurisdictional fragmentation (i.e. multiple administrative boundaries) that does not only solve a local problem, but contributes to addressing a regional challenge (Hawkins *et al.*, 2016).

Distinction should be made between local and regional economic development in terms of participation of stakeholders, as demonstrated in the illustration below (Canzanelli, 2001: 25). The larger the geographical area under consideration, the higher the level of available resources to contribute towards its comparative advantage, but typically this will be traded off against lower levels of participation. The opposite holds for smaller localities, where fewer resources are available, but higher levels of stakeholder participation can typically be expected.

Figure 3-10: Relationship between scale and participation
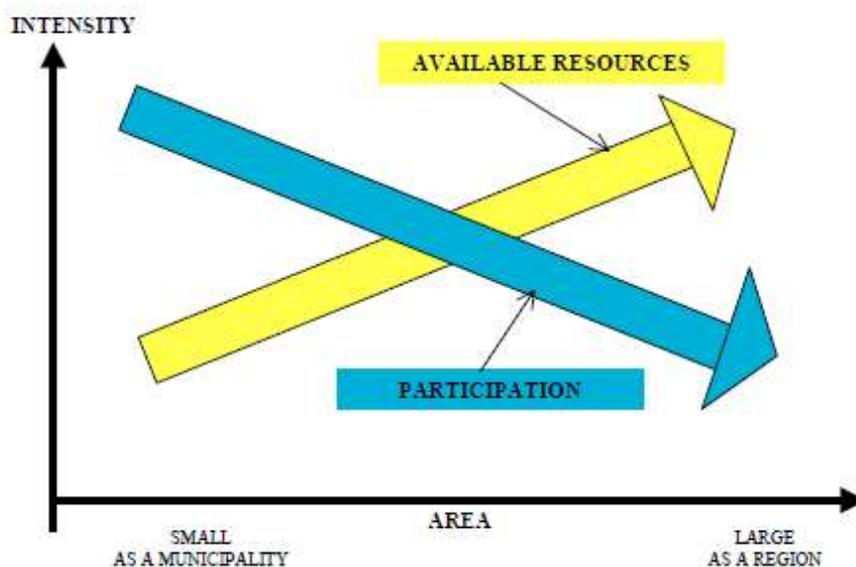
Source: Canzanelli (2001: 25)

In 2003, Helmsing wrote that LED in the future will be multi-actor, multilevel and multi-sector and yet this recognition of an increasingly complex environment has not resulted in significant shifts in the promoted governance approaches within the field. Pennink (2014) has recently proposed a multilevel, multi-actor model for LED, building on the work of Stimson, Stough and Salazar (2005). Pennink's (2014) argument is that with the increasing focus on regions and regionalism, local had become the forgotten level. This situation therefore calls for the expansion of the model. There is no doubt that this model will evolve with further scholarly input, but it does already depict the complexity of the R&LED environment. It also illustrates that local problems are often caused by a variety of drivers, emanating from multiple levels (e.g. international and national) and that to address these requires coherent strategies and policies across multiple levels and scales of governance (Gupta *et al.*, 2015). Stated differently, local problems cannot be solved entirely at local level (Jessop, 1998).

Figure 3-11: Multilevel, multi-actor model for local economic development
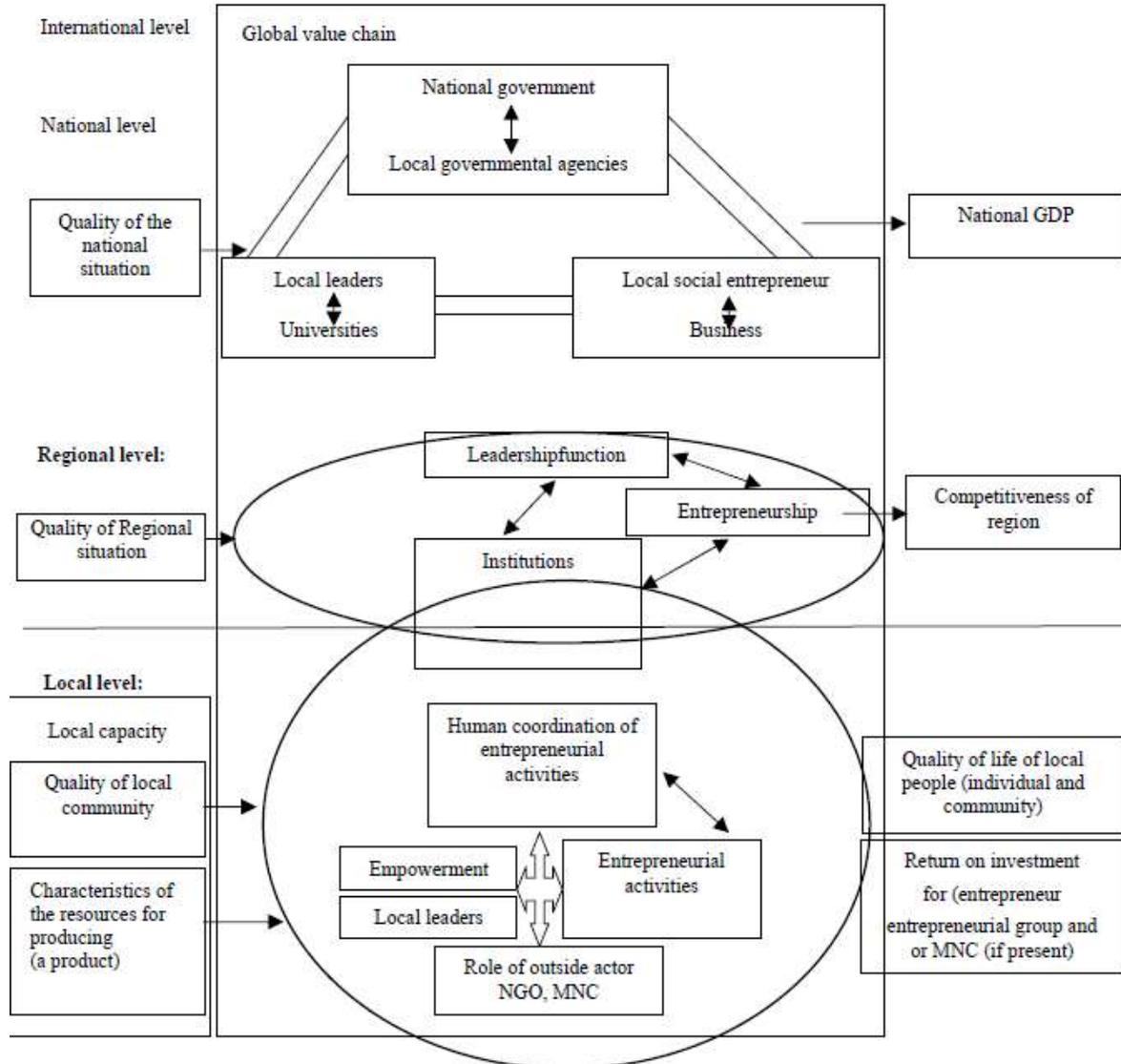
Source: Pennink (2014: 47). Dimensions of Local Economic Development: Towards a Multi-Level, Multi-Actor Model.

Given this complex environment, government, with its inherent bureaucracies and lack of market focus, is certainly not ideally positioned to be assigned the key management role in R&LED, whilst decentralisation, and the assignment of more functions to subnational level, places greater emphasis on local authorities to create "place prosperity" (Helmsing, 2001). It is cautioned that decentralisation and the rising multilevel and multi-agent governance systems could both encourage and inhibit development processes in different contexts (Pike et al., 2014). Successful R&LED requires subnational government to not only provide the correct mix of local public goods,

but also to enable actors (specifically private and civic society) to contribute productively (Helmsing, 2001). Local governments, even with the best intentions, often have limited budgets and resources available to advance the local economy (Helmsing, 2003). Playing a governance role, through the mobilisation and coordination of multiple actors towards a common goal, seems the best opportunity for advancing localities' fortunes. However, given capability and capacity constraints in the South African R&LED environment, this may remain an elusive situation.

3.6.2 Networks in R&LED

In the most recent comprehensive review of the state of network research in public administration, only 5% of papers in the extensive sample considered regional economic development or LED (Kapucu *et al.*, 2017). The application of network theory to economic development has historically been limited to understanding value chains and clusters of firms. A network view has only recently been applied in governance of economic development (Chen *et al.*, 2015; Ha, Lee & Feiock, 2016). This is an interesting existing gap in the field, as a seminal work by Powell (as far back as 1990) highlighted that network governance constituted a distinct form of coordinating economic activity.

Different ways of utilising a network governance approach in R&LED have been noted. Local economic development agencies (LEDAs) are most often tasked with delivering on behalf of a local authority, which corresponds to a service implementation type – usually governed by a contractual agreement with a LEDA having to deliver agreed results, albeit in a collaborative way as some of the deliverables may be outside of its domain exclusively. In South Africa, the LED forum approach (i.e. mobilising stakeholders to contribute to a strategy development and implementation process) corresponds to a developmental or outreach network, or using the Milward and Provan classification, either a problem-solving or information diffusion approach. The exact classification will depend on whether the forum is aiming to only share and collect information from participants or, if it actively mobilises stakeholders, to also contribute towards the actual problem-solving.

3.6.3 Partnerships in R&LED

This topic was briefly touched on in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.4) as an emerging trend in the field of R&LED and is discussed in more detail here. It is argued that economic development as a responsibility of government is fundamentally different from other typical government functions, namely representation, regulation and service delivery, as it requires vision-driven activity,

coordinated across multiple stakeholders mainly outside of the direct control of government (e.g. businesses) (Cloete, 2015). This makes it an activity ideally "orchestrated as a partnership activity between public, private, and institutional sectors, with substantial vertical and horizontal collaboration on the public sector side" (Moir & Clark, 2014 quoted in Cloete, 2015). Feiock (2013) lists partnerships as one collaborative mechanism to address institutional collective action dilemmas which arise from fragmented governmental jurisdictions, as is commonplace in regional economic development efforts. These are typically entered into voluntarily, but then underpinned by an agreement around joint action and obligations (Feiock, 2013).

Addressing complex issues such as increasing economic activity in a region requires collective action and governance of these actions. This is much more onerous than just achieving the goals of one organisation (Provan & Kenis, 2008). In Australia, partnerships for regional development have been growing in prominence, with these partnerships often receiving devolved authority to drive coordinated efforts towards economic and social development (McDonald, 2014). Policy actors argue that partnerships are effective mechanisms to identify and then channel investment for economic development purposes. It has been pointed out that further research should focus on how networks generated through these partnerships enable more efficient and equitable resource allocation within specific locations (McDonald, Kirk-Brown, Frost & Rainnie, 2010).

Across Europe partnerships are viewed as important vehicles for the implementation of LED and indeed the broader socio-economic development agenda (Geddes, 2006; Stott & Scoppetta, 2013). There has been a particular multilevel focus on ensuring that local partnerships are connected to regional and national programmes and policies (Stott & Scoppetta, 2013). In the United Kingdom around 2010, the national government called for the formation of local enterprise partnerships (LEPs) that would act as institutions to interact and work with government to support LED (Pike *et al.*, 2015). Thirty-nine LEPs were registered in a large reorganisation of local and regional economic institutions, which included the transition of the London Development Agency into the Greater London Authority. Part of this process was the closure of regional development agencies which were historically established in an attempt to address the "missing middle" in the British institutional landscape between local and national spheres (Pike *et al.*, 2015; Rossiter & Price, 2013). The most recent review of the LEPs, however, have shown significant challenges in exercising substantive influence, particularly hampered by ongoing austerity measures and uncertainty in terms of future economic growth (Pike *et al.*, 2015).

Cloete (2015) outlines several points in support of partnerships as appropriate approach in R&LED. These are expanded on below and links to arguments made in earlier chapters around collaboration:

- The scale and complexity of economic challenges facing developing economies such as South Africa are beyond the ability of a single sector, sphere or discipline to address. It requires more than a capable state or efficient private sector;

- Partnerships are not merely about mobilising additional resources to supplement limited public-sector budgets, but rather about creating a platform for discussion of different and competing ideas and institutional cultures well beyond a traditional public participation process;

- Partnerships may build higher levels of mutual accountability and move beyond narrow sectoral interests, with solutions being co-designed and co-owned; and

- Structured rather than ad hoc partnerships are required to create sustainable platforms for ongoing dialogue, longer-term trust building and ultimately joint action.

Based on the literature reviewed in this chapter, the focus now turns to constructing a heuristic evaluation tool for use in the R&LED governance environment.

3.7   An evaluation approach with multiple tools

Some broad observations around R&LED practices as they relate to governance and networks have been made throughout this chapter. Given that R&LED requires a collaboration between government and stakeholders, and that it is by nature multi-actor and multilevel clearly allow applying theory and lessons from networks and network governance. Regional and local economic development literature offers only a limited set of recommendations around governance arrangements, consisting of broadly two options: a) forming a forum for consultation and interaction); and/or b) creating a LEDA for implementation on behalf of the local authority. There is growing evidence of bottom-up or self-organising initiatives (Ha *et al*., 2016) and voluntary partnerships in terms of governance arrangements (Feiock, 2013). Furthermore, there may be a range of arrangements that fall between planning and implementation. Given the key role for local government, specifically in South Africa, a fully self-organising or self-governing approach to R&LED is not desirable or practical. This study argues that R&LED practitioners and participants in localities could benefit from an improved understanding of the range of network types and what network governance entails, to ensure that formalised governance arrangements are in fact appropriate to achieve the desired outcomes.

From the literature unpacked in this chapter, a potential approach to evaluating governance arrangements in R&LED is emerging. This approach will require the sequential application of a few tools to provide a clear analysis of the state and health of network governance. The broad evaluation process can be depicted as follows:

> Step 1: Consider the life cycle of the partnership/governance arrangement to determine in which stage the network is located;

> Step 2: Apply the heuristic checklist (developed further in this section) to determine if networking, network structure or network governance results are being achieved; and

> Step 3: Consider the network management actions (management model) to determine if any management actions might not be present (gap analysis).

The tools applicable to each step are unpacked in more detail below.

3.7.1 Life cycle evaluation

The "useful life of network governance" as proposed by Imperial *et al.* (2016), was discussed in section 3.3.5. The four stages depicted in this model are activation, collectivity, institutionalisation and, finally, either stability, decline or reorientation. The authors point out that this does not necessarily have to be a sequential progression and networks may face challenges grounded in multiple stages at the same time. Although death or decline is a possible end stage, it is not interpreted as negative, given that their argument is that networks who persist beyond their useful life is not an efficient use of resources. Death of a network arrangement is thus not equated to failure. Imperial *et al.* (2016) provide a detailed table outlining differences between the stages, making the life cycle approach easy to utilise without further development or adjustment.

Table 3-2: Key differences in stages of network development (Imperial *et al.,* 2016: 138)

	Stages of network development			
	Activation	*Collectivity*	*Institutionalization*	*Stability, decline, re-orientation, or re-creation*
Useful life	• Does the network exist? • Is there some public value to creating the network?	• Does the network produce a good or service using a reliable process?	• Does the perceived value of the goods and services exceed the costs?	• Could the resources contributed to network processes be better deployed?
Emphasis	• Determine whether the network should exist • Build relationships • Establish core values and mission	• Forge a cohesive whole from diverse members • Create a stable network process	• Institutionalize the social architecture • Improve efficiency of network processes	• Incremental change to improve performance • External threats and performance issues lead to re-orientation
Membership and social system	• Unstable at first • Stable processes and stable membership soon emerge	• Membership stabilizes • Cohesive processes create stable system • Heavily dependent on personal relationships	• Very stable • While relationships remain important, the process is no longer dependent on individuals • New members quickly socialized	• May be stable • Excessive member turnover, declining commitments, performance issues create instability • Re-orientations create instability
Commitment	• Membership is viewed as a way to advance individual or organiza-tional goals	• High personal commitment to the network and its shared goals	• Individually based commitments become organizational	• Commitments correlate with collective performance • Members look to redeploy resources to new problems
Resistance to change	• Very low • Frequent changes as members search for appropriate processes	• Growing resistance to change as the need to produce goods and services takes hold	• High resistance to change • Mostly incremental change to reduce costs and improve performance	• High resistance to change • Resistance remains high in the face of threats and poor performance
Network leadership	• Heavily reliant on collaborative leaders to initiate network processes	• Collaborative leaders coordinate and facilitate network processes • Leadership is increasingly shared by network processes	• Leadership is distributed and shared as a result of network processes and structure • As founders retire or leave, new leaders are cultivated and activated	• Leadership is distributed and shared as a result of structure and processes • Collaborative leaders are needed to guide re-orientations

3.7.2 Checklist of outputs – networking, network or network governance

Using elements identified from the definitions above, and building on the work of Parker (2007), a framework for a heuristic evaluation around the presence of networking, network structures or network governance (representing an increasing scale of desirability) has been constructed. Given the very clear definition of collaborative governance utilised in this study (Ansell & Gash, 2008), these key requirements were incorporated into the final governance section. In the table below, each required or ideal characteristic is listed, with the corresponding origin in literature. In the second table, the characteristics are framed as a series of questions that network actors or network managers could be asked.

The tool is not designed to provide a definitive conclusion on which category a specific arrangement may fall into and the aim should not be to answer yes to every single characteristic. Results and responses can be colour coded to provide a dashboard or snapshot of the current state of affairs within an R&LED governance arrangement. The results could then be compared to actor expectations or stated goals and objectives to determine if the governance arrangement is indeed functioning in the space for which it was designed (i.e. merely facilitating the flow of information on one end of the spectrum or playing an actual governance role).

Table 3-3: Evaluation characteristics and origins in literature

Evidence of/Characteristics of:	
1. Networking	
Informal	Keast and Mandell (2014)
Largely voluntary	Keast and Mandell (2014)
Exchange of Information for mutual benefit	Himmelman (2002) and O'Flynn (2007)
2. Network/Network Structure	
Actors connected by ties and social relations	Parker (2007)
Decentralised decision-making involving shared power	Parker (2007)
Continuous links that result in a "new whole", more than collection of individual organisations	O'Toole Jr. (1997) and Parker (2007)
Participation out of recognition that affect and are affected by behaviour of other actors (interdependent)	Mandell (1994); Keast, Mandell, Brown and Woolcock (2004) and Parker (2007)
Non-state actor participation	Ansell and Gash (2008)
Unique structural arrangement – Presence of a coordinative mechanism, but not formal authority (role of facilitator or broker)	Milward and Provan (2003) and Keast *et al.* (2004)
Broad, common mission	Keast *et al.* (2004)
3. Network or Collaborative Governance	
Initiated by public sector	Ansell and Gash (2008)
Focus on public policy or public management	Ansell and Gash (2008)
Use of institutions or authority to allocate resources, direct decision-making engagements (not just consultation)	Ansell and Gash (2008) and Kenis and Provan (2009)

Decision-making by consensus (collective decision-making)	Ansell and Gash (2008) and Stone, Crosby and Bryson (2010)
Coordination across network and formal forum with collective meetings	Kenis and Provan (2009)
Action resulting in altered behaviour of participants	Mandell (1994)
Focus on process and institutional arrangements used to accomplish task	Keast and Mandell (2014)

Parker (2007) included in her model some elements under network governance that cannot be readily determined through observation, but only through a more rigorous network science approach (i.e. collection, analysis and interpretation of relational data), as pointed out in some critique of this work (Christopoulos, 2008). These elements (e.g. density and breadth) have been excluded from this evaluation and will be expanded on in Chapter 5 where SNA will be utilised to evaluate the case studies in this research in more depth.

Table 3-4: Evaluation tool with questions for application

Characteristic	Question	Yes/No/Partially
Networking		
Informal	Are all engagements and interactions recorded or minuted?	
Largely voluntary	Is there any mechanism (legal or other binding way) that forces participation and interaction?	
Exchange of information for mutual benefit	Is there an open and reciprocal exchange of information by participants?	
Network/Network Structure		
Actors connected by ties and social relations	Have you witnessed existing or emergent relationships and ties between participants?	
Decentralised decision-making involving shared power	Have you witnessed or specifically designed meetings and interactions to result in decentralised, joint decision-making by participants?	
Continuous links that result in a "new whole", more than collection of individual organisations	Have you noted results from the engagements that amounted to more than just the "sum of the parts"? That is, are the higher-order results more than the sum of the individual results by different actors?	
Participation out of recognition that affect and are affected by behaviour of	Is there evidence that participation is due to a recognition of interdependence on other actors? (*Answer: yes*) or is there more	

other actors (interdependent)	evidence of self-interest and self-preservation as driving force? (*Answer: no*)	
Non-state actor participation	Is there significant participation by non-state actors?	
Unique structural arrangement – Presence of a coordinative mechanism, but not formal authority (role of facilitator or broker)	Is there a coordinative mechanism in place, and if so, does this take the form of facilitator or broker? That is, is there an absence of formal authority in the coordinative mechanism?	
Broad, common mission	Do the group or collective subscribe to a broad and common mission?	
Network or Collaborative Governance		
Initiated by public sector	Was the initiative or collaboration initiated by the public sector? (*answer: yes*) And if not, did the public sector come to play a key role over time? (*Answer: partial*)	
Focus on public policy or public management	Is there a distinct focus on influencing public policy or public management practices or supporting public policy-making and influencing public management deliverables?	
Use of institutions or authority to allocate resources, direct decision-making engagements (not just consultation)	Is the institution tasked with decisions around the allocation of resources? That is, are participants able to influence resource allocation (*Answer: yes*) or is there merely a consultation taking place, for decision-making elsewhere? (*Answer: no*)	
Decision-making by consensus	Are decisions made by consensus? That is, do different views converge to consensus which then results in action in line with the consensus?	
Coordination across network, formal forum with collective meetings	Does the arrangement or approach focus on coordination across the entire network (to whatever degree that network is defined for a specific case) and does it aim towards collective, formalised meetings? (*If answer positive on both: yes. If one positive: partial*)	
Action resulting in altered behaviour of participants	Has action within the arrangement and amongst participants resulted in changed behaviour?	
Focus on process and institutional arrangements used to accomplish task	Is there a project-driven delivery focus (*Answer: no*) or is the focus rather on the process and institutional arrangements used to accomplish the task? (*Answer: yes)*	

3.7.3 Network management actions

The checklist above focusses mostly on the results achieved within the broader system or network through the actions of the R&LED governance arrangement. In the section on network management (3.4.4), mention was made of the extensive literature on the functions of network managers (Agranoff & McGuire, 1999, 2001). The tool developed focusses on the results produced through the actions of such network managers. If this network lens is to be applied, it is also prudent to consider in such evaluations, the actual management actions employed to achieve these results. This then becomes the final step in a sequential process. Broadly determining the current stage in the life cycle allows a frame within which most appropriate actions or results are to be expected, the checklist offers a view on results achieved to date or in the current state and, finally, a review of the management actions will determine if there are specific gaps that, if addressed, could improve the governance results. If there are strong indications that positive network governance results are being delivered already, the management evaluation should confirm these results – with the full range of possible actions observed in practice.

The two leading models in the literature on management strategies in networks by Agranoff and McGuire (2001) and Klijn *et al.* (2010) were outlined in section 3.4.4. Although Klijn *et al.* (2010) developed their model explicitly for use in process management strategies, which focusses on relationships between actors rather than on structural formation in networks, it is certainly relevant to this study. A combination of Agranoff and McGuire's (2001) model and Klijn *et al.*'s (2010) model (each outlining four distinct management strategies) results in the management model below, with five management actions, processes or strategies.

Table 3-5: A theoretical network management model applicable to R&LED governance arrangements

	Management action	Descriptions of typical activities
1.	Process agreement	Operating rules, norms, and perceptions, including rules for entrance and conflict resolution.
2.	Connecting	Activation/deactivation of members, initiating contact with potential or identified members, coalition building.
3.	Framing and content	Managing and collecting information and research, giving shape to purpose, reorienting network focus if required.
4.	Mobilising resources	Inducing commitment amongst network participants and stakeholders, particularly focussing on administrative resources to ensure sustainability of the effort.
5.	Synthesising of favourable conditions	Creating required new arrangements and processes to ensure flow of information and resources; facilitating ongoing network participant interaction, effective communications and incentives for collaboration.

As in other literature, emphasis is on the range of activities or actions, often executed in combinations, and not necessarily on a linear process of actions that follow one another. An attempt was made to theoretically order the actions with the start of a new partnership in mind, but network managers will be required to ultimately perform all these actions simultaneously and on an ongoing basis. This is much like the traditional POSDCORB model (planning, organising, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting) which implies integration and interdependence of different management activities.

3.8   Summary

An important component of this chapter was the unpacking of the inductive approach utilised to develop a theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. In this case the theoretical framework is utilised as a broad concept (generally applicable within a field of study) and the conceptual framework is a narrow tentative theory of what is studied in this specific research (Imenda, 2014; Maxwell, 2005).

Governance, networks and partnerships, discussed in this chapter, suffer from their popularity and universal use, their broad applicability and use across academic fields and disciplines and,

finally, the absence of commonly agreed or universal definitions. The chapter aimed to narrow down the appropriate definitions firstly within the field of public administration and then tapered them even further to the practice of R&LED. This literature review illustrates the interconnected and overlapping nature of network research in public administration. Responding to calls for conceptual clarity in network-related research (Lecy *et al.*, 2014), this study is located in the overlapping space between governance networks and policy implementation networks.

The theoretical argument constructed in the two literature chapters (this chapter and the preceding chapter) can be summarised as follows: government has a specific and unique leading role to play in the field of R&LED. When applying a network lens, this is interpreted as government being required to directly play a role in ensuring good network governance within R&LED networks and systems. Increasingly, partnerships are utilised as the mechanism through which to pursue this network governance function (either initiated by government or a bottom-up response to the failure of government by stakeholders). This requires that good network management strategies be applied by these R&LED partnerships to deliver expected network governance outcomes and against stakeholder expectations.

This chapter concluded with theoretical tools that could be utilised in a sequential process of evaluation of R&LED governance arrangements. Firstly, the life cycle is reviewed and it is determined in which stage the governance arrangement or network is. Secondly, observable outputs and results are evaluated heuristically to determine if indeed a network governance function is being delivered. Finally, a management model that allows for a consideration of the actions, processes or strategies is adopted by network managers. The final step can either serve as basis for a gap analysis in current practice of a partnership or confirm results that show a network governance function is performed.

There may be an argument that focussing on collaboration, partnerships and networks are an unnecessary effort and that a focus on one might suffice. A final word of clarity then: networks tend to be a general term referring to interorganisational relationships, whilst partnerships and collaborations are specific artefacts in or types of networks. In the words of Bryson *et al.* (2015: 13), "not all networks are collaborations, but all collaborations and partnerships are networks". Particularly, the field of R&LED governance has only to a limited extent been explored from a network perspective and, given the growing use of partnerships, this offers an exciting opportunity for study. Furthermore, there is a lack of consideration in the field for the specific network needs

and local conditions and how these may influence the choice of governance structure or approach (Raab *et al.*, 2013).

Although the focus in this work is heavily on network governance, and the evaluation checklist in step 2 of the process places network governance as the most advanced area of outputs, this does not mean that the aim of all R&LED steering or collaborative arrangements is to play a network governance role. In some instances, depending on the type of network and conditions in a locality, such arrangements may be established to facilitate networking or information sharing. The tool merely allows for a clear understanding of the actual role of a governance arrangement in a network, and may be used as dashboard to determine actual vs. intended functioning. An improved understanding and recognition of the types of networks emerging or being created, and how governance and meta-governance can be designed and structured, could contribute to improved R&LED outcomes (Sørensen & Torfing, 2017).

With the growing popularity of R&LED partnerships in the governance landscape in particularly the Western Cape of South Africa, Chapter 5 will discuss two partnership cases in practice. The literature points to the potential of hybrid institutional assemblages – combining efficiency and transparency from the paradigm of NPM with network governance-like features (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012). The researcher's knowledge and experience of partnerships in R&LED, supplemented by this literature review, leads to a position that suggests theoretically that these partnerships, at the intersection between public and private sector in a narrow field, may be testing grounds for this hybrid approach – whether by accident or by design.

Given the qualitative nature of this study, the aim of Chapter 5 is to provide rich cases, outlining the initiation, evolution, key stakeholders and key decision points in the partnerships. The discussion and initial findings will be complemented by an application of the evaluation tool developed in this chapter to serve as a first level of evaluation, prior to a deeper network analysis of the two partnerships in Chapter 6. Next however, the focus turns to unpacking the methodology applied in this study in more detail.

CHAPTER 4

4. Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The two preceding chapters outlined the literature review conducted for this study. Chapter 3 culminated in the design of theoretical research instruments in the form of an evaluation process and a checklist of activities. These outline a step-by-step process of evaluation of a R&LED partnership through firstly a life cycle review to determine the stage at which the arrangement is finding itself, the considers the observable outputs and results and finally considers the actions, processes and strategies adopted by network managers. This is a very pragmatic approach to an evaluation, grounded in literature, but the overall study being conducted in this research must be more firmly grounded in appropriate methodology to ensure academic rigour. The attention will now turn to the methodology in more detail.

Whilst a broad overview of the research methodology was provided in Chapter 1, this will now be expanded in more detail. The chapter will start with specific consideration of the unique position of the researcher, in this case referred to as a reflective practitioner with outputs also referred to as a professional doctorate. Research design and then research methods are considered, with more detail provided on the mixed method approach adopted in this study. Particularly case studies were utilised for the qualitative portion of the work, and SNA for the quantitative portion. Finally, the focus turns to rigor and considering some of the limitations of the study.

4.2 Clarifying the position of the researcher

As pointed out earlier, the researcher had a very close association with the cases studied and the initial aim was to conduct action research[6] including elements of qualitative case study work. Action research resonated with the researcher as it offered the opportunity to introduce new theories and techniques in practice and then to observe the emergent features within the cases (Reason & Bradbury, 2001). This stemmed from a deep desire to improve practice and assist the partnerships to achieve better results.

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[6] Definitions for action research abound, one which particularly resonates with this researcher and is being used increasingly in action research literature is as follows: "*a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview which we believe is emerging at this historical moment. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities*" (Reason, Bradbury 2001: 1).

Due to changing personal circumstances, involving a geographical relocation, the close association with the cases was severed in early 2016, which significantly impacted on the original research design, and made it virtually impossible to continue to pursue action research due to the demands it places on researchers being present during processes with cases being studied. Even though action research was ultimately not pursued, the work continued to be firmly rooted in practice and can be considered insider research (Drake & Heath, 2010), with the researcher acting as reflective practitioner (Neumann Jr, 1999; Schön, 1987). This specific approach to doctoral research is unpacked in more detail below.

4.2.1 The reflective practitioner

Doctoral degrees pursued by full time professionals, and particularly focusing on studying their area of practice or work place is sometimes referred to as professional doctorates (Drake & Heath, 2010). The definition of professional degrees however remains elusive and it is difficult to clearly distinguish between what would be a "traditional PhD" and a professional doctorate (Drake & Heath, 2010; Kot & Hendel, 2012). One simple description is that a traditional doctorate, in the pure academic sense, is aimed at producing a 'professional researcher', whilst a professional doctorate rather produces a 'researching professional" (Taylor (2017) quoted in Sanders, Kuit, Smith, Fulton & Curtis, 2011: 113). Professional doctorates have long been established in the USA, and is growing in popularity in the UK and Australia (Kot & Hendel, 2012; Lester, 2004) Some distinguishing features of a professional degree is that it is usually conducted by an individual who is highly experienced in their professional field, potentially across multiple fields, and often on a part-time basis (Sanders *et al.*, 2011). The research conducted must often times respond particularly to the "wicked" nature (Rittel & Webber, 1973) of problems faced by professionals in their daily functions (Lester, 2004).

This type of research is also referred to as insider research, defined as "that which is conducted within a social group, organization or culture of which the researcher is also a member" (Greene, 2014: 1). Positionality in research can also shift over time, as was the case in this stdy where the researcher embarked on the process very much within the realm of an insider, but at the conclusion of the study had moved to more of an outsider position. These two positions are not dichotomies, and should rather be seen along a continuum (Greene, 2014). The position as an insider offers both advantages and disadvantages in research. Some of the advantages includes a greater understanding of the culture being studied, not disrupting the flow of social interaction of cases, holding a position of trust which allows for possible greater transparancy by resrach participants and because of this the ability to collect information quicker (Unluer, 2012). Some of

the disadvantages include criticisms that insider research could suffer from being too subjective and results could be skewed due to significant researcher bias (Greene, 2014).

In professional doctorates or insider research, the researcher tends to engage in methodological approaches such as critical reflection, action research, action learning and experiental learning in order to make a contribution of knowledge to practice (Drake & Heath, 2010: 15; Lester, 2004). For purposes of this study action research was initially considered (as outlined), but ultimately the research fits well with what is referred to as the "reflective practitioner" approach, a term coined by Schön (1987)[7]. This approach has been particularly well documented and used in the realm of higher education and health research. Reflexivity in research can be defined as the process of continuous critical reflection on both the knowledge produced through research and how that knowledge is generated (Appleby, 2013). Another phrase often used in this context is "reflection-in-action" – the process through which doing and thinking are complimentary and each of these feeding the other (Schön (1983) as quoted in Visser, 2010). In terms of the reflective practitioner then this reflective approach is applied by a researcher in his or her own professional work environment.

Research in the field of public administration is said to particularly suffer from the tension between practice and theory, working in a predominantly applied domain of study (Brower, Abolafia & Carr, 2000). The type of knowledge produced through reflective practitioners aims to intersect what is usually distinguished as academic knowledge, usually produced by academics for use in academia; and knowledge created and used purely by practitioners in their field of practice (Appleby, 2013; Lester, 2004). This has been distinguished as Mode 1 (academic) and Mode 2 (practice) knowledge (Drake & Heath, 2010; Gibbons, 1994). The intersection of these two modes of knowledge, where professional doctorates or practitioner research resides, has been referred to as Mode 3 knowledge – an integratoin of academic and professional knowledge (Appleby, 2013; Scott, Brown & Lunt, 2004)

Positioning this study as a type of professional doctorate by a reflective practitioner has implications for the style in which the work is produced and presented. Less of a traditional academic writing style is employed, with a stronger focus on a direct and pragmatic representation of the research process and associated findings. This is one of the challenges for professoinal doctorates in that essentially practitioners aim to also meet the highest academic standards in

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[7] Coupling what is essentially an insider research position with action research is an interventionist approach – with the researcher aiming to influence activities directly. Insider research could also be purely observational (Coghlan, 2007).

their work, a balance not easily achieved (Lester, 2004)   This approach has implications for relationships between researchers and supervisors, and requires a certain level of acceptance by universities of this style of doctoral work (Sanders *et al.*, 2011).

It has a further intrinsic challenge in that, this approach requires bridging the gap between what a practitioner knows as fact through their practice and new findings or insights through the research process (Appleby, 2013). In this study the briding of the gap is achieved through the design of a new management model, essentially a means to applying the new insights in practice. At the stage of examination of this thesis the actual application of the new approach has however not taken place in practice.

4.2.2 Researcher bias

The researcher's association and involvement with the two cases required a specific consideration and sensitivity throughout the study in terms of potential researcher bias (Mays & Pope, 1995). Action Research, the original choice in the research design, was ideally suited to this situation as a distinguishing feature of action research is precisely the deliberate involvement of the researcher in the context of the investigation (McKay & Marshall, 2001). Some of the challenges of insider research were already highlighted, but as part of completing this thesis the researcher reflected extensively on challenges that this posed to the validity of the research. Some of the issues identified are also reflected in literature on the topic (particularly prevalent in the field of healthcare research and nursing (see for example Asselin, 2003; Bonner & Tolhurst, 2002; Unluer, 2012). These challenges include role duality (contributor or member and researcher in this case), making assumptions instead of seeking clarification due to assume knowledge of the situation, the danger of participants not disclosing information due to the assumption of knowledge and finally, the proximity to the situation preventing the researcher from seeing a bigger picture.

Mitigation measures were taken for all the above, in terms of role duality the researcher was explicit in ensuring that all role players knew from the outset that a research project was being considered. Interactions for research purposes were scheduled separately from ongoing work related engagements, and in cases where these did overlap (i.e. asking participants in a meeting to complete a questionnaire) explicit agreement was obtained well in advance from partnership managers or meeting chairpersons. Seeking clarity rather than making assumptions was addressed through the iterative process of data collection, often with follow up engagements (even if only through a telephone call) to clarify observations. Sharing drafts of writing with senior

individuals in each of the cases also ensured factually correct cases. Non-disclosure by participants are a bit more difficult to manage but was addressed by not relying on single sources and having multiple similar discussions with various individuals in an entity. Should issues then arise that were not disclosed in a previous interview, a follow up could be initiated. The proximity preventing the researcher from seeing the bigger picture was, in the opinion of the researcher, adequately mitigated through engagements with the research group and technical mentors. It was further addressed through active ongoing education endeavours, such as attending training courses at different universities relating to the topic at hand (including some international training courses). Also presenting papers at academic conferences, even informally in parallel sessions, resulted in many probing questions from academic peers, forcing the researcher to reflect appropriately and find substantiating evidence for some assertions made.

Case study research in general has also been criticised for bias towards verification, however Flyvbjerg (2011) states that it is in fact more often the opposite, with experience indicating that "the case study contains a greater bias towards falsification of preconceived notions than towards verification". This is attributed to the researcher's proximity to the case and results in a learning process which often leads to an advanced understanding.

Given the researcher's relationships, there was excellent access throughout the study to direct role players, senior staff members, management, and directors. This is a positive aspect of insider research, where established intimacy with the participants in a study can enhance the telling and the judging of the truth (Unluer, 2012). There is however a danger, specifically noted in the cross-sector partnership space (Rein & Stott, 2009) that emphasis leans towards reporting on positive results of these collaborations and that there may be sensitivities, and therefore reluctance, towards reporting negative issues. Care was taken by the researcher to collect academically sound data whilst not alienating role players or focussing too extensively on positive traits. This was achieved through regular and robust discussions with the researcher's fellow doctoral students as part of a research group focussing on Public Value Creation and discussions of the two cases and findings with non-affiliated individuals in the field of R&LED (considered technical mentors to the researcher) .

Triangulation (also touched on under the heading mixed methods earlier), and particularly between-method triangulation, allows for another means of addressing bias. As stated by Denzin (1978 as quoted in Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007; 115) "the bias inherent in any particular data source, investigators, and particularly method will be cancelled out when used in

conjunction with other data sources, investigators, and methods". Various types of triangulation is possible, these are methodological triangulation (using more than on research method on the same data), data triangulation (same approach on different datasets) and investigator triangulation (using different investigators). Multiple triangulation would constitute combining various types of triangulation (Oppermann, 2000). It should be emphasised that the process of triangulation is about verification of results and in the process eliminating methodological and data shortcomings as well as researcher bias (Oppermann, 2000).

It is deemed ultimately beneficial that the researcher's official association with both cases came to an end midway through the research period. When the cases were ultimately written and evaluated, there had been no association for around 18 months, allowing for a more neutral evaluation without the danger of negative reflections being smoothed over to not impact working relations.

4.3 Research design

A research design broadly describes how a researcher plans to go about answering a research question (Webb & Auriacombe, 2006). Explicitly considering research design is an important part of any formal research process, which requires a systematic process of enquiry to be followed (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). Considering Leedy and Ormrod's (2005: 2) eight characteristics of research, the table below reflects how this is relevant to the design of this study.

Table 4-1 Characteristics of research as applicable to this study

	Characteristics of research	Relevance and application to this study
1.	Research originates with a question or problem	See section 1.5 for outline of research questions and Chapter 1 in general for origin of research question
2.	Research requires clear articulation of a goal.	See Chapter 1
3.	Research requires a specific plan for proceeding	Broad research plan was constructed during research proposal process prior to commencing the actual study
4.	Research usually divides the principal problem into more manageable subproblems	See sub research questions outlined in Section 1.5
5.	Research is guided by the specific research problem, question, or hypothesis	In this case a research question guided the research, with the researcher regularly referring back to the research question in order to ensure focus

6.	Research accepts certain critical assumptions	Some assumptions in this research includes that the qualitative and quantitative methods chosen would be applicable and relevant to delivering appropriate answers
7.	Research requires the collection and interpretation of data to resolve the problem that initiated the research	Qualitative and quantitative data collected and utilised
8.	Research is, by its nature, cyclical and helical	During the lifetime of this research several iterations of the research process (problem, goal, sub-problems, data, interpretation) was conducted, also as the design changed through different stages of the research.

Given the researchers unique position and the changes that occurred during the lifetime of the research project, the research design was conducted in a flexible and open ended manner (Webb & Auriacombe, 2006). Whilst the researcher was always clear about the goals and research question of the study, the approach to finding those answers through a research process evolved over time (Webb & Auriacombe, 2006). The study was ultimately conducted through the application of a mixed method approach, although grounded firstly in a qualitative case study approach, with an extension of the methodology to include additional quantitative techniques. The next section will provide a more detailed overview of the different research paradigms.

4.3.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research typically aims to produce an in-depth description of some dynamic reality, it does not necessarily seek universally replicable explanations for phenomena (Webb & Auriacombe, 2006). There are several key characteristics to qualitative research; including that it views the phenomena being studied from the perspective of people being studied, that it usually provides detail about the social settings in which research takes place, and that events and behaviour is usually interpreted within the context in which it takes place (Auriacombe, 2009). Researchers in the qualitative realm usually start with amount of evidence from their focus area and work inductively to narrow the focus areas or important relationship (Brower *et al.*, 2000). Of particular importance in qualitative research is adopting flexibility in the research design and a willingness to improvise as new information and meaning may emerge during the research process (Brower *et al.*, 2000).

In the realm of qualitative research there is reference to more specifically qualitative field research, either interpreted as a very specific type of research design or used as a reference to generic means of data collection in qualitative research (Auriacombe & Mouton, 2007). Field research is particularly useful to study over time how social processes unfold or develop, making it particularly useful to study dynamic situations or cases (Auriacombe & Mouton, 2007). The authenticity of qualitative research outputs are often judged on the basis of whether a researcher has spent a credible amount of time in the field and if the local experience has been faithfully represented (Brower *et al.*, 2000).

4.3.2 Quantitative Research

The strengths of quantitative research includes that this approach produces quantifiable, reliable, replicable and generalisable results (Webb & Auriacombe, 2006). Quantitative research has its origins in the natural sciences and measures a static reality, seeking explanation (Webb & Auriacombe, 2006). Two broad research designs can be distinguished in quantitative research, the first is and experimental design, and very difficult to apply in social sciences (Jenkins-Smith, Ripberger, Copeland, Nowlin, Hughes, Fister & Wehde, 2017). The second broad category is observational designs – in this case there is less control than in an experimental setting.

The research questions in the field of public administration are complex, difficult to isolate and manipulate and thus does not lean itself towards scientific study and particularly not to experimental designs (Webb & Auriacombe, 2006; Wright, Manigault & Black, 2004). There remains a dominance of qualitative studies published in the field, but a marked increase in quantitative methods has been observed in research on networks and governance (as is the case in this research) (Groeneveld *et al.*, 2015: 80). This is attributed to new statistical techniques and more advanced statistical software packages being developed and it becomes possible to analyse ever more complex relationships between variables (Groeneveld *et al.*, 2015). Primary or secondary survey data, collected through survey based research methods, has been the most commonly used quantitative method (Groeneveld *et al.*, 2015).

4.3.1 Mixed method approach

Mixed methods is of course not a new approach to research, but is the most recent of the research approaches to be formalised and defined (Imenda, 2014). It is officially defined as "the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004: 17). Ideally a mixed method design should aim to use different techniques,

approaches and theories so as to reinforce and compliment the strength of each approach (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Mixed method studies have been found to be relatively few in the field of public administration, even though it is advocated for strongly as appropriate method (Groeneveld *et al.*, 2015). The table below, replicated from Brower, Abolafia and Carr (2000: 366) reflects some comparisons between qualitative and quantitative approaches. It also illustrates that a mixed method approach offers the opportunity to capture positive traits from each of the approaches if applied carefully.

Table 4-2 Comparative assumptions around Qualitative and Quantitative research

Assumption	*Qualitative Approaches*	*Quantitative Approaches*
Ontology	Multiple realities, from participants' local, everyday, emergent experiences	Singular, objective reality; static abstractions (data) that correspond to real life
Epistemology	Researcher interacts with participants; meaning is value relevant	Detached, objective researcher
Value bases	Participants and researchers are unavoidably value laden	Value-free, unbiased data
Rhetorical style	Personal voice (singular and plural); often in present tense	Impersonal voice; past tense

Source: Brower et al., 2000

A number of procedures can be utilised when applying a mixed method approach; these include a sequential; concurrent or transformative procedures (Creswell & Creswell, 2017: 16). In this research the approach was more sequential, expanding on the findings of the qualitative work by using a quantitative method. This study was firstly rooted in qualitative case study work, preceded by a literature review and development of a diagnostic tool for application in the cases. Social network analysis, a quantitative technique, was then applied utilising proxy data sets as the basis for the networks to be analysed, and, as suggested by Prell (2012), was well informed by the rich initial qualitative portion. Another possible research design might have been to start with quantitative date analysis (the network analysis) and then delve into the qualitative case study detail exploration with a few cases.

The study aimed to reflect some of the broad criteria typically associated with qualitative research, such as adopting a flexible research strategy, using methods which usually involve close contact between the researcher and the people being studied, where the researcher is the primary instrument, respecting the uniqueness of each case and, finally, conducting cross-case analysis (Ritchie *et al.*, 2013). A mixed method approach could allow for cross-method triangulation, as defined by Denzin (1978 in Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007: 115) who first outlined how to triangulate methods and defined it as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon".

4.4 Research methods and data collection

One definition of research methodology is provided by Babbie and Mouton (2001: 104) as follows: "… refers to methods, techniques, and procedures that are employed in the process of implementing the research design or research plan." Different methods and techniques were applied throughout different stages of the study and are outlined below.

Table 4-3: Various research methods applied

Method	Objective
Desktop research and literature review	Contextualisation
Recording researcher's personal involvement and experience (e.g. action journal writing)	Exploration Reflections on bias
Semi-structured/in-depth interviews (at various stages of the study with each case)	Exploration Explanation and understanding Reflection
Case studies	In-depth analysis
Social network analysis (including network visualisation)	Quantitative and visual analysis
Triangulation between researcher's own experience, data collected and literature	Analysis

4.4.1 Sequence of application of methods

As first phase, an extensive literature review relating to public value, governance, collaboration, networks and cross-sector partnerships was conducted. The researcher became particularly interested in networks and the potential of network visualisation in this literature review process. The first literature write-up and application of the methods discovered in the literature to the cases

were in the form of an unpublished conference paper titled "Networks, networking or network governance: does the distinction matter for Regional and Local Economic Partnerships in South Africa?" For this paper, a first version of an evaluation tool was developed and applied to the cases and a series of semi-structured interviews was conducted to test agreement of findings across key individuals in each case. For the paper, the tool was also applied to the GTP, ultimately not pursued as case for this dissertation. Inputs received from reviewers and comments from partnership staff members resulted in further refining of the evaluation tool in Chapter 3.

Through further iterations, the life cycle analysis and management strategy review were incorporated to create a more holistic review in the form of a sequential evaluation process which was finally applied to the two cases in Chapter 5. This reflects a conscious attempt to ensure the overlap of data collection and data analysis through an ongoing evaluation and questioning of data collected. This allowed freedom to probe emerging themes, make adjustments to data collection (e.g. adding questions during interviews) and most importantly allow the pursuit of opportunities as they present themselves (Baskarada, 2014; Eisenhardt, 1989).

Next, the focus shifted to conducting the SNA and visualisation of the two cases, particularly as a tool that is growing in popularity and which has not been utilised regularly in the field of R&LED or governance. Visualisations or images have been used for many generations to provide researchers with insights into network structures and allow a user-friendly way to communicate those insights (Freeman, 2000). Social network analysis is defined as a focus on patterns of relationships between actors and examines the availability of resources and the exchange of resources between these actors (e.g. individuals, groups or organisations) (Haythornthwaite, 1996: 323). A relationship is further defined as a specific kind of interaction between actors and the type of interactions to be considered will be determined by the researcher (Haythornthwaite, 1996). Social network analysis as method as well as the detailed approach applied in this study is unpacked in detail in Chapter 6.

In the earlier conception of this study, the visualisation results were expected to point to the key role players in the network, which could in turn determine which of them would be invited to participate in some form of participatory process utilising versions of the Delphi technique (Fielding & Warnes, 2009). As already outlined, since the research approach moved away from an action research approach, the SNA was rather intended to investigate the structure of the network as an additional level of analysis, particularly changes in the structure at different phases

of the network, and test whether key individuals as perceived by participants and staff were indeed important when analysed quantitatively.

A first, attempt at SNA was approached as primary data collection by means of questionnaires. This was done by firstly identifying actors to be included in the analysis. This identification process is known as "boundary definition" (Borgatti, Everett & Johnson, 2013). All identified actors will then be asked to indicate the nature of their relationship with all other actors along a continuum ranging from only attending similar meetings to actively collaborating. The researcher attended various partnership meetings, introduced SNA and its potential value, then asked attendees to complete the questionnaire (example attached as Annexure 1). Partnerships' staff also sent the questionnaires to the full set of identified actors with the idea that a request from a familiar person, contextualised in terms of the potential contribution the research could make to the partnership itself, would solicit a greater response rate. Even after multiple requests and attempts to collect the data, it was clear that the response rates were too low to do any meaningful visualisation. This approach is referred to as a saturation survey, and although literature indicates that this is a good approach for relatively small networks (below 50 individuals) (Hawe, Webster & Shiell, 2004), in practice this type of data collection is extremely time consuming, both on the part of the researcher and the participants.

As alternative, proxy data sources had to be identified, resulting in the decision to utilise attendance registers contained in meeting minutes. This necessitated access to archival data, which was granted readily by both cases. The access was provided to the researcher in the form of data dumps with full copies of the organisations' electronic servers. This provided an opportunity to construct a list of meetings and corresponding attendees into an adjacency matrix, utilised for visualisation in Gephi, an open-source software package. The archival data provided a grounding for the actual case study write-up through unpublished organisational information in addition to information that was readily available in the public domain (e.g. published annual reports).

4.4.2 Desktop research and literature review

A thorough literature review is the foundation for any good research and it is argued that a researcher is not able to conduct substantive research without a thorough understanding of the field of their work (Boote & Beile, 2005). A well written literature review serves as means for a

scholar to demonstrate their understanding of the field, including vocabulary, theories and key phenomena (Randolph, 2009). The literature review serves many purposes, including for example, helping the researcher identify what has been done before in the field, establishing the context for a problem, contributing to narrowing the research problem and identifying the relationship between ideas and practice (Randolph, 2009).

Literature reviews can be conducted in a traditional or narrative style, or a much more structured systematic enquiry (usually aimed at producing a full list of literature published on a specific topic) (Cronin, Ryan & Coughlan, 2008). This research followed the former approach of narrative style. The literature review conducted for the research proposal was initially guided by the supervisor, suggesting a broad field of enquiry that might be relevant to the research problem which had been formulated (Cronin *et al.*, 2008). The literature search was conducted through key word searches using various electronic resources, with literature (journal articles, text books, etc.) obtained through the university library system.

In keeping with the reflective practitioner approach, the research went beyond purely academic literature searches. It included desktop research to find practice guides and examples of partnerships and its use broadly in the field of development. The work was then analysed and synthesised prior to commencing the writing process. The literature review process was utilised in an inductive way to produce the conceptual framework (section 3.2.2.) which explain the variables to be studied, the theoretical relationship between these and how these will be approached through the research process (Adom *et al.*, 2016; Ravitch & Riggan, 2016: 438).

4.4.3 Recording researchers own involvement

At the early stages of the study, recording the researcher's direct involvement was particularly important within the envisioned action research design. The researcher was both actively participating in the partnerships as in course of her work and attempting to study the partnerships. During these early phases the researcher often shared new theories and ideas found in literature with partnership staff, colleagues and counterparts. As some of these individuals had in many instances strong academic backgrounds, this resulted in some cases in a sharing of literature, debates and discussions as to the applicability of the specific schools of thought to the practice of the various partnerships. Some reflections were captured in a research journal (Coghlan, Coughlan & Brennan, 2004), although not extensively and not after the re-orientation of the study away from action research.

4.4.4 Semi-structured and in-depth interviews

Also, at the outset of the research process, linked to both the earlier step of literature review and the following process of case study selection, the researcher conducted a number of meetings with key role players in partnership practice in R&LED in the Western Cape. The initial meetings were aimed at gathering more information on the practice of partnerships to refine the research problem and research design and gauge the willingness of individuals (and the entities they represented) to participate in a future research program. These could be very loosely defined as key informant interviews, although not formally designed with no structured interview instrument it served to establish relationships and guide the direction of the research rather than a formal data collection process (Kumar, 1989).

An early iteration of the evaluation tool developed in section 3.7.2, to check if a network, networking or network governance function is fulfilled by a partnership, was tested with two cases. This was done by asking the leadership and staff of the WCEDP and the Greater Tygerberg Partnership (GTP) to complete the checklist with the researcher. This allowed for explanation of the measures and an unpacking of responses and formed the basis of a research paper submitted to a conference. This could be termed semi-structured interviews, given that the evaluation tool was used to guide the discussions (Rabionet, 2011). The second case for this paper, GTP, was ultimately dropped as case for the overall research project.

Over the lifetime of the research project several in-depth engagements were conducted with colleagues and counterparts in the two cases. This took the form of sharing new literature insights in meetings and workshops, testing emerging ideas and in some cases being pointed to further reading material or other theories not yet considered. One such example is the systems thinking approach adopted by the WCEDP towards the latter part of the research process (Cloete, 2015) – this was not pursued in depth in the study but is reflected in some literature that includes a systems view, see for example Figure 3-2 (Emerson *et al.*, 2012). This illustrates again the reflective practitioner and inductive approach adopted, particularly in the early parts of the research process.

4.4.5 Case Study Approach

Yin (quoted in Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010: 717) describes case studies as "research situations where the number of variables of interest far outstrip the number of data points". Drawing on Yin's original definition, Gerring (2004: 324) defines a case study as "an in-depth study of a single unit (a relatively bounded phenomenon) where the scholar's aim is to elucidate features of a larger

class of similar phenomena". Case studies can be used to both generate and test theories (Gibbert *et al.*, 2008). The case study as research method is most often faulted for lack of representativeness and lack of rigor (Hamel *et al.*, 1993). The former will be addressed in the following section under case selection and rigor considered in more detail in section 4.7.

The topic of external validity, one of the criteria for rigor, is concerned with generalisation of findings. There are two main types of generalization possible – theoretical or empirical. In theoretical generalization, explanations for relationships observed are developed, these theoretical explanations are then supposedly applicable to the population from which the study was drawn. In empirical generalization the focus is on whether characteristics of a case are actually typical of the population from which the case was drawn or of another population (Tsang, 2014). Theoretical generalization is also referred to as analytical generalisation (Yin, 2017). Given the diversity in the landscape of partnerships for R&LED and the focus of this research on developing a management strategy, it is leaning towards theoretical generalisation.

4.4.5.1   Case selection

When considering case studies, researchers have a choice between considering many cases superficially (cross-case approach) or a very limited number or a singular case in depth (Gerring, 2006; Gustafsson, 2017). There are no guarantees that an in-depth single case will deliver great insights, nor is there a guarantee that such will come from multiple cases (Gustafsson, 2017). Multiple cases are considered more reliable and allows for a wider discovery process and could create more convincing theories (Gustafsson, 2017; Mohajan & others, 2018)

Since partnerships of this nature are relatively new in South Africa, and the first of their kind are found in practice in the Western Cape, four potential case studies within the province were identified. This list of potential cases was informed by the researcher's high, but varying, levels of direct contact with the cases and thus direct access to information with these specific cases. Finally, care was taken to ensure that a variety of spatial contexts were represented through the cases, given the local and regional economic development lens of the study. The potential cases identified were:

1. Cape Town Partnership (CTP) – a local inner-city partnership at scale significantly smaller than that of the local authority;
2. Greater Tygerberg Partnership (GTP) – a local urban regeneration partnership across multiple suburbs but still at smaller geographical scale than the local authority;

3. South Cape Economic Partnership (SCEP) – a regional collaboration across local municipal boundaries and not perfectly aligned with the district municipal boundary; and

4. Western Cape Economic Development Partnership (WCEDP) – a regional partnership with formal mandate to function within the provincial boundaries

Due to unavailability of mainly archival data, and the anticipated resource requirements to collect data, the GTP and the CTP were not pursued as cases. Both these partnerships were also heavily focussed on urban regeneration, possibly not directly comparable to broader economic development partnerships. With the selection of two cases, this study allowed for detailed in-case analysis as well as a search for patterns across cases (Eisenhardt 1989). Reducing the number of cases to two, rather than a potential four, also represents a regular trade off in research between comparability and representativeness (Gerring, 2004).

From an academic perspective, mere personal involvement and ease of data collection are, however, not sufficiently rigorous justifications to pursue case study research. Following the literature review several key characteristics applicable to R&LED partnerships were identified from the fields of R&LED, partnerships and network governance. The potential cases were evaluated against the criteria outlined in the table below to ensure that the choice of cases was legitimised by similarities and differences which made the choice of cases relevant to answer the research question.

Table 4-4: Comparison of characteristics of cases

Characteristic	Western Cape Economic Development Partnership	South Cape Economic Partnership
Regional & Local Economic Development		
Formally registered entity	√	X
Located outside of government	√	√
Focussed on improved economic outcome for geographical area	√	√

Cross boundary or does not correspond to administrative boundary	Cross boundary across large geographical area (province)	Cross boundary but smaller geographic area still corresponding to a District Municipal area
Cross-sector Partnerships		
Formalised Cooperation (based on some form of agreement)	Legal entity, supported by provincial statute	No binding agreement, membership dependent on subscribing to charter
Sharing of responsibility, resources and risk amongst participants	Mostly a platform for information sharing, no shared resources	Mostly a platform for information sharing, no shared resources
Multi-stakeholder but government funded	√	√
Network Governance		
Form of network governance	Network Administrative Organisation	Network Administrative Organisation
Type of network	Information Diffusion & Problem Solving	Information Diffusion
Public network	√	√

4.4.6 Social Network Analysis as quantitative method

Social network analysis (SNA) is defined as analysis methods for studying social processes, social structures and interaction patterns within social structures (Scott, 2012). From a social sciences perspective, can be defined as "the disciplined enquiry into the patterning of relationships among actors" (Breiger, 2004). It allows for an analysis of interactions between actors in a network, the evolving nature of social interactions and the complexity of these networks (Kapucu & Demiroz, 2011). The single biggest distinguishing feature of SNA, compared to other forms of social analysis, is that it evaluates primarily the structure of the relationship between actors and not the distinguishing features of the actors themselves (Davies, 2009).

There is, however, not a single methodological or theoretical approach for the study of networks (Marshall & Staeheli, 2015), as also discussed in the theory of network governance in Chapter 3. The approach has its roots in both quantitative and qualitative fields (Edwards, 2010) and offers a set of theories, techniques and tools for understanding human behaviour and interactions (Valente, Palinkas, Czaja, Chu & Brown, 2015). SNA has grown in popularity through the advancement of mathematical techniques as it relates to visualisation and the development of user-friendly software packages for the evaluation of network data such as Ucinet, Pajek and Gephi (Edwards, 2010). SNA can be used to produce graphic depictions of the relationships within the network and to assist actors to better understand the links and dynamics between role players and their own position within the network. This was the aim of this study from the perspective of a reflective practitioner.

SNA however, goes beyond mere visualisation, it has to include a larger process of extracting insights from the data being examined (Heymann, 2014). The approach used in this study is unpacked in more detail in Chapter 6 and a step by step account of data handling in the software package Gephi is include as Annexure 2.

4.4.6.1   Theoretical groundings of SNA

The field of sociometry originated in 1925 and is considered the precursor to SNA (Prell, 2012). George Simmel is credited with the original theoretical writings in 1971 that inspired research into networks, particularly through the primacy of social ties and that society is a web of relations (Marin & Wellman, 2011). Graphical depictions can be found in the earlier writings on networks and network analysis has a long history of drawing on various mathematical fields, including graph theory (Freeman, 2004). The single biggest distinguishing feature of SNA, compared to other forms of social analysis, is that it evaluates primarily the structure of the relationship between actors and not the distinguishing features of the actors themselves (Davies, 2009). The attributes of individual actors do become important when interpreting the network and conducting actor-level analysis after the network as a whole has been considered (Prell, 2012) and good network analysis will usually include both features (Davies, 2009).

Network analysis, from a social sciences perspective, can be defined as "the disciplined enquiry into the pattering of relationships among actors" (Breiger, 2004: 3). There is, however, not a single methodological or theoretical approach for the study of networks (Marshall & Staeheli, 2015), as also discussed in the theory of network governance in Chapter 3. The approach has its roots in both quantitative and qualitative fields (Edwards, 2010) and offers a set of theories, techniques

and tools for understanding human behaviour and interactions (Valente *et al.*, 2015). SNA has grown in popularity through the advancement of mathematical techniques as it relates to visualisation and the development of user-friendly software packages for the evaluation of network data such as Ucinet, Pajek and Gephi (Edwards, 2010). Some authors still criticise formal network analysis as a stand-alone research approach and advocate for its use to create research space (to inform further research questions) and as part of a broader inductive research process (Marshall & Staeheli, 2015).

A particular challenge of network analysis is the drawing of the boundaries of a given network (Marshall & Staeheli, 2015). For a network to be comprehensible, it is neither practical nor feasible to map every single possible connection, especially when considering larger societal networks. A network map is also just a snapshot in time of a very dynamic social process. A fixed and stable representation of a system, that is inherently fluid is problematic and should be explicitly acknowledged as a limitation (Marshall & Staeheli, 2015), as has been done in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. This being said, abstraction is acknowledged as a necessary method to make sense of the world (McCormack, 2012) and network visualisation, with its limitations, still offers a useful research tool from an abstraction perspective (Marshall & Staeheli, 2015).

4.4.6.2　Constituent components of SNA

The simplest explanation of SNA is the transformation of input data to output graphics (Bertin, 1983 quoted in Brandes, Kenis, Raab, Schneider & Wagner, 1999). Particularly, these graphs depicting networks include nodes (the individual actors or entities) and the relations between them, referred to as edges. The relationships or ties (edges) can be directional or not, thus depicting the flow of information or the directionality of a relationship (Hanneman & Riddle, 2011a). Nodes may be depicted in different colours and shapes to convey further information. For example, types of nodes such as government entities or private companies may be assigned a similar shape or colour. The size of a node can also reflect some quantitative attributes such as the number of ties connecting to it or, in a group of companies, its turnover relative to the others. Finally, relationships between actors can also be assigned a value and be depicted through thicker or thinner lines or different types of relationships can be depicted through dashed lines. This allows multiple layers of data to be visualised in a single graph (Hanneman & Riddle, 2011a).

Brandes *et al.* (1999) designed a framework for analysis of policy networks based on substance, design and algorithm application, which is also applicable to this research. They further classified substance into two types of structural analysis, pursued at three different levels. The first type of

structural analysis may be focussed on whether and how actors are connected (syntactical attributes) – also referred to as a connectedness perspective. The second type is referred to as equivalence analysis and focusses on the properties of actors independent of the actual network structure, particularly how similar or dissimilar they are to each other (semantic attributes). The three levels of analysis may be at an actor level, subgroup level or complete network structure level. This is depicted below in an adaptation of a table from the original authors.

Table 4-5 Substance of a network (2 types and 3 levels)

Levels Types	Syntactical Attributes (from analysis, independent of type of network)	Semantic Attributes (examples depend on type of network)
Actor	- Centrality - Prominence	- Size of organisation - Role within organisation
Subgroup	- Cohesive subgroups - Structurally equivalent actors	- Legal form of actor - Organisational sub-units
Network	- Size - Density	- Period of data collection - Reliability

Adapted from Brandes *et al.* (1999:16)

The metrics included in the table is just a brief snapshot of the unique concepts and language that are used in SNA. At network level, density refers to the proportion of all possible ties between actors that are actually present, whilst the size (number of actors) directly influences the range of possible social structures of complexity of the network (Hanneman & Riddle, 2011b). At the node level, the most widely studied concept is that of centrality, a broad family of attributes that relates to the structural importance of a specific node (Borgatti, Mehra, Brass & Labianca, 2009; Hanneman & Riddle, 2011b). The basic principle of centrality is that more "central" actors will be more influential or powerful in the network. It is, however, not a single universal rule that holds in networks. Different types of centrality assign power in different ways: a) degree of a node assigns importance to the number of ties it has; b) closeness values more greatly those nodes that can reach most other nodes more easily; and c) betweenness places a higher importance on those nodes that bridge gaps or otherwise disconnected parts of a network (Hanneman & Riddle, 2011b).

Having discussed visualisation by means of graphs (and the nodes and edges that constitute these), as well as the levels, types and measures of basic network analysis, mention should be made of algorithms and the underlying mathematics associated with SNA. Information on social networks are usually presented in matrices. The most common and simplest matrix is a square in

two dimensions, with a binary description of the relations or connections (0 for absence, 1 for presence). This adjacency matrix is the starting point for all network analysis (Hanneman & Riddle, 2011a). Affiliation matrices show the relational data for two different sets of actors, typically for a set of individual actors and a set of events or organisations (Hanneman & Riddle, 2011a). Below is a basic illustration of each of the two types of matrices:

Table 4-6: Simple adjacency matrix

	Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5
Person 1	0	1	0	1	1
Person 2	1	0	0	0	0
Person 3	0	0	0	1	1
Person 4	1	0	1	0	0
Person 5	1	0	1	0	0

Table 4-7: Simple affiliation matrix

	Event 1	Event 2	Event 3	Event 4	Event 5	Event 6
Person 1	0	0	1	1	0	1
Person 2	1	0	0	1	0	0
Person 3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Person 4	0	1	1	0	1	0

Over the past 20 years, the advancement of computing and database technologies, as well as efficient algorithm development, has significantly impacted on the field of SNA (Krempel, 2011). Most importantly, in mapping networks, the location of nodes must be determined in two and three dimensions. This location of the nodes conveys information of the underlying nature and relationship of these nodes, with proximity usually determined by which nodes are more closely connected to whom (Krempel, 2011). In modern SNA algorithms, different weights to network attributes are embedded in software programmes and offer different options to easily visualise networks. Commonly used software packages include UCINET (with NetDraw), Pajek, NetMiner 3 and open source options such as Gephi and Node XL (Huisman & Van Duijn, 2011).

4.4.6.3   SNA methodology for this application

Social network analysis can either be conducted on "whole networks", where the boundary of a specific data set is defined, or on "ego networks", where all the relationships with a specific individual's relationships as the focus are mapped (Borgatti *et al.*, 2009). Qualitative data is more narrative and observational, whilst quantitative network data is often generated through surveys that explicitly collect relational data. It is possible to use archival data and, through a process of quantification in an adjacency matrix, generate a set of ties between actors as either present (1) or absent (0) (Edwards, 2010). This is usually constructed in an Excel spreadsheet, which is then imported into software – in the case of this study into Gephi. The matrix is then visualised as a series of nodes (individuals or organisations in the network) and edges (lines depicting relationships).

As indicated earlier, in this research process, the first choice was to collect quantitative data through questionnaires completed by all network participants. This involved initially defining the network boundaries, i.e. identifying all participating individuals in the different networks (for SCEP the total network and for WCEDP participants in subgroupings). These were then added to a relational questionnaire, with each participant asked to rate the extent of collaboration or interaction on a continuum from only attending meetings together to active collaboration (example provided in Annexure 1). Questionnaires were not merely distributed to participants. Instead, the researcher also attended meetings and asked participants as part of the meeting to complete the questionnaire and return prior to departing. The response rate was low, even for those actual meetings attended, with virtually no returned questionnaires for those sent via email. As the researcher's personal circumstances changed and less time was available to commit to the data collection process, alternatives had to be considered.

The paper trail through minutes of meetings and documentation of public engagement is considered a readily available source of network data, as it can show who participants are and even how they interacted (Ulibarri & Scott, 2016). This is referred to as affiliation networks where data on actors jointly participating in an event or having co-membership of a group is analysed as an indicator for an underlying social tie (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011a). There are limitations in that joint meeting attendance does not necessarily reflect the extent of underlying collaborative dynamics (Ulibarri & Scott, 2016) but joint attendance of events does create the conditions for interaction and the development of relationships (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011a). One advantage of this approach is that affiliations are observable from a distance and do not require direct access or inputs from actors (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011a).

Attendance registers and minutes of meetings were thus identified as possible sources of network data, resulting in an affiliation network analysis rather than the intended whole network analysis based on primary data collection. The researcher constructed timelines of all meetings held and collected minutes, in the case of SCEP through the secretariat and in the case of the WCEDP through a data dump which had to be sifted through. As this analysis is now being conducted on archival data and not by means of a real-time action research approach, the aim will be to harvest learnings for application in R&LED partnerships more broadly.

The data set constructed from these minutes are considered two-mode network data where actors are tied together via joint attendance of an event, in this case a meeting (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011a; Prell, 2012). The matrices constructed for two-mode data are also referred to as incidence matrices. If this had to be visually represented (without the use of SNA software) a depiction of this might look like the graphic below (in this case showing women and their participation in social events (De Nooy, Mrvar & Batagelj, 2018). This visualisation is not particularly useful and when SNA is used the visualisation becomes useful (as will be demonstrated in the analysis to follow).

Figure 4-1 : Example of participation of women in social events (from UCINET dataset)
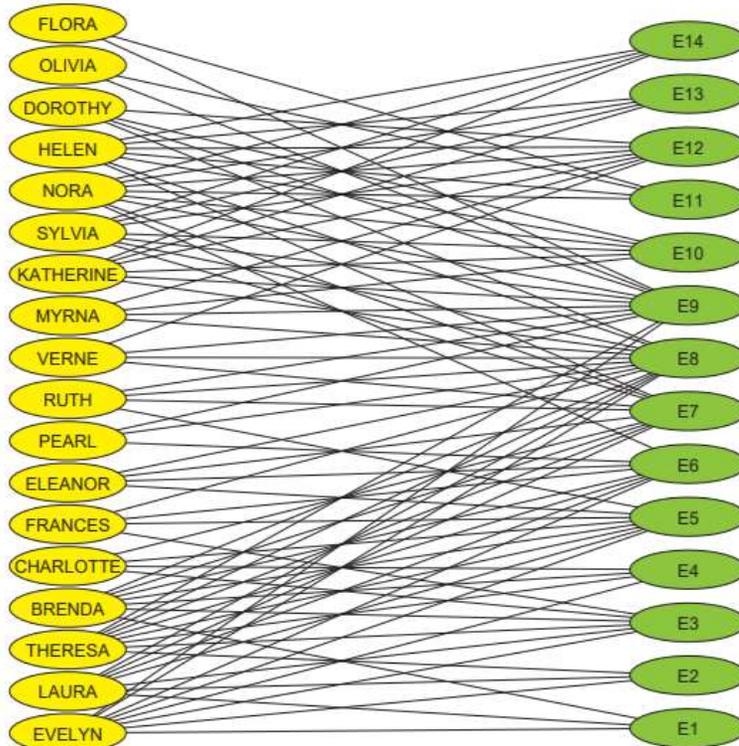
Source: (De Nooy *et al.*, 2018)

To conduct evaluation in Gephi, two-mode data had to be reworked into one-mode data, through the application of an algorithm (multimodal plug-in). Because the data set contained both events and individuals, a first visualisation would show both those types of nodes, which is not very useful. The plug-in allows for a decision on what to define as an edge (either the persons or the events). In this case, the researcher was interested in the links between persons and thus chose events as the edges and generated graphs only showing persons (Tote, 2017). Care was taken to document systematically how the visualisations were produced, specifically to ensure replication in case of possible application to future research and other cases. Initially, data was constructed in a simple matrix, transposed into an incidence matrix and imported into Gephi after which the multimodal plug-in was applied. This resulted in a new matrix, now one-mode for which nodes and edges were again exported. The documented process is attached as Annexure 2 and an example of key matrices constructed following this process attached as Annexure 3.

The software used, Gephi, is an open source network exploration and manipulations package (Bastian, Heymann & Jacomy, 2009; Cherven, 2013). It allows the user to import, visualise, filter

and manipulate network data, with an array of personalisation options (Bastian *et al.*, 2009). For academic purposes, it is important to not just see network maps as illustrative art, but rather methodological tools requiring particular care to not accidentally obscure information and misrepresent findings (Bender-deMoll & McFarland, 2006). Particular care was taken to consider three key aspects of network visualisation, namely substance, graphical design and algorithmic realisation, as identified by Brandes *et al.* (1999) and discussed earlier in section 6.2.2. The same layout algorithms were applied to all visualisations, namely "Force Atlas 1"[8] and "No Overlap", with the same attributes, i.e. degree centrality and closeness centrality, displayed in each graph.

4.5 Reflections on rigor

One of the most cited publications on rigor in case studies, Gibbert et al. (2008) outlines four criteria to assess rigor, namely internal validity, construct validity, external validity and reliability. Internal validity refers to the researcher making a plausible causal argument to defend the conclusions and is addressed in the data analysis phase through, for example, triangulation. Construct validity requires consideration as to whether a study actually investigates what it claims to and can be enhanced through a clear chain of evidence in data collection. External validity refers to the generalisability of results into a broader population and is not possible statistically in case studies. However, cross-case analysis may address this requirement, as may a clear articulation of the reasons for case selection. Finally, reliability refers to the ability of other researchers to reach the same insights if the study were to be replicated. This can be achieved through meticulous record-keeping in a way that may be accessible to others at a later stage.

A reflection on the four criteria for assessing rigor in case studies (Gibbert et al., 2008) and how they were applied in this study is outlined below.

Table 4-8: Criteria for rigor in case studies as applied in this study

Criteria	Description	This Study
1. Internal validity	Plausible causal argument	Triangulation of findings between researcher's own experiences, the data collected and analysed (e.g. documents and SNA) and the literature was done.

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[8] Force Atlas is a graphing method that is force-directed, where the graph is produced based on similarities or differences in the underlying data (Cherven, 2013)

2. Construct validity	Did researcher actually study what she intended to?	This was achieved through a clear chain of evidence in data collection, with extensive electronic databases of all material relating to the cases available (This includes the WCEDP data dump as well as extensive documentation on the SCEP.). In applying SNA to the WCEDP, a subgroup had to be utilised. This was motivated and conclusions drawn from the subgroup have not been generalised to the overall entity.
3. External validity	Generalisation of results	This was addressed through the case selection process to allow for cases representative of the current landscape, but that had some differences. This allowed for some cross-case comparison which added to the richness of the findings and in the final conclusions will include different approaches for different types of cases. Importantly, the researcher is not claiming general applicability, due to the very nature of diversity in networks in partnerships; instead, the findings merely offer suggestions that could be adapted and applied given specific conditions.
4. Reliability	Replicability of the study in reaching the same conclusions	Meticulous records were kept – particularly of the SNA data analysis process in Chapter 5. These records are included as Annexure 2, which provides the detailed steps to visualise the networks. All constructed databases are also available and secured by the researcher.

4.6 Delineation

4.6.1 Case study method

Given the nature of case study research, i.e. that it necessarily requires practitioners to be close in their interaction with the case, it does lean itself to producing particularly practitioner-relevant results (Gibbert et al., 2008). As already outlined, the researcher's preference for practical

application of her study is supported by the choice of case study research. However, a criticism that is often directed at case-based research is that what is applicable to a limited number of cases may not be broadly applicable (Flyvbjerg, 2011). This is well articulated by Brydon-Miller, Greenwood and Maguire (2003) in similar criticism of action research when they note "its localism and the difficulty we find in intervening in large-scale social change efforts. The bulk of action research takes place on a case by case basis, often doing great good in a local situation but then failing to extend beyond that local context."

If the aim is indeed, as per the definition by Gerring (2004), to study a single unit in order to identify features of a larger set of units, it should be explicitly acknowledged that it is sometimes difficult to tell which of the features of a particular case are indeed typical of the larger set of possible units. This is overcome in this research through a rich and detailed case study write-up, with the specific purpose of informing future researchers who might consider the same set of possible units – in this study's case R&LED partnerships. Care will be taken in stating findings as modestly as possible as they apply to the universe of possible R&LED partnerships.

4.6.2 Comparisons with Other Forms of Governance

Recent literature reviewing network research within the realm of public administration (Lecy et al., 2014: 656) has highlighted a growing recognition (O'Toole & Meier, 2004; Berry et al, 2004; Olsen, 2006) that much of the literature assumes networks to be an improved form of governance over markets and hierarchies, without testing the assertion through comparative studies of network forms of governance against other mechanisms. This study did not aim to perform such a comparison, and it is a key assumption that, given the definition and practice of R&LED, traditional forms of governance (markets and hierarchies) are wholly unsuitable for application in this field.

4.6.3 Proxy data sets

Any study that focusses on the structure of a network should explicitly consider the limitations of the data sources utilised for constructing such a network (Hawkins, 2010). The initial preference of the researcher was to collect primary data on relationships between actors in the partnerships being studied. This proved virtually impossible – especially if after boundary definition, it meant having to collect data from every single participant in each network. Initial data collection forms were designed and attempts were made at data collection with particularly poor response rates. This meant alternative means of constructing network visualisations had to be considered. Meeting minutes offered readily available sources of records of interaction (Ulibarri & Scott, 2016)

and given the access to archival data pertaining to the two cases, archival data offered a good proxy data source.

There are of course limitations to how meeting attendance directly indicates a collaborative relationship between two parties (Ulibarri & Scott, 2016), but for the purposes of abstraction in this research, the joint attendance of meetings was taken as indicating a potential relationship and interaction. Through the volume of meetings over a long period of time, the number of meetings jointly attended could start to indicate the likelihood and potential strength of a relationship. Recently published research has adopted the approach to code actual minutes of meetings to reflect direct interaction between participants (Ulibarri & Scott, 2016). However, this was not attempted in this study.

4.6.4   Stable representation of fluid networks

Although the opportunity offered by SNA to visualise networks in ways that allow for new observations otherwise not possible (Scott, 2012), these are only snapshots in time of very dynamic social processes (Marshall & Staeheli, 2015: 56). In this study, the visualisations are depicted as snapshots of distinct phases in the life cycle of a partnership and at least acknowledge that networks rarely remain totally stable or totally bounded in terms of actors and number of role players over time. The argument could then be made that a singular SNA exercise, although informative, may have limited value and limited relevance over time due to the changing nature of the phenomena, i.e. actors and number of role players. This dynamism is exactly what resulted in the researcher wishing to apply the tool in the field of R&LED.

4.7 Summary

This Chapter outlined the research methodology in detail, building on the broad overview provided in Chapter 1, as well as the evaluation approach developed from literature in Chapter 3. This research is strongly positioned as that of a reflective practitioner, accounting for both the researcher's relationship with the cases being studied and the desire to produce a pragmatic, practitioner oriented tool through this study. This approach has impacts for the style of presenting research and may cause some tensions in a purely academic environment where professional doctorates are not commonly placed.

The research was conducted using a mixed method approach, consisting of qualitative case study analysis and the application of SNA as a quantitative method. A mixed method approach allows for the application of the positive traits of each research paradigm, whilst mitigating for some of

the inherent risks associated with each. In terms of the case study approach, attention was given to the process of case study selection. This was informed of course by the geographical context (the Western Cape) in which the researcher was located, and four potential cases were identified. This was narrowed down to two cases to study, based on a number of criteria including the potential ease of data collection and access to information, but more importantly based on a set of characteristics identified from literature.   Care was taken to ensure that the selected cases would offer sufficient similarities and differences to allow for comparison and variation.

Attention was further paid in this chapter to addressing and mitigating for researcher bias, given the researcher's unique position and a change from the original design, which would have been action research.   This was complemented with a specific reflection on rigor, given that this is one of the key criticisms of case study research (Gibbert *et al.*, 2008).   Finally, the chapter also considered several limitations of the research design.

In the following chapter, the focus turns to the two cases in practice and will provide a rich qualitative description of the journey of development of the partnerships.   The sequential evaluation approach developed in Chapter 3 will be applied, consisting of a consideration of the life cycle of the partnerships, then a review of outputs to determine which functions are being fulfilled and finally the application of the management model.

CHAPTER 5

5. The Practice of Regional and Local Economic Development Partnerships in South Africa

First movers – some success and some failures

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters considered the theory of R&LED, the advocated governance approaches in this field, and explored various definitions of governance and the application thereof in networks through partnerships, as one mechanism for application. Chapter 3 concluded with a tool that could be applied to R&LED governance arrangements to determine heuristically, if indeed a governance function is being fulfilled. The discussions revealed that even when, only narrowly considering local or regional area-based partnerships, these may vary greatly, for example, in terms of structure, goals, authority and activities (Olberding, 2002). However, there is commonality in that all partnerships seek to improve how societal challenges are addressed collectively (OECD 2001). Across this vast landscape of partnerships, in different shapes and with different goals, there seems also to be some consensus that the greatest value of partnerships lies in their contribution to improved local governance (OECD, 2001).

This chapter will accordingly explore the growing popularity of partnerships in the practice of R&LED through a qualitative review of two cases from the Western Cape Province of South Africa. The WCEDP, a regional economic development partnership, and SCEP, a LED partnership, will be discussed in detail. Their origins, participants, goals and governance approaches will be investigated. This investigation will culminate in an application of the developed three step evaluation approach to each case. The chapter will conclude with preliminary observations and findings on these partnerships from a network governance perspective, before applying a more in-depth analysis (utilising social network analysis) in the following chapter.

5.2 Contextualising the two cases

The theme of partnerships in LED in South Africa is relatively common in academic discourse and policy environment, however, actual implementation and practice of partnerships have been lacking (Van Rooyen & Atkinson, 2016). It has been argued that high levels of suspicion between

local governments (municipalities) and the private sector (businesses), coupled with a typical tendency to focus on pro-poor, micro-level LED initiatives, contribute to this failure (Van Rooyen & Atkinson, 2016). One often-cited LED success story relates to the small town of Graaff-Reinet (Atkinson & Ingle, 2010) where a key contributor to the success is considered the active inclusion of private sector and communities in LED decision-making and implementation. High levels of social capital and trust appear to be present within and amongst groupings within the town, which are both key ingredients in successful partnerships (Rogerson, 2010; Van Rooyen & Atkinson, 2016) even in the absence of a formal partnership structure.

An explicit economic partnership approach has notably been on the increase in the economic landscape of the Western Cape Province. The first such entity to be established dates back to 1999 in the form of the Cape Town Partnership (CTP). The CTP was initiated as a joint initiative between the local authority and business role players in the Cape Town CBD, aimed at developing, managing and promoting the central city area (CTP, 2009). More recently in 2012, also in the City of Cape Town, the Greater Tygerberg Partnership (GTP) was also formally established along similar lines as the CTP. Many other partnerships are now in the early stages of formation, for example the Atlantis and Hout Bay Partnerships in Cape Town, the West Coast Partnership (across multiple localities) and the Langeberg Partnership (one municipal area with multiple small towns). The SCEP, broadly including the Southern Cape towns within the Eden District, has evolved through a very different process and particularly in the absence of formal local authority support as provided to the CTP and the GTP. The SCEP is not a formal legal entity and has since 2010 functioned as a loosely governed forum of the business chambers and local authorities from the various towns.

At a geographical level, broader than the metropolitan, local or district municipalities, the Western Cape Government has, from 2011, supported a process to establish the Western Cape Economic Development Partnership (WCEDP). This not-for-profit entity's area of operation corresponds to the Western Cape provincial boundaries, but its work focusses on also building relationships with other economic nodes such as the Gauteng and eThekwini city regions (WCEDP, 2013a).

5.3 Case 1: A regional, government-initiated partnership

The WCEDP was established as a not-for-profit company to act as a collaborative intermediary organisation, focussing on the regional economic delivery system in the Western Cape Province, South Africa (WCEDP, 2014a). In many ways, the WCEDP has been the driving force responsible for broadening the understanding and uptake of partnerships as a governance model in the

Western Cape. It has been playing a key role in packaging and sharing information on the practice of partnering, specifically within the R&LED landscape in South Africa, and has been mainly funded through the Western Cape Government.

5.2.1 Establishment and first years of operation (2012–2015)

The concept of the WCEDP came about as the result of a review process of the economic support system of the Western Cape Government's Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDAT). In 2011, the Department was supporting as many as 17 "Special Purpose Vehicles", i.e. sector bodies which worked with industry and academia following a cluster approach (DEDAT, 2017). The political head of DEDAT, the MEC for Economic Development Alan Winde, was considering the idea of amalgamating these sector support activities into a single "super agency" to drive economic development in the province[9]. Through various dialogues, the discussion shifted away from a government agency towards an independent, member-based partnership (what later became known as a collaborative intermediary organisation) (WCEDP, 2013b). Much of the drive towards a partnership was informed by the success achieved by the CTP, a successful inner-city revitalisation collaboration between the public and the private sectors.

Throughout 2011, consultative engagements were held through which more than 140 organisations were identified and approached to become members of the new partnership. Activities were overseen by a high-level steering committee and a core team that commissioned a contextual report which informed the first activities and secured initial funding from the Provincial Government and City of Cape Town (Cloete, 2015; WCEDP, 2013b). An entity was formally registered as a not-for-profit company (January 2012) and publicly launch in April 2012, through broad agreement between an estimated 130 entities, spanning the public and the private sectors, academic organisations and civic society stakeholders (Cloete, 2015; WCEDP, 2014b).

By January 2013, the WCEDP had received 133 expressions of interest from organisations to officially become members of the registered entity (WCEDP, 2013a). In order to legally secure the Provincial Government's support for the establishment of and in the governance of the entity, a Draft Bill to this effect was published on 14 February 2013 and the act was promulgated on 12 November 2013 (Western Cape Government, 2013). By mid-2013, the steering committee handed over to the first board, which they selected through a competitive process with

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[9] This information was obtained through the process of participation by the researcher as practitioner in meetings and other engagements during the period under consideration.

nominations drawn from stakeholders. The entity was initially incubated and housed within the CTP, with the CEO of the CTP acting in both organisations, and a managed transition led to it becoming a fully independent entity by December 2013 (WCEDP, 2013b). The founding statement of the organisation outlines its original goals, namely to "improve the performance of the Cape Town and Western Cape economic development system, by creating and sustaining partnerships between economic stakeholders, in support of the goal of creating a resilient, inclusive and competitive region, thus contributing to South Africa's national economic success" (WCEDP, 2014b).

One of the first and most visible initiatives driven by the WCEDP during the establishment period was the production of OneCape2040 – a long-term vision for the Province, aligned to the newly published National Development Plan (NDP). The document sets out a long-term vision and the required "step changes" for the Western Cape to ensure competitiveness in the economy of the future (Western Cape Government, 2012). The plan did not focus on macro challenges, but rather on local and provincial areas where joint action with private sector and civic society could be mobilised (Western Cape Government, 2012). The OneCape2040 consultative process provided the WCEDP with an opportunity to engage with stakeholders and potential members on substantive long-term economic issues. As a new entity in the economic delivery system, it was inundated by requests for support, especially due to the perception that with high-level political support, significant government funding would be flowing to the organisation. Given that funding was at the time being cut to some of the special purpose vehicles (SPVs), with an amalgamation of some functions into single organisations, there was some level of competition and "fighting for survival" in the ecosystem. Support for the WCEDP concept, within the government administration and amongst stakeholders, was by no means unanimous.

The board of the WCEDP took decisions early in its establishment, that the entity would operate behind the scenes, not aiming to be particularly visible and so trying to avoid public political squabbles in the Province. It was always very clear that it saw its role as playing an enabling and facilitative role in the interest of broader economic delivery system improvement, and that this would be achieved through fostering collaboration and improved information sharing. From a governance perspective, and to lessen the administrative burden, decisions were also taken to not officially register stakeholders as members of the organisation in the Memorandum of Incorporation. Instead, they would be managed as stakeholders and partners rather than official members with voting rights (WCEDP, 2013c).

An often-used analogy within the organisation was that of a regatta, where one of four roles could be played: rowing, cheering, steering or coaching. Given the skill set within the organisation, and its budgets, it opted for less direct involvement, leaving the "rowing" to local or directly involved stakeholders in projects or programmes in which it became involved. The initial work and outputs of the organisation were very demand-driven, but also influenced by how well possible projects aligned with conditionality of funding from Provincial Government (at that stage the sole funder). The entity was requested to deliver some high-level contentious projects on behalf of Government, including the Future of Agriculture and Rural Economies (FARE) process following violence and demonstrations in some key agricultural areas of the Province (Erasmus, 2014; WCEDP, 2013d). Following many iterations of a strategy, the 2014-2015 Business Plan (WCEDP, 2014c) settled on a set of activities broadly in four programme areas (abbreviated as BMTS):

- Building Partnerships;
- Monitoring and evaluating partnerships;
- Teaching partnership techniques and practices; and
- Supporting partnerships.

By early 2015, around three years after its establishment and two years into operation, the entity was by all accounts moving out of the start-up space into maturity and was about to enter the appointment process for its second board. Organisational management and governance processes, such as formal Board procedures, delegations of authority, accounting and auditing approaches and recruitment procedures had been established. Demand for WCEDP support continued to far exceed the available administrative and technical resources and funding. In hindsight, a number of crucial, but as yet unanswered, questions were starting to surface: "Is this partnering approach to economic development yielding the results that it was established to yield? How can impact be measured? How does one measure the success of a partnership? How will we know that the system has improved and/or innovated?" (Cloete, 2015: 16). Whilst the WCEDP benefited in its establishment from a Provincial Government reorganisation, the entity was about to become a victim of another such reorganisation and budget cuts.

5.2.2 Reorienting the partnership in response to a changing environment

In 2014, DEDAT initiated Project Khulisa as part of a Provincial Government-wide strategic review process to inform the elected government's 2014–2019 term. This resulted in an in-depth economic review and a very narrow selection of only three high-growth potential sectors, namely

tourism, agri-processing and oil and gas. This did not mean a total withdrawal of support for other sectors. The Department still supports 11 SPVs across the economy (DEDAT, 2015). However, the narrow selection was clearly a response to shrinking government budgets and austerity measures – aiming to maximise the economic impact of government investments.

Early 2015 (in the run-up to the Provincial Financial year starting on 1 April) was a tumultuous period within the WCEDP especially because the entity was to a large extent side-lined by their parent department in this process of review. This was not a positive sign for the future of the organisation as one of the key focus areas within the WCEDP at the time was to gather and coordinate economic intelligence. The new Provincial strategy also resulted in a significant and immediate cut in funding to the WCEDP, requiring a review of activities to deliver maximum strategic impact with minimal resources (WCEDP, 2015a). This result may be attributed to a failure to build strong relationships with the parent department (with a direct line to the MEC often interpreted as going over the heads of the administrative management team), a failure to communicate the successes of the organisation actively and an ongoing lack of ability to attribute economic results to the activities of the organisation. Improved collaboration could not at the time be shown to directly create jobs, which was the dominant narrative in economic development policy discussions at the time. The WCEDP suffered ultimately from what R&LED initiatives in South Africa are often exposed to, namely government's inability to continue a long-term programme, which will deliver long term results (5–10 years), within the short elective cycles.

The WCEDP CEO and staff, supported by some respected and well-connected board members, mobilised to actively lobby for continued support from Provincial Government. This included a push for significant improvement in the packaging of results and outputs produced. Ultimately, the budget cuts could not be avoided, but in process the WCEDP finally had to admit that officials and key decision-makers within its assigned parent department (DEDAT) did not hold a positive view of collaboration and partnerships as appropriate to government's economic development activities. Through the lobbying exercise, however, the entity found a much more responsive possible counterpart in the Department of the Premier – custodians of Provincial Strategic Goal 5, namely "Embed good governance and integrated service delivery through partnerships and spatial alignment" (Western Cape Department of the Premier, 2017).

The new relationship with the Department of the Premier took some time to develop and could not yield immediate funding for the organisation. The 2015/2016 financial year was then one of consolidation and trimming down the operation to fit within the budget assigned from the DEDAT.

This is noted in the Annual Business Plan: "The EDP aims to be a relatively small, agile, creative, well-resourced leadership and coordinating body, which attracts top talent" (WCEDP, 2015b: 8). In addition to cost-cutting the focus also turned to diversification of funding sources to reduce the reliance on the Western Cape Government. The work programme also actively moved towards packaging partnering tools and best practice knowledge for the WCEDP to deliver not only specific projects and programmes, but broader partnering capacity-building services to stakeholders in the economic delivery system.

At the arrival of the 2016/2017 financial year, the relationship with the Department of the Premier, focussing on partnering as a broader tool across all of government to enable improved service delivery, started bearing fruit. Even though partnerships and collaboration were a key part of the Provincial strategy for delivery, it became clear that very few bureaucrats had the skills and tools to actively identify and nurture partnerships – not within the government machinery and even less so in the private sector and civic society. The WCEDP was perfectly positioned to fill this gap by playing a strategic advisory role in key partnerships and providing capacity building for officials. Financial support for the partnership approach was firmly entrenched in a key document, a budget circular, as follows (Western Cape Government Integrated Planning and Budgeting Framework, Budget Circular 3, 2016/17 quoted in WCEDP, 2014b):

> "The partnering methodology gives effect to policy imperatives through leveraging mandates and resources. The approach places emphasis on fiscal objectives (leveraging non-government funding and resources), new ways of doing things (innovation and transformation), dealing with division and conflict (dialogue, trust building, use of intermediaries), influencing beyond your legal mandate through joining up mandates (joint planning, addressing coordination failure), joining up jurisdictions (spatial governance, addressing coordination failure), monitoring and evaluation (tangible outcomes and intangible outcomes, i.e. institutional relationships and behaviours, collaborative leadership) for greater development impact."

The WCEDP has further refined its mandate and focus areas and currently states their purpose as follows: "The EDP provides targeted partnering solutions to improve the performance of the local and regional economic system" (WCEDP, 2014b). It focusses on three work streams, namely:

- Issue-based partnering solutions;

- Area-based partnering solutions; and
- Partnering knowledge sharing.

In addition to continuing to host forums and events, the entity has also developed material for collaborative leadership and partnering training, including a partnering toolkit that is experiential and practice oriented. With these products finding traction across various government initiatives, there has also been a marginal shift from the initial narrow economic development focus, to a broader government service delivery effort. This is reflected in the following: "Economic development within the public sector is often interpreted as activities performed by the Economic Development Department, whether that be at a provincial or a municipal subnational level. However, every aspect of service delivery impacts on the economy. It is therefore important to view subnational levers for economic development as being broader than any stemming from just one department" (Cloete, 2015: 14). The work stream on economic intelligence, present from the establishment of the entity, has also been dropped, which is indicative of a stronger partnering rather than economic focus. The WCEDP's value proposition is clearly visualised on its website with a visually modified version depicted below:

Figure 5-1 WCEDP's value proposition

What government is mandated to deliver

What business needs to operate effectively

Shared vision
Common agenda
Joint action

What civil society aims to achieve
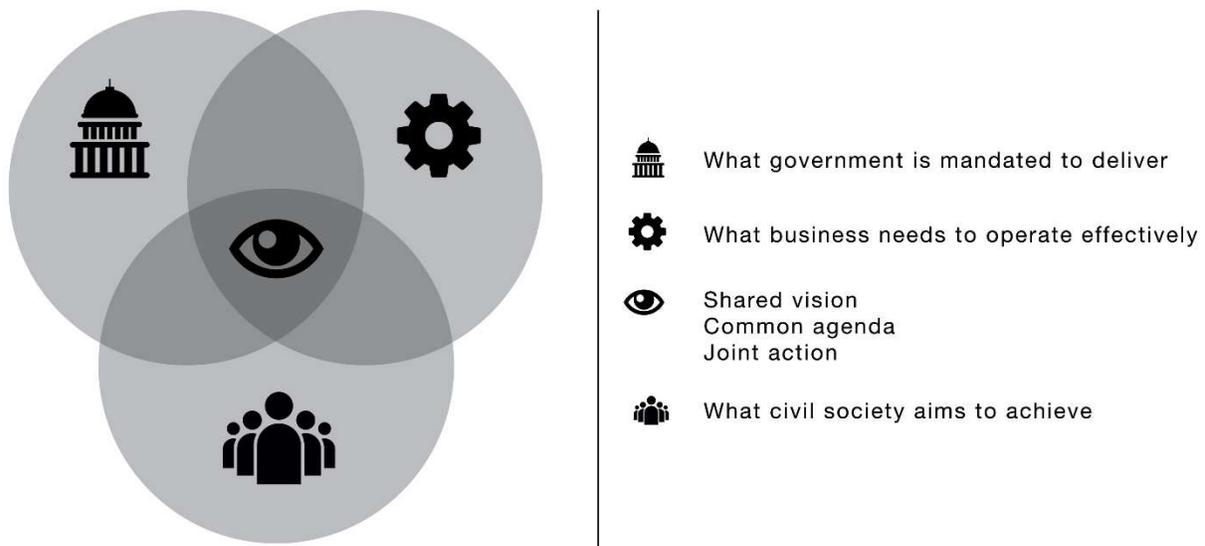
Overlapping interests: Adapted from The Partnering Initiative, 2008

Source: Adapted from (WCEDP, 2014b)

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5.2.3 Lessons to date and reflection on the experience

The WCEDP itself has published case studies and papers harvesting lessons from their experience (Boraine, 2017a,b; Cloete, 2015; WCEDP, 2014a). Some of the preliminary observations in the 2014 publication include the issue of mandate confusion and relationships with government departments (which saw the WCEDP as a service provider, and not an equal and important partner), the pressure to deliver short-term results whilst partnership building takes time and the over-reliance on singular government funding sources. There is also a comment in this paper that the CEO felt convening large groups of stakeholders (at the time framed as a CEO's Forum) from across the region, was not productive. The result was that the engagements had to be repackaged as bilateral platforms or smaller groups around themes, sectors or geographic interests. This is reflected in the work of the WCEDP focussing on smaller groups of stakeholders around specific thematic areas – including a project known as the Improvement of the Regional Innovation System (IRIS – also referred to as the Regional Innovation Network), the convening and hosting of the Regional Communicators Forum and the Cape Town Aerotropolis Process (WCEDP, 2015b). This decision, and its implications for the organisation, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 from a network analysis perspective.

One of the messages that the WCEDP utilises in positioning itself, is that a collaborative intermediary organisation is useful in providing an independent or neutral platform to guide and stimulate partnership formation (Cloete, 2015). It is argued that such intermediary organisations can create safe spaces for innovation and experimentation. The WCEDP further advocates for structured partnerships which provide greater opportunity for sustainability and trust building, whilst stimulating joint action (Boraine, 2017a). Such a structural approach has resource implications (i.e. staff and dedicated office space), but resonates with findings by Pope and Lewis (2008) that dedicated independent partnership staff was crucial to the success of partnerships.

In the practical work of the WCEDP (such as advising on and designing collaborations) the varied life cycle of a partnership is also acknowledged, as is the need to constantly adapt to circumstances (Boraine, 2017a). The evolution of the organisation can be characterised into several distinct phases, with specific actions and tactics applied during each – some of these successful and some not. Based on their first-hand experience, the WCEDP has developed their own partnership methodology which outlines seven phases, which, it particularly cautions, are not a sequential process. These phases are: 1) diagnosis; 2) formation; 3) formalisation; 4) implementation; 5) consolidation; and 6) closing (WCEDP, 2017). It also resembles what Imperial

et al. (2016) term the "useful life of network governance" (see section 3.3.5) and supports the notion of stages requiring distinct actions and each with its own challenges. There is emphasis on the constant nurturing requirements of such initiatives which may also require radical reorientation due to changing conditions or concluding an initiative. This required nurturing and required reorientation are evident in the WCEDP experience.

In the conceptualisation and establishment of the WCEDP, key role players within the political environment played strong leadership roles and made active attempts to include as many stakeholders as possible. This political closeness certainly expedited the establishment of and facilitated the generous initial funding for the WCEDP. The entity also suffered because of this political closeness and in some circles never moved beyond being a political pet project, slightly disconnected from the rest of the Provincial Government's economic development strategy. The innovative, ambitious and long-term nature of the process did not align with a government bureaucracy increasingly focussed on monitoring and evaluation within a tightening fiscal environment. The focus now turns to evaluation of the WCEDP through the application of the evaluation approach developed in Chapter 3.

5.2.4 Applying the evaluation approach – first-level analysis

Given the shift in focus for the WCEDP, from a very strong regional economic development orientation to a wider all-of-government service delivery approach in 2016, only the first phase of the organisation (2012–2015) will be considered for evaluation. With a significant shift in mandate and a focus on transferring partnering knowledge and supporting partnerships in its broadest form towards success, it is no longer considered a R&LED partnership or governance arrangement. The entity is now one of the role players within the R&LED network, delivering partnering training and partnering support services to other stakeholders at their request.

5.2.4.1 Life cycle evaluation

As the WCEDP has also developed a tool outlining the phases through which a partnership evolves, its own phases are overlaid with the Imperial *et al.* (2016) model for illustration purposes. The reorientation point is during the 2015/2016 financial year, when the organisation's approach changed due to the reorganisation under Project Khulisa. It is argued that the WCEDP, in this reorientation, became a service provider within the economic delivery system, with a much narrower and less ambitions mandate. For all practical purposes, it seized to attempt to perform a coordination function towards improved economy-wide results. In the opinion of the researcher,

it that it seized to exist as a network governance structure at this point, although the entity overall reoriented and continues to exist and operate as a service provider.

Figure 5-2: WCEDP life cycle illustrated
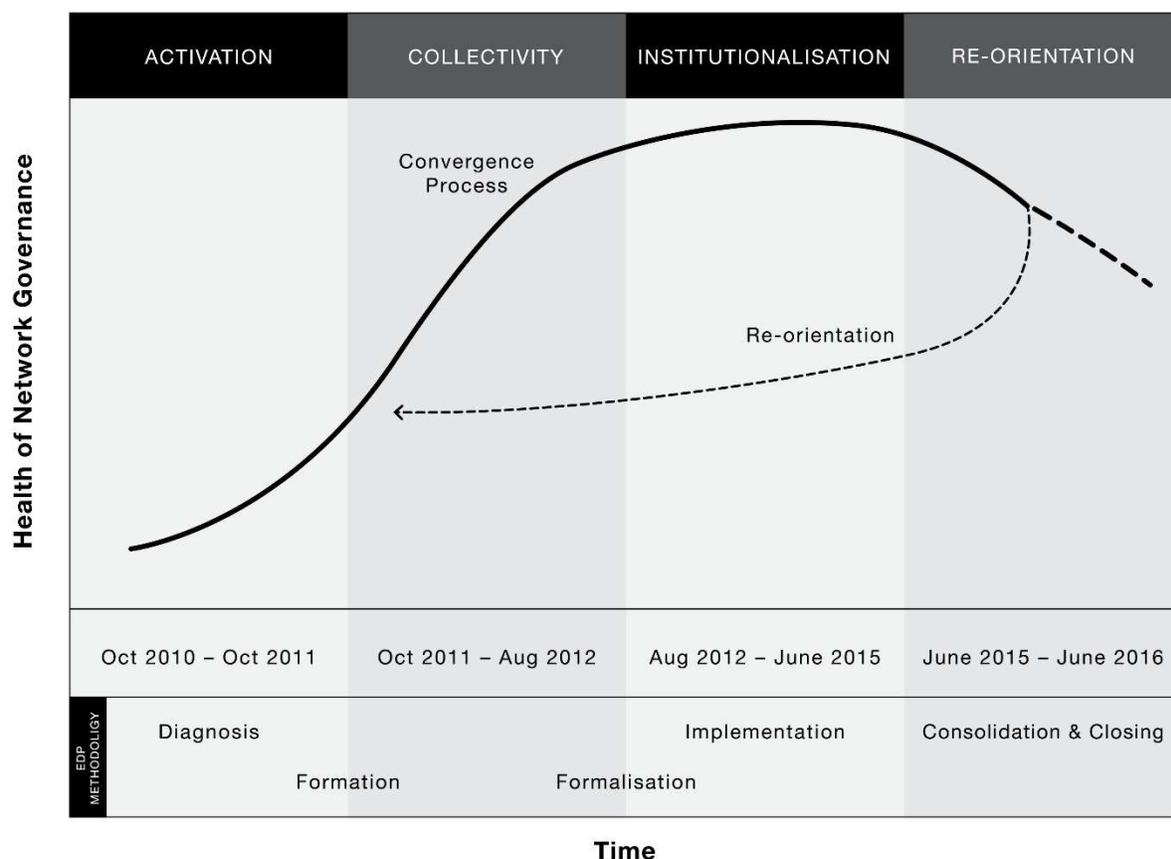
Distinct lessons can be drawn from each stage and the strategic choices made. Much of the lessons captured in the WCEDP's own publications (as discussed earlier in this section) have been in positive and professional formats for replication. It does not necessarily touch on some of the softer learnings. In particular, no critical external evaluation of the organisational experience has been conducted. The lessons below are an attempt at such a critical reflection, with the benefit of hindsight and the researcher's direct involvement during the specific time under discussion.

Table 5-1: Key characteristics and lessons in each stage of the WCEDP

Cycle/Phase	Key lessons/Decision points and results
Activation	This phase is characterised by the role of influential leaders and initiators (including the first CEO Andrew Boraine and MEC Alan Winde). Initial

	studies and the appointed steering committee were characterised by the involvement of leading Cape Town-based academics (including Edgar Pieterse) and international experts (such as Greg Clark associated with the OECD). This provided legitimacy and created interest in the process and idea for a partnership.
Collectivity	Large-scale mobilisation of stakeholders across the economic delivery system was initiated – both for consultative purposes and to build momentum. The new innovative approach attracted attention, some of which was driven by the MEC's direct involvement and support of the initiative (including perceptions of large-scale future funding for the partnership). The expression of interest received from around 130 entities is testimony to the success of this phase.
Institutionalisation	The first board was selected through a competitive process calling for nominations from entities that submitted expressions of interest. The board was carefully chosen to represent strong business leaders and span political boundaries. In particular, a former National Government Minister agreed to participate and act as chairperson (Ms Barbara Hogan). It was decided to not register those entities who expressed interest as official members of the organisation and to operate as a behind-the-scenes organisation. These two decisions shifted the organisation away from a very visible position in the political economy landscape of the Western Cape, as it had been for the preceding year. An inability to clearly articulate results, particularly the softer results regarding, for example, improved flow of information and building of trust. This was compounded with the inability to equate those results to funder priorities (Provincial Government), which clearly included job creation at the time. There was also failure to build productive relationship with the parent department and bureaucrats in the department, resulting in exclusion from discussions and no support from within when funding reallocations were discussed within the department.
Reorientation/Death	The organisation's work seems to have found traction in wording and strategy of the Provincial Government more broadly, creating an

	opportunity to remain relevant and provide timeous inputs in strategic management processes.
	Building relationship with a different potential parent department ensured survival but required revision of approach to broader government service delivery and its stimulus of economic development, rather than remaining more narrowly economic development focussed.
	This phase is characterised by a narrowing of scope and clearer articulation of the service offering of the organisation. This is the point where the organisation becomes a service provider within the economic delivery system, rather than the coordinator of that system.

5.2.4.2 Checklist of outputs (networking, network or network governance)

A preliminary version of the checklist was produced as part of an unpublished paper, presented at the Winelands Conference in April 2016[10]. In preparing the paper, a few unstructured interviews were conducted at the end of 2015 with the executive leadership of the WCEDP and staff members responsible for programmatic oversight of some of the collaborative groups. At both levels, there was a strong feeling that the daily work and functions relate to networks, networking and network governance. However, at organisation-wide level, characteristics of a network structure were deemed to be absent, whilst the programme facilitators indicated that a common mission, interdependence of members and a unique structural arrangement were present (even if only to a limited extent) at the subgroup level. The same difference was noted when probing whether improved communication (or more networking) has resulted in enhanced or joint decision-making, namely that at organisational level (focussing on the economic delivery system as a whole) the response was negative, whilst at subgroup level it was positive.

None of the WCEDP staff could confirm definitively that there have been changed values, attitudes and more active working together, mainly due to the difficulty in showing concrete results in support of these. All interviewees, however, agreed that the entity was delivering intangible results (e.g. changing relationships) and that tangible results (i.e. active collaboration) should follow soon. The organisation had at this point been in existence for over three years. Staff further

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[10] Bunding-Venter, C. 2016. Networking, Networks or Network Governance – Does the Distinction matter for Regional and Local Economic Development Partnerships in South Africa? 15th International Winelands Conference, Stellenbosch, 30 March-1 April.

indicated that they have not observed the formation of any informal networks, although bilateral relationships may have been strengthened through ongoing engagements.

There was partial disagreement with the statement that the WCEDP may be an example of government trying to capture and institutionalise the positive effects of networking (Pope & Lewis, 2008). This seems to relate to the organisation's strong position that, even though it is funded by government, it is not an extension of government. The executive leadership team indicated that the organisation probably functions at too broad a level for this type of network discussion or evaluation and that, concepts such as networking and network governance were not well enough understood across the entire landscape in which the organisation functions. The completed evaluation tool with colour coded-results, reflecting on the nature of the organisation prior to its reorientation in 2015/2016 is depicted below. The final version was checked and tested with the executive leadership team of the WCEDP.

Table 5-2: WCEDP evaluation of outputs/results (for the period up to 2015/2016)

Characteristic	Question	Yes/No/Partially
Networking		
Informal	Are all engagements and interactions recorded or minuted?	Yes
Largely voluntary	Is there any mechanism (legal or other binding way) that forces participation and interaction? (Answer: *Legislated but voluntary)*	Partially
Exchange of information for mutual benefit	Is there an open and reciprocal exchange of information by participants?	Yes
Network/Network Structure		
Actors connected by ties and social relations	Have you witnessed existing or emergent relationships and ties between participants?	Yes
Decentralised decision-making involving shared power	Have you witnessed or specifically designed meetings and interactions to result in decentralised, joint decision-making by participants?	No

Continuous links that result in a "new whole", more than collection of individual organisations	Have you noted results from the engagements that amounted to more than just the "sum of the parts"? That is, are the higher-order results more than the sum of the individual results by different actors?	Partially
Participation out of recognition that affect and are affected by behaviour of other actors (interdependent)	Is there evidence that participation is due to a recognition of interdependence on other actors (*Answer: yes*) or is there more evidence of self-interest and self-preservation as driving force? (*Answer: no*)	Partially
Non-state actor participation	Is there significant participation by non-state actors?	Yes
Unique structural arrangement – Presence of a coordinative mechanism, but not formal authority (role of facilitator or broker)	Is there a coordinative mechanism in place, and if so, does this take the form of a facilitator or broker? That is, is there an absence of formal authority in the coordinative mechanism?	Yes
Broad, common mission	Do the group or collective subscribe to a broad and common mission?	Yes
Network or Collaborative Governance		
Initiated by public sector	Was the initiative or collaboration initiated by the public sector? (*Answer: yes*) And if not, did the public sector come to play a key role over time? (*Answer: partial*)	Yes
Focus on public policy or public management	Is there a distinct focus on influencing public policy or public management practices or supporting public policy-making and public management deliverables?	Partially
Use of institutions or authority to allocate resources, direct decision-	Is the institution tasked with decisions around the allocation of resources? That is, are participants able to influence resource allocation (*Answer: yes*) or is there merely a	No

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making engagements (not just consultation)	consultation taking place for decision-making elsewhere? (*Answer: no*)	
Decision-making by consensus	Are decisions made by consensus? (That is, do different views converge to consensus which then results in action in line with the consensus?)	Partially
Coordination across network, formal forum with collective meetings	Does the arrangement or approach focus on coordination across the entire network (to whatever degree that network is defined for a specific case) and does it aim towards collective, formalised meetings? (*If answer positive on both: yes. If one positive: partial*)	No
Action resulting in altered behaviour of participants	Has action within the arrangement and amongst participants resulted in changed behaviour?	Partially
Focus on process and institutional arrangements used to accomplish task	Is there a project-driven, delivery focus (*Answer: no*) or is the focus rather on the process and institutional arrangements used to accomplish the task? (*Answer: yes*)	No

From the above analysis, and visual representation of colours, it should be clear that the WCEDP unmistakably fulfilled a networking function, and to a large extent contributed to the establishment of a network structure. However, the entity appears to have failed to perform a network or collaborative governance function within the broader R&LED network. This is not a surprising result, given the active decisions to act as a behind-the-scenes entity and to discontinue the convening of the larger economic stakeholder group.

5.2.4.3 Network management actions

The network management activities were conducted at the outset of the partnership by the steering committee (in its activation phase) and relatively quickly taken up by core staff of the partnership. The staffing was supported by the early, and generous, financial resources allocated by the Western Cape Government, as discussed earlier. The effort was led by the individual who would become the first CEO of the entity, then employed on a split-time basis between the CTP

and WCEDP. Actions taken as described in the case narrative will now be framed using the network management model developed in Chapter 3. As outlined in Section 3.4.4, these management actions are neither performed sequentially nor as detached stand-alone activities. It is rather an integrated set of activities, performed at different levels of intensity as and when needed in the network. First the actions and their level of intensity will be described for the period under consideration and then the relevant actions will be plotted against the life cycle of the WCEDP.

Table 5-3: Evaluation of WCEDP management actions

	Management action	Description of typical activities	WCEDP application
1.	Process agreement	Operating rules, norms, and perceptions, including rules for entrance and conflict resolution.	Observed during each of the stages, with a different focus in each: Activation – agreement to pursue partnership (rather than a super agency). Collectivity – public processes to discuss processes and options with potential members. Institionalisation – new board, focussed on legislative processes relating to company legislation. Decisions around membership. Reorientation – securing agreement from new main government counterpart and funder.
2.	Connecting	Activation/deactivation of members, initiating contact with potential or identified members, and coalition building.	Most dominant action during activation – as argued earlier, decisions to discontinue convening large stakeholder events and rather focus on smaller events saw a scaling back of this management action. The focus shifted to connecting around narrow topics or themes rather than the economy more broadly. In reorientation, this activity was also present as new government counterparts had to be identified and approached.
3.	Framing and content	Managing and collecting information	Also started during activation stage (with OneCape2040 and other contextual reports).

		and research, giving shape to purpose, and reorienting network focus if required.	Had a dedicated economic intelligence work stream during first two stages. Very prominent activity during reorientation when framing had to be adjusted.
4.	Mobilising resources	Inducing commitment amongst network participants and stakeholders, particularly focussing on administrative resources to ensure sustainability of the effort.	Dominant during activation, slightly less so during next two stages, and again critical during reorientation as new funding sources had to be secured.
5.	Synthesising of favourable conditions	Creating required new arrangements and processes to ensure flow of information and resources, facilitating ongoing network participant interaction, effective communications, and incentives for collaboration.	A large amount of time was dedicated to this during the activation and collectivity stages, probably less so during institutionalisation. Overall, the WCEDP probably did not communicate effectively, which was related to decisions to be a behind-the-scenes organisation.

Table 5-4: Management actions in relation to life cycle for WCEDP

Life cycle stage	Management actions present and level of intensity
Activation	1. Process agreement: High 2. Connecting: High 3. Framing and content: High 4. Mobilising resources: High

	5. Synthesising of favourable conditions: High
Collectivity	1. Process agreement: High
	2. Connecting: High
	3. Framing and content: Medium
	4. Mobilising resources: Low
	5. Synthesising of favourable conditions: Low
Institutionalisation	1. Process agreement: Low
	2. Connecting: Low
	3. Framing and content: Medium
	4. Mobilising resources: Low
	5. Synthesising of favourable conditions: Low
Reorientation	1. Process agreement: High
	2. Connecting: High
	3. Framing and content: High
	4. Mobilising resources: High
	5. Synthesising of favourable conditions: High

Network management activities in the WCEDP were observed to have dropped off during the institutionalisation phase as the focus was leaning more towards operational delivery. At reorientation, these activities are observed as significantly increasing again but focussed on a different set of stakeholders when compared to the collectivity phase. The shift was from a focus on mobilising stakeholders in the economic ecosystem towards networking and creating conditions that would secure the survival of the entity in a different form. This latter stage was characterised by a much greater focus on government counterparts, whilst earlier stages saw much greater focus on private sector and other economic stakeholders. Overall, in terms of management activities, there is an observable gap in terms of the synthesising of favourable conditions after the collectivity stage.

5.2.4.4 Summary of evaluation

The entity was assessed as having been set up with the intention to perform a network governance function within the broad economic ecosystem of the Western Cape. However, the language and tools of networks and network governance, were found to be absent in the WCEDP's practice. The life cycle analysis was, for this case, also matched to its own partnership phases and clear stages were identified. Given the high-level political support and allocation of

resources to the establishment of the partnership, it progressed rapidly through activation and collectivity to institutionalisation. The entity's reorientation was triggered by funding decisions outside of its direct control and a reactive result rather than a proactive decision to change focus.

Following the significant shift in mandate, to transferring partnering knowledge and supporting partnerships in its broadest form, it is no longer considered an R&LED partnership or governance arrangement as defined in this study. It was thus not surprising to find that the entity did not perform a network governance function during the period under consideration. Some initial results were observed by the staff and leadership of the entity, but much of these were deemed intangible (i.e. changing relationships) and not quantifiable. To be fair, the entity did not set out at any stage to measure its network-related impacts or results.

The governance arrangement reached death, but the entity overall was able to reorient itself and continues to operate. The WCEDP might be considered fortunate to have been able to reorient itself after having failed to deliver on expectations from its main funders. It is conceivable that many such initiatives might not have survived beyond the initial three-year period. This is certainly testimony to the quality of its management team, and their ability to have identified a gap and demand for specific support services the entity was able to offer to a different arm of government, than the one which supported its formation.

In terms of network management actions, all five functions were identified as present, in varying levels of intensity, through the different stages of the life cycle. Whilst all actions were present to a very high degree in both activation and reorientation stages, it was focussed on different stakeholders in those two stages – broadly on economic role players in the first and directly on government counterparts in the later stage. A gap identified is the low levels of management action relating to the synthesising of favourable conditions in the middle stages of the life cycle – a possible contributing factor to its ultimate reorientation. As the entity was relatively well resourced at the outset, the activity did not receive much attention after activation, but was significantly accelerated when funding cuts were announced.

5.4 Case 2: A local, boundary-spanning, self-organising partnership

5.3.1 Early days – from the Garden Route Business Forum to a partnership[11]

The Garden Route is a common name for a popular tourist area along the south-eastern coast of South Africa, broadly running between the towns of Mossel Bay (Western Cape Province) and Storms River (Eastern Cape Province). This stretch known for its indigenous forests, lakes and rivers is nestled between the Outeniqua and Tsitsikamma mountain ranges and the Indian Ocean (SA-Venues.com, 2017). The area stretches across two provincial boundaries and multiple local and district municipalities. There is, however, no unified governance structure and even tourism bodies (arguably with the most to gain through a unified Garden Route brand) are fragmented. The focus of this case is on the area within the Western Cape Province, broadly corresponding to the Eden District Municipality boundary, consisting of seven local authorities (Kannaland, Oudtshoorn, George, Hessequa, Mossel Bay, Knysna and Bitou) (see map below).

Figure 5-3: Eden District municipal boundaries

In 2010, the Western Cape Government commissioned an update of their 2004 study, namely Growth Potential of Towns in the Western Cape. As the name implies, the report aimed to identify areas with high growth potential, in which development could be supported or stimulated through targeted interventions (Van Niekerk, Donaldson, Du Plessis & Spocter, 2010; Donaldson, Van Niekerk, Du Plessis & Spocter, 2012). In the analysis of 131 settlements outside of the City of Cape Town, some important questions were raised around the cross-boundary geographical relationships between settlements and the impact of these relationships on development

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[11] The unreferenced statements and content of this section is based on the researcher's own participation in meetings and processes during this period

potential. This resulted in a third updated report, published in 2013/2014, in which, during the early phases, a modelling exercise was undertaken to define functional regions within the province (Van Niekerk, Du Plessis, Spocter, Ferreira, Dondaldson, Loots, Boonzaaier, Janeke & Terhoven, 2013). The interrelationship amongst settlements were evaluated and the functional regions were used to inform stakeholder consultation and further analysis.

These engagements, in which the concept of functional regions (which do not correspond to administrative boundaries) were introduced to stakeholders, caused extensive debate and some turmoil amongst stakeholders. Smaller settlements felt that they had a greater opportunity to attract additional provincial government resources if they were more closely associated with larger towns with high growth potential. In addition, of course, no town wanted to be seen as having no or low growth potential, driven by the perception that this classification will impact negatively on funding allocations by other levels of government.

One of the more controversial findings in the functional region analysis was conceptually splitting the Eden District into two functional economic regions, effectively divided by the Outeniqua Mountains (see map extract below). This did not seem to fit with local stakeholders' perception of how connected for example George and Oudtshoorn, as the two main centres located either side of the mountain, were. With George as the largest town in the region, boasting a national airport and higher-order services, it was classified as having significant growth potential in the region. The fear was that if Oudtshoorn were disconnected and in a different region, they would have to compete with George, in terms of Provincial Government funding allocations, rather than benefit form a mutually reinforcing relationship. This spurred discussion about closer collaboration and integration, initiated by the Oudtshoorn Business Chamber with their counterpart in George.

The initial discussions were about the establishment of a "Regional Business Chamber" of sorts, but it became apparent early on that with various aims and objectives, and affiliations to different national bodies, the South African Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SACCI) or Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI), one unified regional body might not be viable. Focus then turned to the value that could be derived from structured, ongoing engagement, and possible collaboration on matters of mutual interest (Nel, Bunding-Venter & Van Schalkwyk, 2013). The first meetings were informally referred to as the Garden Route Business Forum and with the formal adoption of its Charter in February 2012, the Southern Cape Business Partnership (SCBP) was established.

Figure 5-4: Functional regions as depicted in PGS3 (2013/2014)

Source: Van Niekerk et al. (2013: 18)

The Charter (SCBP, 2012: 1) states the vision for the organisation as follows: "To create a credible platform for formalised business in the Garden Route to share information, collaborate and solve problems, in close proximity to local government, to the benefit of the greater community". It further confirms that the Forum is not an independent legal entity, is not a decision-making body and cannot bind its members. Membership was voluntary and open to formally nominated representatives from recognised stakeholder groups – which are in turn defined as formal groupings with an adopted constitution or other founding document. A code of conduct formed part of the Charter as an annexure and membership was dependent on acceptance of and adherence to this code. The first point of this code of conduct reads that all members "Must be committed to working in partnership with the local and other government entities". The stated objectives of the Forum were to:

1. Facilitate constructive interaction amongst business chambers from neighbouring towns, local authorities and other key stakeholders influencing the business environment;
2. Serve as a channel for communication and managing conflict within the regional business environment;

3. Serve as a vehicle towards developing strategic partnerships with key stakeholders across the region, province and country; and
4. Serve as a platform for the formulation of solutions to pressing business-related issues.

The SCBP was evolving under its own momentum whilst a broader process was under way to establish an economic development partnership that would serve the entire Western Cape Province (the WCEDP process outlined earlier). Some authors have incorrectly claimed that the SCBP (now known as SCEP) is an output or result of the WCEDP (Kamara, 2017), an error that may be easily made as the SCEP is incubated or hosted by the WCEDP – an arrangement that will be unpacked in the next section. Individuals participating in the local process attended consultative meetings on the regional partnership during 2011, but, in the fledgling stages of the SCBP, no external (regional) inputs were received on the design or governance model for the partnership.

Participation in the regional partnership process took place with the aim of securing resources or ensuring that the local partnership is recognised in the broader process. In part, the SCBP emerged because local stakeholders felt that the geographic distance from the provincial capital city (Cape Town) resulted in fewer resources and support from the Provincial Government. A united voice, across local municipalities and including the private sector, could potentially find greater traction with the MEC for Economic Development, who not only had a personal connection to the region through his residence but was also very business focussed and keen for business to have a leading voice in economic development.

With no clear manual on how to put together a cross-sector local economic collaboration in South Africa, participants drew on their own collaboration experience and ensured clear and regular dialogue. A lot of the drive came from a small core group volunteering their time and energy because of their firm individual belief that at minimum greater communication and more ambitiously closer cross-border collaboration were necessary for the area to grow. The group consisted of the Chairpersons of George and Oudtshoorn Business Chambers and two LED managers from George (the researcher) and Knysna. The 2012 Charter was in fact to a large extent based on a Community Forum Charter to which the researcher had been exposed in a previous position with South African National Parks.

5.3.2 Securing resources and maturing into a formalised arrangement

With the adoption of the Charter in February 2012, and the official launch of the Western Cape Economic Development Partnership (WCEDP) in April 2012, the language of partnership was quickly entrenched in the LED landscape. Partnership meetings were held during 2012, with varying levels of attendance and some specific municipal representatives absent. There was also ongoing discussion about the mandate and authority of the grouping and whether it could implement any actions, or merely serve as an information-sharing platform. A number of key focus areas were selected and members were asked to contribute towards delivering projects and tangible results against these focus areas (Nel *et al.*, 2013). These areas included improving municipal involvement in the Forum, conducting and/or securing funds for an airport analysis of the region (against the push by Oudtshoorn to upgrade its airport and the reopening of Plettenberg Bay Airport), a more coherent approach to tourism, government procurement analysis and BBBEE as well as marketing of local products.

Although it was difficult for the Forum to show tangible results and outcomes in some of these areas, the key success factors for 2012 was the open and mature way in which, often sensitive, topics were discussed and the platform which was created for the sharing of information. Each municipality had an opportunity to present its LED strategies to the group, which led to robust discussions and interesting debate, whilst building a greater understanding of what neighbouring localities are focussing on. It became clear that for the SCBP to find greater traction, some higher-level support, which could potentially unlock resources, would be required.

Separately, but not entirely removed from the above two formal processes, a group of individuals in the IT sector crafted a narrow sector-specific vision for the area. Taking the concept of cross-border, transversal partnership in the area forward along a specific theme, namely Smart City & Technology, a project referred to as the Outeniqua Smart City Corridor 2020 (OSCC2020) was conceived. The then president of the George Business Chamber worked in the IT industry and was a strong driver of this specific project. The idea was pitched to MEC Alan Winde in August 2012, who immediately felt this would be a good project to build municipal collaboration and was in line with the Province's ambitious broadband strategy. A planned visit by the MEC to the region in January 2013, offered an opportunity to ensure greater interest from senior political leaders in both the SCBP and OSCC2020 as potential flagship projects. The MEC instructed that a high-level municipal meeting of political office bearers and senior staff of the four large coastal municipalities (Bitou, Knysna, George and Mossel Bay) should be arranged in January 2013. This

meeting was well attended by more than 30 of the most prominent leaders in the region and the OSCC 2020 project and the WCEDP's envisioned role within the economic delivery system were introduced. The three resolutions from the meeting were as follows (Nel et al., 2013):

- A regional economic focus is desirable, should be pursued and will require a specific focus and dedicated resources (in future);
- Build partnership and collaboration through action (specifically one pilot project, i.e. Wi-Fi across the region); and
- Define the region narrower or wider, based on economic rationale not administrative boundaries (and working with the willing).

This meeting provided the required momentum and interest, but did not immediately yield financial resources to support the initiative. A core team drafted a proposal to submit to the Western Cape Government, aiming to secure joint funding for dedicated resources, but again without immediate success (Nel et al., 2013). The Eden District Municipality only issued a letter to all local municipalities in the area in January 2014, almost a full year after the meeting with the MEC (Eden District Municipality, 2014). This requested local municipalities to endorse the local partnership (and even included a draft item for each council's consideration) and to make a financial contribution. A paragraph from the item explains the rationale:

> "This document recommends that dedicated capacity be secured for the Partnership effort in the Southern Cape. It is becoming increasingly clear that the EDP, based in Cape Town, cannot afford sufficient direct support in the region. This is not a criticism of the EDP, but a reality in that locally based champions are just more driven and better connected locally to deliver. The main requirement from all parties in discussions to date has been tangible results and benefits from collaboration, but without capacity to drive these deliverables, progress has been slow." (Eden District Municipality, 2014: 2)

One of the opportunities identified by the core group of stakeholders in the SCBP was that the WCEDP had completed its first year of operation and offered an established legal entity, with Provincial Government support, with which some form of agreement could be entered into. Specifically, local funds could be ring-fenced within the WCEDP for exclusive local use, reducing overhead costs and administration requirements as no entity would have to be registered locally.

If each of the seven local authorities made a small financial contribution, a dedicated staff member could be appointed to drive delivery and play a coordinating role in the region.

By the end of 2014, five out of the seven local authorities, and the District Municipality, confirmed support for the partnership and financial contributions. The WCEDP also confirmed a co-contribution to the local partnership – drawn from its Provincial Government funding. This allowed for the advertisement of a project manager position in November 2014, and appointment with effect January 2015. After nearly three years of meetings, planning and lobbying, a dedicated resource to drive economic development across administrative boundaries was in place (WCEDP, 2015c).

Through ongoing consultations in 2015, the 2016–2019 Medium Term Strategy was produced. Furthermore, during 2015, a decision was also made to rename the collaboration to the SCEP, to better reflect the platform's purpose. It remained, as in the founding Charter, neither a registered nor a decision-making body, but aimed to contribute towards an enabling and conducive environment for collaboration between government, business and other stakeholders within the region. It does this by providing facilitation for a partners committee, that is the locus for discussion about economic development collaboration and for coordinated action through a programme of work for joint initiatives (SCEP, 2015). The plan outlined a set of theme-based activities supporting priority economic sectors (oil and gas, including renewable energy, tourism, agri-processing and creative industries). It also defined several key activities considered enabling for economic growth and development; namely, economic infrastructure, enterprise development and integration, investment promotion and the growth and management of the SCEP itself.

The strategy further confirmed that the WCEDP was budgeting to provide R365 000 per year as co-funding for the SCEP. The balance of R535 000 had to be covered by contributions from the partner organisations – specifically the local municipalities. In a letter from the District Municipality to municipalities in the region it was suggested that contributions take place according to the size of their budgets. Larger municipalities (George, Mossel Bay and Knysna) would contribute R100 000 per year, mid-sized municipalities (Bitou, Oudtshoorn, Hessequa and Eden) R50 000 per year and smaller municipalities (Kannaland) R35 000 per year. Each municipality would contract with the WCEDP in terms of a three-year service-level agreement with funding contributions to be confirmed annually.

The initial staff member was only appointed on a 12-month contract and at the start of 2016 a new individual had to be appointed. In the first appointment, a decision was made to attract a highly competent person from elsewhere in the country, but in this second appointment, where the focus would very much be on implementation and results, a local resident who already knew the area and its stakeholders, was deemed to be more suited to the assignment. Several new cross-border initiatives, such as honey bush tea production and the film industry, which were not reflected in the strategy, had also emerged and were finding traction (see for example George Herald, 2017, 2018). This might have been an indication that even if the SCEP could not claim direct results in these areas, local stakeholders have seen the benefit of working across boundaries and were now applying this approach in other initiatives. In planning for a new regional landfill site, where economies of scale across a wider region provided the only economically viable option for the long-term sustainability of the service, a crisis was forcing intergovernmental discussion.

The medium-term strategy was further refined and slightly amended into a two-year work plan (2017–2018), with individuals assigned as team members to nine work streams. The Provincial Department of Environment Affairs and Development Planning (DEADP) also entered the partnership as they were starting a process to develop a higher-order regional spatial plan. The SCEP, as an established and credible platform, at this point with support from all the local authorities, offered an opportunity to significantly reduce the time in convening stakeholders for this planning process and to ensure greater input into the plan by local role players focussed on economic activity. Economic data at local level is notoriously difficult to obtain in South Africa and available data is often of poor quality. The SCEP offers collated local knowledge of the economy of the area that is rarely available.

5.3.3 Results and lessons to date

One of the initial projects proposed, the Outeniqua Smart City Corridor (OSCC2020), never moved beyond the conceptual stage. The Knysna Municipality, however, identified connectivity and Wi-Fi provision as a key requirement for future economic growth and moved ahead with the KnysnaOn project (Show Me Knysna, 2016). This entailed a municipal funded, private collaboration to install a fibre optic network throughout Knysna and making free Wi-Fi available to residents in selected areas within the town. A key component of the OSCC2020 project idea was to create a wireless mesh network across the region, utilising connection towers along the Outeniqua Mountains. The Knysna project in the end did connect the city wirelessly through these

communication towers, alleviating the need to physically connect fibre over long distances in the town. The OSC2020 project was driven by a group of volunteers in the IT industry. Ultimately, however, the long timelines and lack of tangible success meant they moved on to other, more profitable activities.

The first tangible successes of the SCEP (beyond securing funding for the partnership) is the establishment of the Garden Route Film Office, through the launch of its website in November 2017 (http://www.grkk-filmoffice.co.za/about.htm). This followed the commissioning of a film location catalogue, jointly funded by some of the local municipalities, and agreement that the locations offering across the broader area is much more attractive than had one municipality pursued the industry alone.

The George Municipality convened the first film industry meeting in March 2014, with an open invitation to any active film or television industry stakeholders through the local media. This first workshop attracted over 70 individuals (*George Herald*, 2014). This was the first networking opportunity of its kind for residents who work in the film industry and for them to share their available skills and planned projects. The initiative immediately generated great interest and was followed by several further workshops, the hosting of a short film festival, securing filming of an international reality TV series and on location shooting of some local feature films. The need for a uniform film-permitting process and active marketing platform was identified with the industry advocating for a dedicated film office to be opened. Following the launch of the website, a not-for-profit entity was established as governance structure for the initiative and it opened a physical office space, funded by local municipalities, in early 2018 (George Herald, 2017).

5.3.4 Applying the evaluation approach – first-level analysis

5.3.4.1 Life cycle evaluation

Using the same life cycle analysis as for the WCEDP, the timeline is depicted graphically and key characteristics and lessons are drawn from each phase. The SCEP reached stability as its final stage, and not reorientation as in the case of the WCEDP. The SCEP process is depicted for six years, whilst the WCEDP life cycle only spanned three years. The time allocated to each stage of the process is also very different, with activation taking much longer (proportionally) in this bottom-up initiative, than it did for the top-down-sanctioned WCEDP. In terms of the shape of the curve, given the tentative consultations in 2011, the SCEP health of network governance is lower in the activation phase than that of the WCEDP, with a longer, flatter growth period during collectivity

and a steeper rise during institutionalisation. This depiction is merely for illustrative purposes and serves to contrast the two experiences. The curve is drawn based on evaluation and not any underlying data.

Figure 5-5: SCEP life cycle illustrated
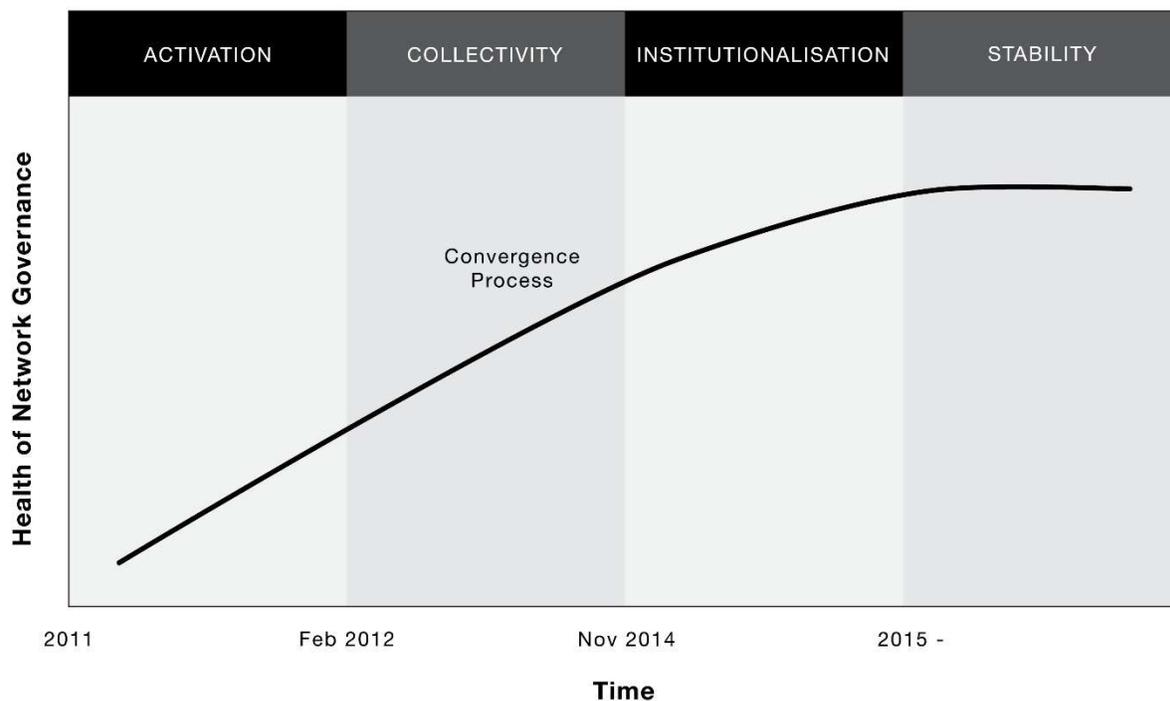
Table 5-5: Key characteristics and lessons in each stage of the SCEP

Cycle/Phase	Key Lessons/Decision points and results
Activation	Initially, the collaboration was driven by local business organisation following some agitation over the classification of functional economic regions – i.e. there was a pressing reason to reach out to other entities in different locations. Although leaders of business chambers can be considered local leaders, the absence of a charismatic, probably political, leader to vocally position and drive the initiative contributed to the relatively slow start-up phase of the initiative.
Collectivity	The need for higher-level, political support was identified and was orchestrated through contact with the MEC convening high-level leadership in the region. Even though well attended, and broadly

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	supported, this did not translate into any urgency to move on the issue of support for the partnership. This might have been due to the absence of any one key leader taking direct ownership of the initiative.
Institutionalisation	Through a long process of garnering support via local councils, eventually supported by the District Municipality, funding and support were secured. Having to secure organisational support from many local authorities, under different political party control, was a difficult task – especially as each local authority is autonomous and the District could only request, not instruct, participation.
	Once a critical mass of support was garnered, funds were leveraged and a resource (consultant or staff time) could be secured.
	Work to draft a consultative strategic plan required multiple engagements, now significantly scaled up due to having a dedicated staff member. The technical quality of the deliverable was good and critically the staff member appointed was from outside of the region. This is considered positive as she could act as a neutral facilitator with no preconceived ideas or relationships. There were some negative elements to this, for example the time required to establish relationships of trust with key stakeholders.
Stability	With the second staff member appointed (at the expiration of the first 1-year contract, now a well-known individual based in the region), the strategic plan was adapted into a practical work plan.
	Key projects, such as the Garden Route Film Initiative, which found traction across a wide range of stakeholders, provided momentum and allowed the partnership to show strong, publicly visible results.
	Crowding of stakeholders and initiatives is also taking place, for example the Provincial Planning Department now also considers the SCEP a useful platform to support its own deliverables in the region.
	The group seems to be becoming more comfortable with collaboration and designing initiatives and delivering through partnerships.
	The absence of one charismatic, political leader supporting the initiative publicly might also have been positive and ensured the longevity of the initiative – given that political leadership changed during the 2016

	elections and the initiative has been able to survive beyond the political cycle.

The process to establish the SCEP was slower and less publicly visible than the top-down initiated WCEDP. The initiative took a long time to secure support and to turn that support into resource allocations from government. The first resources secured was dedicated exclusively towards administrative capacity, and the initial contribution from government officials participating in the collaboration was also strongly administrative in nature (e.g. convening meetings, securing venues and keeping records). This confirms findings in other studies that administrative resources can serve as substitute for financial resources in network structures and can support a slower growth trajectory for bottom up initiatives (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Imperial *et al.*, 2016; Jones, 2001; Raab *et al.*, 2013).   Notwithstanding a slow start-up period, the initiative seems to have reached maturity and stability. The focus will now turn to applying the evaluation tool to determine whether the SCEP also fulfils a governance role in its local economic landscape.

5.3.4.2 Checklist of outputs (networking, network or network governance)

Given the researcher's insiders perspective and experience in this case, also a driver of the initial collaboration effort, the evaluation below was initially conducted as a reflective exercise on the researcher's experience. The researcher has remained in contact with the current manager of the SCEP, as well as city officials in the area, and shared the evaluation with these individuals to verify and secure agreement on the ratings. Similarly, to the WCEDP, involved individuals could not outright make statements about network structure or network governance functions, but once the questions were unpacked in more details, definitive answers could be provided.

Table 5-6: SCEP checklist of outputs/results (applied in March 2018)

Characteristic	Question	Yes/No/Partially
Networking		
Informal	Are all engagements and interactions recorded or minuted?	Yes
Largely voluntary	Is there any mechanism (legal or other binding way) that forces participation and interaction? *No mechanism*	Yes

Exchange of information for mutual benefit	Is there an open and reciprocal exchange of information by participants?	Yes
Network/Network Structure		
Actors connected by ties and social relations	Have you witnessed existing or emergent relationships and ties between participants?	Yes
Decentralised decision-making involving shared power	Have you witnessed or specifically designed meetings and interactions to result in decentralised, joint decision-making by participants?	Yes
Continuous links that result in a "new whole", more than collection of individual organisations	Have you noted results from the engagements that amounted to more than just the "sum of the parts"? That is, are the higher-order results more than the sum of the individual results by different actors?	Yes
Participation out of recognition that affect and are affected by behaviour of other actors (interdependent)	Is there evidence that participation is due to a recognition of interdependence on other actors (*Answer: yes*) or is there more evidence of self-interest and self-preservation as driving force? (*Answer: no*)	Partially
Non-state actor participation	Is there significant participation by non-state actors?	Yes
Unique structural arrangement – Presence of a coordinative mechanism, but not formal authority (role of facilitator or broker)	Is there a coordinative mechanism in place and, if so, does this take the form of a facilitator or broker? That is, is there an absence of formal authority in the coordinative mechanism?	Yes
Broad, common mission	Do the group or collective subscribe to a broad and common mission?	Yes
Network or Collaborative Governance		
Initiated by public sector	Was the initiative or collaboration initiated by the public sector? (*answer: yes*) And if not,	Partially

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	did the public sector come to play a key role over time? (*answer: partial*)	
Focus is on public policy or public management.	Is there a distinct focus on influencing public policy or public management practices or supporting public policy-making and public management deliverables?	Yes
Use of institutions or authority to allocate resources, direct decision-making engagements (not just consultation)	Is the institution tasked with decisions around the allocation of resources? That is, are participants able to influence resource allocation (*Answer: yes*) or is there merely a consultation taking place, for decision-making elsewhere? (*Answer: no*)	Partially
Decision-making by consensus	Are decisions made by consensus? That is, do different views converge to consensus which then results in action in line with the consensus?	Partially
Coordination across network, formal forum with collective meetings	Does the arrangement or approach focus on coordination across the entire network (to whatever degree that network is defined for a specific case) and does it aim towards collective, formalised meetings? (*If answer positive on both: yes. If one positive: partial*)	Yes
Action resulting in altered behaviour of participants	Has action within the arrangement and amongst participants resulted in changed behaviour?	Partially
Focus on process and institutional arrangements used to accomplish task	Is there a project-driven delivery focus (*Answer: no*) or is the focus rather on the process and institutional arrangements used to accomplish the task? (*Answer: yes)*	Partially

Whilst the results are clearly positive in terms of networking and the building of a network structure, there is also clear evidence of a governance function being fulfilled or, at the very least, strongly emerging. In terms of the last criteria, i.e. a project-driven delivery focus or a focus on

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process and institutional arrangements, it can be argued that it may be very difficult to continue to secure resources for a partnership, unless it can show some form of actual deliverable.

The SCEP was arguably initially even more process focussed as it had no financial resources other than the time from some committed individuals – there were no projects to delivery and no funding to allocate. As the partnership has gained credibility and secured the services of a manager, there are now more tangible projects being delivered (see for example Garden Route Film Initiative (George Herald, 2017). Given the bottom-up, long-term effort to start and sustain the SCEP, the findings on its positive governance role are particularly impressive. It might be that the effort required to initiate the partnership and its long-term existence have resulted in stakeholders having become well versed in the challenges of partnerships and more mature and practised in finding consensus solutions to ensure the survival of the initiative.

5.3.4.3 Network management actions

A feature of the SCEP is that, in its foundational phases, the effort was driven through essentially a volunteer effort by individuals representing a core set of stakeholders. With a single staff member only, appointed at the outset of the institutionalisation phase (November 2014), other stakeholders continued to perform what would be termed management actions, in support of the partnership.

Table 5-7: Evaluation of management actions for the SCEP

	Management action	Descriptions of typical activities	WCEDP application
1.	Process agreement	Operating rules, norms, and perceptions, including rules for entrance and conflict resolution.	A core action at activation, with rules drafted in the form of a charter through a collective process. Included a code of conduct and mechanisms for membership. Some evidence of process agreement through collectivity and institutionalisation as steps were taken to secure formal support (i.e. council resolutions).
2.	Connecting	Activation/deactivation of members, initiating contact	This process was initially driven by a core group of individuals and gradually

		with potential or identified members, and coalition building.	membership was broadened. During collectivity, this was a significant action as the need to expand and build greater support across more stakeholders received greater attention. Evidence that this is ongoing even in stability as new stakeholders (i.e. DEADP) join the partnership.
3.	Framing and content	Managing and collecting information and research, giving shape to purpose, reorienting network focus if required.	There were attempts at framing activation, but it is interesting to note shifts in framing over time (i.e. initially OSC2020 and IT as key project, later dropped and shifted to new priorities such as film). It has already been observed that this may have been influenced by the assessed likelihood of securing funds, but also points to awareness of the environment and responsiveness to changing priorities. Although these changes in content occurred, the overall goals of the partnership never changed.
4.	Mobilising resources	Inducing commitment amongst network participants and stakeholders, particularly focussing on administrative resources to ensure sustainability of the effort.	As a bottom-up initiative with no resources (other than time commitments from key stakeholders), this was an important management action through collectivity in particular – specifically noting that a lot of effort went into securing a dedicated staff member/manager (an administrative resource) rather than necessarily project funding or output funding. Although it took a long time, the partnership was eventually successful in securing financial commitment from a large

			number of independent stakeholders, although all in the public sphere.
5.	Synthesising of favourable conditions	Creating required new arrangements and processes to ensure flow of information and resources, facilitating ongoing network participant interaction, effective communications, and incentives for collaboration.	Over the life cycle of the partnership, consistency in meetings and engagements is noted. Although meetings were not always well attended (particularly towards the end of calendar years), the secretariat and core stakeholders continue to convene, minute engagements and circulate information to a mailing list. One of the first actions of the appointee in November 2014 was to start formal communication with funding entities in particular and to produce quarterly reports for city councils. The partnership never attempted to garner public support and has to date not done any extensive public communication around its purpose or goals. There has always been a focus on ongoing, constructive engagements with an identified set of key stakeholders across the geographical area.

Table 5-8: Management actions in relation to life cycle for SCEP

Life cycle stage	Management actions present and level of intensity
Activation	1. Process agreement: High 2. Connecting: High 3. Framing and content: Low 4. Mobilising resources: Low 5. Synthesising of favourable conditions: Medium
Collectivity	1. Process agreement: Medium 2. Connecting: High

	3. Framing and content: High
	4. Mobilising resources: High
	5. Synthesising of favourable conditions: Medium
Institutionalisation	1. Process agreement: Medium
	2. Connecting: Medium
	3. Framing and content: High
	4. Mobilising resources: Medium
	5. Synthesising of favourable conditions: Medium
Stability	1. Process agreement: Low
	2. Connecting: Medium
	3. Framing and content: Medium
	4. Mobilising resources: Medium
	5. Synthesising of favourable conditions: Medium

There seems to be a consistency of application of management actions and no pronounced or exaggerated movement towards or away from specific actions. The occasional higher effort is noted, particularly in the collectivity phase in terms of connecting, framing and mobilising resources. Process agreement was reached in the activation stage and very little has changed over the life cycle in terms of this, thus requiring no additional management action.

5.3.4.4 Summary of evaluation

The SCEP (under a different name at its formation) set out to create a platform for the private and public sectors to "share information, collaborate and solve problems" in the economic landscape, across different jurisdictions. Whilst the language of partnerships is well entrenched in practice with the SCEP, it was again noted that the language of networks was broadly absent. As a bottom-up, initiative with no resource allocations at the outset, the fact that the partnership is deemed to have reached stability,and looks likely to continue to exist into the future, is a notable achievement. The life cycle analysis reflects slow progress in the governance space over a long period, with an acceleration through institutionalisation to stability, once official recognition was obtained and financial resources secured.

The evaluation of outputs and results clearly show that, networking and network structure were delivered and, more importantly, there is clear evidence of positive network governance results. The role of government in the SCEP is particularly interesting – assessed to have partially initiated

the establishment of the partnership (some government officials with some private sector representatives jointly). It was thus a collaborative effort from the initiation stages even though only the public sector was targeted and convinced to make a financial contribution to formalise the partnership.

All network management actions are present through the various life cycle stages and particularly relatively consistently present over the period (broadly at medium intensity level). In collectivity, there was a concerted increase in connection, framing and resource mobilisation, which directly resulted in the SCEP reaching the institutionalisation phase.

5.5 Initial findings and observations

When approaching questions to the two cases, and leading with terms such as network and governance, various role players struggled to initially provide authoritative responses. This indicates that the language of networks and governance is not generally present in these partnerships. In the WCEDP, there is reference to the economic system and the entity has adopted a system's thinking approach. A recurring comment noted is that, the complexity and scale at which these R&LED partnerships function (i.e. the economy or economic ecosystem), makes it difficult to reflect positively on network governance criteria initially. There was a hesitancy on the part of staff and management to claim results such as improved network-wide coordination, especially in the larger WCEDP, because the staff members are aware that they may only be working in limited subsets of the wider network. A preliminary conclusion is that this could relate to an inability of staff members to visualise the network structure, and the role of the entity within that structure. Staff may also be undervaluing the importance of subgroups (clusters or communities) in making up the larger network, and the role that their entities are playing in connecting previously disconnected portions of the network.

It has been emphasised that with a life cycle approach, death or reorientation of a network or network governance approach should not be equated to failure. However, when considering these two cases, it should be clear that the bottom-up partnership was certainly more successful than the top-down approach. This is supported by literature emphasising the necessity for slow growth in development process (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2006; Imperial *et al.*, 2016) particularly, as it takes time to build trust, commitment, communication and common understanding. The WCEDP might have been a victim of its own ambitions from the outset, but ultimately executive and management decisions were taken that steered it away from performing its originally planned governance function. The tenacity and stamina of stakeholders in the SCEP,

who believed in the benefit and need for collaboration to support the local economy, must be noted. This is an expression of the scale vs. participation model of Canzanelli (2001) referred to in Chapter 3 (section 3.6.1) which explains that a smaller geographical region may have fewer resources from an economic perspective, but participation levels by local stakeholders will be higher.

Another observation is that, even if partnerships originate as self-organising (bottom-up) initiatives, the reliance on government funding results in it having some characteristics of top-down policy decisions, requiring partners to meet government priorities (Lewis *et al.*, 2008)[12]. The WCEDP's failure to clearly align and articulate their results with the priorities of their main (and only) government funder was a key failure. The SCEP, however, set its goals and vision to be independent of any resource requirement, and then identified priority projects which government as key funder might be interested in. These concrete and packaged projects were then actively utilised to as motivation for support. When the first attempt (OSC2020) did not gain traction, the focus returned to securing resources to perform a broader coordination function with a modest resource requirement, and only later a focus on the film industry (which was a key focus area for support for at least two local authorities), and other projects. In the OSC2020 example, when the partnership failed to secure resources, a stakeholder which had the most to gain from the overall project (Knysna Municipality), successfully pursued its portion of the larger project. This level of flexibility was a direct result of the modest nature of the partnership up to that point, with no lock-in to elaborate business plans or large administrative structures and no need to directly account to funders.

Considering Pope and Lewis's (2008) views cited in Chapter 3 on the factors for effective partnerships, both entities adhered to the need for clear administrative processes and even the SCEP's push for resources was focussed on getting a more permanent resource in place to fulfil administrative functions. The SCEP case also confirms the argument that administrative resources can serve as substitute for financial resources in network structures (Raab *et al.*, 2013), as the initial contribution by stakeholders through activation and collectivity, was their time and inputs towards administrative outputs such as meetings, research reports and funding proposals. Another factor to highlight is the need for ongoing motivation of the larger stakeholder groups through champions and achievement reports. The WCEDP arguably failed at this ongoing

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[12] The issue of the disproportionate power that government role players and holders of budgets may exert in these partnerships is noted, but not further explored in this work (refer to extensive literature on the topic, for example Bovaird, 2005; Keast, Mandell & Brown, 2006; Sørensen, 2006).

motivation, resulting in a disconnection from its parent department. The SCEP showed consistency in the scheduling of meetings and, once an administrative resource was secured, instituted regular reporting to councils who provided funding.

In terms of network management actions, the initial argument advanced was that the activities outlined in the model are not necessarily present at all stages of a network's life cycle and may be applied at differing intensities over time. The two cases showed the presence of all management actions at all stages of the life cycle, but at varying levels of intensity. The SCEP showed a more even distribution of actions across the different stages, with fewer large variations in the intensity of the application of those actions (i.e. more evenly distributed medium intensity throughout). The WCEDP showed much greater variation and swings from high to low intensity. Some of this variation can be directly attributed to decisions in its approach. In particular, decisions to discontinue convening the full network resulted in much lower levels of connecting as management action. Network management actions overall were at a much lower level during collectivity and institutionalisation, returning to high levels across the range of actions during reorientation as the entity mobilised to ensure its survival. In terms of this analysis, it is argued that the absence of specific network management actions, or persistent low levels of these, in earlier stages contributes directly to the ultimate result (stability, death or reorientation) in the final life cycle stage.

Whilst these findings feed into and inform the management strategy presented at the end of Chapter 7 (Figure 7-1) they can also be synthesised into a framework of key indicators for R&LED partnership practice. This captures the key observations around a set of key words, and outlines what the researcher considers keys to success having concluded the qualitative analysis portion of this study.

Table 5-9 Framework of findings from qualitative analysis of R&LED Partnerships

Complexity and Scale	Time
• The larger and more complex the undertaking, the more hesitant practitioners are to claim results. • This emphasises the need for an approach to a) place value on sub-group results and progress and b) conduct baseline assessments and better monitor intermediate results towards larger and longer-term goals. • Smaller, locally focussed initiatives (even across administrative boundaries) can often secure more local support than elaborate regional interventions.	• Slower growth processes tend to result in longer term longevity. • Slower process helps to build a shared understanding, commitment and ultimately trust. • A key requirement to ensure success in slower processes is ongoing, regular contact and engagement between partners (see consistency below), and particularly showcasing of progress and intermediate results. • Successful partnership can extend beyond and across political cycles.
Funding and Resources	**Consistency**
• Funding does not guarantee success and entities may hold significant power in collaborative process based on their contributions, it may also skew priorities towards meeting funder needs and not truly collaborative goals. • Administrative resources are equally as important as budget provision, and these can often be volunteered by partners, making it easier to secure. • Whilst tactical shifts to pursue resource pools are part of the landscape, keeping in mind time and consistency, these should be calculated and not all-in bets on the future of a partnership.	• The application of the full set of management actions over all points in the lifecycle is important. • There is further a need for the balance in the intensity of the application (i.e. avoid excessive swings in focus). • In terms of technical focus areas, this should not equate to lock-in to selected paths and a balance should be found with the need to be responsive to changes in the external and authorising environment. Tactical shifts should be made through consensus and within a slower growth trajectory these should be more calculated.

5.6 Summary

The two cases discussed show very different trajectories from initiation, through institutionalisation and ultimately stability or reorientation. The WCEDP was a top-down initiative, publicly driven by strong political leaders and well-resourced from the outset. The SCEP started and remains a more modest undertaking, in terms of its geographical coverage and ambitions, and it took a long time to mobilise enough resources across the various stakeholders to move

towards institutionalisation. Prior to any of this analysis external observers might concur that larger, better-supported and well-resourced entity would stand a greater chance at success to be more successful, but, instead, the analysis utilising the evaluation tools showed how the smaller SCEP has succeeded in delivering a network or collaborative governance function.

As illustrated in these cases, networks are unlikely to survive in areas leaning towards short-term policy considerations or if they are exposed to frequent changes in funding allocations, as described by Raab *et al.* (2013). Activities in the networking and network structure realm have also been shown as not sufficient to secure long-term funding commitments. It is therefore imperative for partnerships in R&LED to coordinate joint actions across the network as a whole, steer collective decision-making and deliver action and results through changed behaviour, essentially performing a network governance function. The cases reveal that if network governance as a move away from hierarchical working is indeed desirable, these partnerships cannot deliver business as usual. This was highlighted by Keast, Mandell *et al.* (2004).

Given that the language of networks (even if not the term network explicitly in all cases) permeates the academic field of public administration and the field of R&LED in this discussion, it is surprising to find an absence of the use and understanding of these terms in practice. The findings in this chapter relating to network management actions show that the absence of consistently performing the five identified management actions has a detrimental effect on the longer-term survival of partnerships. This points to the need for a greater effort to capacitate staff and role players in these economic partnerships and to provide them with tools to build a common understanding of networks and the governance thereof.

It has been argued, in the literature, that network analysis offers another layer of analysis of partnerships, specifically before long-term effects can be observed (Lewis *et al.*, 2008). Given that the WCEDP failed to convince its parent department of the value it was adding to the economic system, and the SCEP's long road towards delivering tangible results through projects, this option to illustrate intermediate success through a network focus should be very desirable for partnership participants. This is in line with calls to move from merely using networks as metaphorical description of interorganisational or cross-sector relationships to utilising networks as methodological tools to more closely examine relational data (Kapucu *et al.*, 2017). This will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

6. Applying a More Focussed Network Lens towards a Better Understanding of Partnerships

Using Social Network Analysis to gain further insights

6.1 Introduction

Given the network lens applied to R&LED partnerships in this study, it is argued that a greater awareness of network position and active work on improving the network structure and position of the partnership, could yield positive results. Networks influence an organisation's perception of its environment and organisations that are more highly valued by their partners are more likely to be positively considered for funding opportunities (Moore, Smith, Simpson & Minke, 2006). With the cases considered in this study clearly exposed to risks and challenges in terms of funding, these observations in practice supports findings in literature that partnerships require long-term funding commitments, not merely start-up support (Lewis *et al.*, 2008; Vangen *et al.*, 2015). Given the nature of the environment in which R&LED partnerships operate, it may also take a long time to show tangible results and causality between partnership actions and direct economic results such as economic growth or job creation may be difficult to claim and prove.

More rigorous network analysis may be used to design an approach that contributes some evaluative information in relation to the partnership before the longer-term impacts can be observed (Lewis, Baeza et al. 2008). Traditional evaluation approaches for organisation does not fully capture the various levels of possible results that could be achieved in a network (Mandell & Keast, 2008). Emerson and Nabatchi (2015) created a matrix with three levels of results analysis across three units of measurement (3 x 3). Their argument is that actions (first level) within a network produces outcomes (second level) which may lead to responses to these outcomes (adaptations – third level) in the network itself, the members of the network and the system being targeted by the network.

The evaluation approach, applied in the preceding chapter, focussed very much on the actions and some of the outcomes as they relate to the members of the networks and the system being targeted by the network (the economic delivery system in the case of this study). This points to a gap in the current evaluation at the network level, to which SNA offers a solution. An example of applying SNA in a similar way, in relation to performance management and evaluation, can be

found in the work of Bixler, Johnson, Emerson, Nabatchi, Reuling, Curtin, Romolini and Grove (2016), as applied in the field of large landscape conservation.

The aim of this chapter is to add SNA as an additional, to date underutilised, layer of analysis in R&LED partnerships, which could inform and contribute to the success of future partnership formation strategies. The chapter will first introduce SNA in greater detail and will proceed to examine theoretical use cases for SNA formulation in the study of R&LED partnerships. Various network visualisations will then be presented, analysed and discussed for both cases, concluding with some further observations about the two partnerships.

6.2 Social network analysis (SNA)

One of the most valuable ideas in social sciences is that individuals are embedded in thick webs of social interactions and social relations (Borgatti *et al.*, 2009). The most influential pieces of work in this field are by Granovetter (1977) with his key finding commonly referred to as "the strength of weak ties". This forms the basis of the general theory of social capital in that to whom a person is connected and how these contacts are connected to others enable people to access opportunities such as jobs and faster promotions (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). In one of the more publicly shared studies in the field, Padgett and Ansell (1993) studied the famous Medici family from the 15th century and concluded that the family's position of high betweenness within the network in Florence was instrumental in their rise to fame and power as they were able to broker crucial political and financial deals (Borgatti *et al.*, 2009). Network research within the social sciences is growing in popularity and over time early criticisms that the work was powerfully descriptive, but not theoretically grounded, have been addressed (Borgatti *et al.*, 2014).

Social network analysis (SNA) is defined as an analysis method for studying social processes, social structures and interaction patterns within social structures (Scott, 2012: 2). It allows for an analysis of interactions between actors in a network, the evolving nature of social interactions and the complexity of these networks (Kapucu & Demiroz, 2011). In addition, SNA can be used to produce graphic depictions of the relationships within the R&LED network, and to assist partnerships to better understand the links and dynamics between role players and their own position within the network. It has also been found a useful perspective for understanding and evaluating implementation processes where these must be scaled up or adapted to different settings (Chu, Wipfli & Valente, 2013).

In network analysis, the structure of a group, the pattern of who is connected to whom, is considered more important for group-level outcomes than the characteristics of individual members (Borgatti *et al.*, 2014; Marin & Wellman, 2011). Initial network analysis, by especially European academics, focussed more strongly on interorganisational than individual relations – a tension that has remained as some argue that micro-level personal network analysis would make general applicability of results to broad policy networks more difficult (Rhodes & Marsh(2011) as quoted in Lewis, 2011). In network governance research, the practice has been overwhelmingly to treat networks as a metaphor and a strong distinction has been drawn between quantitative (structural) analysis and qualitative (action and behavioural) analysis. It is now being argued that mixed methods research, using structural analysis to complement narrative research, may provide a more complete picture in terms of network governance and emerging results (Lewis, 2011).

What is now broadly referred to as network theory has been shown to have two underlying models – a network flow model and a network architecture model (Borgatti, S P; Lopez-Kidwell, 2011; Borgatti & Halgin, 2011b). The network flow model has a view of a social system being interconnected by paths that carry information and resources, whilst the architecture model emphasises the value of network ties in creating structures of interdependency and coordination (Borgatti, & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). The current study is grounded in the architectural model and is based on the view that networks provide coordination and virtual agglomeration benefits across multiple nodes and that different network structures create different dependencies and opportunities for coordination (Borgatti, & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011).

6.2.1 Application and use case formulation

In economic development specifically, it has been found that different types of network structures are better suited for delivery against different types of strategies (Crowe, 2007). There are growing arguments that, before embarking on a partnership process, the existing network structures in a locality should be considered in order to improve the potential for success (Crowe, 2007; Holman, 2013). There has further been growing interest in applying SNA to regional economic networks, focussing on inter-firm networks and information flows in clusters as well as regional innovation networks, but less so on governance networks more broadly in the economic system (Ter Wal & Boschma, 2009).

Kapucu, Hu and Khosa (2017) considered in detail the state of network research in public administration and the authors reviewed 81 articles on social networks from 39 public administration journals (narrowed down from 1279 initial articles that included the key words network, network analysis, collaboration and collaborative). The most common topics for SNA application in public administration are health and human services, followed by regional and community alliances. Ten of these articles (12%) focussed on economic development and only 5 of these (or 6% of the total) studied LED (all co-authored by R. Feiock and expanded on below). There thus seems to be a clear lag in the application of SNA in the field of R&LED, which serves as further motivation for applying the techniques to the two cases being studied in this work.

Feiock and his various affiliates have published a series of papers since 2011, studying collaboration, competition and relationships between local governments from a regional economic development perspective. Initially, two papers were produced, using broadly the same methodology and investigating the collaborative networks between local governments in two metropolitan regions in the USA, namely Orlando and Tampa Bay (Lee *et al.*, 2012; Lee, 2011). The authors collected survey data and had relatively good response rates from local authorities, producing very informative network visualisations. A similar approach was applied to research in Seoul, published in 2014 (Lee, 2014), and in 2016 the team looked for the first time at the interaction between government, business and civic society, a broader representation of a R&LED network as is the case in this research (Ha *et al.*, 2016). The latter study did not attempt any SNA, but rather focussed on investigating contextual factors influencing the frequency and type of networking amongst actors.

Also noted in the research by Kapucu *et al.* (2017), was the gradual movement from descriptive and visual network analysis to more inferential analysis, as well as the increasing use of mixed methods. Advanced SNA measures, such as centrality and density, could be used to indicate how public networks evolve and change over time (Kapucu, Hu et al. 2014). Researchers have also recognised that clarity on the similarities or differences in positions of actors, the actual positions occupied, groupings and patterns that link actors, are valuable (Freeman 2000).

A theoretical contribution that SNA could make is, for example, to assist the WCEDP and SCEP in visualising the broad economic network (made up of various subgroups) at the outset, determining how these are connected and what roles the partnerships could be playing in making or strengthening those connections. The visualisation would be a snapshot of a moment in time and would have to be considered with other data sources to determine how or why the network

structure formed and what it could potentially become (Chu, Wipfli *et al.*, 2013). As mentioned in the introduction, some research in the field of economic development has found that different types of network structures are better suited for delivery against different types of strategies (Crowe, 2007). An understanding of the network structure at this early stage could have provided a layer of analysis about whether the chosen strategy of the organisation suited the landscape or if network building was required as a distinct initial activity in order to meet the strategic goals.

The focus will now turn to the two case studies, with a visual representation and interpretation of the SNA results. The WCEDP is a less detailed analysis, due to data constraints and limitations described below, whilst the SCEP analysis is presented in much more detail, given the data availability.

6.3 Case 1: Western Cape Economic Development Partnership (WCEDP)

As discussed in Chapter 4, the WCEDP itself classifies its initial phase as follows: "For the first three years of its existence, the EDP focussed on creating networks of stakeholders in key economic areas, and on fostering partnering within these networks with the explicit aim of driving for sustainable, inclusive economic growth. Funded by national, provincial and municipal government, the EDP played a unique role in bringing together the public sector, the private sector, academia and civil society, to focus on specific issues that had been identified as key drivers of economic growth." (WCEDP, 2014b). However, as the WCEDP is no longer fulfilling a role in network governance (or even networking or building a network structure), as concluded in the previous chapter, the analysis of this case will focus on how a network understanding could theoretically have benefited the entity had it been available prior to the WCEDP's reorientation.

Given the researcher's choice to conduct an affiliation network analysis, the overall WCEDP database was evaluated and found to be representative of events that were too few and too large to make any meaningful inferences as to the overall network structure (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011a). In the first year of its existence, the WCEDP convened several large-scale events and set out to build broad stakeholder buy-in and support for the entity and its envisioned role in the local economy. During 2012, at least two large-scale events were hosted and the entity was officially launched at another big event in April 2013. For the purposes of this study, using the attendees to the events to visualise and analyse a network would not be useful (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011a). If affiliation is to large groups or attendance to very large events, the assumptions about social ties being formed due to interaction do not hold (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011a).

Hosting these events required extensive engagements on a one-on-one level through WCEDP staff members, which would have been excellent opportunities to collect network data. This outreach process would have been ideal for the compilation of a network map and analysis of the connectedness and interactions amongst key stakeholders in the regional economy. In the 2012-2013 Annual report (WCEDP, 2013b), the expression of interest received as a result of the mobilisation effort is depicted in the snapshot below.

Figure 6-1 WCEDP membership base as of August 2013
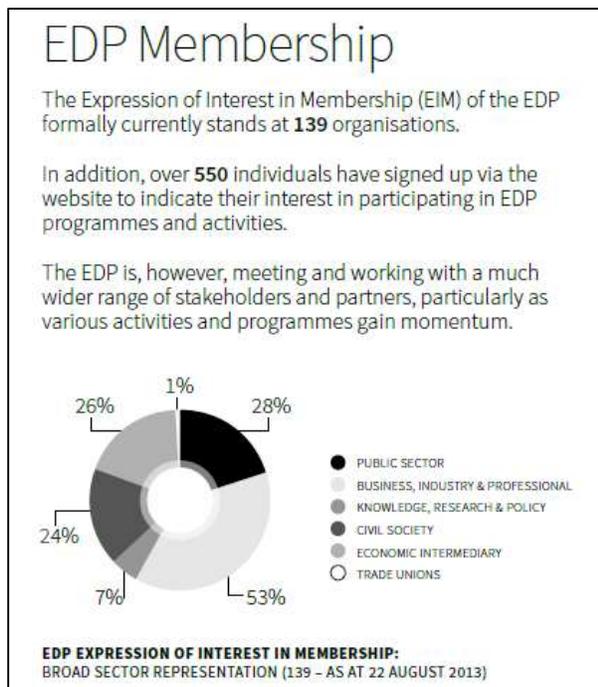
Conducting detailed SNA could have resulted in network maps as stand-alone outputs for the WCEDP within its first year of existence. Then, working to connect disconnected parts of the map might have been proof of progress to both members and funders. In Section 4.3.1.3, in the previous chapter, a key moment in the life cycle of the WCEDP was the decision to discontinue convening what had been termed the CEO's Forum and rather focus on bilateral relations around specific interests. In doing so, the entity decided to work within subgroups rather than be the connector or bridge between such groups. It is the researcher's view that this resulted in the WCEDP failing to achieve its initial goal of creating networks of actors. Whilst initiatives focussing on stand-alone, disconnected groups working on specific topics might have been successful, the failure to connect and communicate the results effectively to the broader network contributed to the required reorientation as the entity was not meeting funder or partner expectations.

Below is a depiction of what Kenis and Provan (2009) envisioned theoretically as the role of a NAO – which has been argued is the role the WCEDP envisioned itself playing. The researcher is of the view that the economic landscape in the Western Cape consists of highly internally connected and distinct subgroupings, representing sectoral and geographical distinctions. The WCEDP could have played, as was their initial goal, a key bridging role in bringing these disconnected components or subgroups together. The second graph below depicts this theoretical role and the impact on the network shape in the Western Cape.

Figure 6-2: Forms of network governance

a) Shared governance network	b) Lead organisation network	c) Network administrative organisation network
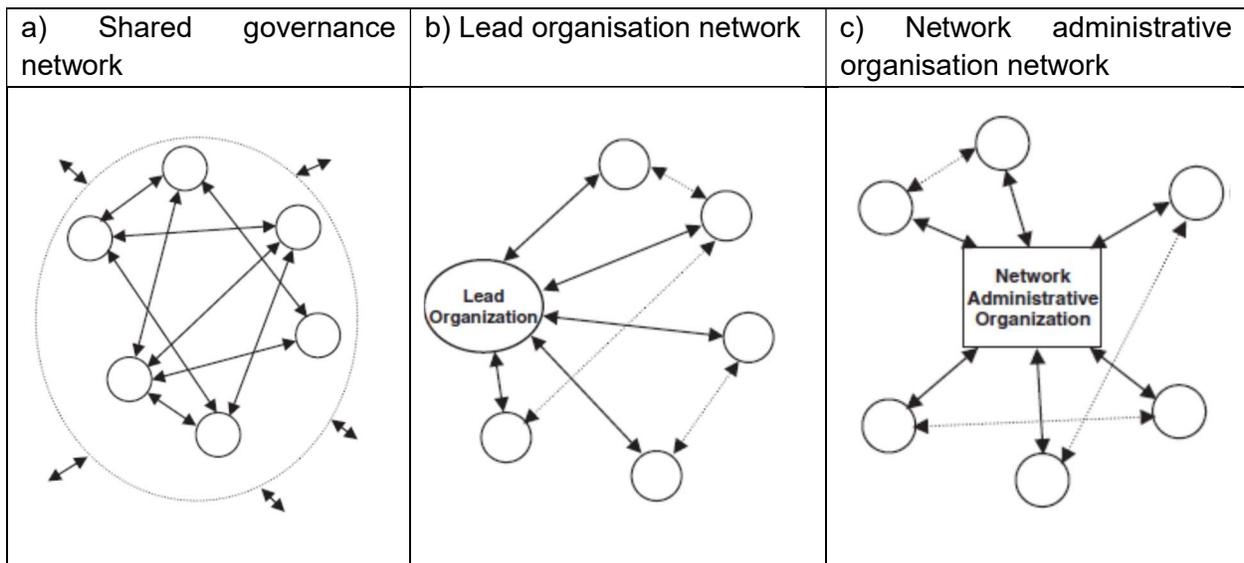
Source: Provan and Kenis (2009)

Figure 6-3: Theoretical network with subgroups in the Western Cape and potential role of the WCEDP

A fictitious map depicting subgroupings with limited connections amongst the various subgroupings	Adding the WCEDP and its potential role, showing more connections, and its potential role as bridge between subgroupings
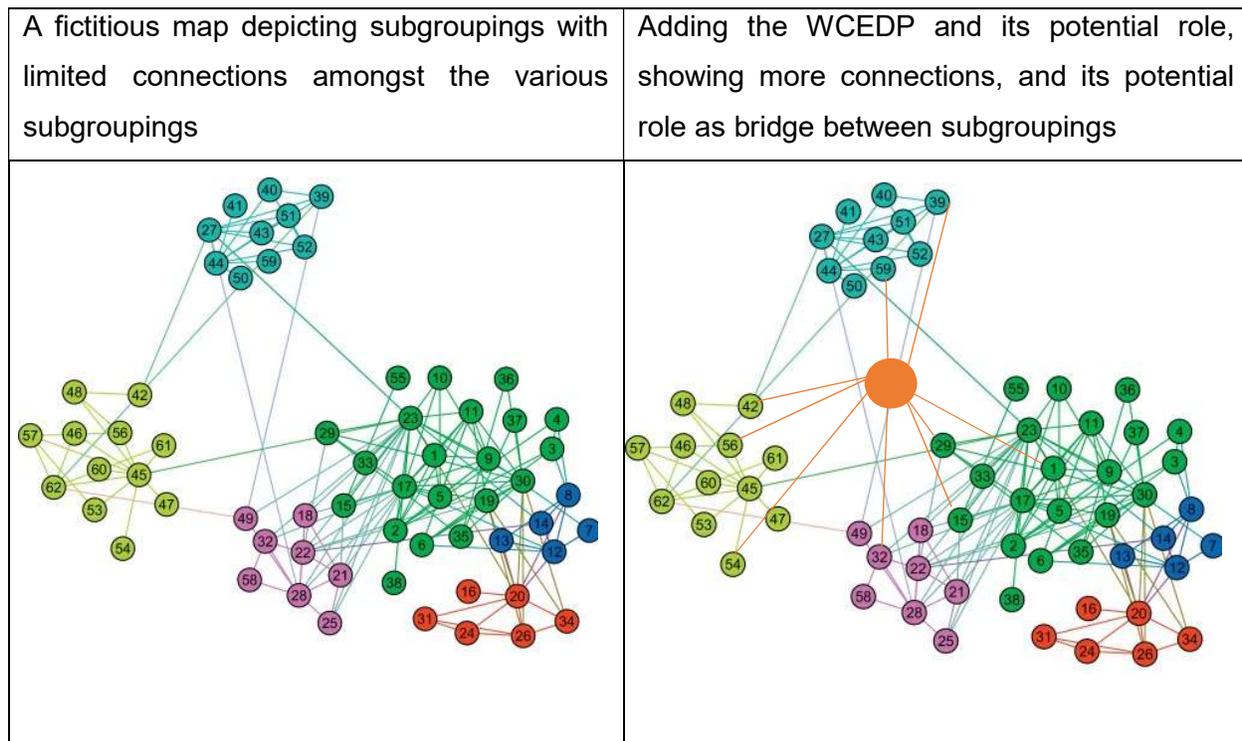
For the WCEDP to have performed this NAO function better, the entity could have continued to utilise the CEO's Forum as a platform for interaction. Given stakeholder fatigue, this would have required careful articulation of the potential value of the event and consideration of event structure and content to ensure that it was not just another meeting in an already full schedule for CEOs. The entity could have remained a membership-based organisation, with dedicated resources allocated to membership interaction – including staff that would collect member-based information, improved membership communication such as newsletters and formal member events such as AGMs. As the purpose of this chapter is to conduct SNA in practice, the Regional Communicators Forum, i.e. one project or subgroup within the WCEDP, will be analysed.

6.3.1 Case 1a – Regional Communicators Forum (RCF)

The Regional Communicators Forum (RCF) was launched by the WCEDP in May 2014 in recognition of the need for a strong business or economic brand for the Western Cape and Cape Town. The RCF was initiated following research commissioned by the WCEDP that found the Western Cape had a relatively weak economic identity in terms of all prominent global indices

that measure city or regional economic performance (Clark & Moonen, 2014). This was owing to differing, and in some cases conflicting, messages being conveyed by the key agencies communicating the region's business identity. The initiative has similar top-down characteristics as the WCEDP overall.

During its inception meeting in May 2014, several consensus points were noted, particularly that a collaborative forum for the economic narrative would be useful but had to be neutral and not seen as dictating the communications message. Furthermore, it was noted that the WCEDP, whilst not actively communicating around the regional brand, is perfectly positioned to play a convening and hosting role for such a platform (Ferandi, 2014). The Forum met five times in 2014, four times in 2015 and was disbanded after its final meeting in February 2016. It constituted a network of 94 individuals representing more than 20 of the region's main economic stakeholders (WCEDP, 2014d). Under the leadership of the WCEDP the group created a matrix of key shared messages and made it available to all key communication stakeholders (WCEDP, 2016).

The RCF was constituted in the institutionalisation phase of the WCEDP and was one of the projects that was discontinued in early 2016 as the entity reoriented itself. Its life cycle therefore does not correspond to that of the WCEDP overall, but still shows its own changes in structure (independent of the WCEDP evolution) between the initial and later meetings. The data set gathered for this analysis consists of a mixture of RSVP lists and actual attendee lists for the 10 meetings of the Forum. Unfortunately, the archival record-keeping within the WCEDP has not been very accurate and the absence of confirmed attendee lists for all meetings makes the data set less than ideal.

6.3.2 Overall network

The nodes in the graph are sized (smaller to larger) to depict degree centrality, which is simply the number of immediate contacts an actor has in the network (Prell, 2012). Closeness centrality is a measure of an actor's independence, interpreted as the more central an actor is, the quicker they can reach others in the network without relying on intermediaries (Prell, 2012). This is depicted by the colouring of the nodes (darker depicting higher centrality). The thickness of lines (edges) depicts the strength of the connection (a thicker line depicts a stronger connection) – in this case just the number of meetings jointly attended. The first graph depicts individuals with node 25 showing the highest degree, closely followed by nodes 28, 22, 24 and 43. These same nodes are prominent when considering closeness centrality. However, when investigating

betweenness centrality (not depicted in the graph – a measure of a node's importance based on its connection of disconnected parts of the graph), a few other nodes are prominent. Nodes 60 and 14 are elevated and node 25's position is greatly superior to even the nodes to which it had a similar closeness. See the table below for a visual representation.

Figure 6-4: RCF overall network of individuals
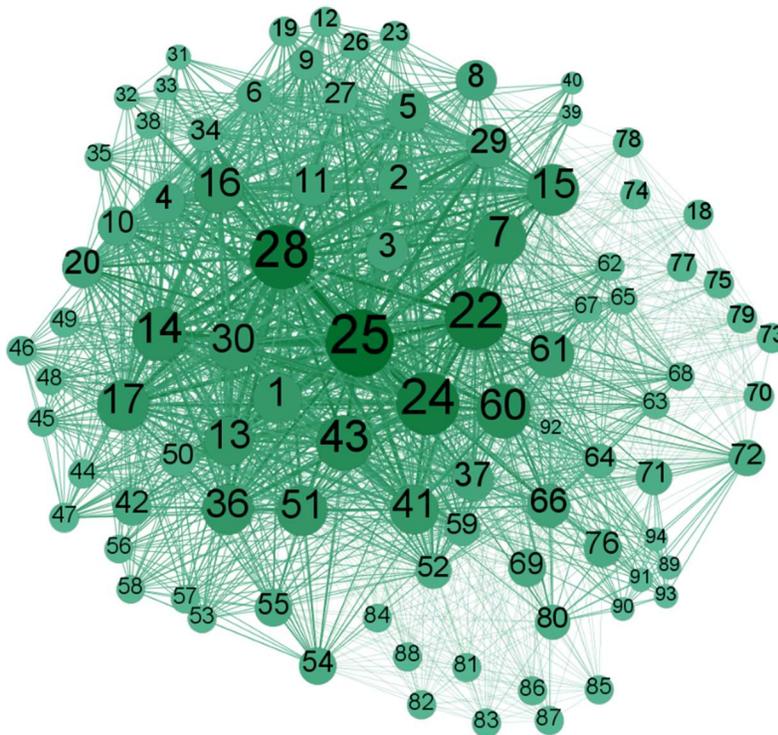
Table 6-1: Statistics for most central nodes when nodes depict individuals

Node	Betweenness centrality	Closeness centrality	Degree centrality
25	321.8468	1	92
22	225.2423	0.910891	83
28	204.354	0.938776	86
24	174.4692	0.910891	83
60	131.6977	0.8	69
43	103.916	0.814159	71
14	98.18092	0.793103	68

In the second graph, individuals representing organisations have been merged into their institutions. This shows four organisations with the same degree and closeness – the WCEDP, Wesgro, City of Cape Town and Western Cape Government. In terms of the individuals in graph 1, nodes 22, 30 and 41 are not from one of these organisations (with node 22 representing CPUT, node 30 the Phoenix Partnership and node 41 The Greater Tygerberg Partnership). This indicates consistency in attendance by these individuals, i.e. consistently having the same individual represent their organisation. For Wesgro, City of Cape Town and the Western Cape Government, it indicates regular meeting attendance, but with different individuals each time. This shows why it is important to consider both individuals and the organisations they represent in this analysis. Although they represent their entities, relationships are essentially present between individuals. If only organisations were considered, the latter three organisations would be very prominent. However, as they did not seem to be able to ensure consistency of attendance by individuals, they are deemed to hold a weaker position in the network than the visualisation alone would indicate.

Table 6-2: RCF overall network of organisations

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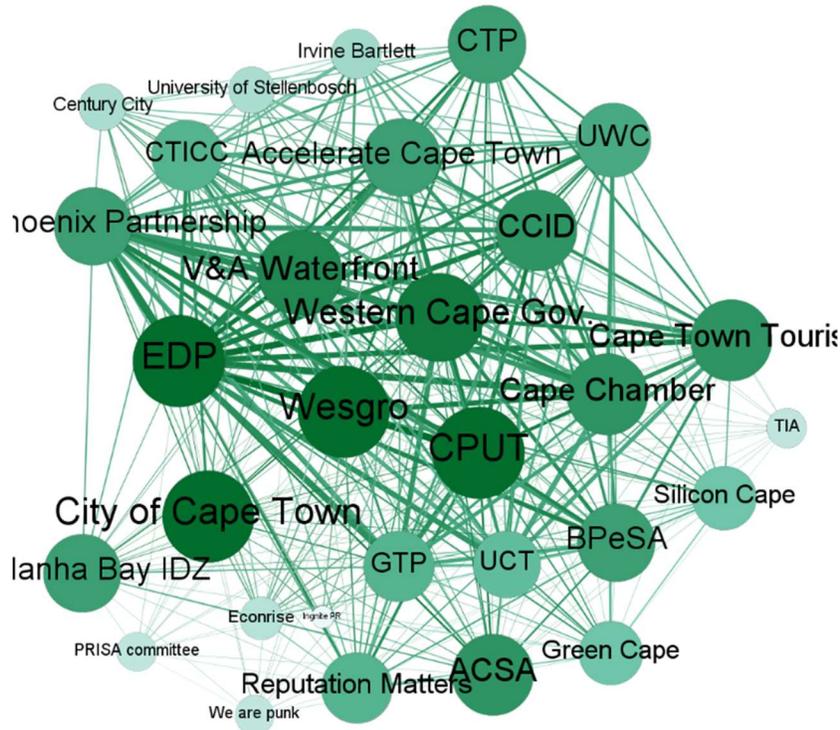
The small disconnected nodes on the outside of the graph (e.g. TIA and We are Punk) show attendance of only one meeting towards the end of the meeting cycle. They therefore did not have as many opportunities to form ties with other attendees. Individual nodes 24, 25 and 28 all represent WCEDP staff members and node 25 in particular the individual tasked with running the RCF. It is interesting that even with convening the meetings, hosting these at their own offices and fulfilling the secretariat role, other entities still show up in the graph as being equally connected. One might have expected the WCEDP to show up as even more central and dominant in the visualisation.

6.3.3 Network by phase

As indicated, the RCF inception and period of activity did not correspond to the life cycle of the overall WCEDP. Through some trial visualisations, the researcher settled on two options to depict different phases of the project – firstly, through simply visualising the first five and last five meetings and, secondly, through separating the first three meetings into an inception phase, the middle four meetings as a collectivity phase and the last three as an institutionalisation phase. The latter option, with three phases, is depicted in visualisations below.

Figure 6-5: RCF visualisation by phase

Activation Phase Meetings 1–3	Collectivity Phase Meetings 4–7	Institutionalisation and Stability Phase Meetings 8–10
Individuals	**Individuals**	**Individuals**

The nodes all seem to have relatively similar importance, indicating a stable group meeting in this first phase. Important nodes in the overall network such as number 43 and 60 are not yet present. There are not any particularly dominant nodes at this stage, indicating that at the first convening meeting attendees have continued to participate.
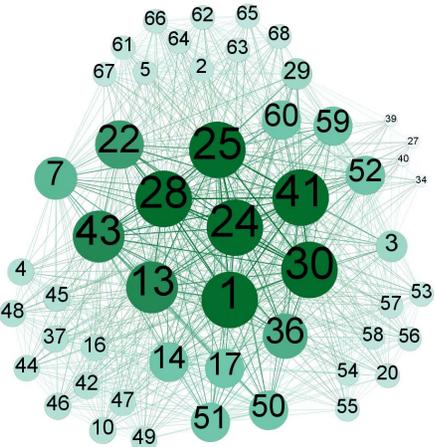
A stronger, better-connected core group emerges in this phase. Nodes 24, 25 and 28 from the WCEDP are central. Node 43 emerges as well connected and important, similar to nodes 41 and 30. The group overall has been expanded, with a larger number of participants. Some of the initial participants seem to have exited in this phase.
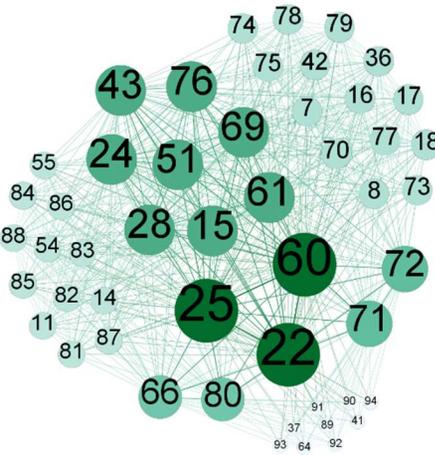
Three nodes are clearly best connected and important – 22, 25 and 60. Nodes 21, 28 and 43 have become less prominent. Node 41 has become a peripheral node and node 1, previously central, has exited the network. There is a cluster of very disconnected nodes towards the bottom right of the graph – possibly indicating early exit (i.e. in meeting 8 and not being present up to the final meeting).

Activation Phase Meetings 1–3	Collectivity Phase Meetings 4–7	Institutionalisation & Stability Phase Meetings 8–10
Entities	**Entities**	**Entities**
The network shows that there are not any clearly dominant nodes, with a large number of nodes having the same size and same colour.	The network overall has only grown slightly. Accelerate Cape Town became a more peripheral node, with some nodes now clearly on the periphery and a large number at the core. BPeSA was not present in the first phase and is now a well-connected node.	This is the first analysis where the Western Cape Government (WCG) is not a central node. CPUT shows up as a key node in this period (being of moderate connection in the previous 2 phases), with the City of Cape Town, the WCEDP and Wesgro present as in the previous phases. As with the individuals, a few new nodes show up on the periphery, indicating they only started participating in the final meetings.
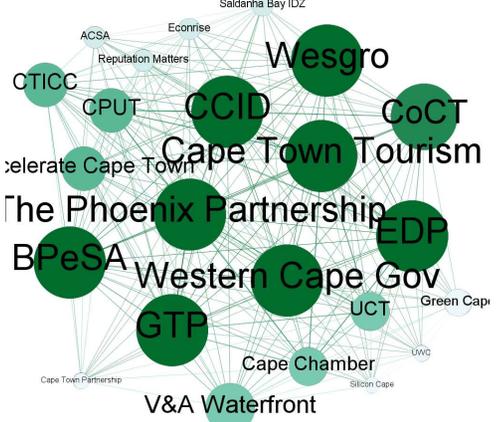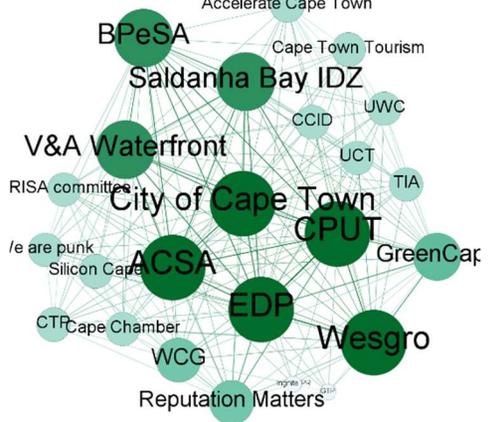
6.3.4 Discussion

The visualisation allows for a snapshot showing the organisations involved in the RCF network. Individuals very familiar with the city-level marketing and branding landscape might be able to immediately identify key missing stakeholders. This might be because of a key stakeholder not identified and invited (an oversight of even deliberately in the case of some relational dynamics), or the ongoing failure of a specific stakeholder to engage in the process and attend events. The visualisation also allows the convener to identify participating, but peripheral, organisations which might be particularly important and further allows for active targeting of those entities for future participation. This seems to have happened between the activation and collectivity phases – with the network expanding in numbers between these phases.

Given the WCEDP's central convening and administrative role in this network, it is particularly interesting that it does not show up more strongly within the visualisations. Individuals representing the organisation are indeed visible and prominent in the individual-level analysis, but the picture changes when visualised by organisation. Overall, the network is dominated by government departments and entities, with a few universities present and the Cape Chamber, V&A Waterfront and Accelerate Cape Town as larger business sector representatives. Stellenbosch University in the activation phase and Saldanha Bay IDZ from the collectivity phase onward are the only entities outside of the direct City of Cape Town boundaries that participated.

Some of the individual agencies (e.g. Irvine Bartlett and Reputation Matters) might have attended as they represent government departments or entities in the city and region, but it is not possible to determine which entities from the archival data. This raises some questions about how the original participants were identified as well as how, and by whose authority, new attendees were invited – Was there a detailed and exhaustive list of role players at the outset or was it produced during the engagement? In a city the size of Cape Town, one would expect a much larger number of private advertising and marketing agencies being involved in the brand positioning of the city. Without knowing the full universe of possible participants, it is not possible to determine if this network was indeed relatively or even fully representative of the communicators' landscape it aimed to coordinate.

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6.4 Case 2: South Cape Economic Partnership (SCEP)

6.4.1 Notes on dataset

The secretariat function for the SCEP was initially fulfilled by the George Business Chamber and later, for an extended period, by the Oudtshoorn Business Chamber. The researcher, using historic calendars and the immediately available set of minutes, constructed a timeline of meetings and liaised with the individuals involved in the secretariat function to collect minutes and attendance registers for all meetings. This includes, for a large majority of meetings, actual signed attendance registers, and, where not available, adopted minutes reflecting attendees from the previous meeting.

The data set includes a large convening of key stakeholders and city-level decision-makers (e.g. mayors and city managers) in January 2013. The workshop was attended by 32 individuals and formed part of the larger mobilisation of stakeholders to secure more legitimacy and resources for the movement. As noted in the WCEDP case, very large meetings are not suitable for affiliation network mapping (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011a). However, in the context of this case, the event was not so large that it would have no value and it was only one large gathering over a data set that covers many years. The event is therefore included in the analysis.

6.4.2 Overall network

The first network map depicts the relationship between persons in the network over the full data set, i.e. meetings from inception to September 2016 when the stability phase was reached. The nodes in the graph are sized (smaller to larger) to depict degree centrality, which is simply the number of immediate contacts an actor has in the network (Prell, 2012). Nodes 23, 6, 2, 14, 12, 21 and 36 have the highest degree centrality and is indicative of an actor's activity or involvement in the network. The node numbers represent individuals from the two leading chambers in the initiative (George and Oudtshoorn), one government official from George and one from Knysna (including the researcher as node 6) and two officials from the Eden District. Closeness centrality is a measure of an actor's independence, interpreted as the more central an actor is, the quicker they can reach others in the network without relying on intermediaries (Prell, 2012). This is depicted by the colouring of the nodes (from lighter to darker with increasing closeness), with node 23 (an official from Eden District Municipality) having slightly greater prominence and the remaining nodes still with a high ranking. Thickness of lines (edges) depicts the strength of the relationship, in this case arrived at through the number of meetings jointly attended.

Figure 6-6: SCEP overall network of individuals
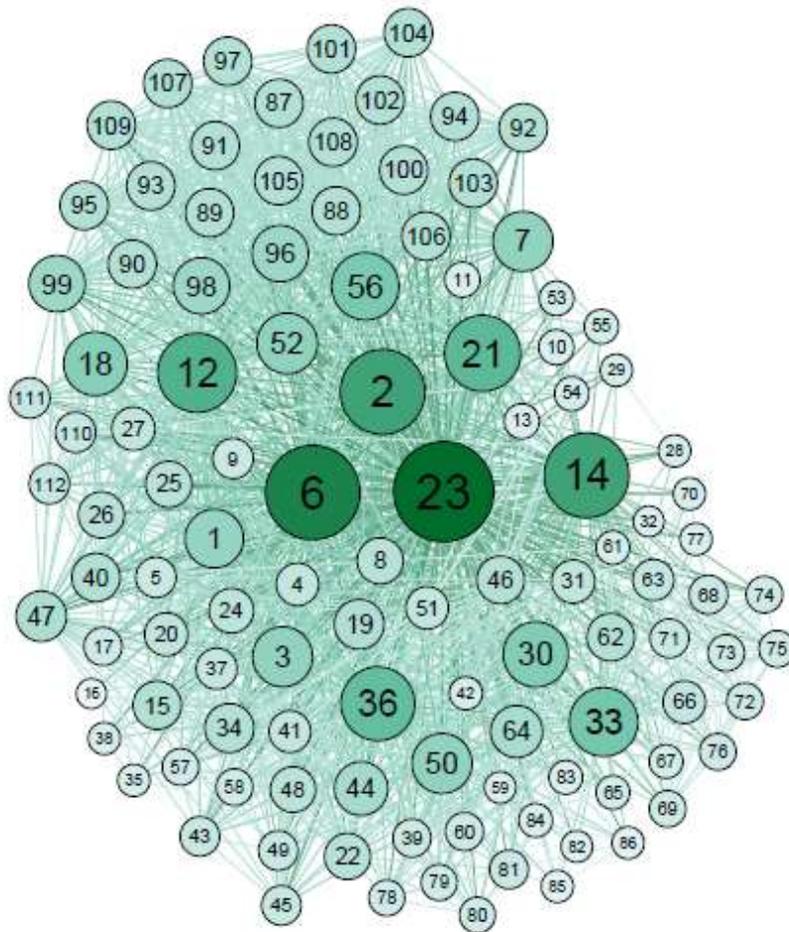
Next, the nodes were merged per organization or entity presented, thus moving from individuals to depicting institutions. The size of the nodes again depicts degree centrality and the colour (darker representing higher ranking) closeness centrality. The same key organisations as in the individual graph are in key positions (George, Knysna and Eden Municipalities, George Chamber and Oudtshoorn Chamber). Of interest at this point is that Eden Tourism and Oudtshoorn Tourism as separate entities now appear in key roles. Mossel Bay Chamber and Municipality respectively are also well placed, with the WCEDP also a notable addition to the list of key entities. This indicates that although generally well represented at meetings and engagements, these latter three groupings possibly had a more varied representation. That is, they were not represented each by a single person over a period, but rather by multiple representatives. The thickness of the lines depicts the strength of the connection, and the central entities are clearly very well connected to one another.

Figure 6-7: SCEP network by entity (nodes merged)
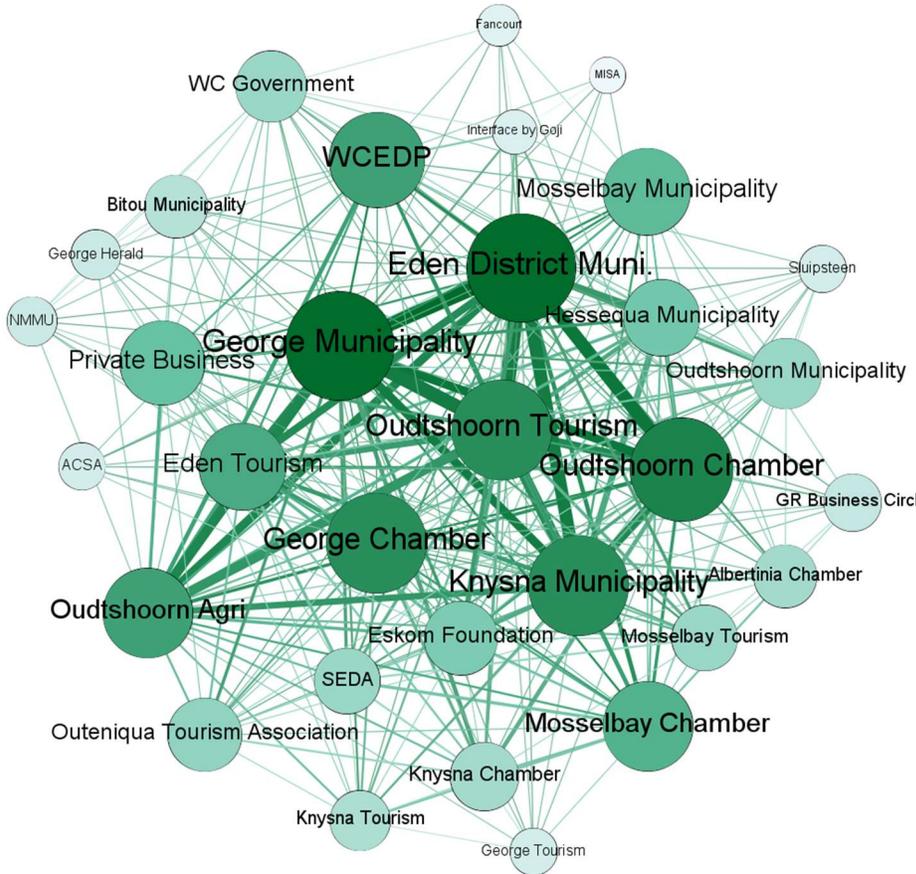
6.4.3 Network by phase

The first set of figures suffers slightly from being overly busy, especially the network of individuals. Although it gives a good overview of the network's lifetime, the various phases in the life cycle of the collaboration were highlighted in the previous chapter. Following this, the network data was separated into the various phases, namely activation, collectivity, institutionalisation and stability. For the purposes of analysis, the latter two phases were grouped, given that the changes between the two phases are not considered significant.

Figure 6-8: SCEP network visualised by phase

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Activation Phase Meetings up to February 2012 when Charter was adopted	Collectivity Phase From February 2012 to November 2014 (first staff member)	Institutionalisation and Stability Phase November 2014 to end of data set (November 2016)
Individuals	**Individuals**	**Individuals**
Nodes 5, 8 and 9 also show prominence in this phase, but are not noted in the overall visualisation. Node 23 noted for centrality in overall review is absent in the activation phase. Only 22 individuals in total are present in interactions in this phase.	There is a significant increase in number of nodes and there is a large number of nodes on the periphery. These represent attendees of a single large event (Jan2013), including senior political leadership from the area. Node 23 appears as prominent in this phase. Node 56 is a representative from the WCEDP, who attended several meetings in this phase as the Provincial Government was approached to support the move towards institutionalisation.	Of the original core group at activation, only node 6 is still visible in this graph. There is consolidation towards a smaller network than in collectivity. Node 23 remains prominent, with node 33, 64 and 36 appearing as prominent for the first time in a visualisation. Node 33 reflects the secretariat function by the Oudtshoorn Chamber over this period. Node 36 is an official from Knysna Municipality and node 64 is a new senior manager in the Eden District.
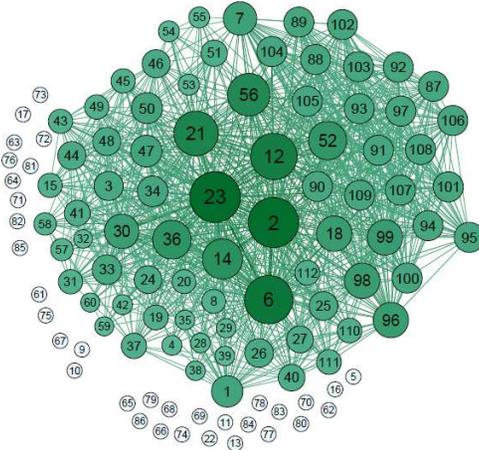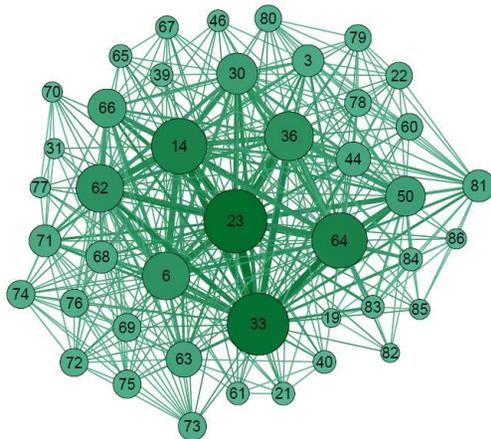
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Activation Phase Meetings up to February 2012 when Charter was adopted	Collectivity Phase From February 2012 to November 2014 (first staff member)	Institutionalisation and Stability Phase November 2014 to end of dataset (November 2016)
Entities	**Entities**	**Entities**
Knysna Municipality is much less prominent than Knysna Chamber and Knysna Tourism, indicating that the private sector was more involved at the outset than local authority. Eden District is also less prominent than in the overall network visualisation.	The WCEDP appears as node of significance due to its involvement as possible incubator for the SCEP. There are several disconnected peripheral nodes (due to the attendance of the large event in January 2013), but there are fewer disconnected entities than individuals. Note the SCEP appearing for the first time as node, due to the appointment of a staff member towards the end of the period. The Eden District becomes more prominent than in the activation phase.	The network has now moved to a few core entities, with clearly strong connections (thickness of edges) amongst them. Oudtshoorn Chamber, Eden District and the WCEDP are most prominent. The SCEP now reflects as a strong node, with the SCEP staff members employed for the duration and now convening and coordinating the group meetings. Oudtshoorn Tourism has remained constant in size and importance throughout the three phases.
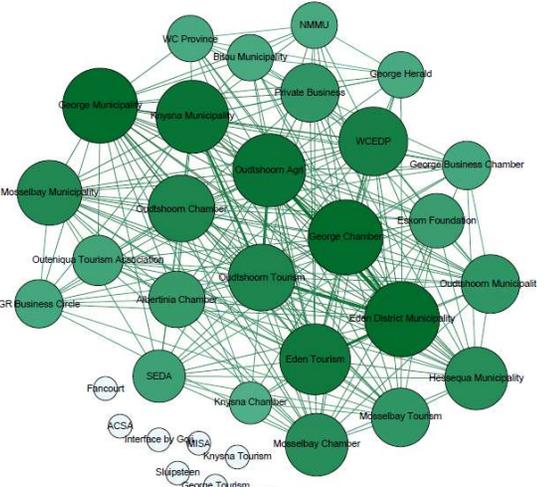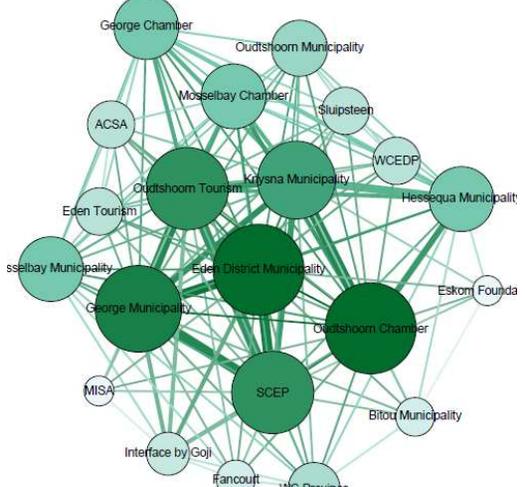
6.4.4 Discussion

It is noticeable that the Eden District Municipality was not prominently involved in the activation phase, but this changed during the collectivity and institutionalisation phases. This results in the District Municipality occupying a key position when the full network is visualised. This confirms the bottom-up roots of the partnership and the progression towards maturity requiring working more closely with key institutional actors that had a regional mandate. Credit should be given to the Eden District, which seems to have embraced, participated and even took ownership of the initiative – even though they were not fully involved at the outset. This seems to be contrary to typical observed South African behaviour where parties (particularly political role players) not part of initiatives from the outset tend not to recognise or legitimise initiatives at later stages.

The SCEP as an entity showing growing prominence in the final stages of the visualisation confirms the institutionalisation of the entity and visibly depicts how staffing the entity resulted in it playing a more pronounced role. As has been argued to date, this could be interpreted as an intermediate result indicator, showing the entity playing its role in continuing to convene and coordinate the network.

As discussed in Chapter 5, with most municipalities in the region buying in and supporting the SCEP, the largest non-contributing municipality for most of the period was Mossel Bay Municipality. This is also reflected in the visualisation, showing Mossel Bay Municipality not involved at all during the convening period and remaining peripheral through the next phases. The Mossel Bay Chamber was involved during the activation phase, but then occupies a similar peripheral role to the Municipality. What is not clear from this observation is whether the lack of buy-in from the municipality was due to its non-involvement from the outset, non-attendance of meetings by officials, or a broader view held by the entity that collaboration is not a key ingredient in successful regional economic development. The SCEP may be able to use the latter visualisations to identify key stakeholders and entities that may be absent or not participating at a level representative of their economic impact or contribution in the region.

Of just more than 20 individuals involved in the activation phase, only two were still present as individuals in the later stages (nodes 3 and 9 – representing the George and Mossel Bay Chambers respectively). This is testimony to the ability of the initial key group, over the life cycle of the partnership to build broader support and take measures to institutionalise the practice and entity beyond their own individual involvement. From this perspective, securing the involvement

of the Eden District Municipality and particularly several key officials, seems to have played a key role in securing the longer-term success of the partnership.

6.5 Observations and findings

A few observations about the nature of R&LED partnerships can be made from the analysis of the two cases. Firstly, top-down-instituted collaboration (here the RCF as example) seemed to garner more support from the outset. This is visualised through the difference in network structures between the RCF and SCEP in the first phase. The RCF had a larger group of individuals and entities of relevantly equal importance, whilst the SCEP shows a smaller group with a strong core set of entities and individuals. This points to the initial convening power of a top-down initiative at the outset vs. a bottom-up partnership driven by a few key individuals.

Secondly, an important point to note is the difference in time span and number of meetings between the two visualised cases. The SCEP had a much longer period towards maturation and clearly more mobilisation had to take place for it to reach a level of institutionalisation. The RCF timeline is also externally influenced, particularly when the initiative ended through a decision by the WCEDP to reorient itself towards other activities. With a question remaining around the further potential and usefulness of the RCF, it is perhaps telling that no other entity stepped in to convene the group once the WCEDP made the decision to discontinue its role to convene.

The ability of the SCEP to reach institutionalisation without the presence of most of the original individuals in the process seems a significant observation. Given the time span of the analysis, it would have been surprising to find the same individuals present, but it seems the approach adopted by participants and drivers during the life of the partnership resulted in a level of institutionalisation beyond political cycles. This holds great significance for the region, given recent research showing that the presence of such a partnership may be key in achieving economic competitiveness (Kilroy *et al.*, 2015).

This analysis clearly shows the change in shape of networks over time, and in different phases of partnerships. It also shows the emergence of a NAO, such as the SCEP over time, and its prominence in the institutionalisation phases of the partnership. The analysis suggests that it is possible to consciously, at the outset of a collaboration or partnership, think about and visualise the phases to follow. This then further suggests that it is possible to actively manage networks through phases towards success, in this case equated to longer-term institutionalisation. These cases show that the collectivity phase involves significant expansion of a network (in both top-

down and bottom-up cases) and confirms what intuitively seems correct as a consolidation once institutionalisation is reached. Care should be taken to retain momentum and not lose so many individuals or entities so as to lose critical mass altogether.

Finally, in terms of management actions, this specific SNA application only offers some visual clues to the action of connecting, i.e. the growth of the network size due to active efforts to include more members. A more detailed analysis that could include a meeting content evaluation could provide much more information on other management actions, for example to what extent mobilising resources is discussed in specific stages.

Through a combination of the findings from Chapters 4 and 5, the table below depicts a summary of observed actions, interpreted as key elements of success in the two types of partnerships, across the different life cycle stages.

Table 6-3: Key actions in the life cycle of bottom-up and top-down partnerships

	Bottom-up	**Top-down**
Activation	- A core group of individuals, representing key stakeholders, who show a personal commitment to collaboration is involved. - Identify key missing institutional stakeholders (through network mapping) and mobilise support and buy-in. This may take some time and is not expected to be a rapid process.	- Strong and often charismatic local leaders to initiate the process and secure or assign resources are involved. - A process to mobilise support as broadly as possible to commence is initiated. - This stage could progress very rapidly if appropriate resources are assigned. Network mapping is undertaken.
Collectivity	- Ideally, this stage will involve a significant expansion in the number of individuals regularly engaging with the partnership. - Key local leaders should emerge to take ownership of the collaboration.	- Significant expansion of the size of the network is engaged. - This phase may also progress rapidly with appropriate resources allocated to mobilise and plan towards institutionalisation.

		- Initial drafts of strategies and agreed focus areas are outlined.
Institutionalisation	- Active steps and progress towards securing dedicated resources (particularly for administrative support) are taken. - A clear strategy or plan of action for the partnership is outlined. - Consolidation to a smaller group than in the collectivity phase is possible – care should be taken that this does not take place to the extent that momentum is lost. - Initial results should be articulated clearly and regularly to key stakeholders (as recommended in this research through SNA to depict changes and progress in network).	- Administrative support resources should be in place (given resource allocations at outset of process). - Advanced strategy, with secured medium-term resources are implemented. - Initial results should be articulated clearly and regularly to key stakeholders (through SNA to depict changes and progress in network form and size).
Stability, Reorientation, Death	- Administrative resources in support of partnership are fully functional. - Progress to show tangible results and outputs, beyond the initial network analysis, is evident. - Regular engagements at sub-network and overall network level ensure ongoing agreement around goals – reorient if necessary.	- Progress to show tangible results and outputs, beyond the initial network analysis, corresponding to funder and stakeholder requirements and expectations, is evident. - Regular engagements at sub-network and overall network level ensures ongoing agreement around goals – reorient if necessary.

6.6 Summary

This chapter introduced SNA as an approach to analysis of R&LED Partnerships, with a particular view that the structure of a group is important and a determinant of intermediate outcomes (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). Significant difficulty was experienced in data collection, resulting in the identification of proxy data to visualise the cases as affiliation networks, based on joint meeting attendance. The WCEDP could not be analysed and visualised as an entity and thus a theoretical argument was made whilst a single subgrouping, the Regional Communicators Forum, was analysed in depth. Even with these limitations noted, the analysis still proves useful and provides insights not otherwise possible.

It should be emphasised again that an affiliation network analysis makes certain assumptions about the presence of a tie or connection based on joint participation or affiliation (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011a). The visualisation and analysis here are not able to show the quality of the identified ties between individuals or entities. Refinements may further be possible had the different meetings been weighted (i.e. the presence of fewer people at a meeting carry greater weight, as this means a greater chance of direct interaction). This may be added in future research but was not pursued in this first application of the technique. It was also not possible to apply more advanced mathematical comparisons (e.g. comparing centrality measures across networks across time) as this is only possible if the size of the network remains the same. In these R&LED partnership cases, networks grew and shrank over time in different phases. This correlates with the assertion in literature around the fluid nature of networks (Marshall & Staeheli, 2015).

This chapter, in particular the visualisations, confirms that SNA offers a layer of analysis to partnerships that allows them to show progress, whilst longer-term economic results are not yet visible. In the final section, the findings and observations in Chapters 5 and 6 are collated into a table of key actions in the different life cycle stages for the two types of partnerships. Although bottom-up initiatives come with their own set of challenges, it was shown in this research to be the more successful of the two approaches. This concludes the research components of this dissertation. In the final chapter, a management strategy for R&LED partnerships, based on these findings, will be outlined.

CHAPTER 7

7. A Network Focus – Towards Improved Practice in Regional and Local Economic Development Partnerships

Conclusions, findings and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

Definitions of LED all refer to some form of collaboration of local stakeholders, across public and private sectors, using local resources towards economic growth and improved quality of life (Commonwealth Local Government Forum, 2011; Swinburn *et al.*, 2006). Small localities are always part of a bigger economic landscape, further requiring collaboration beyond boundaries, even at regional scale, if a realistic attempt at growing a local economy is to be made (Barca *et al.*, 2012). Given the failure of government to deliver tangible results, even with an assigned responsibility for R&LED (Rogerson, 2011), alternative governance approaches are being adopted and pursued by local stakeholders. One such approach is R&LED partnerships.

This study focussed on the emerging practice of the establishment of R&LED partnerships, with the aim of ensuring improved economic results at subnational level in the South African governance landscape. It was undertaken by an R&LED practitioner following the observation that these partnerships, particularly in the Western Cape Province, often encountered existential challenges prior to delivering substantial economic results, due to a reduction or withdrawal of funding. It was broadly hypothesised that these partnerships may not be fulfilling the governance roles that they had set out to fulfil, and that they are not able to show directly attributed short-term economic results. Whilst the value of partnerships and collaboration seems to be recognised, the results did not seem to materialise in a way that secured longer-term support from funders (mainly government).

A series of research questions was constructed as basis for the study with the case study approach selected in the research design. The sub-research questions were:

> SQ1: How has the South African R&LED policy and legislative environment evolved
> and how can this be contextualised in terms of emerging international trends in this
> field?

SQ2: Could theories and lessons from the fields of governance, partnerships and particularly the application of a network lens provide alternative options to evaluate and ultimately manage R&LED partnerships?

SQ3: Considering different types of R&LED partnerships in the Western Cape, are these applying network management strategies and are they performing a network governance function?

SQ4: Could the application of advanced network analysis tools (such as SNA) provide further insights into the management strategies and governance role of these partnerships?

With the researcher initially directly involved in the two case studies, specific cognisance was taken of researcher bias. The study drew from the fields of collaborative governance, network governance and network theory. It further employed SNA to better understand relationships within the economic networks, the structure of the networks and the role of formalised partnerships within these networks. Although the initial aim was to apply an action research approach, which would have resulted in introducing and applying new approaches with the cases in practice, it was ultimately not possible. The researcher, however, maintains a strong practitioner view and the academic inquiry was always pursued with a view of producing practical findings that could be useful to R&LED partnerships in future. The reflective practitioner position of the researcher allowed for the augmentation of the academic investigation with an in-depth knowledge of the practice of the field under investigation. It further offered an opportunity to not only reflect practice in the world of academia, but to introduce and test new ideas, approaches and theories in the field.

This chapter will reflect on the main findings relating to the four sub-research questions (in sections 7.2.1 to section 7.2.4 below). The focus will then turn to the main research question, collating and distilling findings into a management strategy towards improved network governance by R&LED partnerships.

7.2 Considering each sub-question in this research

Given that R&LED requires a collaboration between government and stakeholders, and that it is by nature multi-actor and multilevel, the application of a network lens is justified. Regional and local economic development literature was found to offer only a limited set of recommendations

about governance arrangements – broadly two options: a) forming a forum for consultation and interaction); and/or b) creating a LEDA for implementation on behalf of the local authority. The case studies in this research confirm the growing popularity of bottom-up or self-organising initiatives (Ha *et al.*, 2016) and voluntary partnerships in terms of governance arrangements (Feiock, 2013). Overall, the research found the bottom-up partnership that was studied, more successful than the top-down initiative. The study demonstrated that R&LED practitioners and participants in localities could benefit from an improved understanding of the range of network types, and what network governance entails to ensure that formalised governance arrangements are in fact appropriate in terms of the desired outcomes.

As outlined in Chapter 1, this dissertation was structured around a set of sub-questions designed to contribute to the answering of the main research question when jointly considered. What follows is a summary of the findings on each of the sub-questions.

7.2.1 R&LED Legislative and Policy Environment in South Africa

This discussion focuses on sub-question 1:

> (SQ1): How has the South African R&LED policy and legislative environment evolved and how can this be contextualised in terms of emerging international trends in this field?

Local economic development is assigned as a function of local government in South Africa (Republic of South Africa, 1996), but has failed to deliver significantly against development expectations since the dawn of democracy (Rogerson, 2009). The failures are attributed to a lack of capacity in local authorities, a lack of general understanding of what LED entails, and an initial policy void (Rogerson, 2011). The field has undergone some evolution, with a shift from strongly pro-poor, project-driven approaches to a more internationally accepted market-oriented approach (Hofisi *et al.*, 2013), focussing on leveraging local resources and local stakeholders (Republic of South Africa, 2014).

Regional economic development is generally accepted as the responsibility of provincial governments (Rogerson, 2014). The disconnect between R&LED is also reflected in the LED function resorting with COGTA, whilst the regional function is housed in the Department of Economic Development (Rogerson, 2014). There is evidence of other global trends in the South African environment, including the growing importance of cities and the urban agenda (Republic

of South Africa, 2016b) and acknowledgement of the importance of city regions across administrative boundaries (Greenberg, 2010). The growing use of the term "lagging regions" also resonates with the ongoing focus on remote rural areas and small towns through dedicated support programmes (Atkinson, 2014; SALGA, 2016). Further, a growing and more explicit place-based policy making approach seems evident (Rogerson, 2014).

The latest LED framework (2014–2019, yet unpublished) acknowledges local competitiveness as an important goal, which requires work across boundaries (Republic of South Africa, 2014). It encourages local officials to expand their view beyond the local and better understand regional drivers of growth and competitiveness, which is encouraging progress.

7.2.2 Governance, Networks and Partnerships

This discussion focuses on sub-question 2:

> SQ2: Could theories and lessons from the fields of governance, partnerships and particularly the application of a network lens provide alternative options to evaluate and ultimately manage R&LED partnerships?

The ongoing failure of government alone to deliver tangible development outcomes (Van Tulder, 2008) has stimulated a move towards bottom-up and alternative governance arrangements, also visible in the R&LED landscape. The definitions of governance, collaboration and collaborative governance assisted in positioning the research within the field of public administration. Concepts around networks and network governance in the absence of a single overarching network theory were also explored. The typology by Klaster (2015) provided a good framework for understanding these concepts. A number of recent studies have reviewed the body of network research in the field of public administration, providing some consolidation in terms of the broad domains of research (Isett *et al.*, 2011; Kapucu *et al.*, 2017; Lecy *et al.*, 2014). Finally, partnerships as specific governance approach were considered.

It was found that R&LED literature and practice offer a limited set of governance arrangements, i.e. mainly two options: a) an LED consultative forum and b) LEDAs. It was further noted that there is a lack of consideration in the field for the specific network needs and local conditions and how this may influence the choice of governance structure or approach. The field of R&LED governance was also found to have been explored to a very limited extent from a network perspective (Ha *et al.*, 2016; Kapucu *et al.*, 2017).

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It was argued that R&LED practitioners and participants in localities could benefit from an improved understanding of the range of network types and what network governance entails, in order to ensure that formalised governance arrangements are in fact appropriate for the desired outcomes. In addressing this challenge, the chapter concluded with the design of an evaluation tool that could be applied to R&LED governance arrangements for this very purpose.

7.2.3 The Practice of R&LED Partnerships in South Africa

This discussion focuses on sub-question 3:

> SQ3: Considering different types of R&LED partnerships in the Western Cape, are these applying network management strategies and are they performing a network governance function?

The two cases studied were the WCEDP, considered a regional economic development partnership, and the SCEP, a LED partnership. The cases were deemed sufficiently similar to allow for comparison, but also different in that the WCEDP was initiated as a top-down, well-funded government initiative with high-level political support, whilst the SCEP was a bottom-up, local private sector stakeholder-driven initiative with virtually no political support at the outset. An important feature of the SCEP is that local government officials participated in the initiative from the outset. It was thus not initiated completely outside the realm of government involvement.

The evaluation approach developed in Chapter 3 was applied to the two cases. The analysis relating to the life cycle of network governance arrangements (as proposed by Imperial, Johnston, Pruett-Jones, Leong & Thomsen, 2016) allowed for lessons and key features to be noted in each phase of the different partnerships. The checklist showed that the WCEDP fulfilled a networking function and contributed to the establishment of a network structure but failed to deliver a network governance function. The WCEDP executives argued that due to the size of the geographical area for which they are responsible, it may have been impossible from the outset. Work in sub-networks seemed more promising, but there was a failure to connect multiple sub-networks into a larger economic network. This may be one of the contributing factors to the ultimate reorientation of the WCEDP, as it failed to deliver on its intended mandate and was not able to demonstrate convincingly to its government funders what value it was adding to the economic ecosystem.

The SCEP was found to have delivered both in terms of networking and network structure, with strong positive emerging evidence of a network governance function. As a bottom-up initiative,

the SCEP took a longer time in activation and collectivity stages whilst struggling to gain traction and secure resources. Another positive observation has been that the practice of partnership and collaboration seems to have grown in the area in general, with some initiatives later crowded into the partnership as governance vehicle (i.e. the film industry initiative and regional waste facility). This points to high levels of trust having been built over time and the strong positive image of the SCEP in the area.

With the prevalence of the concept of governance and that of networks in public administration literature, a virtual absence of the use and understanding of the terms was noted in practice with these two cases. Should the potential of particular networks be applied as lens in R&LED partnership in future, this points to the need to capacitate government officials, private sector role players and partnership staff members, with tools to build a common understanding of networks and the governance thereof. In summary, the two cases show that R&LED partnerships can indeed fulfil a network governance function, with the SCEP doing so successfully and the WCEDP not achieving that level of results prior to its reorientation. It is also clear that if partnerships set out to fulfil such a governance function, partnership members and staff should keep a clear view of these goals, and be able to articulate how their actions contribute towards achieving this. It was also found that the absence of specific network management actions, or persistent low levels of these, in earlier stages contributes directly to the ultimate result (stability, death or reorientation) in the final life cycle stage.

7.2.4 Application of Network Analysis Tools to provide further Insights

This discussion focuses on sub-question 4:

> SQ4: Could the application of advanced network analysis tools (such as SNA) provide further insights into the management strategies and governance role of these partnerships?

Although ultimately proxy data sets had to be utilised, resulting in affiliation rather than full network analysis (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011a), SNA was successfully applied and the results provided new insights into the role and evolution of R&LED partnerships. Network structures looked very different for a top-down (RCF) and a bottom-up (SCEP) engagement. Similarities were noted in the substantial growth of networks during the collectivity phase, and a consolidation towards a stronger set of core role players during institutionalisation. These observations have applicability in two directions: firstly, when a partnership is conceived, it may actively ensure that the growth

and consolidation occur during the life cycle and, secondly, existing partnerships may evaluate their progress and so classify in which phase of the life cycle they currently are.

The visualisations further show the emergence of a NAO, such as the SCEP over time and its prominence in the institutionalisation phases of the partnership. It was particularly interesting to note that, although the NAOs (the SCEP and the WCEDP in the RCF network) were present and visible, they did not totally dominate the visualisations to the extent expected. This shows that other role players contributed to the networks and were not solely reliant on an overly dominant NAO, which is very much in line with definitions of governance and networks that emphasise reciprocal relationships (Jessop, 2004), interdependence (O'Toole Jr, 1997) and moving beyond the goals of a single organisation (Kapucu *et al.*, 2017).

Finally, the visualisations offer R&LED partnerships an opportunity to identify missing stakeholders (either individuals or entities), those present but only playing a peripheral role that should be enhanced, and even dominant stakeholders. It is important to note that exploring the role of dominant stakeholders was beyond the scope of this study, and could be further considered in terms of the their influence on decision-making processes and resource allocations in relation to the inherent asymmetry in governance processes (Jessop, 2004) for future research. It is asserted that the application of tools such as SNA provides greater insight into the governance role of R&LED partnerships in the networks in which they function or attempt to steer.

7.3 Main research findings and arguments distilled

RQ: How can R&LED partnerships benefit from a focus on network governance?

This study confirmed that there has been a resurgence of local strategies, crafted by local stakeholders and grounded in a locality (broadly referred to as the emergence of regionalism). Within the South African context, local government has been assigned a specific lead role in LED. This was expanded in this study to include a broader subnational focus, which includes regional economic development as a responsibility of provinces and districts. The failure to deliver tangible outcomes and results for local communities has driven the emergence of alternative governance models. With R&LED literature offering limited governance mechanisms, the field of network governance and network management offered an alternative approach.

The study argued that, where diverse sets of role players in an R&LED landscape are thought of as a network of actors in which one partner, usually a local authority or subnational government,

wishes to influence and steer towards a common goal, a network lens should be applied. Within this perspective, network governance is defined as the strategies and conscious steering attempts within networks (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016), and partnerships are considered to be a more prescriptive means of network governance, with deliberate attempts to steer and join up disconnected parts of a network (Pope & Lewis, 2008). In this regard, partnerships in R&LED could be platforms, forums or entities established to perform this network governance actions and as such require the application of some set of network management actions to be successful.

From the literature, an evaluation approach was designed, allowing for a study of two cases, initially at two levels – that of actions and results in the system. This was achieved through the application of a life cycle analysis (based on the work by Imperial *et al.* (2016), a review of observable results against a checklist, and a review of management actions against a management model containing five distinct actions (process agreement, connecting, framing and content, mobilising resources, and synthesising of favourable conditions). An additional layer of analysis in networks is possible at the level of the network itself (Mandell & Keast, 2008) and was achieved through the application of SNA to visualise network structures and network changes over time.

The case study evaluation results are summarised as follows:

- There is currently an absence of network language and network approaches in R&LED partnerships;
- The size of the network and geographical spread of the area of work is a limiting factor in the application of SNA – it will require large resource investments across larger regions and very large networks;
- The bottom-up partnership, although taking longer to reach maturity, was shown to be more successful – confirming observations that the development process necessitates slow growth (Imperial *et al.*, 2016), and that Schumacher's, 'Small is beautiful' still has relevance;
- Top-down partnerships, although potentially well-resourced at the outset, crucially suffers from "lock-in". Due to funding agreements and agreed deliverables, mainly from more bureaucratic government funders, results in a lack of flexibility to respond to demands from actors or shift focus to areas of greater impact;
- Administrative resources can effectively serve as a substitute for direct funding and are crucial in a network approach;

- Consistency in the full set of network management actions, through all stages of the network, is vital and the absence of specific actions in earlier stages could correlate with detrimental effects in later stages;
- The network lens offers an opportunity to consider results at the level of actions, the network and the system that the actions are trying to influence.

In answering the research question, findings are distilled into a set of recommendations for R&LED partnership participants, which will allow the partnerships to derive benefit from a network governance focus:

1. **Adopt an explicit focus on networks from the outset of an R&LED partnership formation process.** This offers an opportunity to collect valuable data on existing networks and to then visually present positive network changes and progress to key stakeholders, particularly funders. This approach starts with an acknowledgement and understanding of the network at the start of a partnering process and then moves to a focus on the ideal network form which the partnership works to strengthen or expand over time.

2. **If network governance is a key aim, ensure that the partnership is performing functions that will yield this as end result.** A greater understanding of the exact role a partnership is expected or planning to fulfil allows for the application of the developed tool to track whether activities and outputs would indeed result in it performing such a function. In this classification, the three distinct possible functions would be to either provide a networking platform, build a network structure or perform a network governance function.

3. **Understand where in the network governance life cycle a partnership initiative is at any given point in time and what actions are required to move towards the next.** Keeping the life cycle of network governance in view will allow partnership leaders and managers to keep track of their progress towards institutionalisation and ultimately stability. The time to progress through the stages will differ for bottom-up and top-down partnerships. It is recognised that any partnership may have a logical useful life and, as such, stability should not necessarily be the goal. If objectives have been achieved, or priorities shift, reorientation is desirable. The death or closure of a partnership is also not always negative. If objectives have been achieved, stakeholders will move on to new priorities and even new partnerships.

In keeping with the researcher's desire to make a practical contribution to the field, the findings are now collated into a management strategy for bottom-up partnerships.

7.4 A network-focussed management strategy for bottom-up partnerships

The graphic outlined offers a roadmap that could be followed at the outset of a bottom-up partnership initiative, but might equally be applied at some later stage if the partnership has already been established. The strategy should be considered alongside the evaluation approach documented in Section 3.6 of this study. The evaluation approach outlines in more detail the life cycle approach, a review of outputs and results to determine if networking, network structure or network governance results are being achieved, and a review of network management actions.

If the management strategy is being applied at the outset of a partnership, the stakeholders or managers would logically find themselves at activation stage. A crucial step here is to map the existing R&LED network that the partnership aims to operate in – this provides a baseline map against which improvements or shifts in the network structure can be reported on in the medium term. Another crucial step here is to mobilise support resources – and noting as emphasised in this study, that, administrative resources (i.e. dedicated staff time to contribute to the initiative) can substitute for other forms of financial resources. The key indicators of success shortly after the initiation of a partnership is whether agreement between key stakeholders to pursue the partnership has been reached, whether a core set of stakeholders are fully committed, and whether a set of stakeholders of appropriate profile will work into the future to secure further buy in from other role players.

When moving into the next stage, collectivity, the focus should explicitly be on expanding the network through events and outreach activities. At this point, a strategy or action plan should be crafted and stable network processes (i.e. procedures, frequency of meetings, etc.) should be in place. Importantly here, concrete steps and a large part of the effort should go towards securing more dedicated administrative resources (at the outset volunteer time or part-time commitments can suffice). The indicators of success at this stage is, a significantly expanded network, and the emergence of key leaders in the landscape expressly supporting the initiative.

In the institutionalisation phase, the aim is to now have dedicated resources in place, with the strategy crafted in the previous phase now adopted and being implemented. Finally, the network related processes can now be refined and become more efficient. Key indicators of success in this phase, might include, the emergence of new leaders as some founding members might be

exiting – this is particularly relevant in bottom-up partnerships where the process described to date could be running as long as 3 years. The administrative and other resources should also be secured with relative certainty into the near future.

When moving to towards stability, a next round of network analysis can be conducted to record the progress made in growing and strengthening the network. This is an important action that allows the partnership to demonstrate success, whilst direct results (such as job creation, economic growth or even more direct project outputs) cannot yet be attributed or cannot directly be attributed to the partnership formation and activities. Member participation should be monitored with appropriate actions to ensure momentum. However, it can be expected that a stable network, with a smaller core, has established itself at this stage. Ongoing actions to ensure resource security should also be an explicit focus. At this stage tangible outputs should be delivered, plans and strategies may be reviewed, and business models could be adjusted and streamlined to ensure efficiency. Partnership managers are encouraged to review activities using the checklists crafted in this study on a regular basis, in order to ensure that actions and activities are contributing to the partnership's aim and goals.

Partnership managers are encouraged to constantly keep sight of the network management actions, and to ensure that the five actions are applied throughout each stage, with the balance of time and attention for each action shifting depending on the stage and progress.

Figure 7-1: A network-focussed management strategy for bottom-up partnerships

Lifecycle Stages	Activation	Collectivity	Institutionalisation	Stability
	Consistent application of network management actions in all stages *			
Activities	1] Check: Is the problem to be solved of complex nature that requires partnership 2] Map existing network (sets baseline) 3] Identify key missing actors & reach out 4] Mobilise support & resources (possibly volunteer time as administrative resource) 5] Establish core values & mission	1] Focus on expanding network (events, outreach activities) 2] Establish stable network processes 3] Start crafting strategy / action plan 4] Initiate steps towards stable & dedicated administrative resources	1] Continued progress to secure dedicated resources focussed on administrative resources 2] Clear strategy / plan of action adopted by stakeholders 3] Improve efficiency of network processes (refine & revise)	1] Re-map network (as intermediate demonstration of success 2] Monitor member participation, ongoing motivation and engagement 3] Regular communication and sharing of results 4] Focussed actions to ensure resource security 5] Revision of strategies and plans as required 6] Apply evaluation checklist to ensure intended functions are being performed 7] Review if resources in partnership still most efficient application
Indicators of success	> Agreement that a partnership is needed > Core set of stakeholders fully committed to process > Core stakeholders of right profile to secure further buy-in	> Significantly expanded network of actors > Key leaders emerging in support of initiative	> New leaders emerging as some founders may exit > Administrative & other resources secured into foreseeable future > At end of this stage - network evolution accepted by decision makers as indicator of success	> Stable network, smaller than in preceding phase > Resource commitments secured into medium term >Tangible outputs delivered
	Timeline: At least 3 Years			

*	Management action	Descriptions of typical activities
1	Process Agreement	Operating rules, norms, and perceptions including rules for entrance and conflict resolution.
2	Connecting	Activation / deactivation of members, initiating contact with potential or identified members, coalition building
3	Framing & Content	Managing and collecting information and research, giving shape to purpose, re-orienting network focus if required
4	Mobilising resources	Inducing commitment among network participants and stakeholders, particularly focus on administrative resources to ensure sustainability of the effort
5	Synthesizing of favorable conditions	Creating required new arrangements and process to ensure flow of information and resources, facilitating ongoing network participant interaction, effective communications, incentives for collaboration

7.5 Suggestions for further research

This study was the first possible step on a longer journey of discovery in applying a network lens to R&LED partnerships. The following are some thoughts on further possible research undertaken from the foundation provided by the current study:

1. **Applying more advanced techniques to this same data set:** The SNA applied was rather rudimental, utilising a freely available open-source visualisation package. This could be significantly enhanced through the use of more advanced academic packages (such as Ucinet and Pajek), as well as a more statistical and mathematical focus in the evaluation of the results (rather than just a visual representation). The visualisations, even through Gephi, can be enhanced and refined through, for example, assigning weights to meetings to depict the size and thus underlying potential for a connection to be made. Recently published new approaches to using minutes of meetings through coding of interactions captured in the actual minutes may be considered for more nuanced network mapping (Ulibarri & Scott, 2016). In keeping with this theme, recent work to study the evolution of language use in minutes over the lifetime of a collaboration may also offer interesting insights (Mandell *et al.*, 2017).

2. **Applying this approach to more R&LED partnerships in South Africa and elsewhere:** With the proliferation of partnerships noted throughout this work, it could offer interesting insights to apply this approach (i.e. a checklist and SNA) to partnerships firstly outside of the Western Cape Province in South Africa, and even further afield, to partnerships in other countries.

3. **Applying the network approach advocated for at the outset of a new collaboration or partnership:** This would allow for a test of the practicality of the approach in terms of capacity and resource needs. It would further serve to test the acceptance of funders and decision-makers of preliminary network results, as proof of progress.

7.6 Summary

This final chapter summarised the main research findings as they pertain to each of the initially outlined research questions. Findings are consolidated into a set of practical recommendations that could be applied as a strategy for improved network governance by R&LED partnerships.

This study was broadly located in the field of governance, where multiple stakeholders and agencies collaborate and coordinate actions towards a public purpose that one entity could not pursue on its own (Emerson *et al.*, 2012). It studied R&LED partnerships operating in a unique environment, where government is responsible for delivering economic results, yet have virtually no control over the markets and key drivers of such results. With limited recommendations in existing R&LED literature and practice about governance mechanisms, this study introduced a network lens and now offers a different and new governance approach for R&LED partnerships to utilise.

Whilst there is a limitless diversity in partnerships (Metcalfe & Lapenta, 2014), and much research has been done on identifying common features and classifications, this study was positioned slightly differently. It did not aim to propose a standard approach or standard structure for R&LED partnerships. Instead, it advocates for the application of underutilised tools from network science to allow partnership leaders, managers and participants to better visualise and manage their own progress. Ultimately, this could secure longer-term support to ensure the longevity of their collaborations.

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ANNEXURE 1

Southern Cape Business Partnership Data Collection				
All research information will be treated as confidential as per University of Stellenbosch and VU University Amsterdam regulations. Researcher: Carli Bunding-Venter				
Relationship information for:			Date:	
Entity	Close working relationship - actively working on joint projects	Regular contact but not actively collaborating	Contact only at statutory platforms (meetings /forums - excl. SCEP)	No relationship or contact outside of occasional SCEP meetings
Agri Avontuur / Haarlem / Uniondale				
Agri Klein Karoo				
Agri Tuinroete				
Bitou Municipality - Administration				
Bitou Municipality - Political				
Plettenberg Bay Business Chamber				
Plettenberg Bay Tourism				
Eden DM - Administration				
Eden DM - Political				
Eskom Foundation				
Garden Route Business Circle				
Garden Route ICT Incubator				
George Airport (ACSA)				
George Business Chamber				
George Municipality - Administration				
George Municipality - Political				
Hessequa Business Chamber				
Hessequa Municipality - Administration				
Hessequa Municipality - Political				
Kannaland Municipality - Administration				
Kannaland Municipality - Political				
Knysna Municipality - Administration				
Knysna Municipality - Political				
Knysna Tourism				
Ladismith Tourism				
Mosselbay Business Chamber				
Mosselbay Municipality - Administration				
Mosselbay Municipality -Political				
Mosselbay Tourism				
National Department of Rural Development				
National Department of Trade and Industry (DTI)				
One of a Kind Garden Route				
Oudtshoorn Business Chamber				
Oudtshoorn Municipality - Administration				
Oudtshoorn Municipality - Political				
Oudtshoorn Tourism				
Outeniqua Tourism Association				
SEDA (Eden)				
Wesgro				
Western Cape Department of Agriculture				
Western Cape Department of Economic Dev & Tourism				
Western Cape EDP (WCEDP)				
Information provided by:				

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WCEDP Regional Communicators' Forum - Data collection

We would like to request a few minutes of your time to provide some information which will help us to better understand the relationships and roleplayers in the current Western Cape communicators community, as convened at the Regional Communicators' Forum. We are asking you to think about your connections with the other roleplayers two years ago, and then again about those connections today. We will be using the information to do a network visualisation, as a test case for a larger study. Please answer as honestly as possible; although it is not possible to complete the questionnaire anonymously, data to be presented on public forums will be modified in order to remove personally identifiable information as far as possible. The results of this research will be presented to the Forum in the near future.

All research information will be treated as confidential, according to the regulations of the University of Stellenbosch and the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. Researcher: Carli Bunding-Venter

Entity/organisation represented: _____ Date: _____

Type of entity: ☐ Government ☐ Private sector ☐ NPO / NGO ☐ Mainly Gov. Funded ☐ Tertiary training

Name of person completing the questionnaire: _____ ☐ M ☐ F

Position : _____ Number of years with entity: _____

1. Please start by drawing a line through your own entity's name in the list below. Think about your relationship **two years ago** with all the other entities/organisations listed below. Please indicate with an X the most appropriate description of this relationship in the past. You may add entities at the bottom of the list.

	Entity	Close working relationship - actively working on joint projects	Regular contact but not actively collaborating	Contact only at statutory platforms and meetings	No relationship or contact	
1	WCEDP					
2	Accelerate Cape Town					
3	ACSA (Airports Company of SA)					
4	BPeSA (Business Process enabling SA - Western Cape)					
5	Cape Chamber of Commerce and Industry					
6	Cape Town Partnership					
7	Cape Town Tourism					
8	CCID (Cape Town Central City Improvement District)					
9	Century City					
10	City of Cape Town					
11	CPUT (Cape Peninsula University of Technology)					
12	CTICC (CT International Convention Centre)					
13	FEDHASA (federated Hospitality Association of SA)					
14	Greater Tygerberg Partnership					
15	Green Cape					
16	National Dept of Economic Development					
17	Saldanha Bay IDZ					
18	Silicon Cape					
19	UCT (University of Cape Town)					
20	UCT GSB (UCT Graduate School of Business)					
21	University of Stellenbosch					
22	UWC (University of the Western Cape)					
23	V&A Waterfront					
24	Wesgro					
25	Western Cape Gov (Dept of Econ Dev & Tourism)					
26	Western Cape Government (Dept of Agriculture)					
27	Western Cape Government (other)					
28						
29						

2. Again, please draw a line through your own entity in the list below. Now please think about your **current relationship** with the other entities/organisations. In some cases the relationship may be the same in both tables - please do not feel that there must have been a change in relationship. Please answer as honestly as possible; this information will be treated as confidential.

	Entity	Close working relationship - actively working on joint projects	Regular contact but not actively collaborating	Contact only at statutory platforms and meetings	No relationship or contact
1	WCEDP				
2	Accelerate Cape Town				
3	ACSA (Airports Company of SA)				
4	BPeSA (Business Process enabling SA - Western Cape)				
5	Cape Chamber of Commerce and Industry				
6	Cape Town Partnership				
7	Cape Town Tourism				
8	CCID (Cape Town Central City Improvement District)				
9	Century City				
10	City of Cape Town				
11	CPUT (Cape Peninsula University of Technology)				
12	CTICC (CT International Convention Centre)				
13	FEDHASA (federated Hospitality Association of SA)				
14	Greater Tygerberg Partnership				
15	Green Cape				
16	National Dept of Economic Development				
17	Saldanha Bay IDZ				
18	Silicon Cape				
19	UCT (University of Cape Town)				
20	UCT GSB (UCT Graduate School of Business)				
21	University of Stellenbosch				
22	UWC (University of the Western Cape)				
23	V&A Waterfront				
24	Wesgro				
25	Western Cape Gov. (Dept Econ Dev & Tourism)				
26	Western Cape Government (Dept of Agriculture)				
27	Western Cape Government (other)				
28					
29					

3. In the past 6 months who are the person and/or entity that you have approached most often to gather **strategic information** around communication and Economic Development related matters within the Western Cape?

Individual	Entity			

4. *"Public value" is defined as that which an entity produces beyond its output (i.e. beyond the direct results of its actions), and rather as outcomes (longer term changes in society).* What do you believe the public value is that your entity/organisation is pursuing? (You may have multiple answers).

5. Can you identify three (3) entities/organisations from the lists above that you believe are working to deliver the same public value as your organisation?

6. *It is possible for entities to pursue conflicting public value. For example: pursuing competitiveness in an industry through mechanisation may result in job losses. In this case an entity working towards job creation may find its public value pursuit in conflict with that of an entity driving for mechanisation.* Are there any entities that you believe may be pursuing conflicting value when compared to your own? Please state what value you believe they are pursuing.

Entity	Public Value aims		

Thank you for your time and your valuable contribution to this research project. We believe that the results will contribute to a better understanding of this particular network of communicators, and possibly lead to a stronger, and more effective, network.

ANNEXURE 2

Step-by-step data analysis as conducted in Gephi[13]

Starting point

1. Meeting dates & attendees collated into spreadsheet
2. Turn into a matrix by copying and transposing data (to now have dates & persons in rows and persons and dates in columns)
3. Separate sheet for nodes – which is just list of attendees as well as meeting dates – with column headings ID, Label and TYPE (which is person or event)
4. Import sheet with nodes first (node list)
5. Import matrix as edge list (choose matrix in drop down, append to this workspace, undirected)
6. Run all statistics
7. Save Gephi project as "starting point PRIOR to multimode"
8. Export node list – now populated with all statistics – as backup
9. Export edge list and save as backup.
   (If there is a problem with the project, you can upload these two sheets separately as nodes and edges and be at the same starting point.)

Turning 2-mode into 1-mode

1. Starting with the previous project – which now reflects both people and events.
2. Multimode plug-in pane – choose "Load Attributes"
3. In first block select Person – Event, in the second block Event-Person --- choose Delete Node.
   (This now identifies the events as edges – no longer nodes.)

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[13] For a detailed account and step-by-step guide of how to use Gephi – see Network Graph Analysis and Visualisations with Gephi by Ken Cherven (2013)
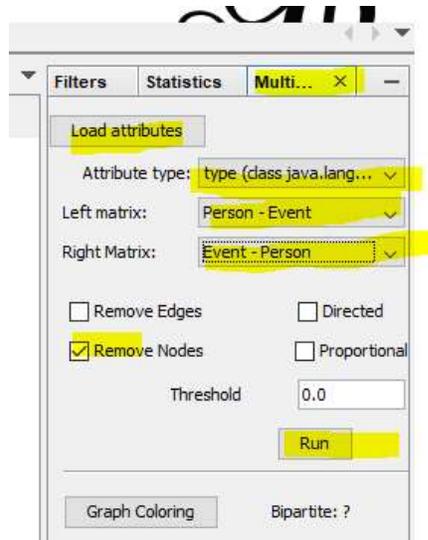
4. After choosing run, check the edge list. Every line should now contain in the attribute column the following "Person <--->Person". The visualisation will now only include persons.

5. Run all statistics
6. Save project as nodes and edges AFTER multimode _ individuals (because the list shows persons) – and separately export node and edge sheets as backup.

Visualising individuals

1. To visualise – start with sheet above, after all statistics have been run
2. On verview page, to the left, find the appearance pane.
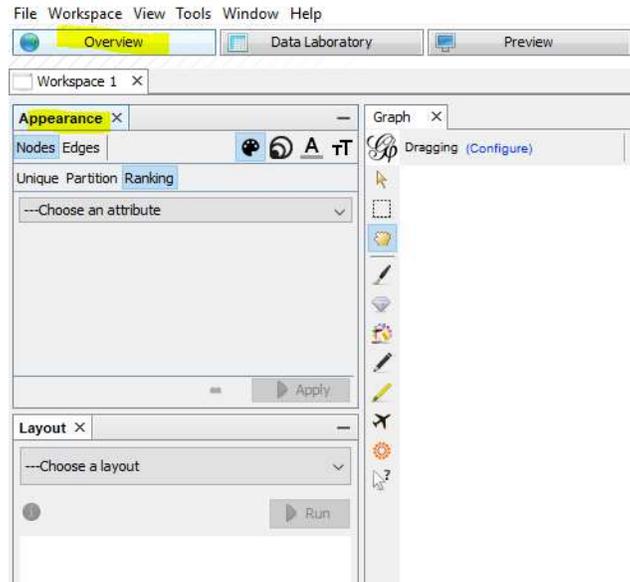
3. Selecting nodes – choose the size bubbles – select ranking, choose attribute (Degree) and apply – this resizes the nodes based on their degree

4. Still in nodes – choose the colour pallet – select ranking, choose attribute (Closeness Centrality) and apply – this colours nodes from dark to light based on closeness ranking. (Note that the attributes above can be changed – for this study these two were selected.)

5. Still on the Overview page, go to layout. Choose layout and select Force Atlas – run. Then press stop, choose layout again and select No overlap. This should result in a useable network map.
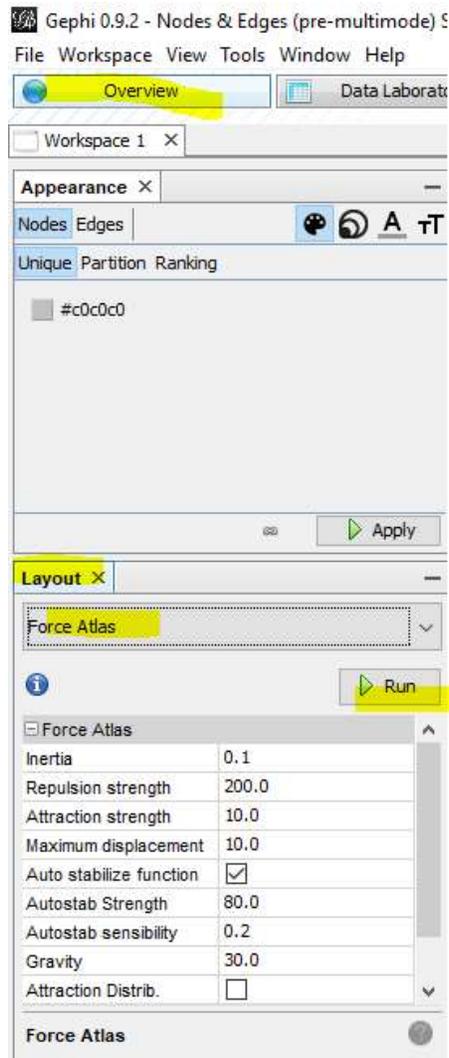
6. Go to the Preview page – and select preview – which should show the following:
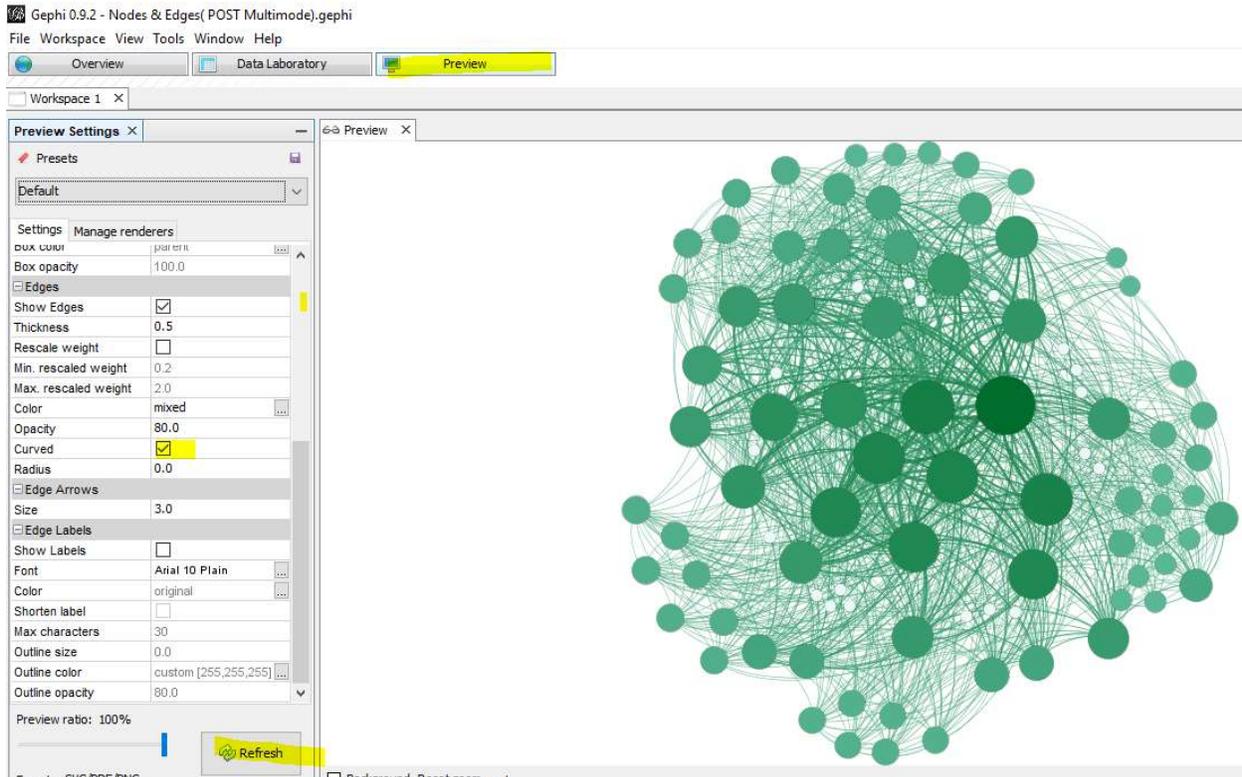
7. Under nodes, select show labels and resize the font. Remember to hit refresh every time to see the results of the action. If nodes are overlapping, go back to the Overview page and adjust using expansion or manually move the node around – return to preview and refresh.
8. Under edges, untick curved edges and resize weight to make thicker edges more visible and thinner edges less visible.
9. Save project again (nodes and edges AFTER multimode _ individuals)

Merging nodes to visualise organisations

1. Start with the AFTER multimode sheet from above.
2. Go to the Data Laboratory page in the notes sheet and sort by organisation. Now select all nodes from the same organisation, right click and merge node. In the next screen, select and delete the original node.
3. Rerun all statistics.

4. In the filter tab (to the right of the screen), select edges, drag self-loops down to filtering space and select run. This filters out from the visualisation the self-loops amongst individuals that have been merged into an organisation. A self-loop shows up like this in relation to a node:
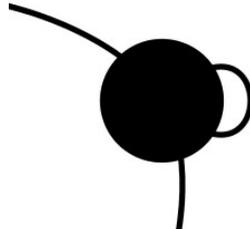
5. To reach visualisation – follow steps as above
6. Save file as After multimode – Organisations merged.

For different phases of partnerships

1. To visualise different phases in partnership (all attached to different sequence of events), start by listing which events were part of which phase.
2. Use the first workspace file - starting point PRIOR to multimode – as the base data has to be modified first to only include the period to be considered.
3. On the Data Laboratory page, open the nodes table. In the ID column, scroll down to the events (listed as nodes) and delete all the events NOT being considered in this analysis. Remaining in the list now are all individuals and only the events to be visualised. Edge list is automatically updated in the background.
4. Run all the statistics for the project
5. Return to the node list and sort by degree – all nodes with a 0 degree (i.e. no connections) should be deleted – as these are people who did not attend any events in the period under consideration. They may have attended prior or later events. This steps cleans up the graph – otherwise there will be a large amount of unconnected nodes floating around the outside.
6. Run Multimode Plug-in as explained
7. Visualise individuals
8. Merge and visualise organisations
9. Save datasets and projects labelled for this specific phase

For any next phases to be visualised – start over again (new project) with the first workspace file (starting point PRIOR to multimode) – and remove the next sets of event nodes to only have those events relevant in this new period in the sheet and repeat all steps.

ANNEXURE 3

SCEP – First matrix constructed from minutes of meetings

SCEP - Attendance Register raw data collated

ID	Entity	06-Jun-11	05-Sep-11	13-Feb-12	18-Jun-12	Workshop 18-Jan-13	27-Mar-13	22-Apr-13	12-Aug-13	07-Oct-13	02-Dec-13	20-Jan-14	17-Mar-14	05-May-14	19-May-14	17-Sep-14	09-Mar-15	23-Apr-15	14-Jul-15	10-Nov-15	05-Apr-16	25-May-16	19-Jul-16	24-Sep-16
1	Oudtshoorn Chamber	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	Oudtshoorn Agri	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	George Chamber	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
4	Knysna Chamber	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	Knysna Tourism	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	George Municipality	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
7	Knysna Municipality	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	Mosselbay Chamber	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	Mosselbay Chamber	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	Eden District Municipality	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	George Tourism	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	George Chamber	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	Knysna Chamber	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	Oudtshoorn Tourism	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
15	Outeniqua Tourism Association	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	Outeniqua Tourism Association	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	Private Business	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	Private Business	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	Eskom Foundation	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
20	SEDA	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	Eden Tourism	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	Eden District Municipality	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
23	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24	Mosselbay Tourism	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	Mosselbay Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	Mosselbay Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	Oudtshoorn Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	Oudtshoorn Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	George Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
31	Oudtshoorn Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
32	SEDA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	Oudtshoorn Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
34	Oudtshoorn Tourism	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	George Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	Knysna Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
37	Mosselbay Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
38	Mosselbay Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
39	Mosselbay Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
40	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
41	Oudtshoorn Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	Oudtshoorn Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
43	Oudtshoorn Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
44	Mosselbay Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
45	Mosselbay Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46	Oudtshoorn Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
47	Mosselbay Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
48	Albertinia Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
49	Oudtshoorn Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	Hessequa Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
51	George Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	Knysna Municipality	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
53	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
54	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
55	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
56	WCEDP	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
57	GR Business Circle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
58	GR Business Circle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
59	WCEDP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60	WCEDP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
61	ACSA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
62	WCEDP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
63	Mosselbay Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
64	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
65	Mosselbay Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

66	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
67	Oudtshoorn Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
68	Interface by Goji	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
69	Oudtshoorn Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
70	Oudtshoorn Chamber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
71	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
72	WC Province DEDAT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
73	Fancourt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	WC Province	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
75	WC Province	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
76	WC Province	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
77	MISA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
78	Oudtshoorn Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
79	Sluipsteen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
80	Oudtshoorn Tourism	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
81	George Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
82	Bitou Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
83	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
84	WCEDP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
85	Bitou Municipality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
86	WC Province	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
87	WC Province	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
88	WC Province	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
89	NMMU	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
91	George Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
92	George Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
93	George Herald	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
94	George Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
95	George Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
96	Private Business	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
97	Eden District Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
98	WCEDP	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
99	Knysna Municipality	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
100	George Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
101	WCEDP	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
102	Knysna Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
103	WC Province	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
104	Bitou Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
105	Bitou Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
106	WC Province	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
107	Knysna Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
108	Knysna Municipality	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
109	WC Province	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
110	Oudtshoorn Municipality	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
111	Hessequa Municipality	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
112	George Business Chamber	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
06-Jun-11		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
05-Sep-11		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13-Feb-12		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18-Jun-12		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18-Jan-13		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27-Mar-13		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22-Apr-13		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12-Aug-13		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
07-Oct-13		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02-Dec-13		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20-Jan-14		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17-Mar-14		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
05-May-14		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19-May-14		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17-Sep-14		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
09-Mar-15		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23-Apr-15		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14-Jul-15		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10-Nov-15		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
05-Apr-16		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25-May-16		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19-Jul-16		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24-Sep-16		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

SCEP – Matrix exported from Gephi (showing individuals)

Id	Label	timeset	node type	entity	nodecolor	Degree	modularity	Eccentricity	closnessc	harmonic	betweenne	Weighted	Authority	Hub	componer	clustering	triangles	eigencent
1	1		Person	Oudtshoo	red	45	0	2	0.627119	0.702703	79.76822	332	0.122141	0.122141	0	0.490909	486	0.540191
2	2		Person	Oudtshoo	blue	81	0	2	0.787234	0.864865	350.8237	672	0.209198	0.209198	0	0.354938	1150	0.911232
3	3		Person	George Ch	blue	47	0	2	0.634286	0.711712	100.4907	420	0.113516	0.113515	0	0.471785	510	0.514904
4	4		Person	Knysna Ch	blue	23	0	2	0.557789	0.603604	8.997633	180	0.068304	0.068304	0	0.766798	194	0.303455
5	5		Person	Knysna To	blue	20	0	3	0.544118	0.587087	2.617532	116	0.059895	0.059895	0	0.863158	164	0.265576
6	6		Person	George M	blue	94	0	2	0.867188	0.923423	741.1105	880	0.219179	0.219179	0	0.289407	1265	0.965729
7	7		Person	Knysna M	blue	47	2	2	0.634286	0.711712	72.00025	224	0.143154	0.143155	0	0.580944	628	0.611348
8	8		Person	Mosselba	blue	28	0	2	0.572165	0.626126	11.45839	212	0.085346	0.085345	0	0.732804	277	0.38036
9	9		Person	Mosselba	blue	20	0	3	0.544118	0.587087	2.617532	116	0.059895	0.059895	0	0.863158	164	0.265576
10	10		Person	Eden Distr	blue	13	0	3	0.518692	0.551051	0	52	0.040571	0.040571	0	1	78	0.180122
11	11		Person	George To	blue	13	0	3	0.518692	0.551051	0	52	0.040571	0.040571	0	1	78	0.180122
12	12		Person	George Ch	blue	73	0	2	0.744966	0.828829	229.5815	524	0.201061	0.201062	0	0.410198	1078	0.873519
13	13		Person	Knysna Ch	blue	13	0	3	0.518692	0.551051	0	52	0.040571	0.040571	0	1	78	0.180122
14	14		Person	Oudtshoo	blue	81	1	2	0.787234	0.864865	491.3059	824	0.168693	0.168692	0	0.287346	931	0.763177
15	15		Person	Outeniqu	blue	31	0	2	0.581152	0.63964	19.18154	164	0.091445	0.091444	0	0.707527	329	0.410978
16	16		Person	Outeniqu	blue	6	0	3	0.486842	0.509009	0	24	0.017699	0.017699	0	1	15	0.079574
17	17		Person	Private Bu	blue	17	0	3	0.536232	0.573574	2.4604	88	0.053517	0.053516	0	0.919118	125	0.237798
18	18		Person	Private Bu	blue	52	2	2	0.652941	0.734234	67.98523	268	0.162029	0.16203	0	0.572398	759	0.693973
19	19		Person	Eskom Fo	blue	33	0	2	0.587302	0.648649	43.75766	224	0.089639	0.089639	0	0.589015	311	0.404516
20	20		Person	SEDA	blue	24	0	2	0.560606	0.608108	3.767952	160	0.07851	0.07851	0	0.836957	231	0.350311
21	21		Person	Eden Tour	blue	69	0	2	0.72549	0.810811	217.839	484	0.192534	0.192534	0	0.421142	988	0.837402
22	22		Person	Eden Distr	blue	28	0	2	0.572165	0.626126	16.47955	120	0.08111	0.081109	0	0.698413	264	0.367125
23	23		Person	Eden Distr	blue	102	1	2	0.925	0.959459	1020.858	968	0.225949	0.225948	0	0.260338	1341	1
24	24		Person	Mosselba	blue	26	0	2	0.566327	0.617117	7.255933	156	0.082178	0.082177	0	0.76	247	0.367512
25	25		Person	Mosselba	blue	28	0	2	0.572165	0.626126	6.188128	136	0.097565	0.097564	0	0.796296	301	0.427496
26	26		Person	Mosselba	blue	28	0	2	0.572165	0.626126	6.188128	136	0.097565	0.097564	0	0.796296	301	0.427496
27	27		Person	Oudtshoo	blue	24	0	2	0.560606	0.608108	5.982894	116	0.083226	0.083226	0	0.822464	227	0.364568
28	28		Person	Oudtshoo	blue	9	0	2	0.521127	0.540541	0	36	0.034414	0.034413	0	1	36	0.154964
29	29		Person	Eden Distr	blue	9	0	2	0.521127	0.540541	0	36	0.034414	0.034413	0	1	36	0.154964
30	30		Person	George Ch	blue	54	1	2	0.660714	0.743243	114.4578	512	0.123672	0.12367	0	0.415793	595	0.562724
31	31		Person	Oudtshoo	red	24	1	2	0.560606	0.608108	18.043	124	0.066101	0.066101	0	0.648551	179	0.300283
32	32		Person	SEDA	red	7	1	2	0.516279	0.531532	0	28	0.028136	0.028135	0	1	21	0.127006
33	33		Person	Oudtshoo	blue	59	1	2	0.680982	0.765766	225.4969	520	0.112604	0.112602	0	0.334892	573	0.521964
34	34		Person	Oudtshoo	red	32	1	2	0.584211	0.644144	12.50653	192	0.094578	0.094577	0	0.709677	352	0.424696
35	35		Person	George Ch	blue	9	0	2	0.521127	0.540541	0	36	0.029326	0.029326	0	1	36	0.131741
36	36		Person	Knysna M	blue	66	1	2	0.711538	0.797297	254.4762	632	0.150428	0.150426	0	0.355245	762	0.678
37	37		Person	Mosselba	blue	21	1	2	0.552239	0.594595	7.220902	96	0.063242	0.063241	0	0.757143	159	0.283555
38	38		Person	Mosselba	blue	9	0	2	0.521127	0.540541	0	36	0.029326	0.029326	0	1	36	0.131741
39	39		Person	Mosselba	blue	17	1	2	0.541463	0.576577	5.617002	80	0.047548	0.047547	0	0.735294	100	0.218033
40	40		Person	Eden Distr	blue	31	0	2	0.581152	0.63964	21.26394	160	0.097265	0.097265	0	0.651613	303	0.429165
41	41		Person	Oudtshoo	red	22	1	2	0.555	0.599099	1.971129	116	0.072112	0.072112	0	0.904762	209	0.324953
42	42		Person	Oudtshoo	red	10	1	2	0.523585	0.545045	0	40	0.039339	0.039338	0	1	45	0.178403
43	43		Person	Oudtshoo	red	19	1	2	0.546798	0.585586	0	76	0.06443	0.06443	0	1	171	0.289444
44	44		Person	Mosselba	red	38	1	2	0.603261	0.671171	34.8725	236	0.098295	0.098294	0	0.573257	403	0.446703
45	45		Person	Mosselba	red	19	1	2	0.546798	0.585586	0	76	0.06443	0.06443	0	1	171	0.289444
46	46		Person	Oudtshoo	red	30	1	2	0.578125	0.635135	17.32626	164	0.09053	0.090529	0	0.675862	294	0.406435
47	47		Person	Mosselba	blue	34	0	2	0.590426	0.653153	15.76793	156	0.110962	0.110961	0	0.707665	397	0.489861
48	48		Person	Albertinia	red	27	1	2	0.569231	0.621622	6.2181	136	0.083001	0.083	0	0.797721	280	0.373108
49	49		Person	Oudtshoo	red	19	1	2	0.546798	0.585586	0	76	0.06443	0.06443	0	1	171	0.289444

50	50	Person	Hessequa	red	47	1	2	0.634286	0.711712	103.1446	344	0.114232	0.114231	0	0.455134	492	0.517177
51	51	Person	George M	red	23	1	3	0.555	0.602102	7.898345	108	0.07039	0.07039	0	0.743083	188	0.313052
52	52	Person	Knysna M	blue	48	2	2	0.637931	0.716216	49.87812	252	0.1523	0.152301	0	0.612589	691	0.649586
53	53	Person	Eden Dist	red	12	1	3	0.526066	0.552553	0	48	0.043011	0.043011	0	1	66	0.188916
54	54	Person	Eden Dist	red	12	1	3	0.526066	0.552553	0	48	0.043011	0.043011	0	1	66	0.188916
55	55	Person	Eden Dist	red	12	1	3	0.526066	0.552553	0	48	0.043011	0.043011	0	1	66	0.188916
56	56	Person	WCEDP	blue	57	2	2	0.672727	0.756757	102.7404	312	0.170609	0.170609	0	0.513158	819	0.7336
57	57	Person	GR Busine	red	15	1	3	0.533654	0.566066	0	60	0.049182	0.049182	0	1	105	0.220336
58	58	Person	GR Busine	red	15	1	3	0.533654	0.566066	0	60	0.049182	0.049182	0	1	105	0.220336
59	59	Person	WCEDP	red	8	1	3	0.516279	0.534535	0	32	0.029378	0.029378	0	1	28	0.133935
60	60	Person	WCEDP	red	17	1	2	0.541463	0.576577	2.260714	88	0.045467	0.045466	0	0.860294	117	0.210386
61	61	Person	ACSA	red	11	1	2	0.526066	0.54955	0	44	0.039773	0.039773	0	1	55	0.181079
62	62	Person	WCEDP	red	30	1	2	0.578125	0.635135	27.08934	224	0.063467	0.063466	0	0.554023	241	0.297044
63	63	Person	Mosselba	red	21	1	2	0.552239	0.594595	7.739719	104	0.049301	0.0493	0	0.738095	155	0.230396
64	64	Person	Eden Dist	red	36	1	2	0.596774	0.662162	64.91856	268	0.064275	0.064274	0	0.466667	294	0.305314
65	65	Person	Mosselba	red	11	1	2	0.526066	0.54955	0	44	0.033341	0.033341	0	1	55	0.154862
66	66	Person	Eden Dist	red	23	1	2	0.557789	0.603604	10.3184	144	0.049421	0.04942	0	0.687747	174	0.233368
67	67	Person	Oudtshoo	red	11	1	2	0.526066	0.54955	0	44	0.033341	0.033341	0	1	55	0.154862
68	68	Person	Interface	red	18	1	2	0.544118	0.581081	3.719481	96	0.034189	0.034189	0	0.823529	126	0.163205
69	69	Person	Oudtshoo	red	15	1	2	0.536232	0.567568	0	60	0.031185	0.031185	0	1	105	0.148671
70	70	Person	Oudtshoo	red	9	1	2	0.521127	0.540541	0	36	0.025154	0.025154	0	1	36	0.116834
71	71	Person	Eden Dist	red	18	1	2	0.544118	0.581081	3.719481	96	0.034189	0.034189	0	0.823529	126	0.163205
72	72	Person	WC Provir	red	15	1	2	0.536232	0.567568	0	60	0.031185	0.031185	0	1	105	0.148671
73	73	Person	Fancourt	red	15	1	2	0.536232	0.567568	0	60	0.031185	0.031185	0	1	105	0.148671
74	74	Person	WC Provir	red	15	1	2	0.536232	0.567568	0	60	0.031185	0.031185	0	1	105	0.148671
75	75	Person	WC Provir	red	15	1	2	0.536232	0.567568	0	60	0.031185	0.031185	0	1	105	0.148671
76	76	Person	WC Provir	red	15	1	2	0.536232	0.567568	0	60	0.031185	0.031185	0	1	105	0.148671
77	77	Person	MISA	red	9	1	2	0.521127	0.540541	0	36	0.025154	0.025154	0	1	36	0.116834
78	78	Person	Oudtshoo	red	14	1	2	0.533654	0.563063	0	56	0.037426	0.037426	0	1	91	0.174671
79	79	Person	Sluipstee	red	14	1	2	0.533654	0.563063	0	56	0.037426	0.037426	0	1	91	0.174671
80	80	Person	Oudtshoo	red	14	1	2	0.533654	0.563063	0	56	0.037426	0.037426	0	1	91	0.174671
81	81	Person	George M	red	18	1	2	0.544118	0.581081	6.876285	92	0.039692	0.039691	0	0.764706	117	0.186576
82	82	Person	Bitou Mur	red	8	1	3	0.509174	0.53003	0	32	0.021296	0.021295	0	1	28	0.099372
83	83	Person	Eden Dist	red	11	1	3	0.516279	0.543544	0.898768	68	0.023379	0.023379	0	0.890909	49	0.110118
84	84	Person	WCEDP	red	11	1	3	0.516279	0.543544	0.898768	68	0.023379	0.023379	0	0.890909	49	0.110118
85	85	Person	Bitou Mur	red	9	1	3	0.504545	0.53003	0	36	0.020516	0.020516	0	1	36	0.096666
86	86	Person	WC Provir	red	9	1	3	0.504545	0.53003	0	36	0.020516	0.020516	0	1	36	0.096666
87	87	Person	WC Provir	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
88	88	Person	WC Provir	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
89	89	Person	NMMU	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
90	90	Person	Eden Dist	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
91	91	Person	George M	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
92	92	Person	George M	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
93	93	Person	George He	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
94	94	Person	George M	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
95	95	Person	George M	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
96	96	Person	Private Bu	blue	42	2	2	0.616667	0.689189	21.31499	204	0.141869	0.14187	0	0.729384	628	0.602215
97	97	Person	Eden Dist	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
98	98	Person	WCEDP	blue	42	2	2	0.616667	0.689189	21.31499	204	0.141869	0.14187	0	0.729384	628	0.602215
99	99	Person	Knysna M	blue	42	2	2	0.616667	0.689189	21.31499	204	0.141869	0.14187	0	0.729384	628	0.602215

100	100		Person	George M	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
101	101		Person	WCEDP	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
102	102		Person	Knysna M	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
103	103		Person	WC Provir	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
104	104		Person	Bitou Mur	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
105	105		Person	Bitou Mur	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
106	106		Person	WC Provir	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
107	107		Person	Knysna M	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
108	108		Person	Knysna M	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
109	109		Person	WC Provir	red	31	2	2	0.581152	0.63964	0	124	0.11209	0.112091	0	1	465	0.470013
110	110		Person	Oudtshoo	blue	20	0	2	0.549505	0.59009	0	80	0.075352	0.075352	0	1	190	0.327385
111	111		Person	Hessequa	blue	20	0	2	0.549505	0.59009	0	80	0.075352	0.075352	0	1	190	0.327385
112	112		Person	George Bu	blue	20	0	2	0.549505	0.59009	0	80	0.075352	0.075352	0	1	190	0.327385

SCEP Matrix exported from Gephi showing merged nodes into entities

Id	entity	Degree	modularit	Eccentrici	closnessc	harmonic	betweene	Weighted	Authority	Hub	compone	clustering	triangles	eigencent	pageranks
2	Oudtshoorn Agri	26	2	2	0.861111	0.919355	10.17591	312	0.225697	0.225697	0	0.710769	231	0.879766	0.035544
5	Knysna Tourism	15	1	2	0.659574	0.741935	0.5	88	0.14699	0.14699	0	0.952381	100	0.572869	0.022126
122	Mosselbay Municipality	25	1	2	0.794872	0.870968	7.98819	116	0.20356	0.20356	0	0.746377	206	0.830866	0.03234
11	George Tourism	10	1	2	0.596154	0.66129	0	40	0.103439	0.103439	0	1	45	0.405422	0.016137
120	Knysna Municipality	30	2	2	0.911765	0.951613	14.48305	352	0.235464	0.235464	0	0.6133	249	0.959649	0.038413
127	Private Business	24	0	2	0.775	0.854839	4.974997	140	0.200466	0.200466	0	0.790514	200	0.819104	0.030568
128	SEDA	17	1	2	0.688889	0.774194	0.51337	128	0.16812	0.16812	0	0.948529	129	0.654128	0.024334
19	Eskom Foundation	20	2	2	0.738095	0.822581	2.005939	160	0.191522	0.191522	0	0.873684	166	0.747046	0.027789
21	Eden Tourism	25	1	2	0.837838	0.903226	8.392902	264	0.220263	0.220263	0	0.733333	220	0.858057	0.034378
24	Mosselbay Tourism	17	1	2	0.688889	0.774194	1.000805	108	0.166832	0.166832	0	0.911765	124	0.64944	0.024377
115	George Chamber	30	1	2	0.911765	0.951613	14.48305	168	0.235464	0.235464	0	0.6133	249	0.959649	0.038413
129	WCEDP	28	0	2	0.861111	0.919355	17.52674	164	0.211157	0.211157	0	0.641026	225	0.862328	0.036999
116	George Municipality	33	2	1	1	1	28.09734	416	0.245266	0.245266	0	0.538306	267	1	0.043188
123	Oudtshoorn Chamber	31	2	2	0.939394	0.967742	21.68305	328	0.235649	0.235649	0	0.570115	248	0.961385	0.040428
125	Oudtshoorn Tourism	30	2	2	0.911765	0.951613	19.456	416	0.229545	0.229545	0	0.640394	260	0.935969	0.039269
48	Albertinia Chamber	16	1	2	0.673913	0.758065	0.562338	84	0.159072	0.159072	0	0.941667	113	0.621681	0.023017
118	Hessequa Municipality	21	2	2	0.756098	0.83871	3.211205	192	0.196777	0.196777	0	0.833333	175	0.767543	0.029183
130	WC Province	19	0	2	0.688889	0.774194	4.125397	76	0.152062	0.152062	0	0.784314	120	0.623243	0.025377
61	ACSA	10	1	2	0.596154	0.66129	0	40	0.108581	0.108581	0	1	45	0.427183	0.015995
68	Interface by Goji	9	0	2	0.584906	0.645161	0.5	56	0.079174	0.079174	0	0.916667	33	0.31338	0.015904
124	Oudtshoorn Municipality	19	2	2	0.688889	0.774194	0.915873	112	0.168483	0.168483	0	0.901961	138	0.688365	0.024462
73	Fancourt	8	0	2	0.574074	0.629032	0	32	0.076463	0.076463	0	1	28	0.302703	0.01417
77	MISA	6	0	2	0.553571	0.596774	0	24	0.059486	0.059486	0	1	15	0.235316	0.011887
79	Sluipsteen	10	2	2	0.596154	0.66129	0	40	0.105785	0.105785	0	1	45	0.416335	0.016007
126	Outeniqua Tourism Association	20	1	2	0.704545	0.790323	0.940726	104	0.175443	0.175443	0	0.900585	154	0.71481	0.025591
117	GR Business Circle	14	1	2	0.62	0.693548	0	56	0.124399	0.124399	0	0.935897	73	0.51062	0.018487
114	Eden District Municipality	33	2	1	1	1	28.09734	468	0.245266	0.245266	0	0.538306	267	1	0.043188
89	NMMU	11	0	2	0.607843	0.677419	0	44	0.105533	0.105533	0	1	55	0.413157	0.017493
93	George Herald	11	0	2	0.607843	0.677419	0	44	0.105533	0.105533	0	1	55	0.413157	0.017493
121	Mosselbay Chamber	26	1	2	0.815789	0.887097	6.83885	200	0.212815	0.212814	0	0.756667	227	0.866629	0.033331
119	Knysna Chamber	18	1	2	0.673913	0.758065	0.827778	140	0.154592	0.154592	0	0.897059	122	0.62939	0.02352
113	Bitou Municipality	16	0	2	0.645833	0.725806	0.699145	64	0.133963	0.133963	0	0.885714	93	0.546848	0.021263