



ANNUAL REPORT 2022

**PARI**  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
RESEARCH INSTITUTE



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Staff photos: Bram Lammers

Cover: Envato, Power station at night

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Mahlatse Rampedi

page 11: Mahlatse Rampedi

pages 12-13: Oxfam

page 16: View of Alexandra Township (Quba)

page 18: Envato

Page 20: Bram Lammers

page 22, 28: Mahlatse Rampedi

page 30: Bram Lammers

page 33: Taxi and Car at Sunset in Soweto, [Wikimedia Commons](#)





ANNUAL REPORT 2022





PASTOR  
MUKHUBA

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# MESSAGES FROM THE DIRECTORS

## MBONGISENI BUTHELEZI, DIRECTOR



**T**he past twelve months was a big transition year for PARI and I think it went well. We did good strategy work to enable us to embark on the next phase in the life of the organisation, which we are calling PARI 3.0,

and we have closed PARI 2.0 as we have entered into the new financial year. PARI has gone through what in retrospect we started seeing as two phases in the past. The first phase was its foundation and growth consolidation until 2018. In 2018 it was a crisis year. This led to a near collapse of the organisation — and it was not just our organisation that went through a similar crisis, there were others in a period of revelations of sexual harassment in the social justice sector. So we have seen 2.0 then as a phase of rebuilding and setting a new direction for the organisation, which came to an end in the last year.

This new phase is now about positioning PARI very strongly as an academic research institute. For example, the University of Johannesburg is going to be one of our primary university affiliations

going forward. We have been thinking about expansion and giving the organisation a new shape, however, in terms of the organisation's core work, nothing has changed in any fundamental way.

We are now in a position where we see things much clearer and we want to sharpen ourselves and achieve greater impact through our programmes.

We are very grateful for this growth because it has given much needed gusto to continue our work of supporting the building of state capability, which has dwindled, with some parts showing the decay more visibly than others. When driving in Johannesburg, there are potholes everywhere. The city being under a coalition government is not helping either because when it comes to the bureaucracy we see the impact of unstable politics on administration — and what it has done is that it continues to weaken some key parts of the state.

Beyond that there has been constant bemoaning of the same things over and over again. We have become impatient as a society, we are losing hope because each successive government has told us we are fixing things but things keep getting worse, e.g. load-shedding. However, change is happening

**We need to accept that we are the ones we have been waiting for.** We hear talk often of the need for active citizenry and the time to stand up is now. We can no longer afford to keep outsourcing to politicians and political parties – they are not serving us well.

Mbongiseni Buthelezi

even if at a snail's pace. I think the National School of Government (for the first time ever since it was established) is much more focused and knows what the problem is and is trying to tackle it head on.

Another worrying thing is that we have observed that over the last five years of Cyril Ramaphosa's presidency, more functions and powers have been sucked up into the presidency. In the recent cabinet reshuffle, we saw this happening with the appointment of the Minister of Electricity, Kgosietso Ramokgopa. We saw it with the programme to reduce youth unemployment, the attempt to reduce red tape, it was in the presidency. That tells us in part, there is a problem of who the president can trust in state institutions. It's something unfortunate that has to be done but could be dangerous because when a leader builds a super presidency, what will happen when he leaves office and someone else enters who is interested in crony networks.

But through all this dysfunction and the despair it causes, we need to accept that we are the ones we have been waiting for.

We hear talk often of the need for active citizenry. The time to stand up is now. We can no longer afford to keep outsourcing to politicians and political parties — they are just not serving us well. Fortunately, we are seeing some interesting developments of people in civil society standing up now for election – thanks to Ramaphosa signing the Electoral Amendment Act. Now we need those people who have been protesting for services in local government to start a national movement that is going to challenge the political order. Unfortunately, there will be losses and change won't be immediate, but we need to grow the involvement of citizens in how state affairs are run.

We need to watch who gets put in every position in every level of the state — we need to put people with the right skills in positions of authority. Over time, we will reap the rewards of that kind of active citizenship.

**Mbongiseni Buthelezi**



**Although morale is low throughout the country, we should be glad that at least we can still hold elections every five years — it's not something that we need to protest for.** PARI has been involved in advocacy for reforms of the procurement legislation and at least the government has listened — and although it looks like nothing is happening, change is taking place, albeit slowly.

Lindiwe Ndlela

## LINDIWE NDLELA, DIRECTOR AND HEAD OF PROGRAMMES




**T**his past year was a good one for the Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI) because we achieved what we set out to do as an organisation. The highlights being the State Capture

Commission Conference we held in September with the Council for the Advancement of the South African Constitution (CASAC) which engaged with the findings and recommendations of the Zondo Commission report. The Energy Transition Programme also released 'Hungry for Electricity', the book which contends for universal access to electricity for all South Africans. In addition, we have published opinion pieces on various topics ranging from coalition politics to land to state reform. This is what is remarkable about PARI, which is its ability to do meaningful and accessible academic research that challenges the status quo when it is not serving the poor in the country.

But beyond our achievements, it is important to recognise that the capacity of the state has dipped — and the time is now for all of us to roll up our sleeves to make sure it is where it needs to be at for government to deliver on its mandate. It is an open secret that mismanagement and corruption has eroded the capacity of the state over the last decade or so. South Africa is the most unequal country in the world — and while the wealthy and middle classes have used their resources to opt out of government services that are inefficient as much as possible, the majority of South Africans cannot.

The poor and underprivileged still rely on the state for their basic needs to survive. The working class and the most vulnerable on society need the state to deliver services that are reliable. A state that is functional and capable of doing this is therefore non-negotiable for South Africa.





Building a capable state is an ongoing project, one which we cannot afford to tire from. Succession planning and investing in the young and emerging talent is part of this building process and organisations such as PARI can do a great deal of ensuring that the project of building state capability happens and continues.

Already PARI is working on the professionalisation of the state through advocacy, research and engaging with others in the state.

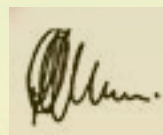
We think we can start to influence authorities in the public service to ensure that appointment processes are not politicised.

It will then be our job on an ongoing basis to make sure the state undertakes the necessary reforms to respond to the needs of the day.

Although morale in the country is low, we should be glad that at least we can still hold elections every five years — it is not something that we need to protest for and should not take it for granted either.

In 2023, we are going to keep the momentum on our research and publications. We want to work in partnership with others — especially institutes like PARI on a global scale. That will help enable us to look comparatively at our research, while learning from others. We want to strengthen the organisation further and make sure our work has an impact. That means we want to be looking at evaluating our work to make sure it has the intended impact. Furthermore, we will continue to strengthen our performance management system to bring certainty for our staff by making sure they progress in the organisation and build their careers in PARI.

**Lindiwe Ndlela**





# THE YEAR IN REVIEW

**The Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI) is in a new phase and it is stronger than ever before to carry out its mandate of shaping change through its research and advocacy work. We have gone through a tumultuous time since 2018, then the Covid-19 pandemic which tested our resilience. Thankfully, we are still here, standing on a much stronger foundation and we are creating an organisation that will serve us all — especially now where most South African citizens are despondent about the affairs of the country.**

Now we have ushered in PARI 3.0, which is all about positioning ourselves as a focused academic research institute; and we are working to collaborate with like-minded institutions on a global scale. In addition, we have consolidated internally how we work and how we achieve impact. We are especially excited about our programmes which continue to grow exponentially in their respective research areas. It's been exciting to watch how, for example, our Energy Transition work has become quite influential in the just energy transition space in South Africa. Every programme has been delivering consistently high-quality research reports, which are having an impact and an influence in the world around us. There's also been growth in our overall outputs and this is a long term strategy that is beginning to deliver very good results.

At the beginning of 2022, we started a new programme called Compact, which is partly funded by the European Union. The programme is working within 12 municipalities in six provinces around the country. It is working with councillors and municipal officials, in partnership with the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) and the UK-based organisation, Integrity Action. It is a five-year programme that aims to focus on how we can actualise the constitutional institution dream of an accountable participatory local government – and its growth.

We are happy to also announce the addition of our new Co-director and Head of Programmes, Lindiwe Ndlela.





# LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The muting of public views in scrutinising mayoral candidates who are presented by political parties in the opposition benches and minority raises questions about the consultative process of appointing political office bearers and the limitations of representative local democracy. While the agenda to professionalise the recruitment, appointment and removal of senior managers in local authorities still incubates in the committee chambers of parliament, the election and removal of city mayors (including members of the mayoral committee) must also be afforded greater public attention, given the tumultuous coalitions that fall apart before their end of term of office.

Dr Thina Nzo, [Opinion piece](#)



The local government programme aims to scrutinise the factors that undermine the capability and effectiveness of local government. It works to understand the day-to-day reality of administration and politics in municipalities and the factors that shape this reality. To achieve this goal, in the past year, the programme has been engaged in two research projects. The first project focused on the Green Hydrogen Economy and Local Government Planning in Namakwa District Municipality in the Northern Cape. The research aims to establish if there has been a shift in the way the state engages with local governments to mitigate the risks of having another socio-economic and infrastructure 'boom and bust' as previously experienced by other renewable energy host municipalities in the Northern Cape province.

This research precedes the 2021 research report publication titled 'Whose Power is it Anyway', which examined the impact of renewable energy development on local government infrastructure development and socio-economic development. The programme conducted extensive fieldwork research in collaboration with the PARI's land governance programme in Namakwa District Municipality and Richtersveld Local Municipality. The research report is set to be published in 2023.

The programme also participated in a research project in collaboration with Oxfam South Africa and the Auditor General of South Africa on the effectiveness of strengthening local governance through social accountability capacity building for CSOs in Alfred Nzo District Municipality in the Eastern Cape province. The research data was collected from capacity building programs implemented in three local municipalities in Alfred Nzo District Municipality. The case study research report will be published in May 2023.

Additionally, the local government programme has been involved in public engagements with the media, providing analysis on the complex politics of coalition city governments, which have had an impact on the stability and performance of municipal institutions. These engagements enabled PARI to significantly shape the public discourse about the nature of local government institutions and the shifting political landscape that might influence the way in which representational democracy is understood in South Africa. The programme has also managed to publish online several op-eds on local government and coalition politics and hosted a webinar on the impact of load shedding on municipal services and finances. The programme has also developed a relationship with state institutions, which has culminated in PARI being given a high priority in delivering presentations and facilitating high-level conferences, seminars, and webinars hosted by various institutions with the aim of using their research to advocate for local government institutional reforms.





## ACADEMIC

In 2022 PARI also launched a new Workshop Seminar Series to offer scholars, researchers and postgraduate students an opportunity to share their ongoing work. Under this series we had seven presentations on research conducted in South Africa on local government and governance, land, state reform and the extractive sector. This was a good opportunity for PARI to engage with scholars in the country.



**Organisational and Institutional Studies (OIS) Masters graduates 2022/23**

**(left to right):** Michael Asikabulu, Mthokozisi Mthembu, Shannon Bernhardt, Medina Willies and Paul Maluke Nkoko.



**Organisational and Institutional Studies (OIS) Honours graduates 2022/23**

**(left to right):** Shannon Wardlaw, Miche' Roberts (2020), Jabu Hlatswayo, and Samantha Lesley Mhlanga.

The focus of the academic programme in 2022 has been that of consolidating and fostering PARI's position within academia. To achieve this, PARI has worked with students of the Organisational and Institutional Programme, mostly Masters and PhD students, to help them complete their studies. They collaborated with the History Department of the University College of London and tailored a writing retreat to boost academic performance. Additionally, the programme aimed to foster academic culture at PARI by facilitating writing retreats with a mentor, organising monthly internal seminars to discuss the theoretical conceptions of the state and methodologies adopted at PARI, and re-launching our working paper series. Academic engagement also happened through the close reading of "The privatized State" by Chiara Cordelli, which ended with a conversation with the author.

PARI also launched a new Research Workshop Seminar Series to offer scholars, researchers, and postgraduate students an opportunity to share their ongoing work. Seven presentations were held under this series, focusing on research conducted in South Africa on local government and governance, land, state reform, and the extractive sector. This was a good opportunity for PARI to engage with scholars in the country. Overall, the programme has focused on academic consolidation and fostering of PARI's position in academia through various activities aimed at improving academic performance, engaging with scholars, and enhancing the academic culture at PARI.

# ENERGY TRANSITION

Power to the people! This starts with ending energy poverty and prioritising universal access to electricity. Energy poverty is a largely invisible form of both poverty and indignity. This might be why it receives so little attention. Yet, there are strong, positive linkages between access to clean, sustainable and safe energy (notably, electricity) and broad socioeconomic development. In South Africa, the policy focus is largely on improving electricity access for big business and industry. But there is a significant body of research showing that improving access to electricity for low-income households and small enterprises is just as important for economic growth and reducing poverty and inequality.

Dr Tracy Ledger, [Opinion piece](#)





In the previous year, the Energy Transition programme entered its third year, and increasingly focused its activities on three key areas: building a state able to implement an ambitious Just Energy Transition Plan (JET); Energy poverty; and supporting a wide range of reforms especially at local government to support the significant changes expected in the power sector over the next 10 years.

Our flagship publication during this period was the book 'Hungry for Electricity'. This is the first book that PARI has self-published, and it is an important tool in our energy poverty work. The programme has also continued advocacy work to improve the implementation of the Free Basic Electricity programme, which currently only benefits less than one third of the intended beneficiary households. In that respect we have built a good working relationship with a range of civil society organisations and the auditor-general of South Africa.

An important part of our work during the year was providing support to the development of South Africa's JETP IP, which was officially presented at COP 27 in Egypt. Our support was focused on the integration of energy poverty relief targets, and the inclusion of a significant funding commitment in respect of the municipal electricity infrastructure upgrading requirements. The COP27, took place at the venue for the annual general meeting of the International Network of Energy Transition Think Tanks (INETTT) of which the programme is a member. We also presented at an international workshop on the challenges facing state-owned enterprises in the electricity sector in Berlin, in September 2022. In December 2022 PARI joined the Powering Past Coal Alliance (PPCA), and is a member of its Just Transition panel of experts.





## COMPACT

Compact's milestones include establishing cooperative agreements between key partners, identifying and selecting partner municipalities, designing and implementing a pillar approach to address various aspects of the project, hosting a launch, producing two factsheets, and undertaking a desktop baseline assessment per municipality.

Compact is a co-founded European Union programme; **Com** stands for community, and **PACT** refers to the stakeholder relationship. The aim of the programme is to enhance local government planning and accountability. In the past year, the Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI), the South African Local Government Association (SALGA), and Integrity Action (IA) have jointly implemented a project called "Supporting Public Participation and Planning in Local Government: Towards Local Government Service Delivery and Accountability" in South Africa. The project aims to enhance accountability through improved public participation protocols at the local government level.

Compact has undergone intensive deep-dive action research to introduce an alternate or improved model of engagement between the Municipal administration, its political bearers, and the community it serves. The project intends to foster meaningful participation in decision-making, improved communities' involvement in formulating a credible Integrated Development Plan (IDP), prioritising outputs, budgetary allocations, and setting the Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP) targets.

Since February 2022, Compact has achieved several milestones, including establishing cooperative agreements between key partners, identifying and selecting 12 partner municipalities, designing and implementing a pillar approach to address various aspects of the project, hosting a launch, producing two factsheets, and undertaking a desktop baseline assessment per municipality. Additionally, the project has undertaken action research, outlining preliminary findings from interviews conducted with approximately 370 persons, including the 12 municipalities' administration, political bearers, and community representatives.





## LAND GOVERNANCE

The lack of faith in government bureaucratic processes, which have been riddled with incapacity and corruption, prompts self-help initiatives from local communities who do not see themselves getting any reprieve from the government.

[Dr Gaynor Paradza](#)

The Land Governance Programme's specific aim is to contribute to improved land governance through building state capacity, enhancing state-CSO engagements by generating empirical evidence and building the state's capacity to uphold the South African Constitution. To do so, in the last year the programme has continued its focus on generating empirical evidence to inform policy making, civil society interventions, and strengthening the rights of the poor in South Africa, Southern Africa, and beyond. The Public Affairs Research Institute also participated in scholarly engagement with the Merian Institute for Advanced Studies in Africa MIASA in Ghana in 2022. The Programme which connected PARI to a network of land governance scholars in West Africa involved mentoring, research engagement of junior scholars and participation in a Conference Land Governance and Conflicts in West Africa. PARI as a member of the NELGA Southern Africa hub participated in a Webinar that was organised to celebrate and reflect on the role of women in the land sector in academia, civil society and grassroots communities. PARI contributed to land governance capacity building in Africa by delivering a Module on "Legal Pluralism In Land Governance", during the inaugural Youth Initiative for Land in Africa's debut training. PARI also contributed resources to support 'The Failed Promise of Tenure Security Customary Rights and Dispossession' and presented a paper on the tenure (in)security of customary land right holders in municipal land transmissions.

The programme published reports on land governance in three local authorities in South Africa, highlighting the challenges arising from intergovernmental relations, municipal land shortage, unresolved tenure issues for communities, municipal capacity limitations, and the impasse between rural municipalities and traditional authorities. The findings were disseminated to policy makers at the local, provincial, and national government forums to inform land governance policy making.

The programme also engaged in various interventions to strengthen pro-poor land policy making in South Africa, including participating in the SALGA Rural Indaba and engaging with Lephalale Municipality and Ga-Seleka traditional authority. The Land Governance Programme has initiated a study with the Local Government Programme to conduct fieldwork on Land Governance in the Northern Cape, focusing on the community impact of large-scale land-based investments in mining and green energy on land tenure.

Gaynor Paradza, Programme Lead, also produced an op-ed on the tenure implications of a business rescue for small-scale producers and value chain implications.

**The sensible compromises and fixes that our first set of democratic leaders developed in the mid-1990s are no longer working for us.** Within the highly durable architecture of our Constitution, we need to reform the institutions regulating the interface between politics and our public administration. And we need to do it urgently. With state capture still present, and a new era of coalition politics very likely, state reformers and civil society need to stress-test their reform ideas against both the present political landscape and the imminent future.

Dr Sarah Meny-Gibert

Opinion piece, Sunday Times, 30 October 2022.  
[South Africa needs civil servants who are capture-proof](#)

# STATE REFORM



PARI's State Reform Programme aims to reduce the influence of corruption on the public administration so that it better serves its democratic mandate. The programme provides evidence-based recommendations for reforms in key regulatory and administrative institutions.

Last year, the programme, along with the African Procurement law Unit, University of the Witwatersrand and Corruption Watch, was invited to provide technical support to social partners at Nedlac in their deliberations on the Public Procurement Bill. The programme argued for important amendments to the Bill aimed at enhancing transparency in the system, and ensuring a more strategic approach to how the state 'buys'. The Bill, a critical piece of legislation for South Africa, has just come before parliament, and will be an important focus of our advocacy work over the next year.

The programme has also contributed public understanding and debate about the Zondo Commission's recommendations through media interviews, publication, op-eds, and public debates. In September 2022, we and the Council for the Advancement of the South African Constitution (CASAC) hosted a conference to help society understand the recommendation of the Zondo report. The conference led to further collaborations with civil society partners and state reformers around proposals for addressing the Commission's key findings on state capture. We are pleased to have recently received funding from the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences for a book project on the Zondo Commission.

Our anti-corruption work has also included support to the work of the National Anti-Corruption Advisory Council – following our prominent role on the National Anti-Corruption Strategy Reference Group in previous years. We continue to act as a secretariat to the Association of Former Directors-General (AfDG), who are committed to sharing their experiences, skills and knowledge in the public service to build the state's capabilities. Funded by Yellowwoods, the state reform programme recently partnered with the association in hosting five very successful 'dialogues' with senior state officials and experts on state capacity in water delivery, energy, criminal justice, and public transport. The dialogues generated important insights into these crucial sectors, which will form the basis of ongoing conversations with the presidency and other relevant stakeholders. The programme is also in the middle of an exciting new project on the Department of Mineral Resources and Energy, funded by the Lewis Foundation. The project is exploring how the department can be made fit-for-purpose to support a just energy transition.

# SHAPING CHANGE: MEDIA AND EVENTS





## OPINION PIECES

Daily Maverick, 04 Feb 2022. [The Zondo Report's Recommendations Must Be Implemented Yesterday](#) by Ryan Brunette, Jay Kruuse and Tharin Pillay.

Daily Maverick, 16 Feb 2022. [Universal access to electricity is a necessary prerequisite to ending poverty itself](#) by Tracy Ledger for Energy Governance South Africa.

Daily Maverick, 24 May 2022. [KZN floods — the dangerous cocktail of traditional authorities and local government](#) by Mbongiseni Buthelezi.

Daily Maverick, 29 June 2022. [Covid-19 Informal Settlement](#) by Thina Nzo.

Daily Maverick, 25 July 2022. [Public administration reform is critical after a pliant civil service greased the wheels of State Capture](#) by Devi Pillay.

Daily Maverick, 29 August 2022. [Zondo Commission's missed opportunity on role of law enforcement agencies in State Capture](#) by Devi Pillay.

Daily Maverick, 22 September 2022. [Universal access to electricity is the critical development intervention that South Africa needs](#) by Tracy Ledger.

Business Day, 10 November 2022. [The lack of political consensus around energy endures with ANC tied up to coal](#) by Dennis Webster

News24, 7 October 2022. [Coalition governments should be about citizens, not winning seats](#) by Lindiwe Ndlela.

Sunday Times, 30 October 2022. [South Africa needs civil servants who are capture-proof](#) by Sarah Meny-Gibert.

Business Day, 12 December 2022. [Shortcomings of SA's commuter railways worsen by the day](#) by Dennis Webster.

Mail & Guardian, 15 December 2022. [Transnet turns a new leaf, but there are many cracks in the system](#) by Tshegofatso Mathe.

Daily Maverick, 22 January 2023. [The dangers and limits of the DA's high court attempt to abolish cadre deployment](#) by Ryan Brunette

Daily Maverick, 22 January 2023. [Social Justice Assembly gathers to address multiple crises facing SA](#) by Mbongiseni Buthelezi and Nontando Ngamlana.

Mail & Guardian, 13 February 2023. [The \(un\)making of mayoral leadership behind coalition city governments](#) by Thina Nzo.

Mail & Guardian, 12 March 2023. [Failure to Boot Cele Betrays Public Safety](#) by Niren Tolsi.

## REPORTS

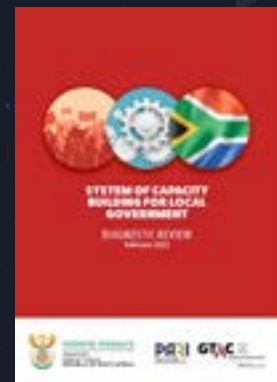
Nyuke, S., G. Paradza, and N. Mjoli (2022) '[Land Governance in Ekurhuleni Municipality Report](#)'. Johannesburg : Public Affairs Research Institute.

Monama, E. (2022) '[Land Use Management in Lephalale Local Municipality](#)'. Land Governance Report. Johannesburg : Public Affairs Research Institute.

Ndlovu, T. (2022) '[The Confluence Of The State, Local Municipality and Traditional Authority In Land Governance: The case of Engcobo, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa](#)'. Land Governance Report. Johannesburg : Public Affairs Research Institute.

\_\_\_\_\_ (2022) '[System of Capacity Building for Local Government: Diagnostic Review](#)'. A PARI/ GTAC report.

\_\_\_\_\_ (2022) '[State Capture Commission Conference: Understanding the Recommendations and Findings of the Zondo Commission: Conference Report](#)'. A PARI / CASAC Report.



## WORKING PAPERS

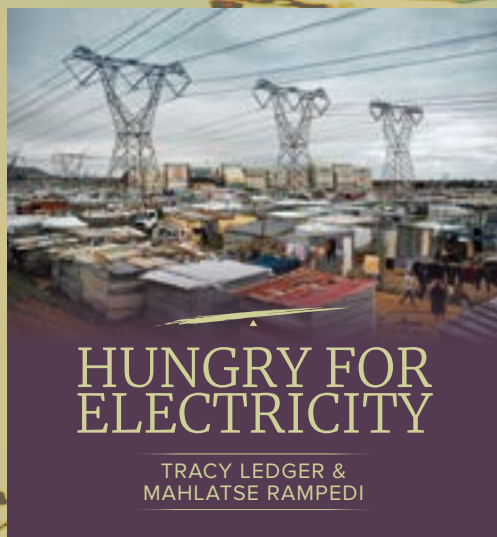
Klaaren, J., F. Belvedere, R. Brunette, N. Gray (2022) '[Public Procurement and Corruption in South Africa](#)'. Working Paper No. 2. Public Affairs Research Institute: Johannesburg.

Naidoo, V. (2022) '[Remodelling Cabinet Departments in South Africa: Tracking the internal form and shape of departmental machinery](#)'. PARI Working Paper 1. Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.

## POLICY DOCUMENTS

Pillay, D. (2022) '[The Zondo Commission: A bite-sized summary](#)'. A resource document. Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.





Ledger, T. and M. Rampedi  
(2022) **Hungry For  
Electricity**. Johannesburg:  
Public Affairs Research  
Institute.

Despite a clear policy commitment to universal access to electricity, millions of South African households are unable to access even the minimum amount of electricity they require to improve their lives and take advantage of economic opportunities. The original 'electricity for all' promise has been replaced with 'if you are poor, you cannot have electricity'.

*Hungry for Electricity* by Tracy Ledger and Mahlatse Rampedi argues for universal access to electricity in South Africa. This groundbreaking book depicts the unforgiving reality faced by a vast number of South Africans. It presents a new model for conceptualising universal access to electricity and a clear policy roadmap for how to achieve that goal.

Ledger and Rampedi argue that universal access to electricity may be the single most important tool for reducing poverty and inequality in South Africa: It can increase quality of life, create new employment opportunities, support small enterprises and reduce food insecurity.

*Hungry for Electricity* traces the state's focus on physical infrastructure without consideration of the other factors that limit the ability of poor households to use electricity to improve their lives. But electrification does not guarantee meaningful or equitable development benefits. The only kind of access to electricity that translates into meaningful development benefits is universal enabling access.



EVENTS



**14–15 September  
2022**

## **State Capture Commission Conference:** Understanding the Findings and Recommendations of the Zondo Commission

A PARI and [CASAC](#) event

### [VISIT THE CONFERENCE WEBSITE](#)

The following articles by independent journalists who attended the conference were commissioned by PARI. Their opinions are their own:

Business Day, 25 September 2022. '[All Eyes On Ramaphosa's Remedies After Zondo's Diagnosis](#)' by Dennis Webster.

Daily Maverick, 29 September 2022. '[Plight Of Whistleblowers – SA Needs A Culture Shift And Proper Legislation](#)' by Ihsaan Haffeejee.

Business Day, 5 October 2022. '[Not The Rotten Apples, Not Even The Orchards – The Soil Itself Is The Problem](#)' by Dennis Webster.

Daily Maverick, 5 October 2022. '[Private Sector Corruption Endemic In SA Before Zuma State Capture Years – Financial Analyst](#)' by Ihsaan Haffeejee.



## **EVENTS**

### **26–27 January 2023**

[Social Justice Assembly](#). A joint event – PARI is an organizing partner.

### **8 February 2023**

[Webinar: The Impacts of Loadshedding on Municipal Services and Finances](#). Hosted by the Local Government programme.

### **16 February 2023**

[Compact Launch](#). PARI's COMPACT programme is formally launched at Emperor's Palace in Johannesburg.

### **16 February 2023**

[Who pays the price for State Capture?](#) Devi Pillay participated in this Open Secrets webinar that looked at the consequences of state capture.

### **22 February 2023**

Seminar: [The Privatised State](#). Author Chiara Cordelli addresses the reading group.

## **RESEARCH SEMINAR SERIES**

This workshop series offered scholars, researchers and postgrads an opportunity to share their ongoing work.

### **13 September 2022**

[Extractive industry indigenisation, unfulfilled pledges and mining-induced displacement vulnerabilities: The case of internally displaced persons at Arda Transau farm, Zimbabwe.](#)

### **29 September 2022**

[The people's perspective of public participation in infrastructure and housing provision in South Africa: evidence from a factorial survey experiment.](#)

### **13 October 2022**

[Legislative initiatives and provisions on traditional leader's role in South Africa: Imperatives and Implications.](#)

### **27 October 2022**

The role of management consultants and accountants in South Africa's State capture.

### **10 November 2022**

[The making, unmaking and remaking of the public service – with case studies from the Covid-19 Pandemic.](#)

### **17 November 2022**

Foundation Report. [Maputaland's Ecosystem of Crime: The weight of history.](#)

## BROADCAST MEDIA

[SABC 1, 4 March 2022](#), The Watch Dog interviewed PARI's Local Government Programme Lead, Thina Nzo on 4 March 2022 about what it would take for municipalities to deliver on their promises.

[SABC 1, 8 March 2022](#), The Watch Dog, SABC 1, interviewed Local Government Programme Lead, Thina Nzo on 8 March 2022 about the proposal for local councillors to be paid according to their performance evaluations.

[SAFM/Capetalk, 29 March 2022](#), Refilwe Moloto interviewed Tracy Ledger on 29 March 2022 about the ingrained injustices and monopolies in our food system.

[Newzroom Afrika, 20 June 2022](#), Thina Nzo: A Metro-by-Metro Analysis.

[SABC Morning Live, 22 June 2022](#), The country awaits the fifth and final installment of the State Capture Report following a delay that drew public criticism; Mbongiseni Buthelezi reflects on the four reports so far.

[Newsroom Afrika, 22 August 2022](#), Although corruption at municipal level is a major issue affecting service delivery, Public Affairs Research Institute's Tracy Ledger believes it is not the only problem.

[SAFM, 22 August 2022](#), Dr Mbongiseni Buthelezi was featured on Michelle Constant's breakfast show on 22 August 2022, and brought in PARI researcher, Thina Nzo and CASAC Director, Lawson Naidoo.

[Newzroom Afrika, 15 September 2022](#), Calling in to Newzroom Afrika from PARI/CASAC's State Capture Commission conference, Devi Pillay discusses the role of law enforcement agencies in state capture.

[Newzroom Afrika, 28 September 2022](#), Thina Nzo: Ramaphosa calls on councils to behave.

[Newzroom Afrika, 5 September 2022](#), Thina Nzo: More political activity expected in Gauteng.

[Newzroom Afrika, 6 October 2022](#), Thina Nzo: Despite a court judgement setting aside the Johannesburg council special meeting that ousted Mpho Phalatse as mayor, it seems Phalatse has little chances of winning votes should another motion be tabled.

[@SJAssembly TwitterSpace: 29 November 2022](#), Mbongiseni Buthelezi: Get to know the SJA.

[eNCA We the Nation, 19 January 2023](#), Thina Nzo: Is the ANC still a good fit for a democratic South Africa?

[Sunday Times Podcast, 2 February 2023](#), Lindiwe Ndlela: Coalition chaos — why we must hold elected politicians accountable.

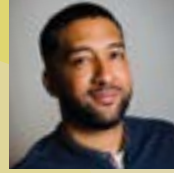
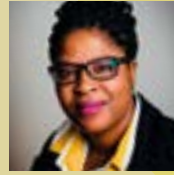
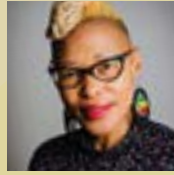
[@ChampionSouthAfrica TwitterSpace, 2 February 2023](#), Lindiwe Ndlela: Does Coalition Politics Need Serious Reform?





We think we are free today but we are not. It is as though they removed a rock on top of black people and replaced it with steel.

Philip, Eyadini  
Hungry for Electricity



# THE PARI TEAM



## STAFF

### EXECUTIVE

Mbongiseni Buthelezi: Executive Director  
Lindiwe Ndlela: Co-director and Head of Programmes  
Janita Kempen: Head of Finance  
Lelethu Mazomba: Head of Administration  
Sarah Meny-Gibert: Senior Researcher and Programme Lead  
Tracy Ledger: Senior Researcher and Programme Lead

### OFFICE

Necia Quive: Senior Bookkeeper  
Pamela Ndlovu: Programmes Administrator  
Refiloe Ramaisa: Organisational Administrator  
Thabiso Parirenyatwa: Project Coordinator  
Sindy Siqualo Moyo: Housekeeper  
Enoch Brighton Nkatha: Groundsman

### COMMUNICATIONS

Vishanthi Arumugam: Head of Communications

## FUNDERS

Agora Energiewende  
European Union  
Ford Foundation  
Lewis Foundation  
Millennium Trust  
Open Society Foundation  
OXFAM  
RAITH Foundation  
Yellowwoods

### PROGRAMME LEADS

Federica Duca: Academic  
Gaynor Paradza: Land Governance  
Girish Daya: Compact  
Sarah Meny-Gibert: State Reform  
Thina Nzo: Local Government  
Tracy Ledger: Energy Transition

### RESEARCHERS AND ASSOCIATES

Devi Pillay: Researcher  
Mahlatse Rampedi: Researcher  
Thatshisiwe Ndlovu: Researcher  
Waseem Holland: Researcher  
Kate Tissington: Senior Researcher (Compact)  
Jabu Hlatshwayo (Junior Research Intern)  
Peter Vale: Research Mentor  
Joel Pearson: PhD Fellow and Research Associate  
Thokozani Chilenga-Butao: Research Associate  
Jonathan Klaaren: Research Associate  
Crispian Olver: Research Associate  
Marcus Walton: Research Associate  
Ryan Brunette: Research Associate  
Noma Pakade: Research Associate  
Emma Monama: Research Associate  
Mosa Phadi: Research Associate

**ANNUAL  
FINANCIAL  
STATEMENTS**

# ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 28 FEBRUARY 2023

PUBLIC AFFAIRS RESEARCH INSTITUTE NPC

REGISTRATION NUMBER 2010/009156/08

## STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION AS AT 28 FEBRUARY 2023

Figures in Rand	Note(s)	2023	2022
<b>ASSETS</b>			
Non-Current Assets			
Property plant and equipment	2	321,652	168,440
Current Assets			
Trade and other receivables	3	438,652	194,016
Cash and cash equivalents	4	15,794,946	20,279,552
		16,233,598	20,473,568
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>		<b>16,555,250</b>	<b>20,642,008</b>
<b>EQUITY AND LIABILITIES</b>			
<b>Equity</b>			
Reserves		6,828,284	5,738,604
Retained surplus		164,040	3,828,582
		<b>6,992,324</b>	<b>9,567,186</b>
<b>Liabilities</b>			
<b>Current Liabilities</b>			
Trade and other payables	5	9,562,926	11,074,822
<b>TOTAL EQUITY AND LIABILITIES</b>		<b>16,555,250</b>	<b>20,642,008</b>

## STATEMENT OF COMPREHENSIVE INCOME

Figures in Rand	Note(s)	2023	2022
Revenue	6	23,228,192	20,011,325
Other income	7	217,955	-
Operating expenses	8	(26,919,226)	(19,515,169)
Operating surplus/ (deficit)		<b>(3,473,079)</b>	<b>496,156</b>
Investment revenue		898,216	488,143
Surplus/ (deficit) for the year		<b>(2,574,863)</b>	<b>984,299</b>



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