



PARI
PUBLIC AFFAIRS
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

A horizontal row of six small colored squares: purple, blue, green, yellow, orange, and red.

ANNUAL REPORT 2023

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THE YEAR IN REVIEW

The past year has been the most notable at PARI, featuring our largest budget and a record number of publications. We released two significant edited volumes on **State Capture** and **Covid-19 responses**. We also welcomed dynamic new team members, particularly younger researchers.

This year, PARI will continue to deepen its existing work and seize opportunities for innovation as outlined in our 3.0 strategy. The **State Reform Programme** has been particularly active, with working groups focusing on **procurement** and **anti-corruption**, achieving significant progress. We have also secured **new donors** to support our initiatives.



MBONGISENI BUTHELEZI
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The past year has been perhaps the most successful in my time at PARI. We have achieved significant growth, operating with our largest budget to date and producing the highest number of publications in PARI's history. Personally, the highlights include completing two major projects: the publication of two edited volumes—one on State Capture, edited by Peter Vale and myself, and another on Covid-19 and global state responses, edited by Federica Duca and Sarah Meny-Gibert. We have finally hit our stride in publishing, which is a goal we have worked towards for some time. Another exciting development has been the addition of new, dynamic team members, particularly younger researchers who are bringing fresh energy and innovation. We are now specifically continuing rolling out PARI 3.0 strategy, which involves deepening the impact of the work we have set out in motion to do.

Towards the end of last year, we undertook two important processes: organisational mapping, supported by the Ford Foundation, and a strategic planning session. These initiatives highlighted areas needing improvement, particularly our organisational culture, which requires ongoing attention. We have begun addressing this by bringing in professionals to discuss various aspects of organisational development during our staff meetings. Several areas for improvement were identified, such as creating safety protocols for fieldwork. This led to the formation of staff collectives focused on specific issues, like cybersecurity. These initiatives have been included in our budget for the current financial year, ensuring they have the necessary resources to succeed.

As we reflect on a year of significant achievements and look forward to the challenges and opportunities ahead, we are confident in PARI's continued growth and impact. The foundation we have built will support new innovations and further strengthen our role in advancing understanding and reform within the state.

Mbongiseni Buthelezi

This period was an election year, and our observations indicate a resilient democracy in South Africa, with society effectively pushing back against political leadership, demonstrating the consolidation of South Africa's democracy.

As we reflect on a year of significant achievements and look forward to the challenges and opportunities ahead, we are confident in PARI's continued growth and impact. The foundation we have built will support new innovations and further strengthen our role in advancing understanding and reform within the state.

As I am finalising my tenure in the organisation, I believe PARI is in a healthy and thriving position. It is time for new ideas and energy to propel the organisation forward. In my remaining time here, I aim to make progress on the next book on the Zondo Commission and explore another edited volume on the land question in South Africa. We have ambitious plans for the future, with PARI set to celebrate its 15th anniversary next May. ■



LINDIWE NDELELA

CO-DIRECTOR

This year, PARI will continue to deepen its ongoing initiatives and seize opportunities to innovate. In alignment with our 3.0 strategy, which we are actively pursuing, we aim to strengthen our collaborations, and significant progress has been made in this area.

The State Reform Programme has been actively engaged with various working groups, including the Procurement Working Group and the Anti-Corruption Working Group, both of which have made substantial contributions. Additionally, our programs are effectively fulfilling their mandates to build state capacity. Notably, we provided assistance with the responses to the Procurement Bill before it went to Parliament. On the funding front, we have successfully secured new donors to support our work, for which we are very fortunate.

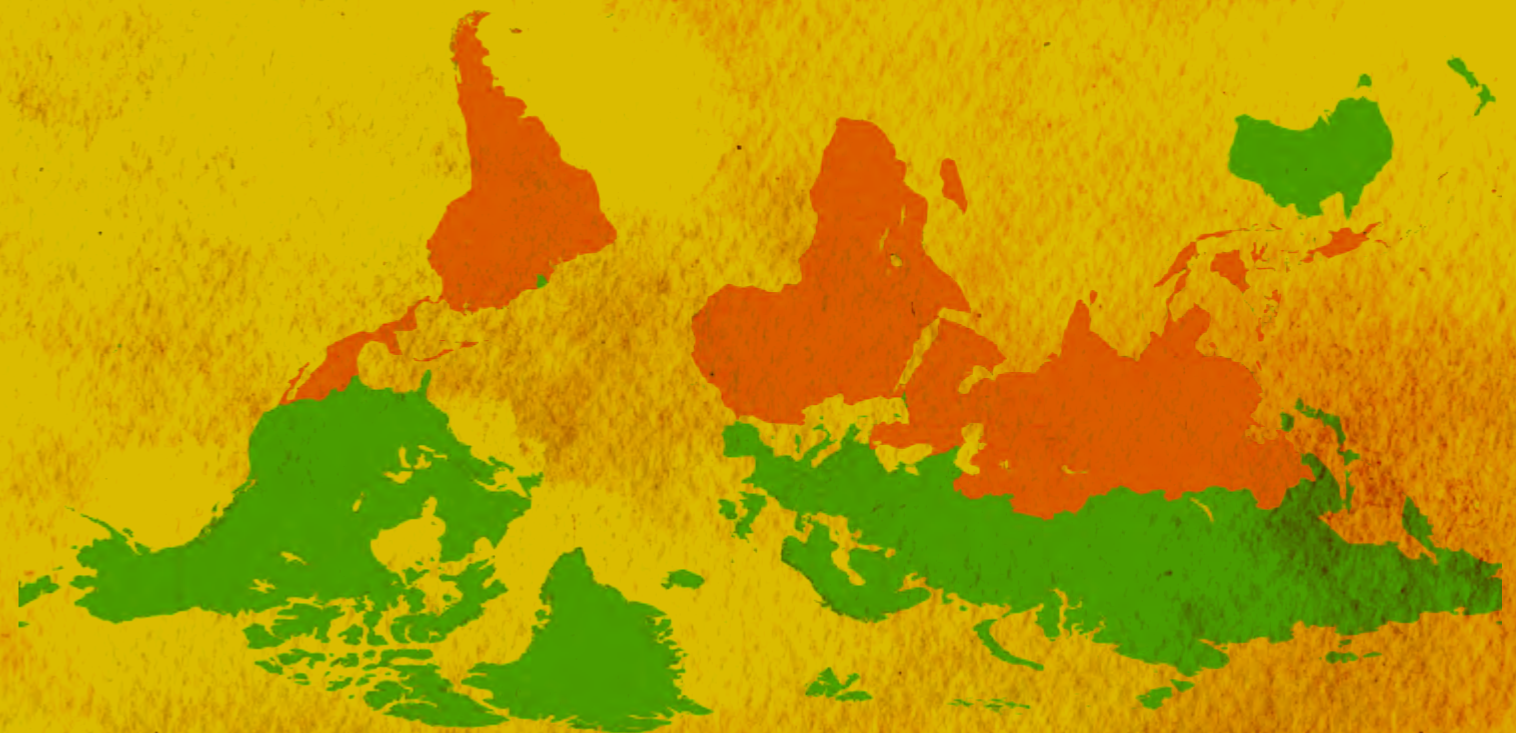
PARI conducts research grounded in academic theory. We apply theoretical concepts discussed in universities to real-world settings to understand and explain state mechanisms. Recently, we have

also ventured into the implementation space, with our Compact Programme taking the lead.

Beyond research, we are actively developing tools to enhance public participation. We have entered a phase where these tools are being created, one of which is community-based monitoring. This tool trains communities to monitor municipal programs effectively. Additionally, we hosted our fourth annual conference on State Capture, focusing on the progress of implementing the recommendations from the commission.

Going forward, we want to grow more, we want to deepen relationships with other like minded organisations on the continent and in the global South. That work has kind of begun, we have a project that we want to do with people in Kenya, some of them in Ghana. We are still conceptualising that work. Our energy work is already working beyond the boundaries of South Africa as we are part of an international network of think tanks. So our footprint is growing. ■

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PROGRAMMES



PARI's research underlines the importance of institutional design and performance to build effective and democratic state institutions, for more equitable policies to reduce poverty and inequality. We collaborate with civil society organisations, think tanks, state institutions and academic institutions, to:

- Produce **new and original research** into public institutions, state formation, state-society relations and public policy;
- Realise **advocacy campaigns to achieve state reform**, focusing on the various programme areas, strategic collaborations and cooperation with the state;
- Maintain **an academic profile** through university affiliations and teaching programmes, to foster a conducive intellectual environment within the organisation, and contribute to the study fields of state governance and state-society relations
- Shape **public opinion** in relevant interest groups through targeted communications;
- Maintain a **repository of research** accessible to the public.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In the past year, the Local Government Programme has worked more closely with other PARI programmes than ever before. Our in-depth research focused on the readiness of rural municipalities to manage and lead inclusion in large renewable energy projects, with a particular emphasis on the green hydrogen project planned for the Richtersveld Local Municipality. This research explored energy transition and land governance issues for such projects, resulting in a report that offers rich insights into municipal governance, energy transition and land governance and administration. A key finding is that rural municipalities lack the technical and financial capacity to support large-scale renewable energy projects like the planned green hydrogen project.

As part of this work, we produced a joint policy brief with the Land Governance programme, which has garnered attention from various stakeholders. This builds on our earlier research into the role of smaller municipalities in the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producers Procurement project. The findings from this work continue to generate interest, and we have presented at various stakeholder engagements, including those hosted by the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) and provincial governments.

The programme also hosted a successful webinar on the Urban–Rural Renewable Energy Transition in Germany and South Africa, featuring an impressive panel of speakers. This event highlighted the international perspectives and shared experiences between the two countries, providing valuable insights into renewable energy transitions.

To support our ongoing advocacy for a more equitable and sustainable local government funding model, we developed a policy brief on Local Government Revenues during Limited Economic Growth and a Constrained National Fiscus. This critical work argues that local governments often receive insufficient attention during economic downturns, lower-than-expected economic growth periods and a constrained national fiscus. The brief presents a trend analysis to illustrate the behaviour of key municipal

revenue sources over time. We have used several public platforms to push for changes to the fiscal framework, including our participation in important sectoral dialogues organised by PARI with the Association of Former Directors General (AfDG) through the State Reform Programme. These dialogues have allowed us to advocate for fiscal framework changes and reports of the findings have been presented to the Presidency and the Forum of Directors General (FOSAD).

PARI's professionalisation agenda, traditionally focused on the national and provincial government levels, has expanded this year to include local government. We produced a policy brief on the political-administrative interface and the impacts of recent legislative amendments to the Municipal Systems Act on local government professionalisation. These amendments aim to stabilise and de-politicise municipal administration, but significant challenges remain. We have engaged extensively with government stakeholders and decision-makers on local government professionalisation, participating in SALGA's efforts to develop a Professionalisation Framework for local government.

Overall, this year's work has significantly advanced our understanding and capacity to support local governments in the context of energy transition and fiscal challenges, ensuring that our efforts contribute to a more equitable and sustainable future for South African municipalities. ■



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ENERGY TRANSITION

Our work is firmly aligned with the framework of a just energy transition, reflecting the COP27 decisions and the global momentum towards this framework. Our overarching goal is to contribute to the successful implementation of South Africa's Just Energy Transition Partnership Investment Plan (JETP IP). We employ a dual strategy: first, by reducing barriers to the transition through supporting the development of state transition capability and building popular support by ensuring the electricity access goals of the JETP IP are implemented. Second, we strengthen areas with regulatory space for a rapid switch to renewables through increased procurement by sub-national governments and the development of distribution grids and pricing policies that encourage private sector investment in renewables and power sector participation.

This year, we secured three new funders for our programme: African Climate Foundation, Ford Foundation and International Institute for Sustainable Development. Their support has been instrumental in advancing our initiatives.

One of our key achievements this year was preparing South Africa's JET-IP Implementation Plan. We seconded a person to the Presidency to work on the JET-IP Implementation Plan from June to November 2023. Our main focus was writing Chapter 10, which addresses sub-national government. This chapter outlines goals for upgrading municipal distribution networks, supporting municipalities to increase their procurement of renewable energy, encouraging private investment in electricity grids and improving electricity access for low-income households. The JET-IP Implementation Plan was presented at COP28 and detailed work plans for implementation are set to begin in early 2024.

We also developed a model that quantifies the financial benefits of increased renewable energy use for municipalities, demonstrating a reduction in supply costs compared to those paid to the national utility, Eskom. Given the financial struggles of many municipalities, the model presents a strong case for the rapid adoption of renewables. This model was well-received in various local government forums and has garnered National Treasury's support. We published a policy brief on these findings in the first quarter of 2024 and continue disseminating the research in local government forums.

Our overarching goal is to contribute to the successful implementation of South Africa's Just Energy Transition Partnership Investment Plan (JETP IP).

Our efforts to improve the implementation of the Free Basic Electricity subsidy have gained significant traction. Currently, only about 30% of qualifying households receive the grant. The National Treasury has committed to releasing a plan to ensure better implementation of the subsidy in the first half of 2024. Additionally, a proposal to increase access to affordable energy-efficient appliances was included in the JET-IP Implementation Plan.

We began fieldwork in Mpumalanga in mid-2023 to better understand the factors limiting state capability in implementing the energy transition. This work aims to gain insights that will help enhance state capacity in this critical area.

Our work within NECCOM Workstream continues, focusing on the cost of supply (COS) studies in municipalities. We co-authored a concept note addressing regulatory confusion around the conditions necessary for COS to be considered valid. Our initiatives demonstrate our commitment to advancing a just energy transition, ensuring both environmental sustainability and socioeconomic benefits for South Africa. With the support of our new funders and continued collaboration with government bodies, we are well positioned to drive impactful change in the year ahead. ■



STATE REFORM

PARI's State Reform programme (SRP) aims to reduce the influence of corruption in public administration, ensuring it better serves its democratic mandate. The programme focuses on reforming the public procurement system to enhance its integrity and its role in socioeconomic development, implementing appointment reforms and broader professionalisation of the public administration, and undertaking wider anti-corruption efforts to improve government functioning.

Our advocacy for reforms is driven by rigorous research, legislative submissions, participation in government task teams and other forums, and collaboration with civil society partners to build momentum for change. Additionally, we contribute to scholarly and public discussions on state capture, public procurement and development, anti-corruption, politics and state capacity.

A significant portion of our efforts this year has been directed towards strengthening the Public Procurement Bill. Our work builds on our previous advisory role to social partners in Nedlac concerning the Public Procurement Bill. Despite South Africa's annual procurement expenditure approaching R1 trillion, the existing regulatory system does not adequately support development and is prone to corruption. While a new Procurement Bill is necessary, the current draft before Parliament has weakened some integrity and transparency provisions agreed upon at Nedlac, failing to provide a coherent framework for public procurement. Due to civil society pressure and the concerns raised in our public submissions, the National Council of Provinces has extended the period for public comment and directed the treasury to engage with submitting parties. The outcome of this process remains uncertain, but continued pressure for accountability on this Bill is essential.

Last year, we hosted a well-attended webinar on whistleblowing and financial incentives for whistleblowers in procurement fraud and submitted written comments to the Department of Justice on their discussion paper regarding whistleblowing in South Africa.

We continue to contribute to public understanding and debate on the Zondo Commission's recommendations through media presence, publications and public events. In October 2023, PARI and the Council for the Advancement of the South African Constitution (CASAC) hosted a lively and well-attended conference on the Commission, following up on our successful 2022 conference, with Judge Zondo as the keynote speaker. Our anti-corruption work also supports the efforts of the National Anti-Corruption Advisory Council.

Additionally, we have made numerous submissions to parliament and government regarding amendments to public service legislation intended to implement the government's 'professionalisation framework' adopted by Cabinet in 2022. The SRP continues 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 support the professionalisation agenda and enhance the state's capabilities.

We have recently initiated two new projects: one examining the impact of coalition governments on the political-administrative interface in municipalities, and another aiming to support comparative research on state capture in Africa. Finally, the SRP will soon release a report on the Department of Mineral Resources and Energy, aiming to understand the department's current and potential role in the just energy transition. ■

A significant portion of our efforts this year has been directed towards **strengthening the Public Procurement Bill.**





COMPACT

Compact is a co-funded European Union programme aimed at enhancing local government planning and accountability through public participation. *Com* stands for community, while *pact* refers to the diverse stakeholder relationships impacting municipalities. The programme is led by PARI, in partnership with the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) and Integrity Action (IA).



Since its inception in February 2022, Compact has achieved significant progress and recently concluded Phase 2 of its action research. This phase included 373 recorded interviews and focus groups with municipal political office bearers, members of the administration and ward committee members, providing insights into the baseline status of public participation in their respective municipalities. Additionally, citizen engagement workshops were held in the 12 partner municipalities, involving 262 participants from CSOs, CBOs, community members and ward committees. Of these participants, 65 percent were women, 35 percent were men and approximately 21 percent were youth.

From these efforts, a consolidated technical findings report was developed, outlining the general findings and recommendations across the municipalities. A community participation index was also created to identify potential gaps in each municipality's public participation processes. To further support citizen involvement, a citizen-based monitoring tool was developed, allowing residents to track infrastructure projects and reduce the incidence of protests. This tool is currently being piloted in Oudtshoorn and Kouga Local Municipalities.

To promote accountability, a *Handbook for Holding Local Government Accountable* was distributed to community members and is being updated for current relevance. Additional tools under development include a stakeholder engagement framework, which provides methods for collaborative engagement between municipal political office bearers, municipal administration and residents, emphasising proactive engagement strategies.

Ongoing discussions with the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) are focused on their e-participation tool, and with National Treasury on their financial management tool, *GoMuni*.

On 14 September 2023, a Compact stakeholder engagement was held in Gauteng to discuss the findings of the consolidated report and the development of a *Compact Toolbox* for enhancing public participation. A compact reference committee, consisting of stakeholders from national, provincial, and local government, as well as civil society representatives, was formed to guide the programme.

The achievements of the Compact programme demonstrate our commitment to fostering transparency, accountability, and citizen engagement in local government, paving the way for more effective and inclusive governance. ■



ACADEMIC ENGAGEMENT

In 2023, PARI signed a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with the University of Johannesburg, establishing a three-year partnership for collaborative research, teaching and joint fundraising.

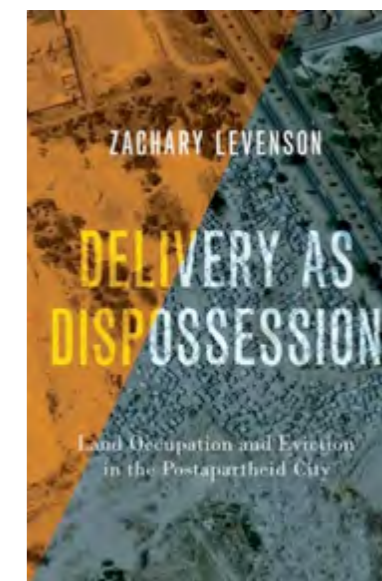
Throughout the year, PARI supported students in the Organisational and Institutional Studies (OIS) programme as they worked on finalising their theses. Two master's students successfully submitted their theses and graduated.

The programme focused on fostering academic life at PARI by hosting weekly writing sessions and two writing retreats, providing researchers with dedicated time and mentorship for their writing projects. Internal academic activities included a monthly seminar where each research programme presented their work, discussing the Institute's theory of change, methodologies and conceptual frameworks.

Academic engagement also included a close reading of *Delivery as Dispossession: Land Occupation and Eviction in the Post-apartheid City* by Zachary Levenson.

In 2023, PARI hosted a series of public seminars, beginning with the South Africa launch of the Care Economy Index, followed by seminars on the care economy. The year also featured the second round of the Workshop Seminar Series, where South African and international scholars presented and discussed topics such as land, local government, elections, anti-corruption policies and popular rights. These seminars facilitated a rich dialogue between PARI and scholars worldwide.

Additionally, the programme launched a new publication titled *State-Society Relations Around the World through the Lens of the Covid-19 Pandemic: Rapid Test*, edited by Federica Duca and Sarah-Meny Gibert. ■



LAND GOVERNANCE

The Land Governance programme aims to increase tenure security for vulnerable members of society. This is executed through diverse initiatives supporting legal and institutional arrangements, as well as civil society and community-based efforts. The programme's strategies include policy engagement, lobbying policymakers, generating empirical evidence to inform policy making and advocacy, capacity development and contributing to thought leadership through scientific debates, research and publications.

The land issue is entangled in a **long history of marginalisation and dispossession dating back to the colonial era**. The quest by the previously marginalised and dispossessed to address this imbalance has resulted in **complex dynamics** regarding land governance, especially at local level within cities and parts of the rural constituencies in the country.

from
*The Role of Local Government in
Land Governance in Ekurhuleni Municipality*

The team partnered with the South African Human Rights Commission to facilitate policy engagement for communities in the Richtersveld. They provided research and facilitation support to help these communities articulate rights violations undermining their land rights. This effort culminated in a policy brief highlighting how the failure to settle outstanding land claims has increased the community's marginalisation in the proposed Boegoebay Green Hydrogen Hub in the Northern Cape. The Programme Lead participated in the Hydrogen Network Convening, where the policy brief was presented. Intern Jabu Hlatshwayo authored a letter to the President expressing the youth's disappointment with land reform, and his abstract, *Living on Dolomite*, was accepted for a conference on advancing land administration in Eastern Africa for sustainable development, held on 27-28 July 2023 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

The policy engagement work continued in collaboration with the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) in 2023. Programme Lead Gaynor Paradza presented on the need for more coherent land administration at the Annual SALGA Rural Indaba in KwaZulu-Natal and on the role of civil society organisations in securing land and property rights at the South African Human Rights National Conference, marking 110 years of The Native Land Act. Dr. Paradza also presented at the SALGA Eastern Cape meeting on the importance of municipal land information systems.



Dr. Paradza co-edited a special issue of the *Land Use Policy* journal, focusing on current research and opinion on land governance for societal development in the global South. The programme conducted exploratory research in Eastern Cape, Gauteng and Limpopo municipalities, publishing reports such as *Land Governance in Ekurhuleni Municipality* by Simba Nyuke, Gaynor Paradza and Noluvuyo Mjoli; *The Confluence of the State, Local Municipality, and Traditional Authority in Land Governance: The Case of Engcobo, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa* by Thatshisiwe Ndlovu; and *Land Use Management in Lephalale Local Municipality* by Emma Monama.

As part of PARI's regionalisation programme, the Institute became a member of the Global Land Tools Network and joined the Research and Academic Cluster. PARI also continues as a member of the Node of Excellence in Land Governance Southern Africa (NELGA) – NUST Chapter, with Dr. Paradza serving on the advisory board. PARI attended the inaugural Indaba of the Mining Affected Communities United in Action (MACUA) in February 2023.

PARI signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Special Master for Labour Tenants to support policy engagement and capacity building with state institutions. The institute is collaborating with the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights to mobilise resources for expediting the processing of land claims.

Members of the Land Governance team presented papers at conferences and participated in various convenings to contribute to academic debate and knowledge production during 2023/2024. ■

SHAPING CHANGE: MEDIA AND EVENTS



OPINION PIECES

The Daily Maverick, 01 May 2023. [The police are not only failing to keep us safe, they are failing in almost every aspect of their duty](#) by Devi Pillay.

The Daily Maverick, 11 May 2023. [South Africa faces multiple water crises across all provinces and sectors](#) by Tshegofatso Mathe.

Business Day, 12 May 2023. [Consumers bear the brunt as the state squanders vital water resources](#) by Dennis Webster.

The Daily Maverick, 12 May 2023. [Eskom's debt relief for municipalities strips households of their free basic services](#) by Tracy Ledger.

News24, 28 July 2023. [Explosion of a decaying city: Defects of Joburg's poor urban management revealed](#) by Thina Nzo.

Sunday Times, 10 September 2023. [Procurement Bill carries serious risks for SA, but it can be fixed](#) by Ryan Brunette.

The Daily Maverick, 22 October 2023. [Gauteng's response to homelessness is a temporary solution to a structural problem](#) by Noluthando Ngcobo.

Mail and Guardian, 06 February 2024. [State capture: Professional enablers can and must be held accountable for their role](#) by Devi Pillay.

The Daily Maverick, 29 April 2024. [Rapid municipal energy supply diversification will light way to a much brighter economy](#) by Tracy Ledger.

News24, 07 May 2024. [Johannesburg's electricity tariff trap for the poor](#) by Tracy Ledger.

The struggles that poor households face in paying for even small amounts of electricity are well-documented: in many households, electricity competes with food for a share of limited income, and the main reason why child-grant recipients borrow money is to pay for electricity.

Tracy Ledger,
Johannesburg's electricity
tariff trap for the poor



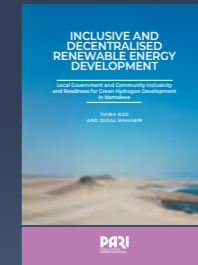
Nzo, T. (2023) ['Social Accountability Capacity Building for Local CSOs in Rural Municipalities to Strengthen Local Governance: The Case of Alfred Nzo District Municipality'](#). A PARI report. Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.



Klaaren, J., R. Brunette, G. Quinot and R. Watermeyer (2023) ['A Strategic Public Procurement Paradigm for South Africa: Reflections on the Development of the Public Procurement Bill'](#). A PARI report. Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.



Pillay, D and S. Meny-Gibert (2023) ['State of Parliament and its MPs: Identifying challenges to oversight and proposing solutions'](#). A PARI report. Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.



Nzo, T. and J. Mahabir (2023) ['Renewable Energy Development: Local government community inclusivity and readiness for green hydrogen development in Namakwa District Municipality'](#). A PARI report. Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.



_____ (2023) ['Implementing State Capture Commission Recommendations'](#). 25–26 October Conference Report. Johannesburg: PARI and CASAC.



_____ (2024) [State Capacity Dialogue Series](#). A PARI report. Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.



POLICY DOCUMENTS

Pillay, D. (2023) [Implementing the Zondo Commission Recommendations: Taking stock of progress and charting a way forward](#). Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.

Paradza, G. and Hlatshwayo, J. (2023) [‘Why indigenous land tenure security is a condition for indigenous community engagement’](#). Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.

Meny-Gibert, S. and R. Brunette (2023) [“Stabilising” the political-administrative interface in local government: where to from here?’](#). Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.

Ledger, T. (2024) [Rapid electricity supply diversification in municipalities is the key to economic recovery, municipal financial sustainability and a permanent end to load shedding](#). Policy brief. Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.



BOOKS

Buthelezi, M. and P. Vale (eds) (2023) [State Capture in South Africa: How and Why It Happened](#). Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Duca, F. and S. Meny-Gibert (eds) (2023) [State-Society Relations Around the World through the Lens of the Covid-19 Pandemic: Rapid Test](#). New York, N.Y. and Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.



EVENTS, CONFERENCES AND WEBINARS

March 16, 2023. [SA Launch of the Africa Care Economy Index](#)

April 19, 2023. [Between Vision and Reality: Navigating the JETPs in three countries](#).

20, April, 2023. Universal Healthcare in South Africa, [The second seminar in the Care Economy Series](#).

May, 9 2023. Seminar: [‘Care economy as economic democracy’](#). The Care Economy Series.

June 6, 2023. Webinar: [‘Urban-Rural Renewable Energy Transition in Germany and South Africa’](#).

July 10, 2023. Book launch, [State Capture in South Africa: How and Why it Happened](#).

August 7, 2023. Webinar, [‘Financial Incentives and Whistleblowing in South Africa’](#).

August 21, 2023. Book launch, [State Capture in South Africa: How and Why It Happened](#).

September 4–8, 2023. [International Network of Energy Transition Think Tanks \(INETT\) Workshop](#). Johannesburg.

September 14, 2023. [COMPACT Stakeholder Engagement](#). Johannesburg.

October 25 & 26. Conference, [‘Implementing State Capture Commission Recommendations’](#) hosted by PARI and CASAC.

Research Workshop Seminar Series 2023

In November 2023, PARI launched a second round of the workshop series to offer scholars, researchers and postgraduate students an opportunity to share their ongoing work by discussing work in progress or presenting upcoming and new publications.





25 & 26 October 2023

State Capture Commission Conference: Implementing State Capture Commission Recommendations

A PARI AND CASAC EVENT

The aim of PARI and CASAC's conference on the implementation of the Zondo Commission recommendations was to keep the Commission's work alive in the public imagination, to review how reforms or interventions might be progressing, to discuss how civil society might support these initiatives, and to discuss strategies for holding the Executive, Parliament and private sector actors accountable to the commitments they have made to tackle corruption and state capture.

IMPLEMENTING STATE CAPTURE COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS CONFERENCE

A follow-up conference on the Zondo Commission and steps taken to address state capture

25-26 Oct 2023
Online

REGISTER NOW
<https://rb.gy/Bwuka>

PARI **COUNCIL** **news24**

Dialogue Series on the Capacity of the State

In 2022 and 2023, the AfDG convened a series of dialogues, in partnership with PARI, to provide an impartial and independent forum in which frank discussion on the capability of the state and measures to enhance it, could take place. In these roundtable discussions, the AfDG acted as conveners and thinking partners. Attendees included former and current DGs and senior civil servants, former and current SOE executives and board members, city and municipal managers, academics engaged in the field, and other partners in building the capacity of the state. We aimed to create a deep and meaningful debate on topical capability issues with critical players, in order to develop a nuanced understanding of these challenges and to develop innovative and fresh solutions.

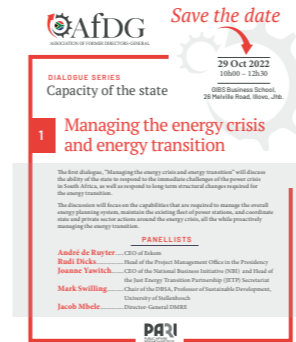
Five dialogues were held on the following topics:

1. Energy and the just transition
2. Freight and public transport
3. Policing, security cluster and wider criminal justice system
4. Water security and urban governance
5. A final synthesis discussion, on building state capacity and professionalising the public administration.

The dialogues followed a roundtable format. A facilitator, usually a former DG, posed questions to the panellists and moderated the discussion with participants. We were fortunate that many sectoral experts and leaders attended the dialogues, which made for lively and constructive discussions based on a variety of experience and expertise.

The [reports](#) are summaries of each dialogue. They are anonymised to respect the Chatham House rule, which was employed to ensure open and frank engagement at the events. These documents highlight the key debates at each dialogue and draw out the major points that emerged from the discussions.

The summaries reflect a multiplicity of viewpoints; readers will discern some active debate and disagreement on some points of discussion. They are therefore not meant to be taken as positions adopted or proposals made by the AfDG. Rather, they present critical material to engage with, which can assist in developing our understanding of the challenges facing the state, and inspire creative solutions. The dialogues were held last year, and thus some circumstances may have changed since the discussions. Indeed, some of the ideas discussed at these events have been taken forward. Nevertheless, the insights and analyses generated at these discussions remains relevant and important.



Managing the energy crisis and energy transition discussed the capabilities required to manage the overall energy planning system, maintain the existing fleet of power stations, and coordinate state and private sector actions around the energy crisis, all the while proactively managing the energy transition.



Freight rail and public transport focused on capacity issues around freight, passenger rail and regulation of the transport sector.



Security Cluster and the Criminal Justice System focused on the capacity of the security cluster in the South African state, looking beyond a narrow anti-corruption lens to focus more broadly on the institutional arrangement of law enforcement bodies, and how they are able to respond to the increasing sophistication of organised crime, and the criminalisation of the state.



Water security and urban governance explored the state of local government and its impact on water and sanitation services, how to strengthen municipal systems for water delivery, public procurement and water infrastructure, and future state capabilities required to manage the impacts of climate change.



The **synthesis workshop** brought together the core themes discussed at our previous dialogues and took a close look at capacity and capabilities across the state.



WORKSHOP: International Network of Energy Transition Think Tanks (INETTT)

From 4 to 8 September, 2023 PARI and GreenCape hosted more than 25 delegates of the International Network of Energy Transition Think Tanks (INETTT) in Johannesburg. INETTT is a group of think tanks dedicated to working on the energy transition to achieve the climate protection goals of the Paris Agreement in terms of sustainable clean energy and net-zero carbon emissions.

The meeting was conceived and facilitated by Lidia Wojtal, Agora Energiewende's project lead for the Network, assisted by Pamela Ndlovu (PARI) who ran logistics in Johannesburg. The workshop included opportunities for networking, knowledge sharing and gaining a deeper understanding of the South African case through field trips and site visits. Participants also collectively developed INETTT's governance policies.

PARI's Energy Transition programme, led by Tracy Ledger, has been a member of INETTT since 2020.



BROADCAST MEDIA

[Newzroom Afrika, 2 May 2023](#). Devi Pillay chats to Stephen Grootes on Newzroom Afrika the day after Gauteng's new crime prevention wardens, with just two months training, started their new jobs.

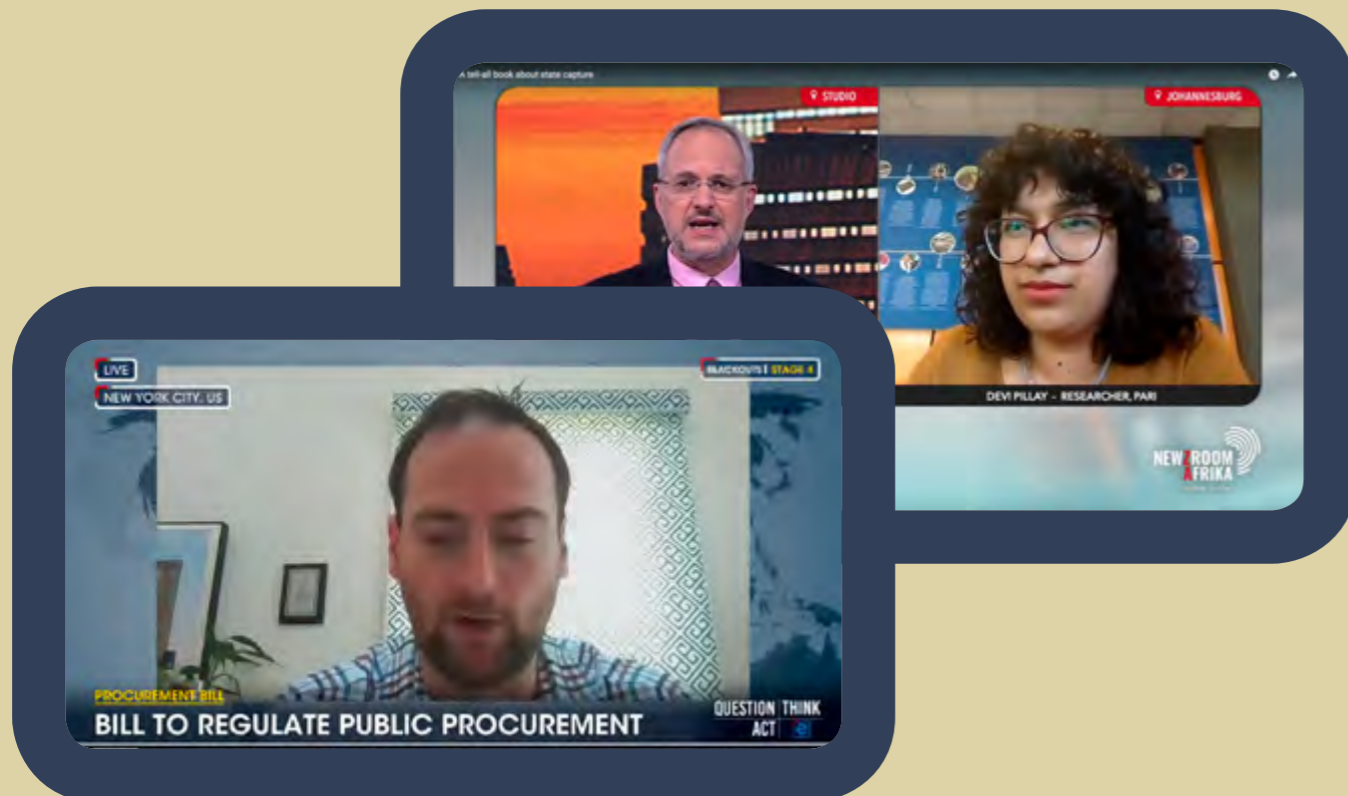
[Newzroom Afrika, 15 March 2023](#). South African Local Government Association (SALGA)'s President Bheki Stofile, Public Affairs Research Institute Dr Thina Nzo, and Good Governance Africa's Pransh Desai participated in a discussion about Good Governance Africa's urgent call for an independent panel to look into improving South Africa's framework around party coalitions for stability and transparency.

[SABC News, 3 May 2023](#). Devi Pillay chats to Sakina Kamwendo about the findings of a report compiled by the Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI) on the South African Police Service (SAPS).

[eNCA, 4 June 2023](#). Thina Nzo contributed to a panel *On the Spot with Lukhona Mnguni* discussing DPME's role in assisting municipalities with monitoring and oversight to be able to move out of reproducing the same audit outcomes time and again.

[Newzroom Afrika, 23 June 2023](#). Devi Pillay discusses the new Wits University Press publication *State Capture in South Africa: How and Why It Happened*, edited by PARI's Research mentor Peter Vale and executive director Mbongiseni Buthelezi.

[eNCA, 11 September, 2023](#). PARI Research Associate in the State Reform programme, Ryan Brunette, to understand more about why the new Public Procurement Bill, that was introduced to Parliament in May, needs a rewrite.



THE PARI TEAM

STAFF

EXECUTIVE

Mbongiseni Buthelezi: Executive Director
Lindiwe Ndlela: Head of Programmes and Co-director
Nhongerai Nemaramba: Acting Finance Manager
Lelethu Mazomba: Head of Administration

OFFICE

Necia Quive: Senior Bookkeeper
Pamela Ndlovu: Programmes Administrator
Refiloe Ramaisa: Organisational and Human Resources Administrator
Joan Cameron: Human Resources Manager
Thabiso Parirenyatwa: Project Coordinator
Sindy Moyo: Housekeeper
Enoch Nkatha: Groundsman

COMMUNICATIONS

Vishanthi Arumugam: Head of Communications

PROGRAMME LEADS

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

RESEARCHERS AND ASSOCIATES

Mahlatse Rampedi: Researcher
Nonhlanhla Mathibela: Researcher
Waseem Holland: Researcher
Kate Tissington: Senior Researcher
Jabu Hlatshwayo: Researcher
Jugal Mahabir: Research Associate
Ntokozo Ndhlovu: Junior Researcher
Peter Vale: Research Mentor
Joel Pearson: PhD Fellow and Research Associate
Ryan Brunette: Research Associate
Devi Pillay: Research Associate
Emma Monama: Research Associate
Murial Kwena: Intern
Thokozani Chilenga-Butao: Research Associate
Jonathan Klaaren: Research Associate
Crispian Olver: Research Associate
Marcus Walton: Research Associate
Thina Nzo: Research Associate

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mr Ivan Pillay Chair of the Board, Former Deputy Commissioner of the South African Revenue Service

Professor Mucha Musemwa Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand

Professor Patrick Heller Lyn Crost Professor of Social Sciences and Professor of Sociology and International Studies, Watson Institute, Brown University

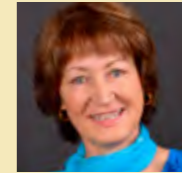
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Ms Zeenat Sujee Head of Education Rights Programme & Advice Office Manager at Section27 and Admitted Attorney of the High Court of South Africa

Ms Gillian Addison Retired former Deputy Director of groundWork

Professor Mbongiseni Buthelezi Executive Director of Public Affairs Research Institute

Ms Lindiwe Ndlela Co-director of Public Affairs Research Institute



PARI bade farewell to Linda Chisholm on 1 March 2024. Linda served on the

Board of Directors since the organisation's inception, including chairing the board skilfully during potentially destabilising times for the Institute. We wish her all the best in her future endeavours.

Professor Linda Chisholm

Professor at the Centre for Education Rights and Transformation, University of Johannesburg and former Advisor to the Minister of Basic Education.

FUNDERS

Agora Energiewende
Ford Foundation
Raith Foundation
Millennium Trust
Yellowwoods
European Union
Lewis Foundation

Africa Climate Foundation
Elma South Africa Foundation
Social Justice Initiative (SJI)
Open Society Foundations (OSF South Africa)
Constitutionalism Fund
International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD)

ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 28 FEBRUARY 2024

PUBLIC AFFAIRS RESEARCH INSTITUTE NPC

REGISTRATION NUMBER 2010/009156/08

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION AS AT 28 FEBRUARY 2024

Figures in Rand	Note(s)	2024	2023
ASSETS			
Non-Current Assets			
Property plant and equipment	2	306,763	321,652
Current Assets			
Trade and other receivables	3	437,301	438,652
Cash and cash equivalents	4	26,243,200	15,794,946
		26,680,501	16,233,598
TOTAL ASSETS		26,987,264	16,555,250
EQUITY AND LIABILITIES			
Equity			
Reserves		9,454,057	6,828,284
Retained surplus		4,058,455	164,040
		13,512,512	6,992,324
Liabilities			
Current Liabilities			
Trade and other payables	5	13,474,752	9,562,926
TOTAL EQUITY AND LIABILITIES		26,987,264	16,555,250

STATEMENT OF COMPREHENSIVE INCOME

Figures in Rand	Note(s)	2024	2023
Revenue	6	33,468,326	23,228,192
Other income	7	33,501	217,955
Operating expenses	8	(28,695,655)	(26,919,226)
Operating profit (loss)		4,806,172	(3,473,079)
Investment revenue		1,714,017	898,216
Profit (loss) for the year		6,520,189	(2,574,863)

PARI

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