THE 'GLOBAL' AND THE 'LOCAL': A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF DEVELOPMENT PRACTICES IN THREE SOUTH AFRICAN MUNICIPALITIES

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Abstract

On first impression, it would seem that globalisation is producing an increasingly homogenous trans-border world, whereby, as a result of key changes including the impact of technological improvements, foreign travel, the spread of westernised cultural identities, market capitalism, and liberal democracy, the point has been reached where it is now becoming difficult to tell different localities apart. In this process, it is often forgotten what role individual places assume in the creation of this globalised world and that not all will benefit from globalisation. In many respects, locally specific activities, including urban renewal, place promotion, and infrastructural developments pursued within a selection of the planet's most strategically connected cities are now the primary catalysts of, and the influence behind, globalisation. Likewise, community-businesses, rural micro-industries, and alternative livelihoods are some of the key mechanisms that under-privileged localities in developing countries are employing to either respond to the marginalization imposed by globalisation, or to simply ensure survival. The emergence of localisation theory has therefore acknowledged and exemplified the importance of the locality in the context of the global economy as either a key node within it or a point within which people must engage in coping strategies, often as a result of the negative impacts of globalisation.

In recent years, varying styles of locality-based development have become central to enhancing both the pro-growth global competitiveness of a number of South African localities, as well as for initiating pro-poor interventions in several of the country's smaller towns and rural areas. In the City of Cape Town, millions of Rands have been invested by the municipality and the private sector in urban regeneration strategies,

which have led to an economic rebirth in the city centre and have generated numerous jobs in the tertiary and construction sectors that have helped to enhance the city's global stature. In Ndlambe Municipality, two community-businesses, which have received national funding and have strong municipal support, employ fifty people between them and have demonstrated the advantages of participatory action in pro-poor local development, within the context of the open market. In Emalahleni Municipality, attempts at locality-based development have been instigated directly by the local poor themselves and have been organised by members of the community in the face of non-existent local government support, which have resulted in the creation of several hundred income-earning opportunities for area residents.

In summary, these three cases illustrate a range of approaches to locality-based development currently undertaken in South Africa by different localities possessing widely differing resources, skills, and degrees of global connectivity in order to initiate growth and enhance standards of living. From a theoretical perspective this study provides a South African slant on global theories and processes and further indicates the role that a series of localities in the South are playing in a changing global system.

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Acronyms

BDY	Business Day
CAS	Cape Argus
CBN	Cape Business News
CCT	City of Cape Town
CDE	Centre for Development and Enterprise
CGR	Cape Government Railways
CMC	Cape Metropolitan Council
CMT	Cape Metropolitan Tourism
CTICC	Cape Town International Convention Centre
CTP	Cape Town Partnership
CTS	Cape Times
CVS	Cape Views
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
DME	Department of Minerals and Energy
DMO	Destination Marketing Organisation
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FNS	Frontline News Staff
G8	Group of Eight Industrialised Nations [previously G7]
GaWC	Globalisation and World City [Research Group]
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
ICC	International Convention Centre
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IRC&L	Indwe Railway, Collieries, and Land Company
IT	Information Telecommunications
JMI	Joint Marketing Organisation
LED	Local Economic Development
MICE	Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Exhibitions
NDS	No date specified
NIC	Newly Industrialised Country
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
Pers. comm.	Personal Communication
PMS	Popular Mechanics Staff
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SNA	Sunday Argus
SPV	Special Purpose Vehicles
STA	Saturday Argus
STS	Sunday Times
TLC	Transitional Local Council
WESGRO	Western Cape Investment and Trade Promotion Agency
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

At the end of the 20th century Ahmad (1999) commented that the dual forces of globalisation and localisation would most likely continue to be the defining theories shaping the world in the new millennium. That same year, during a press conference launching the *World Development Report: Entering the 21ˢᵗ Century*, Joseph Stiglitz, then chief economist for the World Bank, likewise presented the case that globalisation and localisation 'will fundamentally alter the development landscape over the next several years' (World Bank, 1999; 3). In a recent publication entitled *On Space*, Doreen Massey (2005; 81), a leading theorist who has long recorded changes taking place within both global and local paradigms, highlighted that 'globalisation is currently one of the most frequently used and most powerful terms in our geographical and social imaginations.' Moreover, in South Africa the impact of globalisation in recent years has been profound, varying from the response of centres such as Cape Town, which now actively court global capital investment to small rural centres where local industries have been undermined as a result of free trade. This thesis, however, seeks to examine not so much these impacts of globalisation, but rather the response of a range of South African localities to this new context.

Following from the above line of reasoning, Aiyar (2002), writing for the *Economic Times*, expressed the opinion that contemporary processes of localisation have recently become important means of extending the benefits of globalisation to local levels. Although, seemingly being countervailing forces, the World Bank (2003; 32) further corroborates that, in fact, both globalisation and localisation 'often stem from the same source and reinforce each other.' While the concept of globalisation has become part of a well-established discourse, according to Aiyar (2002; 65), localisation is an 'experiment in progress,' one that Hall (1991) has explained is the product of recent reflections on the true nature of global processes. Localisation theory has emerged as a result of what certain academics, including Bonnett (2003), Hirst & Thompson (1999), and Harvey (1996), warn is the over-saturation of the use of the concept of globalisation in varying contexts, which has led to the belief that all people and all places are subject to the same totalising phenomena. Citing evidence, Boudreau (2003; 180) remarks, 'in most social science disciplines, globalisation has

become an explanatory factor for virtually everything from pop culture to immigration to agricultural reforms.' Similarly, de Haan (2000; 354) has expressed the view that 'globalisation is streetscapes in Europe, North America, and Asia, which you cannot tell apart; asphalt everywhere, the same cars, the same neon signs of Coca-Cola, McDonalds, or Philips. People in a hurry and youngsters in Nikes.' As such, 'globalisation' has become a loaded term (Scholte; 2000; 14), which is a sentiment also shared by Clarke (2002), who has called it heuristic and inappropriately used to explain a wide variety of political, economic, and social changes. However, despite the seemingly *forever* expanding 'McWorld' that Barber (1995) sees being portrayed through western music and on the big screen, it seems that it is often forgotten what influence localities and local processes can have, if indeed they have any at all, on the creation and mediation of global flows.

For some, including Hines & Lang (2001), localisation increasingly appears to be the 'mind wrench' required to compensate for the growing dissatisfaction with topical and banal explanations of global manifestations. Thus, locality studies are now paving the way for the spreading appeal of a reflexive globalism that seeks to delve deeper than what are sometimes seen as the superficial interpretations of globalisation and uncover more accurate and theoretically sound explanations for the global trends apparent today (Derudder & Witlox, 2004; Hines, 2003; Norberg-Hodge, 2002; Escobar, 2001; Mander, 2001; Jacobsen & Lawson, 1999; Larochelle, 1996; Krugman, 1995). It is this desire to produce a better understanding of globalisation in relation to the functions assumed by different localities, either in its creation or in response to its effects, which provides the prime motivation behind this research thesis. It also provides the contextual background for a case study analysis of selected South African localities, namely the City of Cape Town, Ndlambe Municipality, and Emalahleni Municipality.

This introductory chapter therefore seeks to set the scene for the analysis of different themes and theoretical frameworks relating to the study of the locality and different approaches to locality-based development. It likewise sets the tone for the methodologies, arguments, discussions, and conclusions that will be drawn concerning these topics as they are applied in selected South African case studies. This chapter will commence by outlining the research context and will then present

the thesis' aims and objectives, followed by an introduction to the case studies chosen to illustrate South African examples of the theoretical concepts that are to be outlined in greater detail in the literature review chapters. Finally, concluding subsections will provide a thesis outline of subsequent chapters and brief summaries of their content.

1.2 The Research Context

To begin, this thesis aims to demonstrate that, coupled with the recent proliferation of globalisation and localisation literature, the concept of 'glocalisation' has emerged as a parallel field of study that has fused the two terms together and cast them in a single, yet binary, 'global / local' nexus (Cabus, 2001; de Haan, 2000; Clarke, 1993; Strassoldo, 1992). Key theoretical frameworks that are to be addressed in this thesis, in addition to this global / local debate, include those pertaining to the locality that Raynsford (2003), Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones (2000), and Deas & Ward (2000) stress is important in shaping global flows and fostering development and economic growth. Cox (1998; page unknown) defined localities as:

> *Not simply places or even communities: They are the sum of social energy and agency resulting from the clustering of diverse individuals, groups, and social interests in space. They are not passive or residual but are in varying ways and degrees, centres of collective consciousness.*

In helping to explain why such centres of collective consciousness are important elements in the production of global spaces, Short *et al.* (2000; 325) point out that 'the local is not simply a passive recipient of single, unitary global processes. Processes flow from the local to the global as much as from the global to the local.' What this signifies is that more and more localities are beginning to influence how global flows are created, where they are directed, and whom they benefit. The strengthening local, yet internationally competitive economies of Silicon Valley in the United States, or, more geographically specific world cities / global cities such as London, New York, and Tokyo, will be used in this thesis to exemplify how several localities have become world leaders in localised pro-growth development (Cabus, 2001; Sassen, 1994, 1991; Friedmann, 1986). They have become basing points for global economic flows and hosts to varying global economic, political, social, and cultural expressions.

Chapters do recognise, however, that not all localities are so auspiciously placed and therefore carry forward, amongst others, de Haan's (2000) argument that globalisation is not a phenomenon that affects all localities equally. Indeed, nor do all localities participate equally on a global level, which is partially responsible for Massey's (2005; 84) assertion that 'clearly, the world is not totally globalised.' Importantly, many development analysts claim that globalisation and economic liberalism have failed to produce meaningful pro-poor local development for peripheries, especially within the world's developing countries (Pieterse, 2001; Schuurman, 2000; Simon & Närman, 1999; Simon, 1998). According to Strassoldo (1992; 40), less developed localities that do not have the capacity to compete globally resort to different forms of localism that rely on the 'doctrines of self-reliance, self-centred development, and community development.' Even though smaller localities are seemingly outside the sphere of everyday global influence, de Haan & Zommers (2003; 352) have argued that, 'livelihood research, although it is at first sometimes micro and locally biased, is increasingly interested both in this global dimension and in local development.' Regardless, under these conditions, locality-based development, according to Stöhr & Taylor (1981), Mackenzie (1992), and Rahman (1993), must emphasise the role of local peoples and their resources. Alternative forms of locality-based development currently gaining attention (particularly in marginalized areas) highlight the importance of the participation of ordinary people, local governments, and community groups in the process of addressing local socio-economic needs such as job creation, service provision, and poverty alleviation. The role of small towns, or similar localities outside the sphere of direct influence of major global stimuli, therefore, provide opportunities for this thesis to explore additional dimensions of localisation within a global context.

Moderating global / local processes has become particularly salient in contemporary South Africa as the country tries to juggle both international competitiveness and the vital need to contend with the real problems of embedded exclusion and poverty at home. The country's development planners have increasingly drawn on the theories pertaining to locality-based development, as well as the applied development practices of Local Economic Development (LED), as both a tool for local growth and as an expression evoking the need for local people to become involved in

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developmental processes (Nel, 2005a,b, 2002, 2001a,b; Rogerson, 2005a,b, 2004a,b,c, 2002a, 2000; Binns & Nel, 2003, 2002a,b,c, 1999; Nel & Rogerson, 2005a,b; Nel & Binns, 2003, 2002a,b). The South African Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG), which is the national governing body tasked with spearheading local development, currently defines LED as:

> *An approach towards economic development which allows and encourages local people to work together to achieve sustainable economic growth and development thereby bringing economic benefits and improved quality of life for all residents in a local municipal area* (DPLG, 2005e; page unknown).

As is apparent in much of the international literature pertaining to local development, the idiom LED is frequently used as an umbrella term to encompass any variety of development activity that is tied to a particular locality (Helmsing, 2003, 2001; Blakely & Bradshaw, 2002; Benneworth & Roberts, 2002; Immergluck, 1998; Gough & Eisenschitz, 1996; Blakely, 1994; Bennett & Krebs, 1993; Clarke & Gaile, 1992; Benfer, 1996). While recognising the contributions of LED towards the evolution of local development discourse, due to the fact that this thesis focuses on 'localities' or more specifically developmental activities undertaken within them, this chapter employs the term 'locality-based development' as the primary expression denoting development that is place-specific. Nevertheless, given the fact that LED has become such a dominant force in contemporary South African development circles, this term will feature heavily throughout thesis, especially in discussions concerning national development policies and the obligations faced by municipalities to implement development strategies. Thus 'locality-based development' is used to impart the understanding that multiple role players and not just local governments are engaged in efforts to enhance the well-being of localities. The association of LED with local government activity in South Africa has rightly or wrongly become embedded in South African development discourse (Nel & Rogerson, 2005a,b) and, as such, this thesis seeks to employ the broader, more encompassing, concept of 'locality-based development,' in order to avoid the narrowed definition of LED that is now commonly used in the country.

In terms of differing interpretations of locality-based development, Scott & Pawson (1999), however, have identified market-led (pro-growth) and market-critical (pro-poor) variations on the theme, which, although they may overlap in a number of areas, have resulted in two different approaches, as well as two differing end objectives. The first often encourages widespread employment creation, free market enterprise, investment, global competition, and business development within a macro-economic environment, while the second is directed at specifically bottom-up or grassroots interventions including community-businesses and cooperatives, which address such socially responsible issues as local self-reliance, civic participation, sustainability, and empowerment. Interventions such as informal sector and small business support, procurement and targeted assistance to disadvantaged communities are further key aspects of pro-poor development. In 2000, Rogerson (2000; 399) took note of the distinction made by Scott and Pawson (1999) and added that such conceptual differences are also applicable to the South African LED debate, which, although it may not always be explicit, 'accommodates elements of both the international market-led and market-critical approaches.' This differentiation is especially critical to this thesis, because it is one of the central theoretical themes that is repeated throughout forthcoming chapters. This chapter will make the case that within some South African localities, such as the City of Cape Town, multiple stakeholders pursue market-led strategies of global competitiveness, while in others, including the Ndlambe (centred on Port Alfred and Bathurst) and Emalahleni (centred on Lady Frere and Indwe) Municipalities, they are undertaking market-critical interventions of pro-poor development. Furthermore, this thesis will also make use of the terms 'pro-growth' interchangeably with 'market-led' locality-based development, while 'pro-poor' is frequently used synonymously with 'market-critical' development.

To summarise therefore, it is increasingly apparent that the processes of globalisation have affected South African localities both negatively and positively in general and, as is portrayed in this thesis, in each case study specifically. This, in turn, requires apposite and locally relevant development planning. This thesis thus rests on three key theoretical themes that are revisited in future chapters and discussions including:

1. The globalisation / localisation context in which all localities must now operate.

2. The emergence of locality-based development as a tool for protecting and building local economies.

3. Pro-growth versus pro-poor locality-based development.

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

This section presents the aims and objectives of this thesis. They have helped to shape this thesis' core research questions and have influenced how the research was conducted.

The aims of this thesis are:

1. To situate South African locality-based development practice and policy within the broader international globalisation, localisation, and locality-based development literature contexts.

2. To identify and document locality-based developmental strategies and best practices within selected municipalities.

3. To assess and critique the outcomes of strategies and best practices within selected municipalities with the view to informing academic debate.

To achieve these aims the following objectives were identified:

1. To conduct a critical survey of theories relating to globalisation, localisation, and global / local debates with the view to providing the context for this study of locality-based development.

2. To undertake a literature-based analysis of different manifestations of locality-based development, as they appear both internationally and in South Africa, including an overview of South African policy and legislation regarding municipalities and their role in locality-based development.

3. To examine three different municipalities whose locality-based development strategies reflect either a primary emphasis on pro-growth global competitiveness, or a pro-poor variant of community driven development, or a combination of both.

4. To critically assess selected strategies within these municipalities to determine the extent of their impact on local economic development and to determine whom the beneficiaries are.

5. To draw lessons and contribute to theoretical conclusions regarding different approaches to locality-based development in South Africa, relative to international evidence.

1.4 The Case Studies

This chapter will now turn to an overview of the localities selected as case studies to provide practical representation of the different approaches to locality-based development that will be expanded on throughout this thesis. South Africa was initially chosen as a country in which to situate an analysis of locality-based development, first because it contains multiple localities that possess characteristics similar to those used in both First and Third World development practices that thus allow for international cross-comparisons. Secondly, as this thesis will demonstrate, South Africa has developed an increasingly more comprehensive local development policy framework that has made it possible for a large variety of thematic approaches to LED to emerge in different contexts, which, in turn, have presented this thesis with the opportunity to chose unique case studies for further research. Thirdly, South Africa was selected because of the growing international attention that it is receiving, including, according to Nel & Rogerson (2005b), from the World Bank, which is looking to South African experience from which to draw lessons concerning LED strategies devised and implemented in urban and small town localities around the country.

It is important to note that in the South African context the responsibility for locality-based development and LED constitutionally rests with the municipality, although this does not prevent other role-players, individually or collectively, from seeking to improve the local economy. Current municipal boundaries are the result of restructuring undertaken by the Municipal Demarcation Board that merged many previously independent urban areas, secondary cities, small towns, and rural villages in 2000 / 2001 into either larger metropolitan areas or a number of larger, consolidated local municipalities. The three case studies ultimately chosen for an

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Map 1.1 South Africa and case study sites: Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni
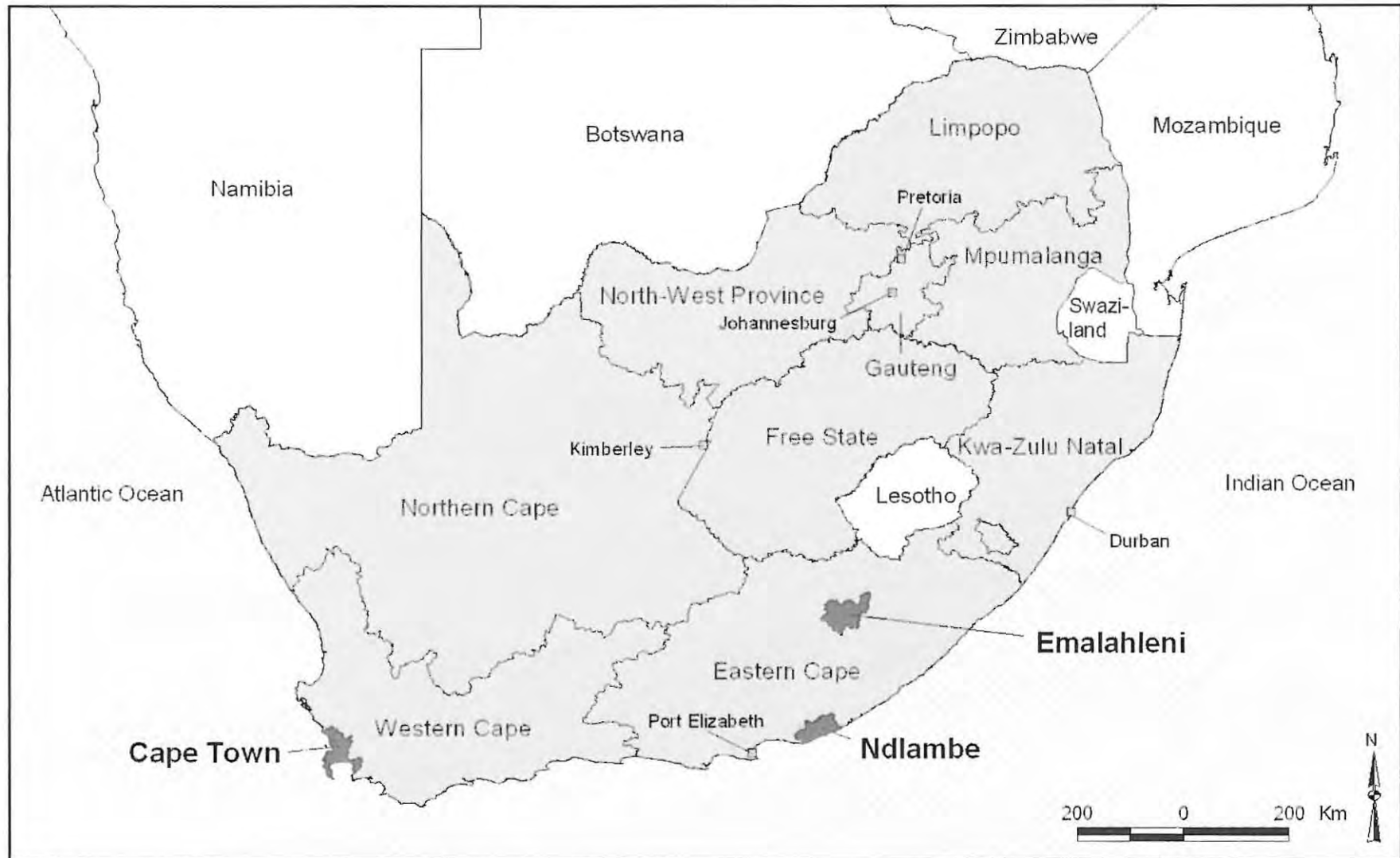
analysis of locality-based development include the City of Cape Town, Ndlambe Municipality, and Emalahleni Municipality, which are indicated on Map 1.1. These case studies were selected to portray accounts of the spatial variants within South Africa, including a documentation and an assessment of locality-based developments in the very big, i.e. the City of Cape Town, and at the micro-level, which, in this case, signifies a look at rural Ndlambe and Emalahleni. While this thesis wishes to point out from the start, that these are not the sole localities that have produced territorially relevant developments that are worthy of academic study, they do embody, however, key examples of some of the more obvious thematic manifestations of local economic development found at either end of the South African settlement hierarchy.

Additionally, from the outset, in order to fulfil this thesis' objective of conducting an examination of different localities pursuing different styles of locality-based development, within the context of globalisation, it was deemed necessary to choose at least one example of a larger South African locality exhibiting evidence of global links and pro-growth locality-based development. Cape Town was therefore chosen to investigate to what degree South African cities correspond to theories and development practices associated with the global city paradigm and to further investigate what manifestations of globalisation are present within such cities. In contrast, the two smaller localities of Emalahleni and Ndlambe, at the opposite end of the global / local spectrum, were chosen to embody varieties of pro-poor locality-based development taking place within the South African small town development paradigm. Of the two, Ndlambe demonstrates evidence of strong local government engagement and support, while Emalahleni is a much weaker municipality. In both cases, practises of pro-poor development are clearly established and documented.

Although research for this thesis focuses explicitly on specific examples of local development activities linked to either market-led economic growth or pro-poor livelihood creation, which are, in turn, couched within global city or small town development paradigms, it is also essential to note that South African LED is broader than these two formats. In other cases, according to Rogerson (2005a), they may include such additional thematic or sectoral LED interventions as tourism development, targeted procurement strategies, or urban agriculture. Additionally, it is important to establish that given the significant range of development interventions

undertaken in Cape Town and, to a much lesser degree, in Ndlambe and Emalahleni, this thesis does not seek to document all variants of LED / locality-based development in each centre. Rather, using the lens of pro-growth or pro-poor development, selected interventions in each centre, which correspond with these key approaches, were investigated. In other words, while upcoming chapters will concentrate attention on particular localities, an examination of the locality itself is not as vital as are the analyses of the specific types of locality-based development evolving within each urban centre or small town. Furthermore, while the thesis uses three municipalities as case studies, given that most municipalities include several towns, each chapter will focus on specific sub-localities within each. In turn, within each of these, defined development strategies are selectively used to illustrate key thematic aspects of locality-based development, namely:

1. The quest for global competitiveness through pro-growth interventions in the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD).
2. Pro-poor endeavours facilitated by the Ndlambe Municipality.
3. Community-based pro-poor initiatives undertaken in Emalahleni Municipality.

1.4.1 Key Demographic and Economic Indicators

Table 1.1 and Figure 1.1 include a partial list of key demographic and economic indicators for these three centres derived from the 2001 census figures, including population, employment figures, numbers of people employed in the different industrial sectors, and monthly incomes of residents. They indicate that Cape Town has the largest population of the three case studies, followed by the Emalahleni and the Ndlambe Municipalities. The table further points out that Emalahleni's unemployment rate is marginally higher than Ndlambe's but both are considerably higher than Cape Town's. Manufacturing may still be the dominant sector of Cape Town's economy, but as will be seen in Chapter Five, employment in financial services and in the retail sectors is increasing. Agriculture and private households are the major sources of employment in Ndlambe, whereas social services (i.e. the civil service) provide the most jobs in Emalahleni. Furthermore, the fact that the majority of residents earn below R800 per month is a commonality across all three localities.

Table 1.1 2001 Census statistics for Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni

POPULATION			
	Cape Town	Ndlambe	Emalahleni
African	916 520	43 715	114 695
Coloured	1 392 656	3974	618
Indian	41 490	46	28
White	542 580	7744	595
Total Population	2 893 246	55 479	115 936
LABOUR FORCE			
	Cape Town	Ndlambe	Emalahleni
Employed	939 440	12 509	5455
Unemployed	386 781	8584	11 626
Not Economically Active	664 322	14 840	43 135
Total Labour Force	1 326 221	21 093	17 081
PEOPLE EMPLOYED IN INDUSTRIAL SECTORS			
	Cape Town	Ndlambe	Emalahleni
Agriculture & Forestry	23 290	2135	446
Social services	182 006	1926	2251
Construction	68 005	1223	275
Financial services	126 970	716	123
Manufacturing	155 846	751	144
Mining & Quarrying	2151	36	53
Private Households	59 204	2769	849
Wholesale/Retail	169 989	1518	599
INDIVIDUAL MONTHLY INCOME			
	Cape Town	Ndlambe	Emalahleni
None	1 667 312	34 533	91 605
R1 - 400	83 708	4574	4883
R401 - 800	236 707	8976	15 801
R801 - 1600	278 781	2363	1316
R1601 - 3200	252 226	2038	1137
R3201 - 6400	196 132	1783	810
R6401 - 12 800	108 206	803	271
R12 801 - 25 600	45 975	200	31
R25 601 - 51 200	14 368	83	17
R51 201 - 102 400	4952	70	32
R102 401 - 204 800	3504	45	28
Over R204 801	1377	13	5

Source: Demarcation Board. 2003a,b,c

Figure 1.1 2001 Census statistics for Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni

UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES
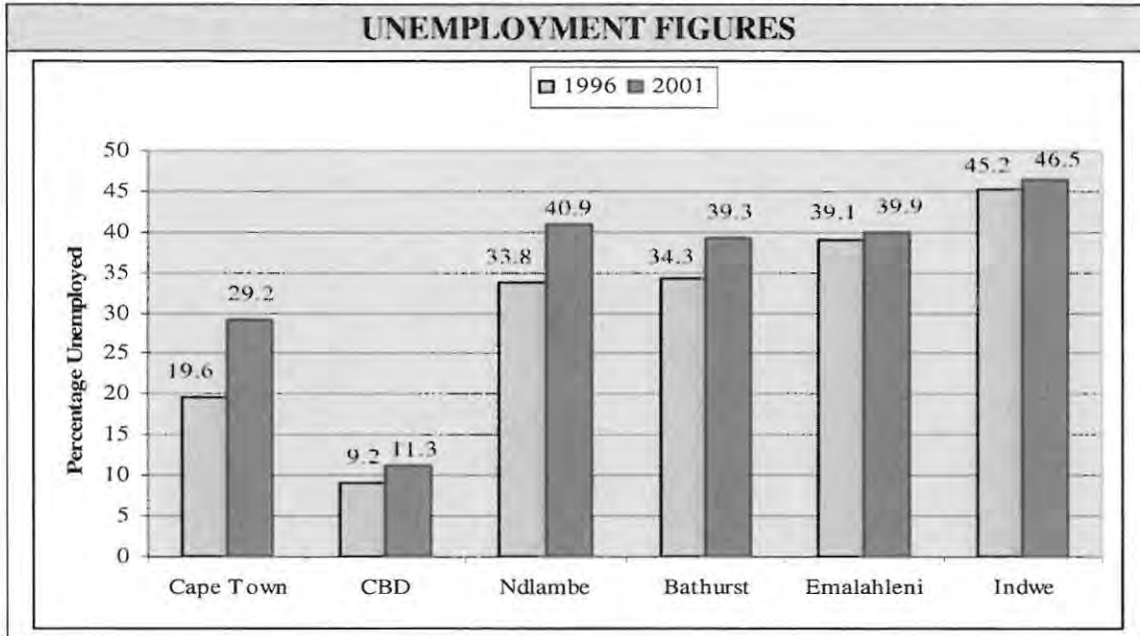
Source: Demarcation Board, 2003a,b,c

1.5 Thesis Outline

The following subsections serve to briefly outline some of the key concepts, theories, and debates that will be developed in greater detail in the following eight chapters:

1.5.1 Chapter Two: Methodology

The theoretical background informing this thesis, as well as the applied methodologies used in constructing its research design, are examined in greater detail in Chapter Two. Curiosity, decentralisation, and a reliance on subjectivity will be shown to have become necessary considerations in harmonizing the manner in which research is conducted within the equally disjointed and increasingly fluid characteristics of a locality-based development in multiple localities. A deconstruction of structuralist methodologies yields a new focus on multiple research techniques that stress the importance of studying unique features of, for example, endogenous social behaviours embedded within localities that are trying to navigate, and thus moderate, changes in the world economy (Rees, 1999; Hollinger, 1994).

Chapter Two will therefore outline how principles of open-minded and qualitative research have influenced the development of the research design that was devised to

examine how locality-based development has unfolded / is unfolding in the case studies of Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni. Field research itself used a number of additional qualitative research tools, including transect walks to elicit background information and semi-structured interviews with several local stakeholders to obtain an appreciation of the social processes that have helped formulate different localised varieties of territorially specific development.

1.5.2 Chapter Three: Literature Review - Globalisation and Localisation

Due the fact that two of this research's objectives involved an analysis of first theories relating to globalisation and localisation and second of approaches of locality-based development, this thesis will have a lengthy literature review broken-up into two chapters, largely along these lines. Chapter Three provides the first of two literature reviews that establish the wider theoretical background in which to situate analyses of Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni. Principally, this chapter offers an examination of how perceptions of globalisation have been constructed and presented in both academia and in popular media formats. It furnishes a dual evolving history of global processes that takes into consideration historical, as well as contemporary rationales for today's understanding of globalisation.

Advanced and easily accessible technologies, widespread people movements around the planet, the proliferation of a predominantly western-based global 'pop culture', and the dissemination of now increasingly trans-national ideologies of political and economic liberalism have led some sources (Fukuyama, 1992; O'Brien, 1992) to contemplate an end to both geography and history in the face of new seemingly seamless, homogenous economic and social orders. However, it is precisely such notions that Chapter Three will demonstrate have led to, firstly, a backlash against symbols of globalism and the fact that they have not equally benefited all localities and, secondly, a questioning of how individual localities are now moderating global processes. In addition, the successful, globally competitive growth nodes fixed to particular localities have also helped galvanise the notion that individual, localised qualities and identities are worthy of separate study in relation to globalisation (Cabus, 2001; MacLeod, 2001). In stepping back from the notion that globalisation is an inevitable and all-inclusive phenomenon, critics have inadvertently allowed for the development of a growing localisation literature that focuses on the unique strategies

employed by localities in their attempt to secure their place within the global economy. Swyngedouw (2003) and Storper (1997) point out that all phenomena are necessarily placed-based and that global flows need to originate from specific localities and, in due course, arrive at others. Cabus (2001; 1015) adds 'there may be a paradox at work: the more something functions on a global scale, the more it seems to need a set of conditions which, by their nature, are local, immobile and specific.' Therefore, arguments contained in Chapter Three will show that place plays a crucial role in creating and opposing the global manifestations visible today. The concept of the global / local dialectic, in particular, will assist in entrenching the notion that what is happening at the global level is undoubtedly tied to what is occurring on a smaller scale. Therefore, Chapter Three ends by concluding that the locality is central to producing, absorbing, as well as contributing to, global flows.

1.5.3 Chapter Four: Literature Review- Manifestations of Localisation

Chapter Four provides the second of two literature reviews, and offers an overview of different expressions of localisation and locality-based development as they appear around the world. The Chapter will open by examining urban localities and the different types of pro-growth development activities that characterise some of the world's leading and most globally connected cities. Arguments make use of the growing world city / global city discourse that has arisen in recent years to account for the development successes experienced by a growing number of major cities. Although such cities may be predominantly anchored in industrialised nation-states, they are strategically situated in the network of global flows that serve to make up the processes of globalisation and localisation. Using the arguments of influential authors, including Friedmann (2001, 1996), Sassen (2002a, 1994, 1991), and Robinson (2002), it will be argued that such world / global cities have become key localities driving the engines of globalisation, yet are also sites where distinctive market-led developments take place that call attention to their global competitiveness.

The second focal point for Chapter Four is an examination of non-urban localities and the different theories and issues related to development in small towns and their outlying rural areas. Contrary to world / global cities, localities on the global economic periphery have not benefited to such an extent from an accelerated internationalisation of goods and services, therefore providing evidence that global

flows are, in fact, highly skewed in favour of well-connected, well-resourced localities (Moore & Rugman, 2003). The result of this is that marginal areas are, now more than ever, vulnerable to changes in the global economic system and have been forced to explore and instigate different approaches to pro-poor locality-based development. Chapter Four will demonstrate that under-privileged localities and their inhabitants are turning to a number of alternative income earning livelihoods in order to provide for the basic needs of local households. A common theme arising out of the related literature is the need to exploit local resources and social capitals in the stimulation of community-based development initiatives (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003; Alkire *et al.*, 2001). In this way, as Khwaja (2004) and Mansuri & Rao (2004) have shown, people living in disadvantaged localities are themselves important assets in market-critical locality-based development and who must also demonstrate a high level of proactivity and innovation.

The third and final section of Chapter Four traces locality-based development in South Africa, in particular with regards to its ongoing experimentation with issues relating to LED. Evidence presented will show that South Africa has had an ongoing history of mixed, applied practical successes with LED. National government moves towards the decentralisation of developmental responsibilities at the local levels have been enshrined in several government policy documents since the country's transition to a participatory democracy in the 1990s that have further entrenched and expanded on targeted local economic development, developmental local governance, and civic participation in developmental processes (RSA, 2000, 1998, 1996a,b; ANC, 1994). In light of the country's comprehensive LED strategies, South Africa's metropolitan areas and municipalities have begun to undergo a period of experimentation with different approaches to both pro-growth and pro-poor locality-based development, which in many respects parallel international trends found in similar localities around the world. Later paragraphs in the chapter will indicate that the country's largest urban centres are switching from a reliance on manufacturing to business services and other pro-growth strategies (Rogerson, 2004c, 2000). Conversely, the nation's small towns and rural localities continue to struggle with planning and implementation of pro-poor locality-based development, with only a select few incidences of successfully applied long-term examples of LED existing (Nel, 2005b, 1994; Binns & Nel, 2003, 2002a).

1.5.4 Chapter Five: Locality-based Development in the City of Cape Town

Cape Town is the first of three case studies presented in this thesis and has primarily been selected as a research site to provide a face to the theories and practices of market-led locality-based developments that are typical of urban localities. Interest in pursuing research in Cape Town was piqued during prior academic studies in the area and following a December 2002 workshop hosted by the SA Cities Network in Cape Town. During a visit to the construction site of the new convention centre, workshop organisers explained the macro-economic significance that such a facility would have for the city and the contributions it would make to Cape Town's emergence as a global convention competitor (Douglas pers. comm., 2002). Subsequent visits to the city have clearly revealed considerable transformations occurring in the central city core, which has emerged from being a dangerous 'no-go zone' void of pedestrians and characterised by business flight, disinvestment, and commercial stagnation in the late 1990s and early 2000s, to its remarkable rebirth with bustling street life, capital investment, and renewed business activity. In the process, and according to some sources (Liebman pers. comm., 2004; Rippon pers. comm., 2004; Kirk pers. comm., 2005), it has become a model of global city market-led development.

Cape Town was thus chosen as a case study because of these significant pro-growth transformations in the downtown core since the turn of the millennium, which are indicating that Cape Town is coming to resemble many global city traits found in other leading international cities. In other words, Cape Town is a key South African example of a large metropolitan area, which is increasingly globally connected and where important large-scale market-led and private / public sector driven developments are being undertaken. The primary focus areas in Cape Town that are examined in Chapter Five include an investigation of the partnerships operating in the city centre that has become successful in improving the investment climate of the area and encouraging an environment for renewed business growth. Subsections will show how the establishment of a safe and attractive setting has fostered a process of residential conversions in the inner city that is providing the backdrop for a growing urban tourism sector, as well as the stimulation for expanding retail and entertainment industries. Chapter Five will furthermore show how the gentrification of Cape Town's CBD follows international global city models and has in part fuelled attempts by

municipal offices to develop the city's tourism sectors. Additional discussions will include how image selling and place marketing have elicited positive and significant results for niche tourist sectors, including convention tourism centred on the construction of the multi-million Rand Cape Town International Convention Centre. As this research will reveal, this facility has become an anchor for infrastructural developments in the foreshore area of the city and has been responsible for the creation of tens of thousands of both direct and indirect employment opportunities. It has also been tied to the expansion of events promotion throughout the city, which attempts to attract foreigners to Cape Town who spend proportionally greater amounts of money than domestic tourists.

In many respects, therefore, an examination of modern Cape Town's city centre provides a concrete example of the global / local arguments that are developed in future chapters in relation to pro-growth locality-based development.

1.5.5 Chapter Six: Locality-based Development in Ndlambe Municipality

Ndlambe Municipality is the second municipality chosen as a study site for this thesis, and is the first of two that have been selected for an analysis of pro-poor locality-based development in a non-metro locality. In contrast to Cape Town, it is not nearly as globally connected nor has it benefited to the same extent from private sector investments and big-business activities. Ndlambe is a conglomeration of small towns and rural settlements with a relatively strong commercial pineapple farming history and a strengthening holiday destination tourist sector centred on its coastal communities. Development activities, particularly those located in the small, inland town of Bathurst, were identified during a Local Economic Development workshop hosted by the Free State Goldfields Development Centre in Welkom in 2002, where it was revealed that although traditional farming sectors and the tourist industry do provide a significant amount of employment opportunities throughout the region, they are insufficient to adequately tackle the high unemployment rates in the area and have required the local government to devise novel ways of spearheading appropriate area-specific developments (Jordaan pers. comm., 2002).

One of the primary reasons why Ndlambe was selected as a case study site is the fact that it was the home to a number of the LED Fund-funded development schemes still

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in existence across South Africa at the time this thesis was conceived, when around the country, most had failed. The LED Fund ran from 1999 to 2003 and was based on national government funding for community projects. The key areas of study within Chapter Six will therefore include the Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project, the Isitena Brick Making Project, and the Nomzamo Small Business Hive. The Masiphatisane Community Gardening Project, which has not received national funding is also used as an example of pro-poor development. This thesis uses these examples of locality-based development to portray Ndlambe as an example of a locality that has recently demonstrated a strong mix of market-critical development initiatives and where the absence of global links has required more localised answers to socio-economic problems. Developmental responses have included the increased use of solutions that are identified from within the community, that are backed by the municipality, and that are financed from a higher level. In addition to the unique success rate and the longevity of these four projects, Chapter Six will outline how approaches to locality-based development in Ndlambe differ from those of Cape Town and are reminiscent of developments often found in secondary, smaller towns in other countries. In many respects, the case of Ndlambe supports the notion that development in such localities often requires the prioritisation of pro-poor development planning, concerted action, and the pooling of local resources in order to make a difference at the grassroots level.

1.5.6 Chapter Seven: Locality-based Development in Emalahleni Municipality

Emalahleni Municipality is the third case study selected for this thesis and the second of the two picked to illustrate the nature of pro-poor development occurring in non-city environments. Similar to Ndlambe, Emalahleni is comprised of small towns and upwards of two hundred rural villages that once formed part of the Transkei former homeland. Collectively, the local economy is centred on commercial livestock farming and farming support services, public sector employment, informal subsistence farming, and a number of survivalist strategies. Emalahleni was opted for as a research site following numerous visits to different localities across South Africa and following the identification of a micro-economy that is developing in Indwe, which is one of the municipality's three larger centres, that has provided a growing number of job opportunities to hundreds of area residents, despite the presence of a particularly weak local government. It is this lack of capacity on the part of the

municipality that provides an important point of comparison to the other approaches to locality-based development emphasised in Cape Town and Ndlambe, which both depend heavily on the input from local government offices. Arguments presented in Chapter Seven will therefore illustrate how development activities correspond to a variety of locality-based development situated at the bottom end of the development scale and which focus almost predominantly on bottom-up, endogenous potential. The first two development interventions that feature in Chapter Seven include a cheese factory and a community wool growing venture that have been made possible by outside assistance provided to the municipality. These are limited in number and scope due to shortages and weaknesses faced by local development planners. An investigation of Indwe's micro-economy will therefore provide the bulk of this case study's analysis of pro-poor locality-based development. It is a significant example of self-sufficiency in a locality where small-scale mining and brick making have led to a remarkable concentration of market-critical development activities that have provided income to several unemployed local residents.

1.5.7 Chapter Eight: Theoretical Discussions

Chapter Eight will provide an overview of the research contributions that this thesis attempts to make regarding different approaches to locality-based development in South Africa. It first offers an examination of how international evidence of globalisation and localisation is comparable to identifiable trends in South Africa and second, how the styles of locality-based development in Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni relate to similar development strategies employed in the rest of the world.

This thesis will show that in recent years South Africa has been drawn into the globalisation / localisation debate with a number of cities and regions becoming successful in international markets, whereas several more isolated localities have not been favourably integrated into global processes and have therefore been forced into reactive positions of implementing pro-poor developments. Swyngedouw's (2003, 1996) and Robertson's (1995) theories of glocalisation and the global / local nexus discussed by Milne & Ateljevic (2001) and Yeoh & Willis (1997) are therefore very relevant, with these twin theories finding suitable application in contemporary South Africa. The processes of simultaneous homogenisation and heterogenisation are indeed occurring in localities across the country, whereby even though some urban

centres, including Cape Town, are becoming more and more outwardly comparable to their global city role models, specific market-led strategies undertaken by them announce their individuality on the world stage. Likewise, Chapter Eight will show how a myriad of income earning activities, including small-scale mining, brick making, and agro-processing, represent but a few of several possible pro-poor livelihood approaches pursued in smaller, globally marginal localities.

This thesis concludes that Cape Town is an example of a secondary global city, located in a developing country based on numerous characteristics found in the redevelopment of its downtown core. It attempts to build on world city research already conducted in Johannesburg by Rogerson (2005b, 2004b) and the Centre for Development and Enterprise (2002) by emphasising that Cape Town's global city status rests on the auxiliary presence of urban partnerships, international branding campaigns, an expansion in tourist-related sectors, internationally recognisable living standards, and a growing culture of consumption.

Conclusions that are drawn relating to pro-poor development in Ndlambe and Emalahleni will put into perspective arguments made by Stöhr & Taylor (1981), Mackenzie (1992), and Gooneratne & Mbilinyi (1992) that small towns are increasingly required to instigate community driven development schemes in order to establish some measure of socio-economic development for local residents. Findings will further emphasise that Ndlambe is a role model for small town development due to its beneficial combination of individually identified, community-moderated, and municipally enabled development projects that are operating within an open market system and which have provided a limited amount of job opportunities. Lessons learned from Emalahleni will show that residents of small towns can provide positive examples of pro-poor locality-based development in localities that do not necessarily have the support of local government.

1.5.8 Chapter Nine: Conclusions

The final chapter of this thesis will provide summations of the global / local theoretical debates discussions, as well as of the practical examples of locality-based development that appear throughout this thesis. Subsections include a review of what has been discussed and the important lessons that are learnt in each chapter by relating

the findings to the original aims and objectives presented in Chapter One. The first section includes a summary of the different topics that are covered in the two literature review chapters including a recap of the origins of globalisation, counter globalisation movements, the emergence of localisation as an independent yet parallel theory, the global / local duality, and the importance of the locality in the construction of localisation discourse. This chapter will also encompass references to manifestations of both globalisation and localisation visible in both urban world / global cities and small town contexts. These are followed by an overview of policy decisions that have helped South African localities pursue a variety of approaches to locality-based development given their global connectivity and / or access to local resources. This chapter will then show how the third and fourth objectives of identifying, documenting, and assessing pro-growth and pro-poor development strategies have been realised by summarising the various development activities found in Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni. Final subsections will demonstrate that pro-growth local developments in Cape Town have primarily benefited those associated with an international workforce and the so-called global citizenry at the expense of the wider community, while development emphasised in Ndlambe and Emalahleni is specifically targeted at the poor by the poor.

1.6 Conclusion

This thesis will show how the concepts of place and space are now staging a comeback in the field of human geographical research, as academics look towards the positioning of localities across differing scales. Such places can either benefit from, and therefore embrace an internationalisation of common global manifestations, or, if they have been bypassed by them, they are being compelled to look for localised alternatives. From whichever angle the study of the locality is now being approached, this thesis will show that unique interventions are being highlighted by, and emphasis is being placed on the strategies embarked upon by individuals, or partnerships of stakeholders, in their attempts to respond to global, national, and local change. In other words, the strongest motivation behind pursuing an analysis of the locality as the leading factor responsible for mediating global flows, or, conversely, as the medium tasked with arbitrating negative repercussions of globalisation, is to examine how local needs are dealt with at the appropriate level.

In conclusion, this chapter has provided an introductory examination of the different concepts related to the locality and to locality-based development that are elaborated throughout the course of this research. Using the examples of City of Cape Town, Ndlambe Municipality, and Emalahleni Municipality, this thesis will therefore conduct an analysis of locality-based development to determine to what degree either pro-growth or pro-poor, or a combination of both forms, appear in different contexts in South Africa.

Chapter Two: Methodology

2.1 Introduction

In 1989, Rundstrom & Kenzer (1989) published an article in the *Professional Geographer* warning of a decrease in the amount of research being carried out in the field of human geography. Although they acknowledged and provided evidence of a shift in geographical enquiry from the industrialised core to the peripheral developing world in general, they also noted an over-all decrease in fieldwork and primary data collection. In a reply to this argument, Wilson (1990) commented in the same publication the following year that contemporary and ever more recognisable trends in industrial clustering signalled a possible new phase for field research. The concept of new localism and the importance of the locality in spearheading area specific developments had provided the incentives and opportunities for a new chapter in geographical research, with Wilson (1990; 221) pointing out that 'primary data acquisition is critical to dissecting complex local forces.' Later, Clark (1998) would more specifically question who was better positioned to study the locality relative to changes in industry / labour relations over space and scale; economists or geographers? He further emphasised, 'the challenge for geography is to make sense of economic diversity in relation to broader higher-tier processes of economic change' (Clark, 1998; 74).

Today, the challenge to make sense of the economic diversity across different levels and within varying localities continues to be a major theme in geographical research. According to Kitchin & Tate (2000; 1), research is a 'process of enquiry and discovery.' For Goddard & Melville (2001) it is about answering unanswered questions. Research is therefore a way of thinking and a way for understanding; it is being able to ask questions and critically assess one's environment in accordance with a paradigm of set methodological philosophies and in keeping to pre-determined research designs. There are a number of reasons why academics and ordinary people alike pursue research; namely to seek answers, to investigate poorly understood processes, to chronicle life's events, to document unexplained phenomena, to learn lessons and forecast trends. However, in terms of geography, to be precise, 'it is suggested that the task of academic geography is to inform, challenge and conceptually re-wire people's understanding of the world' (Bonnett, 2003; 56).

It is with this in mind, that this chapter therefore presents an overview of the schools of thought and the different research techniques that have influenced the direction of this thesis and guided the choice of case studies and field sites. This chapter will begin by an examination of the research design, which, as underscored by Kitchin & Tate (2000), provides valuable grounding to any research context. The case studies of Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni were selected to provide practical insights into local manifestations of different international theoretical debates relating to locality-based development as they pertain to South Africa. Using multiple sampling techniques, a variety of participatory methods, including transect walks and lengthier semi-structured interviews that covered a broader range of topics and subject areas, information relevant to the study was collected (Hopf, 2004; Fontana & Frey, 2000; Motteux *et al.*, 1999). This chapter will look at how these methodologies have been adapted to suit the specificities of each individual case.

Final subsections within this chapter provide comments on practical considerations relating to the progress of this thesis, such as the accessibility of case study sites and time limits constraining research. Also included is a discussion of how this research has attempted to achieve a high standard of rigour by taking advantage of multiple sources and by implementing or practising appropriate methodologies and research techniques.

2.2 Research Design

Developing a research design is the first step of any research, and, according to Bradshaw & Stratford (2000), it is vital to its overall soundness. Research therefore needs to be carefully thought out and must be able to stand-up to extensive scrutiny. It is usually emphasised that considerable initial preparation will help assure rigour and support a methodology that is dependable and reliably accurate. Maxwell (2004) explains that it is a linear sequence of tasks, a prescriptive guide, or a flowchart of what is to be accomplished. Kitchin & Tate (2000) further add that the research design focuses fieldwork and guides methods of data generation and information analysis. Likewise, Kumar (1999; 16) states: 'the main function of a research design is to explain how you will find answers to your research questions.' In other words, it expounds on what questions are to be asked, how cases are selected, and how

practical research is to unfold. As Kitchin and Tate (2000; 34) maintain, there are no generic guidelines for perfect research: 'imagination and creativity are two of the most important assets to bring to any project.'

Initial preparations for this thesis included developing a research design that included and adapts various research components as recommended by different authors such as Maxwell (2004) and Kitchin & Tate (2000). Features of this research design include:

1. Establishing a research context
2. Selecting research methods and asking questions
3. Choosing case studies and participants
4. Allowing for practical considerations
5. Accounting for research rigour
6. Considering ethics

This chapter will now turn to examine these features and themes in greater detail, as well as relevant methodological theories and approaches and it will also investigate the various individual stages within the research design that were implemented and followed throughout the research. However, this was also carried forward bearing in mind Maxwell's (2004; 3) assertion that a research design is not static, but is one that evolves and continually needs assessment. 'Thus, to design a study, particularly a qualitative study, you can't just develop (or borrow) a logical strategy in advance and then implement it faithfully.' The development of this thesis, therefore, like other studies of its scope, was been a reflexive process of adjustment and change.

2.3 The Research Context

Although working within the parameters of established methodologies was always an important consideration for this thesis, this research invariably sought to conceptualise and implement them in a flexible manner; one that would evolve when and where necessary to be suitably customized to meet the requirements of specific situations. The impetus to proceed in such a fashion was grounded in the desire to match proposed academic research methodologies with the necessary creative mindsets and applied methodologies dynamically employed in the selected case studies. As will be seen in coming chapters, the route to development success for all localities in a so-

called global society has been that of espousing original, imaginative, and innovative attitudes and by creatively 'thinking outside of the box'. It is with such considerations in mind, that this chapter will demonstrate how this thesis' research does not adhere exclusively to any one technique specifically, but uses a variety of approaches according to different scenarios and within different environments. In many respects, it has been the desire to learn more about a given situation or event that has influenced what areas to focus research on, which has continued to shape the way this thesis progressed.

This is not an entirely novel concept, with Gersick (1988) being applauded by Padgett (2004) and Beyer (1992) for her use of unconventional methodologies, which, although acknowledging traditional theory, developed novel theoretical insights based on research conducted into group dynamics and social behaviours driven largely by personal inquisitiveness. In a farcically entitled commentary on alternative methodologies, *Researchers are not Cats - They can Survive and Succeed by being Curious*, Beyer (1992) acknowledged that curiosity has come to be considered an accepted guiding principle and a genuine virtue in planning and conducting research. Such previously unorthodox methodologies have seemingly questionable rigour, but she further pointed out that they contribute to greater inventiveness on the part of the researcher, are fuelled by higher levels of motivation, and are based quite simply on 'wanting to know.' Academics following such a path are often refreshingly presented with uncontrived stimuli and are basically assured that whatever they uncover is original and, more and more so, that their research contributions will be credible, if not, at least, interesting. Furthermore, if this curiosity has yet to be satiated, then he or she can return to the source until a more sound conclusion is reached, since, as suggested by Padgett (2004; 19), qualitative research is 'rarely neat and tidy.'

Curiosity and inquisitiveness therefore have influenced the manner in which this research has progressed because they offer the flexibility called for in the analysis of widely differing case study sites and allow for the freedom to explore unique social constructs in equally dynamic, yet opposing environments. Locality-based development in the three sites chosen does not follow a prescribed formula, therefore this thesis takes the position that research should also reflect this openness and ability to use different methodological paths. Thus, this thesis follows an overarching

inductive approach to research, where primary data is collected and then conceptual propositions are formulated based on identified commonalities and divergence (Kitchin & Tate, 2000).

2.4 Research Methods and Questions

In the 1990s, Schoenberger (1991) explained that there had been an increased use of qualitative approaches in economic geography research, while later, Winchester (2000; 11-12) noted and confirmed that 'in the last two decades the pendulum of geographical methods within human geography has swung firmly from quantitative to qualitative methods.' This thesis carries forward this trend and has adopted a qualitative, intensive approach to data collection. Despite often being referred to as a 'soft' methodology, it was selected because it has been shown to be more accurately able to describe interactions within human environments, elucidate individual experiences and life stories, and more representatively portray social processes. Intensive methods seek to establish who the actors are, what they do, why they do so, and what changes such actions have on their environment. According to Pole & Lampard (2002), qualitative methods see value in personal experience, which, in other words, is an appropriate approach for those interested in immersing themselves in and interpreting social realities (Bauer *et al.*, 2000). Furthermore, as described by Robinson (1998), it is a more multi-dimensional approach than quantitative methods, in that it purposely seeks to forego the use of numbers and statistics, but is also one that must be more tailored to the needs of respondents and other sources of information. Although it allows for a greater degree of subjectivity on the part of the researcher, it requires a much more in-depth analysis of subjects and attention to detail. In addition, although Robinson (1998) also stated that it does not require large samples, qualitative research does draw from a wide pool of respondents to gather cross-sectional information.

2.5 The Literature Review

This research includes an extensive literature review, which serves to contextualise the case studies within a broader framework of existing knowledge (Blaxter *et al.*, 1996). According to Fink (1998; 3), 'a literature review is a systematic, explicit, and reproducible method for identifying, evaluating, and interpreting the existing body of recorded work produced by researchers, scholars, and practitioners.' A literature

review is a necessary part of research as it elucidates an established research base, gathers documented experiences together in logically connected themes, defends current and proposed practices, helps identify recognised research methodologies, serves as a framework for future research, is a means of spotting gaps in existing research, and satisfies personal curiosity (Fink, 1998). Additionally, literature reviews are useful in better familiarising oneself with existing hypotheses, thus giving the researcher access to a wider breadth of information from which he will be able to develop his own hypotheses, arguments, and conclusions that ultimately shape the theoretical framework that informs the case study (Henning, 2004; Kumar, 1999; Maxwell, 1996; Simon, 1969; Selltiz *et al.*, 1959). Selltiz *et al.* (1959; 54) in particular pointed out that the 'richness' of another author's descriptions may be stimulating for other researchers.

In order to fully benefit from this scholarly richness, Chapters Three and Four therefore contain a detailed literature review of books, book chapters, academic publications, and articles sourced from archival sources, libraries, the Internet, as well as periodical databases including EBSCOhost, Science Direct, and Ingenta. An exceptionally long literature (two chapters) was necessary due to the diversity of material examined and the several theoretical themes from a wide variety of research fields included. They included cross-disciplinary studies in globalisation, counter-globalisation, localisation, locality studies, human and economic geography, urban and rural geography, global cities, small towns research, rural livelihoods, and development studies. Chapter Three includes an analysis of the rise of globalisation as a process and as an alleged ideological hegemon, followed by its subsequent deconstruction that has led to alternative theories of localisation and a renewed focus on the importance of the locality in the world economy. Chapter Four presents a secondary literary exploration on various subjects related to different manifestations of locality-based development as they unfold in both urban localities and localities beyond such urban cores. Chapter Four also provides an examination of documented information regarding local development policies and practices in South Africa that offer a supplementary national context in which to situate the case studies.

2.5.1 Research Questions for the Literature Review

There are a number of questions that guided the literature review sections of this thesis and shaped subsequent investigations in the ensuing case studies. One of the principle questions that originally instigated this particular research was:

How, in a supposedly increasingly globalised society, have localities now emerged as key agents for locality-based development?

To arrive at an answer to this question, a number of secondary questions were posed, including:

1. *From where do the processes of globalisation originate?*
2. *What are the main manifestations of globalisation?*
3. *How has globalisation discourse given way to theories relating to localisation?*
4. *What are the main manifestations of localisation?*
5. *How do global processes influence localities?*
6. *How do localities influence global processes?*
7. *How is locality-based development manifested in urban localities?*
8. *How is locality-based development manifested non-urban localities?*
9. *How has locality-based development influenced policy making in South Africa?*
10. *How has locality-based development manifested itself in South Africa?*

2.6 The Case Studies

In addition to the literature review, the second method employed in this thesis is that of case study analysis. Kumar (1999; 99) explains that the use of case studies is an appropriate method of studying 'social phenomenon through a thorough analysis of an individual case.' Likewise, Simon (1969) has explained that a case study provides an opportunity to examine a wider variety of people, communities, and aspects of social life in greater detail. The main priority in using a case study approach is often to gain a better understanding of the case itself and, as clarified by Hammersley & Gomm (2000; 2), 'all research is a case study: there is always some unit, or set of units, in relation to which data are collected.' Frequently referred to simply as fieldwork, case studies offer an alternative to quantitative laboratory experimentation and seek to examine different, multi-variable phenomena in an uncontrolled, yet bounded environment. Case studies are an opportunity to gather a wealth of detail on unique,

often locally specific dynamics that can be compared and contrasted across cases (Yin & Campbell, 2002: Eckstein, 2000). Stake (2002; 435) has noted that 'case studies have become one of the most common ways to do qualitative inquiry,' to which Henning (2004) adds that such methodologies offer a freer and less controlled means of exploring social phenomena.

Thus, in order to study social phenomena related to locality-based development in different contexts, this thesis makes use of three case studies. In referring to how research sites are selected, Bradshaw & Stratford (2000; 41) write: 'sometimes we find a case, and sometimes a case finds us.' Again, however, curiosity also proved to be an important determining factor in the selection of the three case studies for this research. Field trips across South Africa to different municipalities purported to be home to varying examples of locality-based development in varying stages of progress, yielded a number of possible research sites. Although, to a large degree, best-practice scenarios were considered favourably, as were issues of accessibility and practicality, inquisitiveness and personal interest played a major role in the final choice of case study sites, giving considerable weight to the notion, proposed by Bradshaw & Stratford (2000), that case selection is frequently influenced by both purpose and serendipity. After careful consideration, the prime focus of this thesis became an analysis of locality-based development practices in Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni, which are investigated in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven.

2.6.1 Research Questions for the Case Studies

As with the literature review, there were a number of broad generic questions that guided research in the various case studies. The main question, which each respective chapter will, in turn, seek to answer, is:

How, if at all, has each case study responded to global economic processes by undertaking unique approaches to locality-based development?

Secondary questions that needed to be answered in each case study include:

1. *How, if at all, have global processes influenced locality-based development?*
2. *How, if at all, has locality-based development influenced global processes?*
3. *What form does locality-based development take in each locality?*

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4. *What are its main manifestations?*

5. *Who are the main role players?*

6. *Who are the main beneficiaries?*

7. *What role does local government play?*

8. *What role does the business sector play?*

9. *What role does the community play?*

10. *What role do local residents play?*

2.6.2 Methods of Primary Data Collection

Cosley & Lury (1987), quoted in Blaxter *et al.* (1996; 66), presented a description of methodologies when conducting fieldwork that is both convincing and relevant to this research, when they concluded:

> *The case study uses a mixture of methods: personal observation,*
> *... the use of informants for current and historical data;*
> *straightforward interviewing; and the tracing and the study of*
> *relevant documents and records from local and central*
> *governments.*

The following sections will outline the applied methodologies used when gathering primary information from the case studies of Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni.

2.6.2.1 Sampling Techniques

In each case study site, purposive sampling was carried out through the targeting of key informants such as municipal managers, LED officers, project leaders, etc. In addition, non-purposive methods of selecting participants more closely associated with this type of qualitative research included the use of snowball, convenience, or opportunistic sampling techniques. Snowball sampling yielded new respondents during interview processes based on their acquaintance with, and recommendations of, others (Henning, 2004; Kumar, 1999). Opportunistic sampling was additionally used, as Bradshaw & Stratford (2000) claimed it is useful for flexibly following spontaneous leads as they present themselves. Convenience sampling, relying on collecting information from available informants during the time of site visits, rather than employing random sampling techniques, was also employed throughout this

research. They were most useful during spontaneous research trips or, as also highlighted by Maxwell (1996), when it was difficult to gain access to the category of people to be questioned. This type of sample selection, which is also often referred to as accidental sampling, was key for choosing informants who were most readily available and / or willing to answer questions posed to them (Kumar, 1999; Allison *et al.*, 1996; Blaxter, *et al.*, 1996; Selltiz *et al.*, 1959). In many cases, a combination of such techniques was used to achieve a more purposeful sampling of participants.

There was no pre-determined sample size established for the different case studies, allowing for the possibility of interviewing new informants with valuable information through snowball techniques. In many cases primary data could be collected from a wider range of informants already on site. Indeed, as Patton (1990; 184-185) confirms:

> *There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of inquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with the available time and resources ...*

2.6.2.2 Participatory Techniques

One of the initial means of gathering information from participants in the chosen case studies was through the use of participatory observation techniques. This thesis, therefore, made use of transect walks, which are identified as key components of participatory methodologies, especially in research relating to rural development (Zarafshani, 2002; Motteux *et al.*, 1999; Vabi, 1996). Plate 2.1 demonstrates a transect walk undertaken in Ndlambe at the Masiphatisane Community Gardening Project. This approach was useful in gaining the confidence of individuals so that they became more comfortable with the researcher and provided more accurate accounts of the activities occurring in their environment during site visits and tours of development initiatives. Such transect walks were frequently undertaken early on in

Plate 2.1 Transect walk with a member of the Masiphatisane Community Garden Project

Source: Gibb, 2005

the research process and basic background or historical information was thus gathered from respondents. Following these initial visits or pilot studies, once a certain level of familiarity with the case had been achieved, case-specific details were later ascertained during interviewing processes.

2.6.2.3 Semi-structured Interviews and Open-ended Questions

For the case studies, semi-structured interviews were also selected because this technique helped to create a closer relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. They are less rigid than formal interviews and offered more scope for elaboration and discussion of an individual's own thinking or about a variety of social phenomena (Pole & Lampard, 2002; Fontana & Frey, 2000; Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Hopf (2004) labels this variety of information gathering as a narrative interview that is frequently used to gather personal recollections and the subjective experiences of informants. In some cases, such interviews have been likened to casual conversations, but, as Robinson (1998) notes, semi-structured interviews are, nevertheless,

Plate 2.2 Semi-formal interviews with Indwe coal miners outside their mines

Sources: Gibb, 2005

conversations that are directed by the interviewer to cover similar questions from varying informants. The interviewer has a list of predetermined questions or topic areas, or, as described by Dunn (2000), as *aide memoires*, which should be covered during the interview. The interviewer 'steers' the interview towards different subject areas and must capitalise on opportunities to ask new questions, which may not have been anticipated. There is the need for probing questions to crosscheck information or delve deeper than original questions without being intrusive. Initial questions used in this research were mainly open-ended and were used to stimulate conversation, after which point, more direct questions contained in the interview guides were answered. In addition, new issues emerged from conversations that provided valuable input to this thesis. Semi-structured interviews require strong interpersonal skills on the part of the interviewer in order to develop a rapport with the informant and to help him / her feel at ease (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Opening statements may be simply pleasantries and may take place in informal settings where respondents feel most comfortable, such as their home or their places of work. Plate 2.2 demonstrates an example of the relaxed atmosphere that research attempted to achieve during a semi-formal interview

conducted with coal miners from Emalahleni. On this occasion, interviews took place under trees outside of the coal mine. Becker & Geer (2004) have remarked that interviewees often do not understand complicated questions, are unfamiliar with seemingly foreign subject matters or academic jargon, or frequently do not impart complete answers for a variety of reasons, making it necessary to interview people using language and vocabulary that is appropriate to that particular person. Likewise, Robinson (1998) and Pole & Lampard (2002) add that there is an additional need to match speech patterns, pitch, tone, and posture to that of the informant in order to gain their confidence and thus gather more accurate and complete data.

The interviews ranged in length from half an hour to a full hour, depending on the person being interviewed. Respondents from Emalahleni and Ndlambe, particularly those involved in endogenous and community-based development, were eager to speak longer and appeared grateful for the opportunity to share their stories with somebody who had a genuine interest in them and what they had accomplished. In this respect, such interviews fulfilled one of the main reasons for pursuing research, which, according to Dunn (2000), is to show respect and empower respondents through their contribution to the expansion of knowledge. On the other hand, many municipal officials and business-people in Ndlambe and Cape Town were more likely faced with time-related pressures and therefore interviews were shorter, more direct, and modified accordingly.

The necessity to adapt the wording of questions and interview styles became especially salient as the respondents varied considerably from one case study to the next and vocabulary and sentence structures used during interviews differed between Cape Town, Ndlambe and Emalahleni. For example, respondents selected in Cape Town included highly educated / skilled professionals familiar with a more advanced vocabulary, whereas those selected in Emalahleni often did not complete high school and had a limited grasp of the English language. In these cases, translators, which were identified at municipal offices, were used. Considerable time was spent with these translators to ensure that they understood the nature of the questions to be asked. Questions were then channelled through the translators, who then translated responses back into English.

Table 2.1 Research timetable for selected case studies

	City of Cape Town	Ndlambe Municipality	Emalahleni Municipality
Primary Research Site	Central Business District	Bathurst	Indwe
Primary Contact Person	David Gretton	Gert Jordaan	Phakamisa George
Rank / Position	Director of Economic Development,	Chief Executive	Local Economic Development Officer
Preliminary Contact	December 2002	July 2002	June 2002
First Site Visit	April 2003	May 2003	October 2002
Second Site Visit	April 2004	July 2003	November 2002
Additional Site Visit	-	November 2004	December 2003
Final Site Visit	March 2005	September 2005	February 2005
Final Assessment	October 2005	October 2005	October 2005

2.7 Methods used in each Case Study

These next subsections will provide details on how qualitative methodologies were modified to meet the realities of each individual case study. Field Research was the chief means of gathering primary data from Cape Town, Emalahleni, and Ndlambe and a longitudinal study of these sites was conducted between late 2002 and mid 2005 to obtain data over an extended time sequence of events. In practise the study was also cross-sectional in that comparison between the different case studies was facilitated through this process. Table 2.1 provides details of the key contact people for each case study site, as well as supplying a break down of the dates when each case was visited and when information was gathered. As can be concluded from the table, field visits to Emalahleni and Ndlambe were more frequent, in part due to their proximity to Rhodes University. In the case of Cape Town, although visits there were less numerous, when undertaken, they were considerably longer and involved a greater degree of planning.

2.7.1 City of Cape Town

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Cape Town has been picked as an example of a locality where there is considerable evidence of multiple market-led developments in the central business districts that have received the support of

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municipal departments through a number of public-private partnerships (PPPs) in recent years. Many of these large-scale projects and the strategic planning on the part of localised PPPs to draw international attention to their attractiveness have begun to enhance Cape Town's global competitive edge in a number of key niche economic sectors. As such, developments in Cape Town are used in this thesis as examples of a combined approach to pro-growth locality-based development that is frequently used in other urban settings to, firstly, improve their status as global cities and, secondly, to generate economic growth potential for local residents.

To determine the extent of the city's global reach and to establish the nature of its globally focussed projects, an initial investigative study of Cape Town was conducted in 2003. This followed the original visit to the convention centre construction site in December 2002, which was undertaken to determine which aspects of locality-based development in the city to focus research on. An initial meeting with David Gretton, one of Cape Town's directors of economic development, revealed some of the city's major plans for development, including the establishment of a central city partnership and the revitalisation of the CBD. Gretton further provided a list of contact information for individuals and organisations involved in the process. In April of 2003, a further exploratory research trip was conducted, during which time the Cape Town City Partnership, the Central City Improvement District, the Cape Town International Convention Centre, the city's tourism and events promotion strategies, and the residential conversions in the CBD were identified as key foci for this thesis, as they demonstrated Cape Town's likeness as an increasingly global city and represented pro-growth locality-based development strategies. Due to the fact that it was logistically impractical to conduct lengthy transect walks in Cape Town, as well as due to time constraints on the part of project managers, research relied significantly on a documentary analysis of departmental reports, feasibility studies, annual reports, and newspaper articles to provide contextual and background information on development within the city. Invaluable transect walks with key informants were, however, carried out through the convention centre and the Mandela / Rhodes Place construction sites. When it was possible that they could be met in person for one-on-one interviews, informants were selected using snowball and opportunistic sampling methods, whereby key individuals heavily involved in these initiatives were contacted and, if available, interviewed using a semi-structured interview format. They were

also asked to recommend additional individuals who could similarly provide valuable information, who were then also contacted for interviews.

Due to the fact that most were high-level municipal officials or private sector executives, these interviews were conducted with a certain degree of formality. Appointments were made through the appropriate channels and carried out at designated times and places using professional formats. Examples of broad categories of questions asked during these interviews included:

1. *What approaches to locality-based development are visible in Cape Town?*
2. *What are Cape Town's assets that are favouring its global competitiveness?*
3. *How does the international convention centre fit into Cape Town's strategy for increased global competitiveness?*
4. *What impacts are tourism and events promotion having on Cape Town's local economy?*
5. *How are residential properties in the CBD being marketed locally / internationally?*

Additional broad categories of questions asked of individual focus areas include:

1. *For what reasons were such strategies initiated?*
2. *What is the nature of their organisation?*
3. *What is their mandate?*

Copies of question guides and further topics covered in interviews are provided in Annexe 2.

In total, a significant number of interviews were conducted with multiple informants in the City of Cape Town. These included high placed directors of economic development from the municipality and coordinators of development trade for the city. They also included project managers from the Cape Town Partnership, as well as directors and managers from the city's tourism authorities and marketing agencies. Interviews further took place with a number of executives from leading South African financial institutions who also hold memberships on the board of directors of either

the Cape Town Partnership or the Central Improvement District. Additionally, directors and / or managers of some of the city's largest property developers and real-estate firms were questioned regarding the contributions of residential conversions to pro-growth developments in the city centre.

A final research trip was conducted in February 2005 to monitor progress with local developments and to fill in remaining gaps arising from previous fieldwork.

2.7.2 Ndlambe Municipality

Ndlambe's selection as this thesis' second case study site was largely based on the community driven and municipality supported style of pro-poor locality-based development taking place on the ground. It is used to provide a counterweight to market-led development in Cape Town and provides examples of responses that are principally market-critical in nature and that have minimal input from the private sector. An analysis of locality-based development in Ndlambe therefore provides an interesting example from which to draw comparisons to the two other case studies included in this study.

Fieldwork in Ndlambe began with an initial exploratory trip in May 2003 to investigate the locality-based development potential in the area. This visit provided an opportunity to cement a relationship and initiate a series of ongoing interviews with Gert Jordaan, a municipal official with keen insights into local development in Bathurst, who continued to be the primary contact person for this particular research site. At this meeting the Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project, the Isitena Brick Making Project, and, to a lesser degree, the Nomzamo Business Hive and the Masiphatisane Gardening Project were identified as key foci of poverty-related local development in Ndlambe. Information used for the Ndlambe chapter was largely acquired through primary sources. Transect walks with project leaders and project members provided useful background information on these development projects. In July 2003, further semi-structured interviews were conducted with Jordaan to gain supplementary information regarding these development projects. A series of similarly structured interviews were then carried out in 2004 with varying project managers and municipal officials to gather a greater array of information on pro-poor

development in the municipality. Examples of the categories of questions that were asked in Ndlambe included:

1. *What approaches to locality-based development are visible in Ndlambe?*
2. *What role does the municipality play?*
3. *What role does the community play in running these businesses* (Umsobomvu & Isitena)?
4. *What impacts are these businesses having on the local economy?*
5. *How do community gardens contribute to locality-based development?*

A more exhaustive list may be found in Annexe 3. Similarly to Cape Town, additional broad questions asked of individual focus areas included, for example:

1. *For what reasons was Umsobomvu initiated?*
2. *What operating procedures are present at Isitena?*
3. *What is Nomzamo's mandate?*

The way questions were phrased and the manner in which they were posed, similarly, reflects Ndlambe's choice of a locality combining a range of bottom-up and municipally facilitated development approaches. In this case, interviews with municipal officials required advanced bookings, took place within formal contexts, and used relatively sophisticated vocabularies, but interviews with project members were considerably more basic and were conducted within a more relaxed atmosphere. Individuals involved with the various projects were frequently willing and often excited to be able to share their experiences with an outsider. During additional site visits / transect walks, people described and pointed out aspects that they were particularly proud of, or made note of proposed extensions and areas where improvements could be made.

In Ndlambe, a significant number of interviews were conducted with several local development stakeholders and key role players in pro-poor development. At the municipality, numerous, successive individual interviews were conducted with municipal officials including the mayor, the LED officer, and the unit manager who have had significant input into applied development in the past and who continue to

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be influential in contemporary development planning. Financial and marketing managers from both the Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project and the Isitena Brick Making Project were also interviewed to gain their insight into the role of community-businesses in local development as were stakeholders involved with the Nomzamo Small Business Hive. Key leaders and long-term members of the Masiphatisane Community Garden were likewise questioned regarding their views pertaining to issues of food security and other matters of pro-poor development in the area.

A last site visit to Ndlambe was undertaken in September 2005.

2.7.3 Emalahleni Municipality

The reasons for Emalahleni's inclusion in this thesis are similar to those of Ndlambe, in that it offers a second opportunity to examine a locality where pro-poor development activities are undertaken by, and targeted at, predominantly the disadvantaged sectors of the local population. It is also an example where there is weak institutional support from the municipality and where there are fewer outside links. It is a case where locality-based development is survivalist nature, but is one that has also spawned a multifaceted micro-economy, including both up and down stream beneficiaries and demonstrates a substantial amount of community buy-in and local cohesion.

Research began with a reconnaissance trip to Emalahleni in June 2002 with the objective to investigate the possibility of pursuing further investigations into locality-based development in the area. At this time, a primary (but not exclusive) focus on a micro-economy encompassing Indwe's small-scale miners and brick makers was identified as the primary case study site for research into local development within the municipality. During a second site visit in October 2002, transect walks were carried out, whereby casual conversational-style interviews were conducted with local leaders, who had been identified by municipal officials, in order to gather background information on coal mining and brick making. In November 2002, a further research trip was undertaken to Emalahleni to gather more detailed information from a wider variety of informants. At this time, a wool growing cooperative and a planned dairy processing facility were also identified as having important pro-poor impacts on the municipality. In contrast to Cape Town, recorded documentation on Emalahleni was

exceedingly sparse, and much of the information gathered for this case study has been derived from primary sources—mainly through interviews. In this case, research was conducted with the aid of a community facilitator and liaison person, identified by local authorities, who helped in the selection of different people to consult with. These interviews focused on key project leaders and spokespeople and again followed a semi-structured format and the selection process utilized a combination of snowball and convenience sampling methods.

Categories of questions included:

1. *What approaches to locality-based development are visible in Emalahleni?*
2. *What role are individual people themselves playing in their own development?*
3. *What impact is small-scale coal mining having on the local economy?*
4. *How are the informal brick makers contributing to locality-based development?*

Again, unique categories of additional questions were asked in Emalahleni of each of the coal miners and the brick makers interviewed. They included:

1. *Why was there a need for to begin exploiting local coal deposits?*
2. *What is the modus operandi of the brick making enterprises?*
3. *Who are the key leaders driving these businesses?*

Question guides can be found in Annexe 4.

The sample of brick maker 'managers' included all those who were on site during the research trips. During many of these interviews and in the process of completing these surveys, if the case arose where a respondent felt more comfortable, or was better able to express himself, by speaking in his mother tongue, the facilitator also served as a translator, translating English into Xhosa (the local language spoken my many respondents) and vice versa. Unlike in Cape Town, interviews were relatively easy to schedule and informally conducted, with respondents frequently being willing to engage in conversation on request. Similarly, municipal officials were willing to be interviewed without extensive prior arrangements being made. Questions used a very simple vocabulary, which could be easily understood by often poorly educated

informants, and which could easily be translated from one language to another. These interviews were conducted principally at informants' places of work or in their homes.

In Emalahleni, multiple municipal officials were also interviewed including the LED and social development officers, the municipal manager, and the mayor. In Indwe, lengthy discussions were held with several long-term residents, including many who have been employed in the coal mining or brick making sectors for many years. Moreover, many interviews were conducted with miner owners and a selection of their staff, as well as with micro-entrepreneurs from the brick making industry. Meetings were also held with key project leaders from the Cumakale Woolgrowers Project, as well as GTZ fieldworkers involved in the development of the cheese factory to gather additional information regarding pro-poor interventions in the municipality.

Final follow up interviews were conducted with municipal officials and micro-entrepreneurs in Indwe in February 2005.

2.8 Practical Considerations

Matters relating to working within set time parameters, selecting an appropriate number of relevant case studies, and the accessibility of cases and participants were the primary issues of practical consideration that influenced this research. A period of three to four years was set aside to complete this thesis, including initial proposal development, theoretical and literature reviews, addressing methodological concerns, selecting case studies, conducting fieldwork, analysing and synthesising primary data, write-up and revisions, completion of various drafts, and final submission. Within this timeframe, specific goals were set for when different stages were due for completion, yet these dates remained flexible and evolved according to unexpected and unpredictable scenarios.

It was determined at the beginning of the study to limit the number of case studies to three municipalities of different size and varying approaches to locality-based development in order to obtain a suitably broad, yet manageable pool of localities from which to draw inferences. In addition, while this thesis acknowledges that there may have been multiple examples of different types local development occurring

throughout each of these municipalities, owing to time constrains, only certain of these were specifically selected for further analysis. Therefore, it was necessary from the start to focus on particular themes or areas within these municipalities, i.e. the CBD in Cape Town, Bathurst in Ndlambe, and Indwe in Emalahleni, so that elementary points of both dissimilarity and comparison could be singled out for further investigation.

In terms of logistics, Cape Town provided the greatest practical challenges due to its more distant location from Rhodes University and the demanding schedules of informants who were deemed of importance to contact. Fieldwork and site visits to the city needed to be well planned, with questions and question guides devised before departure. Interview appointments needed to be made long in advance but were not guarantees that the respondents would actually be available at the given time. Flexibility and adapting to changing circumstances were of critical significance in Cape Town. Ongoing efforts at making contact with relevant personnel were necessary and often alternative informants, who could provide similar information, needed to be identified and contacted within the timeframe available on site. Considerable background research, using a variety of secondary sources, also needed to be conducted in order to both circumvent this problem and to reduce the time spent gathering such information from exceedingly busy development planners.

The municipalities of Ndlambe and Emalahleni were more accessible, with Ndlambe situated within easy driving distance from Rhodes University. Following appropriate letters of introduction, interviews and day trips to Bathurst and surrounding areas were easily made and relevant informants consistently proved eager to meet and impart information. This allowed for considerably more flexibility with regards to data collection and the length of time spent with informants, although it is important to note that interview guides were also formulated ahead of time to provide direction and conversation stimulation. An ongoing relationship with Jordaan further facilitated the logistics of research in Ndlambe. Follow up site visits to monitor progress or address points of clarification could thus be undertaken at very short notice.

As with Ndlambe, Emalahleni proved to be a suitably accessible case study site, albeit that it was situated approximately five hours from Rhodes University and overnight

trips needed to be planned well in advance to make efficient use of time spent there. Additionally, although the municipality is remote and is, in large part, comprised of far flung rural villages accessed by exceedingly degraded roads and over eroded bridges, there were well-serviced main roads in the particular localities (Indwe and Lady Frere), where the bulk of the research was carried out. Valuable connections with Phakamisa George from the municipality and Jerry Xegwana from the coal and brickfields also facilitated fieldwork, as they enabled community liaisons. Through them, contact was easily made with additional key role players.

In summary, logistically and practically speaking, research for this thesis progressed smoothly and largely within reason to set time constraints.

2.9 A Note on Rigour

Throughout the various stages of this thesis, academic standards were rigorously applied so that its validity and credibility would be able to stand up to a wide range of scrutiny. As highlighted by Bradshaw & Stratford (2000), there need to be a number of checking procedures instituted in order to assure that research has been conducted properly and that the resultant outcomes of such research are dependable. Kitchin & Tate (2000) also make the further contribution that there is a need to assure both the integrity of theory, as well as the integrity of practice in rigorous research.

In an attempt to accomplish this level of theoretical and practical soundness, this thesis made use of a number of checking or triangulation mechanisms. They have included questioning multiple / different sources on a similar topic areas in order to ensure that the information was consistent and accurate, as well as asking a number of similar questions to determine whether similar responses are generated.

As intimated in the previous sections, this thesis attempted to establish broad-based conceptual validity by marrying philosophically comparable methodologies and theories embodied in the need to remain as open-minded and creative in pursuing research. Flexible interview and sampling techniques that explored the different conceptual realities of particular localities mirrored the need for entrepreneurship and innovation within the self-same locales. This thesis further actively sought to establish as accurate a contextual basis as possible for the applied analysis of selected case

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studies by means of appealing to a comprehensive literature review that drew on leading academic and lay publications. In accordance with accepted guidelines of establishing rigour, as ascertained by Baxter & Eyles (1997), many key authors have been extensively and directly quoted or paraphrased in order to provide a basis by which to compare international evidence to localised practical illustrations. Furthermore, as previous sections have also indicated, time sequencing of the research demonstrated that lengthy periods of fieldwork were undertaken between 2002 and 2005, when several respondents were repeatedly contacted using a language that was locally appropriate. In this respect, longitudinal studies and cross-sectional studies were conducted, tracing evolving social phenomena within these localities, also seeking to draw general conclusions based on comparisons between cases.

2.10 Research Ethics

Ethics is an important issue in research, with de Laine (2000; 2) pointing out that 'ethical and moral dilemmas are an unavoidable consequence, or an occupational hazard of fieldwork'. According to Adams and Megaw (1997), researchers are outsiders and research itself is an extractive and parasitic process based on an unequal power relationship between the researcher and the researchee, a divide which my be bridged as suggested by Bulmer (1982; 3), who maintains:

> *The scientific community has responsibility not only to the ideals of the pursuit of objective truth and the search for knowledge, but also to the subjects of their research. ... The researcher has always to take account of the effects of his actions upon those subjects and act in such a way as to preserve their rights and integrity as human beings.*

The importance of ethics and values has been extensively emphasised in the field of social sciences research in part to ensure rigour, but more importantly to safeguard the rights of the respondents surveyed throughout the research process (Edwards & Mauthner, 2002; de Laine, 2000; Adams & Megaw, 1997; Kimmel, 1988; Punch, 1986; Bulmer, 1982). Kimmel (1988) points out that the researcher's first priority and obligation should always be towards the respondent, a sentiment that is echoed by Punch (1986; 80), who aptly suggested that interaction with respondents should be

carried out in a relationship based on 'common sense and responsibility.' Sidaway (1992) lists a number of basic principles that should always predicate field research including, make no false promises; be aware of unintended consequences; do not harm the respondents; and be willing to share the results of the research.

Adhering to a high standard of research ethics was a major consideration throughout this thesis and in particular while conducting fieldwork in Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni. Bearing in mind researchers' responsibilities as outlined above, and in light of numerous informants being used in all three sites, multiple factors to ensure their well being were taken into account. Foremost was seeking permission to conduct interviews with intended respondents and to make sure that their privacy and confidentiality was respected, personal embarrassment was avoided, and that each and every person was treated fairly and with dignity. Only those who expressed a willingness to be quoted were referenced by name. In accordance to Sidaway's (1992) advice, during introductions, it was emphasised that the outcomes of communications with participants were to be used for academic purposes and that the communities themselves were not likely to stand to benefit directly from the interview processes. In addition, summations of interviews, written documentation, and photographs taken at research sites have been made available to participants.

In general, research for this thesis has tried to adhere to Punch's 1986 advice on using common sense and attempted to make the process as empowering as possible, in particular to rural inhabitants by listening to their stories and concerns, which, although they may not always have been pertinent to this research, were of obvious importance to them.

2.11 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter provides the contextual and the methodological foundation for this thesis' research. It examines how the research design was formulated and the nature of the research techniques that were employed for this particular study. It expands on the specific research methodologies and procedures used in reviewing and interpreting both nationally and internationally documented accounts of pro-growth and pro-poor locality-based development, as well as outlining the tools and techniques used in documenting the history and current details of the strategies employed by the

chosen case studies. Fink (1998) and Blaxter *et al.* (1996) have shown how a literature review provides the contextual theoretical background for research, while Eckstein (2000) and Hammersley & Gomm (2000) have stated that the use of case studies are useful in exemplifying many of the debates presented in the literature chapters.

It has already been outlined that much of this thesis has revolved around the notion of curiosity, which has driven the process forward, while flexibility has been explained as being one of the founding principles for approaching research. As such, it was an early objective that attitudes towards innovative, hands-on methodologies should shadow the mindset and resourcefulness demonstrated and required for successful proactive locality-based development of any locality. To reach this level of openness, previous paragraphs reviewed how qualitative investigative mechanisms, such as semi-structured interviews, question guides, open-ended questions, and non-purposive sampling were employed to gather broad-based information on social processes from a wide range of informants (Henning, 2004; Bradshaw & Stratford, 2000; Dunn, 2000; Fontana & Frey, 2000).

Subsequent subsections offered a case study-by-case study break down of how these methodologies have been appropriately modified to better suit the diversity of respondents, participants, and locality-based realities present in each individual case study. Methodologies included an allowance for revising the use of certain words, tone, and phraseology to match those of, for example, an executive board member of Cape Town's citywide Partnership versus an elderly, uneducated member of Ndlambe's Masiphatisane Community Gardening Project.

The next chapter starts with the first of the two literature review chapters that provide the literary grounding and an international survey of concepts relating to globalisation and localisation. Globalisation and global processes in many publications, and according to various authors, are producing an increasingly uniform planet with localities beginning to resemble one another in content and outlook. Adopting a contrary viewpoint, the following chapter will also demonstrate how other critics are quick to point out that globalisation has, in fact, engendered new roles and opportunities for localities that have become responsible for creating, refashioning, or responding to global flows and are hence important bases for this thesis.

Chapter Three: Globalisation and Localisation

3.1 Introduction

The study of human geography has received a considerable boost over recent decades through the enhanced attention paid to concepts of spatial theory and the reorganisation of the ways in which space is used at the local, national, regional, and international levels, which is taking centre stage in contemporary analyses of global processes. Today's discourse on global issues has a long tradition of links to world systems and dependency theory and is based in the rhetoric of spatial inequality and uneven development between the core and peripheries that became endemic in an early capitalist trans-border economy (Amin, 1997). The study of globalisation has never been straight forward with authors such as Jessop (1999, 1995, 1982) declaring it a untidy concept and in the opening paragraph of one of his treatises on global evolution explaining it as a 'complex, chaotic, and over-determined outcome of a multi-scalar, multi-temporal, and multi-centric series of processes operating in specific structural contexts' (Jessop, 1999; 19). From the 1980s onwards, a range of authors including Massey (2005, 1985, 1984), Swyngedouw (2003, 1996), Castells (1999; 1993), and Peck & Tickell (1995, 1992) emerged as leading theorists exploring the relationship between the concepts of space and place and the role they play in changing socio-economic systems. These authors, in addition to a number of other leading economists, sociologists, and geographers (Castree, 2004, 2000; MacLeod, 2001, 1999; Hirst & Thompson, 1999; MacLeod & Goodwin, 1999) are often accredited with providing a significant proportion of the background meta-geographical evidence contemporarily used to explain recent shifts in space and place.

This chapter provides an introductory literature review drawing on the transformative and evolving changes taking place in spaces and between places, with the view to providing the theoretical context for globalisation and localisation frameworks in which contemporary localities must now operate. This chapter also therefore contributes to fulfilling this thesis' first objective of providing a methodical investigation of present-day perceptions and expressions of globalisation and localisation and how they provide a context for understanding how the locality has emerged as a key figure in global processes. Similarly, this chapter provides important points of reference for the case studies that will come later in this thesis. As will be

argued, the processes of globalisation and localisation have influenced the local development decision-making of many South African localities and municipalities. Cape Town in particular is increasingly being drawn into the web of international flows of capital, people, and commodities, which development planners are actively seeking to access in order to improve their city's position within an world hierarchy of global and globalising cities and thus, in doing so, they contribute to pro-growth locality-based development. For Ndlambe and Emalahleni, in contrast, discussions on globalisation and localisation are important because they represent examples of localities that have been marginalized by and not profited from or been able to gain access to global flows, and as a consequence have been forced into a more reactive approach of pro-poor livelihood generation.

Early arguments that are presented in this chapter, therefore, include the understanding that the shifting labour reorganisations, which heralded an increasingly cross-border society in the 1970s, were the early trademarks of a contemporarily perceived globalisation that affected all localities. Contrasting debates by other authors (Arystanbekova, 2004; Aiyar, 2002; Conley, 2002), however, express the view that global processes have a lengthier past and are grounded in the historical developments of mercantilism and migratory patterns in the 1700s, 1800s, and 1900s. Both interpretations of globalisation have merged in the course of theoretical discussions to construct a popularly held image, whereby the physical and abstract manifestations of globalisation that are commonly circulating the globe, appear to have created a uniform standardized global society outwardly affecting all localities equally (Guillén, 2001; Anderson, 1999). The validity of Ohmae's (1999, 1995) and similar interpretations of today's allegedly 'borderless world' are then considered from the point of view that they project the impression that the contemporary everyday global landscapes in which the average person may find him or herself may be remarkably similar to that found in thousands of different localities around the world, which can, in fact, be accredited to progress in global expansionism. Technical innovation and increased human movements have seemingly brought places closer together, while the spread of a uniform trans-cultural identity and a widening socio-political ideology have led some to proclaim the 'end of time and space' as the planet ever so quickly hurtles towards the perceived end of the scope of its metaphorical

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evolutionary capacities (Daly, 2004; Schaeffer, 2003; Scheuerman, 2002; Mathews, 2000; Fukuyama, 1992; O'Brien, 1992).

Discussions will then investigate how over the past ten years, the globalisation as a process argument has met considerable popular and theoretical opposition in the form of street protestations and a growing number of counter-discourse analyses that have marked the beginning of a reciprocal development of reflexive globalisation in spatial theory that seeks to look individually and specifically at the locality as providing essential elements of singularity in response to, and within, modern global trends (Derudder & Witlox, 2004; Hines, 2003; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Escobar, 2001). Although globalisation continues to be a powerful presence in academic publications, arguments presented in this chapter will indicate that a parallel growth in localisation theory is taking root within the study of human geography, which is now taking a critical stance on the importance of localities as being both powerful counter-vailing forces against, and essential components contributing to, the spread of globalisation. Although the growing scepticism with which globalisation has been met has precipitated the emergence of alternative local ideologies, the fact remains that it still has an important bearing, rightly or wrongly, on all localities, regardless of their position within a global space of flows.

At first glance, the concepts of globalisation and localisation are seemingly at odds, but what this thesis and this chapter wishes to present is the notion that there is a symbiotic relationship between the two that influences the way that localities the world over are likemindedly and proactively competing within a network of flows and linkages for locally specific development objectives. In this way, the concept of 'glocalisation' has been introduced to frame global / local debates and the understanding that the spread of globalisation has been made possible through the actions taken by globally-minded localities that are, in turn, both the source and product of global flows (Swyngedouw, 2003, 1996; Milne & Ateljevic, 2001; Grant & Short, 2002). What is of importance in this case therefore, and what this chapter emphasises, is the idea that the processes of localisation and globalisation are now, more than ever, affecting the way in which a locality is able to re-invent itself on both global and local scales.

For some localities, this symbiotic relationship and increased global linkages have been beneficial and have provided greater access to opportunities for market-led locality-based development. As will become clear in the next chapter, exceptionally well-connected localities, primarily cities in western countries, have been able to pursue development strategies centred on many of the outwardly visible manifestations of globalisation. Conversely, this process has not been as mutually beneficial beyond the urban core of the First World, and while all localities are increasingly being drawn into global flows, opportunities for locality-based development are neither self-evident nor inevitable. This chapter therefore, also provides an introductory context for the following chapter by examining first hand the global and local paradigms in which localities must now operate.

3.2 The Origins of Globalisation Discourse

In a book chapter entitled *New Directions in Space* Massey (1985) provided perhaps one of the most powerful theoretical enquiries into the spatial relations that she witnessed occurring in the world. In this piece she remarked on an uneasiness that began to seep into the field of geography in the 1960s when the concept of space was first called into question. Previously, geography was simply a matter of place, whereby those who studied a particular locality analysed its characteristics or what made it unique. This survey of static localities fell by the wayside in the 1970s when a concurrent shift in industrial organisation signalled the beginning of an interest in social processes and relationships as opposed to singular spatial entities. In this respect, the study of geography moved from looking at space and place *per se*, to looking at the 'spatial' or the connections and linkages that were bringing spaces and places seemingly closer together, or conversely keeping them further apart (Massey, 1985). With the new approach, localities were no longer considered unique, stand alone entities, but were instead coming to be seen as parts of a larger common process of social constructs. Localities were increasing tied together at the historical juncture of the 1970s, by the chaos that was shaping the industrial scene in many core western nations. This line of reasoning was taken forward in Castells' (1999) *Networked Society*, which described how revolutions in telecommunications and microelectronics yielded a more intensive period of connectivity and interactivity with the diffusion of information an increasing necessity in the global economy and within contemporary international political systems.

What these reconceptualisations of space suggest, was that certain elements of the previously established organisations of capitalist production no longer adhered to traditional, place-based industrialisation, but were assuming a much more mobile character, whereby industrial output could easily move between various locations, first nationally and then globally with increasing ease and rapidity. The interaction of space and scale is now defined as a social relationship where the presence or absence of certain social, political, and economic features can either enhance a locality's position in the world economy or relegate it to one that is more obscure or even effectively nonexistent (Swyngedouw, 1996). These contributions to spatial theory have set the tone for a growing branch in critical geographical research that has introduced a number of new concepts to explain international changes. Although what was being witnessed, was, in fact, an acceleration of global processes, this initial evidence of emerging transformations in the international system had not yet, perhaps, recognised the full impact of the changes that were still to come and, as such, 'globalisation' as a stand alone term, did not enjoy widespread acceptance in the geographical vocabulary until the 1990s (Arystanbekova, 2004; Scholte, 2000). Indeed, Anderson (1999), who, on resorting to his 1970 edition Webster's dictionary for the official definition of globalisation, was dismayed to see that it did not even feature there at all. Instead, earlier authors, who were keen on isolating aspects of industrial changes, couched whatever globally associated observations they made under more spatially systemic axioms including references to a new 'international division of labour', the 'decline of the nation-state', 'territory and modes production' and the 'geographical anatomy of industrial capitalism' (Altvater, 1992; Storper & Walker, 1989; Lipietz, 1986; Storper & Scott, 1986; Urry, 1985; Massey, 1984).

When the concept of 'globalisation' finally did gain acceptance in academic rhetoric and in popular jargon, there arose much debate as to whether the processes of globalisation were actually new (Bartelson, 2000). A review of the globalisation literature reveals that there are two differing views when it comes to identifying the origins of the global processes that will be debated in future sections. The first emphasises a gradualist process spanning many decades, which became more visible in the 18th century, coinciding with the opening of trade routes, colonial expansionism, the acceleration of the industrial revolution, and the beginning of the

migration of Europeans to the new worlds in greater numbers (Aiyar, 2002; Conley, 2002). The other, the modernist view, which has been propagated through the popular literature insinuates that globalisation is largely a recent phenomenon, arising out of the shift away from Keynesian economic policies and which gained momentum following the collapse of the Cold War-era political wranglings (Arystanbekova, 2004; Scholte, 2000). Despite these two differing views, others authors including Swyngedouw (2003) and Bairoch (2000) sarcastically point to a 'myth of globalisation' and Rugman (2000; 12) sceptically suggests, 'it never really occurred anyway.' Anderson (1999) on the other hand, makes the case for both perspectives and that they can be reconciled.

3.2.1 Gradual Globalisation

The first view states that there has been a gradual integration of people and places throughout history in the form of cross-border trade, transfrontier migration, and colonialisation, which include today's tendencies towards socio-political and cultural cross-border processes, incorporating the rise in popular culture and the ascendancy of liberal democracy. Hirst & Thompson (1999) are amongst the most frequently quoted of authors who have questioned the conceptualisation of globalisation as being a recent phenomenon. One of their founding arguments is that by the 19th century the international economy had a long history of cross-border trade which set the basis for the now increasingly open market system. In a short but concise article written in the *Economic Times*, author Swaminathan Aiyar (2002) also demonstrated that global processes, trends, and movements started with the expansion of colonialisation. Furthermore, Conley (2002), writing from an Australian perspective, has established that the launch of the 19th century steamship and the laying of submarine telegraph cables have done more for globalisation than current modern technological advances. Moreover, he indicates that international trade and direct foreign investment only surpassed pre-World War I levels in the 1970s and 1990s respectively, whereas global migration patterns have yet to attain the same levels that they held, for example, in 1815 (Conley 2002; 450). Likewise, Temin's (1999) research shows a well-developed system of international trade being firmly entrenched by the turn of the 20th century.

3.2.2 Modernist Globalisation

The second interpretation of globalisation is most often understood from an economic viewpoint and considers globalisation as a recent event i.e. in last three decades and that it is primarily a trade and investment-based phenomenon focusing on the push by internationally competitive corporations to cut costs, increase sales, and expand markets (Arystanbekova, 2004; Scholte, 2000; Anderson, 1999). 1973 is often highlighted as the year that commemorates the beginning of popular recognitions of modern interpretations of globalisation (Callaghan, 2002; Kleinknecht & ter Wengel, 1998; Budd, 1995). It was in that year as Tickell & Peck (1992) explain, that the economic crises afflicting western Europe and North America exposed some startling statistics including the 35 million unemployed people in OECD countries, growing indebtedness to the tune of 500 billion US dollars by 1981, and mounting inflation especially induced by rising oil prices, which soared by 400% in 1973 (Dicken, 1986). These economic misfortunes forced the grinding to a halt of traditional modes of production and monetary policies that had been in use since the end of the Second World War. The expansive industrial growth and wealth spurred on by Fordist principles, based on the philosophies and practices of mass production, mass accumulation, mass markets, and mass consumption that had been governed by Keynesian macro-economic principles, were, either selectively modified or in some cases, simply discarded (Jessop, 2002, 1992; Walks, 2001; Immergluck, 1998; Gough & Eisenschitz, 1996; Hirst & Zeitlin, 1991). Conventional major employers caught up in the recessionary pressures of a bygone era suddenly found themselves forced to rethink the modes of production that had been in use for decades, and to devise new ways of responding to shifting movements in the now spreading international economy. In essence, it meant a paradigm shift for all sectors of society. For many this signified radical transformations of their corporate structures, retrenchments, downsizing, and for hundreds of companies, relocation to far off localities where input costs and overheads were much lower, but due to technological advancements, they could still keep in touch with established markets. For the localities where these industries were once situated, but which had not kept up with the changing times, city centres and industrial zones suffered frightening levels of urban decay, business closures, de-industrialisation, and manufacturing or blue collar job losses (Camagni, 2002; Zhu, 2002; Pierson, 2001; Robertson, 1999; Theodore & Carlson, 1998; Bluestone & Harrison, 1982).

As suggested, what followed was a period of intense uncertainty and a good amount of cautiousness on the part of observers in terms of trying to predict what the future would bring and what types of recognisable global trends would then be identified. In the post-war years, Moulaert & Swyngedouw (1989) explained that analysts could invariably rely on set doctrines within regulation theory to examine economies in crisis and the relationship between participating forces of production, market organisations, social classes, and institutional networks in order to develop appropriate theories of accumulation. What was seemingly replacing Fordism however, consistently failed to conform to previous stereotypes. Over the next decade, a substantial wealth of published literature grew questioning the continued relevance of regulation theory and its application to Post-Fordism and the different forms of capitalism that then came into practice (Hay, 1995; Jessop, 1995; Tickell & Peck, 1995; Dunford, 1990; Lipietz, 1986).

In the 1980s, in the United Kingdom and in the United States, the then conservative governments of Thatcher and Reagan were quick to alter existing economic regulations to reflect the changes of the day and tabulated a range of, what were soon came to be called neo-liberal strategies. These strategies took, in part, their guidance from Adam Smith's orthodox economics, which advocated a natural balance, and thus a better functioning economy. Financial regulation could largely be left to the private sector and multi-nationals, which were deemed more suitable and efficient at taking control of international capital and economic flows (Tickell & Peck, 1995). To keep abreast of the economic changes that symbolized this era and in a complementary step to avert the further erosion of their national economies, a subsequent series of political policy transformations quickly followed suit. These were aimed at removing past interventionist strategies and replacing them with new ones that would reduce the role of the state to one of providing a regulatory or enabling environment. Over time, this would include the reduction or elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers, the improvement of trade relations with foreign countries, the restructuring of taxation scales to lure in potential international investment, the privatisation of parastatals, the reduction of some of its prior welfare responsibilities, as well as the endorsement of additional frameworks that would steer the state towards a classical *laissez-faire* approach to economic development. The result has been the establishment of an

increasingly more open economic environment that has since allowed companies to transfer capital around the planet to distant countries and sites of investment and in doing so, helped to formalise the growing global economy (Wolf, 2003; Foley & Martin, 2000; Onis & Aysan, 2000; Gough & Eisenschitz, 1996; Haughton, 1998; Thompson & Smith, 1998; Rowthorn *et al.*, 1997).

Therefore, according to this view of globalisation and neo-liberal economic and political policy making since the 1970s have played an influential role in reshaping and accelerating the world economy and modifying local economies. Governments have been forced into a position where they must encourage localities and industries alike to become ever more globally competitive in order to maintain previous levels of economic sustainability. This need for competitiveness has become one of the prime driving forces behind globalisation and the impetus behind successful place-based development to attract investment (Gough & Eisenschitz, 1996; Thompson & Smith, 1998; Tickell & Peck, 1992).

3.3 Additional Manifestations of Globalisation

Today, in many respects, both gradualist and modernist forms of globalisation have fused and much of the published literature has established a more unified version (Anderson, 1999). What initially started as a simple move of production to cheaper locations has now grown into something that is significantly more complex and has merited the creation of a new cross-disciplinary field of study involving political science and international relations, economics, sociology, geography and philosophy (Guillén, 2001; Scholte, 2000; Jackson & Nexon, 1999; Sklair, 1999; Yeates, 1999). Globalisation's manifestations are appearing in all sectors of the economy and society and although some would argue that they have been progressing for quite some time, the speed at which they are now apparently dispersing to localities around the globe has elicited much scrutiny from academics and social scientists.

The following sections include brief summaries of some of the ways that globalisation has revealed itself in recent years through such aspects as technological revolutions, the rise of a global pop culture, mass movements of people around the globe, and the emergence of an alleged unified global ideology.

3.3.1 Global Technology

Technological innovation and improvements in communications have, in part, been responsible for speeding up the process of globalisation, but now, in turn, advancements in technologies have become hallmarks of a globalised (Sabelis, 2004; Schaeffer, 2003; Michael, 2002; Castells, 1999; Zaccagnino, 1996). There is the real need amongst globally competitive multi-national corporations to produce new products that offer better value than those of their competitors - and to produce them with increasing haste and regularity, forcing companies, in multiple countries, to join forces to share expertise and save expenses.

There is also the pressing need to access information in far off locations at a moment's notice, communicate directly with personnel in other countries, and, if need be, get to these places with relative ease. Through the use of wireless technologies, global management is always 'in the know,' and the contents of a particular document can be forwarded almost anywhere on the planet. In a recent article, USA Today (2004b) admitted that in a world now characterised by '24 / 7' connectivity, couriers now have the capacity to deliver hard copies of documents overnight virtually anywhere. The concepts of real-time and instantaneity have therefore become especially salient features in today's global society (Sabelis, 2004; Zaccagnino, 1996). Schaeffer (2003) and Castells (1999) are of the opinion that global processes have both engendered and required a new range of defining, era-specific technological improvements including computerisation, miniaturisation, digitisation, satellite communications, fibre optics, satellite and micro-wave transmissions, tele-commuting, global positioning systems, and the Internet. Additionally, the use of video-conferencing and e-mail communications have played a major role in bringing people and places closer together, they have saved time and money, and contributed to the compression of what Sabelis (2004) refers to as 'time plurality' in the transnationalisation of people, information, and goods (Hamblen & di Sabatino, 2001; Aycock, 1999; Zaccagnino, 1996).

3.3.2 Global Population Movements

Not only are people talking on the phone more, or e-mailing others in foreign lands more, but contemporary symptoms of globalisation also include a growing number of people moving around the planet temporarily, semi-permanently, or permanently

(WTO, 2005; Daly, 2004; Keely, 2003; Castle, 2000). The flow of people – tourists, asylum seekers and refugees, foreign students, migrant labour, mobile professionals, family reunions and others – has increased greatly in recent years, and, indeed, as Favell (2001; 389) explained:

> *International migration – with its well-rehearsed themes of growth in flows and visibility, of their unprecedented diversity and heterogeneity, and of the dramatic social change brought to western societies and hitherto stable nation states – is a central motif and illustration for theorists of globalisation.*

Papastergiadis (2000; 3) similarly states 'the twin processes of globalisation and migration have produced changes in the geopolitical landscape.' Host countries and localities must deal with resettlement issues and mitigate socio-economic, social, and cultural impacts associated with receiving a large influx of newcomers (Daly, 2004; Castle, 2000).

The growth in the tourism industry epitomizes the globalising flow of individuals as it is the world's fastest-growing industry; accounting for 7% of the global export of goods and services and has grown to become the world's largest employer (WTO, 2005; Azarya, 2004). In 1999, international tourism contributed US$ 3.5 trillion to GDP growth and was responsible for 200 million jobs worldwide, implying that localities, which have been able to cash in on tourist movements, are enjoying greater levels of local development (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001; 371). Statistics reveal that annual international arrivals exceeded 696 million by 2001, and despite a brief slump following fears of flying, spawned by terrorist attacks in New York in the same year, international arrivals and departures continue to grow at an estimated 4.5% per year (Wells, 2004; Foreign Policy, 2003). Changing tastes in travel destinations have generated heightened demands for new air routes to secondary cities leading to the further development of the tourism industry, particularly in the Middle East and developing countries (Wells, 2004; Hampton, 2003; O'Connor, 2003). The World Trade Organisation (2005), based in Madrid Spain, is confident that the number of international arrivals will increase to 1.56 billion by 2020 as more and more people travel abroad.

People are not only travelling more for leisure and business purposes, but many are leaving their places of births and seeking permanent residency in countries where they may advance their careers. The migration of professionals around the globe or, what Khadria (2001) labels 'migration of knowledge,' is a further indication of the globalisation of people. There is a current brain drain of the educated from developing nations, where there is no perceived potential advancement in their fields, to post-industrial countries where there often exist aggressive recruiting campaigns to attract professionals and where there is a marked shortage of skilled labour (Business Week, 2003; Khadria, 2001).

3.3.3 Global Culture

The emergence of a global popular culture is perhaps one of the most visible aspects of globalisation and has greatly contributed to the development of global citizenship (Waisbord, 2004; Chalaby, 2003; Rofe, 2003; Harrington & Bielby, 2002; Roche, 2002). Mathews (2000; 1) was one of the first to note that today's definition of culture has evolved to include both 'the way of life of a people' and 'the information and identities available from the global cultural supermarket.' Additionally, Cowen (2003; 20) argued that 'we live in an era of cultural plenty,' while Allesch (2003; 96) pointed to an evolution of 'a multinational hybrid culture or [one of] new cultural pluralism.' Furthermore he stated:

> *This globalisation of cultural patterns seems to override the local cultural and aesthetic traditions. Aesthetics advertisements, radio programs, TV shows, style and fashion, are more and more influenced by a worldwide commercial culture dominated by trends generated in the Western industrial countries.*

Western projections are influencing the style of music in the Caribbean, the production of movies in India, and the choice of sports in China to name some examples. In some developing countries, Nawotka (2004) explains that listening to, for example, American *Hip Hop* music symbolizes an element of empowerment for some people, while for others the re-invention of westernised ideals around the world is their answer to living the American dream. The supremacy of American-styled

movies on global markets has undermined the domestic movie industries of numerous countries (Raj, 2004), but as Sinclair & Harrison (2004) and Weber (2003) also note however that there is a limited amount of cinematographic or television programming which originates in foreign countries and this has resulted in a hybridisation of styles (Morris, 2004). In much the same way, in Japan, Wajima (2003) acknowledges that cultural imperialism has brought about the development of a unique style of 'world music' that is the derivative of a meshing of trans-cultural styles.

Allesch (2003) again explains that it is the twin forces of international economic integration and advances in communication and technology that have greatly enhanced a contemporary global culture, a sentiment that is brought out in a recent edition of *USA Today* (2004a) which explained that almost every aspect of popular culture is being driven by the commercial value accredited to them. From an economic integrationist point of view, the constant need to introduce new value-added products, which appeal to global lifestyle *aficionados*, has continued the drive towards flexible specialisation and has led to more intense levels of international competitiveness.

Sports events are also becoming prime features of a global culture, particularly with the Olympics and World Cup competitions providing powerful incentives for the standardisation of sporting events across nation-states (Roche, 2002). Some events are broadcasted simultaneously in dozens of countries and commented on in hundreds of languages (Wertheim, 2004). Bainer (2003; 34) goes so far as to state, 'Many people believe that nowhere is the triumph of globalisation more apparent than in the world of sport.' Talented athletes are being recruited from around the planet to play for far-off sports franchises or to compete for different nations. Bainer (2003) gives the example of a Kenyan competing for Qatar in France, as an indication of just how global sports have become. In addition, sports such as soccer, basketball, baseball, and rugby are becoming increasingly popular in the Far East (Denham, 2004; Foer, 2004; USA Today, 2004b). Sporting spectacles have produced celebrity athletes, e.g. David Beckham of the UK, So Yao Ming of China, and Ronaldo luis Nazario de Lima of Brazil, who have become marketable figures on their own, and whose personal lifestyle choices, in turn, influence global culture, e.g. Beckham's hairstyle at the 2002 Soccer World Cup (Foer, 2004; USA Today, 2004b). Increasingly recognisable

global brands and luxury products are now found around the world accessorising those icons of western culture portrayed in the different media formats.

3.3.4 Global Ideology

As popular culture, international capital, information, and cheaply produced foreign exports spread to the four corners of the globe with increasing ease and at an alarming rate, a parallel phase of ideological integration has accelerated in recent years and has yielded important political and ideological implications that add to the widening series of global processes at work. Neo-liberal discourse has now become one of the most significant trends in globalisation and has taken root in the non-western world as the outcome of a variety of processes (Purdy, 2004; Scheuerman, 2002; Murphy, 2000; Scholte, 2000; Schmitter, 1999). In the 1980s, when western leaders turned to economic liberalism, the same financial crises that had struck their economies also affected the Eastern Bloc, where, combined with internal pressures for political reforms, such phenomena effectively toppled the Berlin Wall and pushed aside many communist and socialist governments around the world. The fall of the former Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies coincided with reforms of Latin American authoritarian dictatorships and a move towards the democratisation of numerous additional post-colonial nation-states in the developing world (Haynes, 2003). In other developing countries, the adoption of structural programmes increasingly brought their economies in-line with those of the rest of the world, cementing neo-liberal ideologies on a global level (Pierson, 2001; Laurell, 2000; Chari *et al.*, 1998).

As acknowledged earlier in this chapter, the modern approach to economic modelling leans heavily towards the 'invisible hand' and *laissez-faire* principles of detached political intervention. Keynesian and social alternatives have essentially been swept aside, as witnessed in the rival of free market doctrines. Gamble (2001) argues that neo-liberalism has jumped into the practical political arena and has become the leading, hegemonic, political ideology. Likewise, Steger (2005; 11) adds 'globalism not only represents a set of political ideas and beliefs coherent enough to warrant the status of a new ideology, but also constitutes the dominant ideology of our time against which all of its challengers must define themselves.'

The dominance of neo-liberalism has reached such a peak that one author, O'Brien, (1992) even announced the 'end of geography' as the world seems to have adopted a uniform political-economic ideology. It is, however, assertions such as these and recent evidence that suggests neo-liberalism has not proven entirely successful, including that of Purdy (2004) who reports that economic integration has often failed in the peripheries and Demetriou & Katsikides' (2001) concerns about the efficacy of individual participation in global governance, which now have some global enthusiasts wondering if globalisation is as 'cracked up' as it is made out to be (Akhter, 2004; Guillén, 2001).

3.4 Popular Perceptions of Globalisation

Bonnett (2003) has written about an apparent divergence in popular versus academic interpretations of geographical worldviews that are hampering the way the average person has come to appreciate changes and constants within his or her environment. In many cases, commonly held understandings of globalisation lack the intellectual rigour or backing that is associated with academic research, while in reply, academia is often accused of neglecting the popularity and value of everyday accounts of global changes. Ohmae (1999, 1995, 1993) is recognized as being one of the main authors responsible for many of popular perceptions concerning the notion of the 'borderless world.' Much of what he has written targets the layperson and focuses on explaining the changes occurring around the average person as the inevitable result of the progress of globalisation. Hirst & Thompson (1999; 1) support this argument by pointing out that 'globalisation has become a fashionable concept in the social sciences, a core dictum in the prescriptions of management gurus, and a catch-phrase for journalists and politicians of every stripe' with de Michele (2001) adding that there are as many interpretations of globalisation as there are academics researching it. In a reprint of an early commentary, Harvey (1996; 99) rather angrily wrote:

> *What was once an important preserve for the geographer fell into the hands of popular magazines and the producers of commercial travelogues and brochures, television films, news, and documentaries. The failure to help build appropriate popular understandings to deal with a world undergoing rapid*

geographical integration was a striking abrogation of responsibility.

In 1996, Petrella (1996; 71) likewise asked the question, 'Globalisation, the novelty of our time?'

The notion that globalisation could theoretically explain most changes that people were experiencing around them gained such credibility that in 1992 two now influential authors first signalled both the end of geography in terms of scale and space; and history in relation to time and processes. Encouraged by the critical, but well received success of a previous essay of a similar title, Francis Fukuyama (1989, 1992) released a now multiply referenced (Levinson, 2004; Berman, 2003; Herwitz, 2000; Johnston, 1994) book *The End of History and the Last Man,* while in the same year, Richard O'Brien (1992) published *Global Financial Integration: The End of Geography.* Both were based on the premise that global integration had progressed at such a pace that previous concepts of time and space were quickly becoming irrelevant. Fukuyama's hypotheses have a particular political focus and are based on the assumption that, following the demise of communist and totalitarian states from the 1980s onwards, and the hegemony of capitalist markets in establishing neo-liberalism on a global scale, liberal democracy has reached a dominant position amongst the majority of nation-states, thus almost bringing to a halt the history of ideological and political confrontations around the world.

According to O'Brien (1992), globalism has related outcomes for geography, but as the title of his book suggests, specifically on financial integration. In his opening sentence he writes, 'The end of geography, as a concept applied to international financial relationships, refers to a state of economic development where geographical location no longer matters in finance, or matters much less than hitherto' (O'Brien, 1992; 1). Amongst the primary motivations for making this claim are the liberalisation of financial, stock, and foreign exchange markets, which together have reduced the significance of geography but, at the same time, have boosted the level and intensity of global competitiveness. An additional rationale used by O'Brien (1992) and later by Graham (1998) to justify the claim that space is becoming progressively more inconsequential, are the various innovations in information and communication

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technologies that have permitted people to reside in one location but remain connected to every corner of the world by means of cyberspace technologies such as through the use of faxes and emails.

3.5 The Rise of anti-Globalisation Discourse

This accelerating homogenising acceptance of global expressions and the spreading of the misperception that such *details* (sic) as geography and history are no longer particularly important in today's global society finally proved to be the undoing of some of globalisation's more simplistic conceptions. Increasingly, people have begun questioning whether this really is the case and whether globalisation is truly the unstoppable process that so many people make it out to be (Milanovic, 2003; Simon, 2003; MacLeod, 2001). The recent proliferation in the number of published works drawing on anti-globalisation discourse seem to have grown out the scepticism with which these globalisation-as-inevitable-processes have met (Starr & Adams, 2003; Held & McGrew, 2002). Enter Samuel P. Huntington (1996a,b) and his controversial *Clash of Civilisations*. He predicted that despite the emergence of a seemingly all-encompassing global ideology and a corresponding sweeping global economic paradigm, future sources of international conflict would continue and this time they would be the result of cultural tensions. His introductory declaration announced:

> *World politics is entering a new phase, and intellectuals have not hesitated to proliferate visions of what it will be – the end of history, the return of traditional rivalries between nation states, and the decline of the nation state from the conflicting pulls of tribalism and globalism, amongst others … It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions amongst humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural* (Huntington, 1996b; 1).

His arguments have now become particularly salient since the rise of fundamental Islamism and recent occurrences of culturally related terrorism. Levinson (2004; 32) has offered a fresh, yet, somewhat cynical response to the 'end ofs' and points out 'the end that we have created will end over and over.' Globalisation is thus beginning to

become increasingly regarded as an anachronism with Boudreau (2003) illustrating how it is being exploited by everybody and anybody to explain everything and anything. Bhagwati (2004) goes so far as to now call globalisation a four-letter word. To be fair, however, in the same book that O'Brien (1992) announced an end to geography, he also made substantial claims that even though geography does matter comparatively less, the concept of place is still of tremendous importance and many of his arguments can, and have, been used to simultaneously develop the case for reflexive globalisation.

3.5.1 Reflexive Globalisation

As a result, over the past decade and a half, globalisation has found itself under attack from all angles, both literally and figuratively (Bhagwati, 2004). The most common of the anti-globalist arguments are written from anti-western cultural points of view or from the perspective that globalisation is marginalizing cultural, religious, linguistic, or ethnic localities (Akhter, 2004; Boudreau, 2003; Marden, 1997) or that it has become particularly harmful to the physical environment (Curtis, 2003; Barlett, 2001; Retallack, 2001; Helvacioglu, 2000; Berner & Korff, 1995). Other accounts of counter-global discourse analysis have included a feminist critique (Blackmore, 1999; Gibson-Graham, 1996/1997) while many have contained elements of nationalistic responses to perceived injustices brought on via global processes. The most visible and most vocal are, of course, the highly televised anti-globalisation rallies such as in Seattle or Washington D.C. protesting against the perceived subjugation of workers in the Third World through unfair trade practices and conspicuous consumption. These are a response to what many would argue is the greed of multi-national corporations expressed at meetings of the World Trade Organisation, the Group of Eight Industrialised States (G8), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and various other international summits of political and economic leaders (Mander *et al.*, 2003; Rucht, 2002; Hines & Lang, 2001; Hines, 2000; Rugman, 2000). Pendras (2002; 823) sums up many of the sentiments, which are circulating among critics regarding globalisation, by observing that:

> *With unexpected strength and passion, protesters of all sorts*
> *lashed out against the myriad negative effects of free trade and*
> *general 'globalisation,' expressed in terms of lost jobs, decreased*

labour standards, deteriorating environmental conditions, broken communities, human rights infringements etc...

In addition to Hirst & Thompson's (1999) assertion that globalisation has a longer history than recent developments in global capital, it is their criticism of the alleged homogenous nature of globalisation however that has had the greatest repercussions in terms of the strengthening of alternative localisation theories. Specifically, they note that true examples of multinational corporations are relatively few; that the new international division of labour is not necessarily moving investment and employment from industrialised cores to the developing peripheries to the extent that is currently believed; that foreign direct investment remains predominantly active between western economies while neglecting the Third World; that global capital, although increasingly mobile, remains highly spatially concentrated; and that the nation-state is not entirely dead but can still exert a substantial amount of control over national industrial and monetary policies (Hirst & Thompson, 1999).

It now appears as though, therefore, that globalisation is also under theoretical attack in academia, where, in the wake of popular protestations, and the desire to deconstruct the heuristic character that globalisation seems to have acquired, authors are scrambling to record the fallout of such manifestations and are now contributing to the growing counter-globalist discourse by means of delving deeper than the popular perceptions of globalisation and are exposing various truths that had either become forgotten or were conveniently overlooked (Derudder & Witlox, 2004; Hines, 2003; Scholte, 2000). Out of this body of research, some exceedingly novel observations have been made that are challenging the way that globalisation is viewed and are allowing different, previously marginalized, ideas to gain credibility and thus a foothold in academic circles while, at the same time, altering international development paradigms. It now seems that the same questioning that led to an initial exploration of the significance of the new spatial divisions of labour, the emergence of increased international capital flows, the establishment of a uniform westernised culture and, ultimately the construction of globalisation, have now been applied to, and are, instrumental in the deconstruction of globalisation itself. In this way there has been a refocusing of attention on the importance of the locality.

3.6 The Rise of Localisation

The concepts of place, territoriality, and individualisation are now reappearing and are leading the assault on globalisation and, as such, have played an influential role in the development of a now growing localisation literature (Boudreau, 2003; Hines, 2003; Bathelt & Taylor, 2002; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Cabus, 2001; Escobar, 2001; Barnett & Cavanaugh, 2001; Hines & Lang, 2001; MacLeod, 2001; Mitchell, 2001; Berner & Korff, 1995; Krugman, 1995; Ettlinger, 1994; Clarke, 1993). The fluid nature of international capitalism in a post-modern context coupled with the flexibility required of global flows have again thrown the interpretations of geometries of space and scale into disorder since the recognition was made that the processes of globalisation are not necessarily, in reality, the totalising phenomena they were once held to be. The recognition that global networks of commodities, people and multi-national corporations are heavily influenced at local, regional, and at national levels, as well as, from supra-national levels has generated new reconceptualisations of geography and, more importantly, has raised the question as just where do localities fit into the whole global economy. Swyngedouw (2003; 14) provides influential insight into the retained necessity of various socio-scalar arenas by writing, 'without territorially organised political or institutional arrangements that regulate markets, money, ownership, and organised security, parts of service delivery and the like, the economic order would irrevocably break down.'

The realisation that it is impossible to completely divorce the indices of globalisation from local realities has even led some of the die hard proponents of globalisation, including O'Brien (1992; 2), who, if we remember correctly, predicted the end of geography, to conclude 'location will still continue to matter while physical barriers exist, while travel still takes time, and while cultural and other social differences persist.' In his recent article *Time to Replace Globalisation with Localisation*, Hines (2003) affirms that localisation does not seek to halt the process of globalisation, but rather he suggests that the reciprocal processes of localisation harness global flows of goods, services, information, and capital that are needed to protect and rebuild local economies in a period of steep worldwide economic competition.

A review of the literature indicates that the twin theories of globalisation and localisation are prone to paradoxes that again do not conform with established

paradigms, which is why analysts initially found it difficult to apply traditional regulationist theories to changes in the international economy. Jacobsen & Lawson (1999) have determined that even after the resurgence in nationalistic outcries following the spread of western ideals, the backlash leading to greater interest in local endogenous cultures has simply led to a further hybridisation of a cosmopolitan global culture. In this case, the idea that the locality is the arena where homogenisation and heterogenisation occur simultaneously is supported by Helvacioglu (2000) who notes that concepts of globalisation and instances of localisation are becoming increasingly complimentary and mutually supportive. His suggestion that, 'one of the most enigmatic dimensions of globalisation is that it exists in both a singular, universal phenomenon and [as] a condition of plurality characterised by historical and geographical specificities of particular localities' (2000; 328) is supported by some of the arguments that Robertson (1995) constructs The latter asserts that, due to these historical and geographical specificities, globalisation is, in actual fact, intrinsically linked to the invention of the locality as an independent actor.

The term 'glocalisation,' which is most often accredited to Swyngedouw (2003, 1996), is also a recent addition to the geographical dictionary and is an obvious fusion of globalisation and localisation theories. Glocalisation has been picked up and is increasingly being used by additional authors who are contributing to the idea that the locality is still very much a fundamental element within the broader process of globalisation (Aiyar, 2002; Grant & Short, 2002; Cabus, 2001; Robertson, 1995, Peck & Tickell, 1994). It is now widely recognised that a dualism has evolved in the globalisation literature, whereby theories of localisation are beginning to appear side by side in the associated literature of Hines (2003), Weber (2003), Escobar (2001), Mander (2001), de Haan (2000), Smith (2000), and Douglass (1998). Goetz & Clarke's (1993) *The New Localism: Comparative Urban Politics in a Global Era*, was one of the first anthologies to examine the relationship between global and local processes, which has become a leading reference in recent global / local debates. Furthermore, a so-called 'global / local nexus' is clearly documented and authors are conceding that while globalisation is, as it has been for a long time, progressing, the locality itself is a very important ingredient in the process of global transformation and must be singled out for study (Korff, 2003; Swyngedouw & Kaïka, 2003; Milne & Ateljevic, 2001; Hafez, 1999; Yeoh & Willis, 1997). In many respects, it is

becoming difficult to separate globalisation from localisation, an opinion held by Korff (2003) who adds that 'the local is encompassed and constituted within the global' and Castree (2004; 135) who wrote that it is a 'fundamental ontological fact of our time: namely, that the global is in the local.' Terkenli (2005; 165), on the other hand, offers the rationale, that 'in today's cultural landscape, relationships and tensions between *global* and *local* play a central role in issues of production, reproduction, identity and consumption.'

3.6.1 Localisation and the Locality

The founding principle on which the concept of localisation is built is the understanding that localities are of prime importance in global constructs. They are the elementary pieces that fit together to constitute globalisation but they are also the primary centres for resistance to globalisation. Cabus (2001; 1015) argues 'the more something functions on a global scale, the more it seems to need a set of conditions which, by their nature, are local, immobile and specific,' to which one can add Swyngedouw's (2003, 1996) claim that social life and, decision making capacities are necessarily situated and place-based and Storper's (1997) understanding that today's global dynamism is highly dependent on localised, non-tradable assets. These conditions and capacities that Cabus and Swyngedouw refer to, whether they are local people, skills, natural resources, and / or physical infrastructure now influence the degree to which a particular locality can announce its presence on the global stage. Cox (1998) carries forward this line of reasoning in his interpretations of localities as more than just physical spaces but rather, he depicts them as centres of collective consciousness where the social energies of different stakeholders strive towards the mutual benefit of host communities.

Some of the first indications of a return to an exploration of the locality within global studies were visible in research being conducted to explain the success of economic and industrial clustering in such places as California's Silicon Valley, the Boston area in Massachusetts, Cambridge in the United Kingdom, Northern Italy, and Baden-Württemberg in Germany (Amin, 2004; Cabus, 2001; Jackson & Mosco, 1999; Scott, 1998; Morgan, 1997; Cooke, 1997; Saxenian, 1994; Ohmae, 1993). The ability of industrial districts such as these to enhance their international competitiveness and attract a substantial amount of foreign investment to a particular locality and thus

spearhead considerable local development, while a multitude of others could not, was explained by the comparative, locality-based advantages either resident or developed to promote greater use of local resources and opportunities. These advantages can include the presence of quality institutions of higher learning, the availability of pools of highly skilled labour, beneficial tax-free export zones, highly developed physical and information technology infrastructure, or, in the case of Italy, the presence of strong social networks (Wolfe, 2002; Simmie & Sennett, 1999; Markusen, 1996; Putnam; 1995, 1993).

In drawing lessons from these accomplishments, increasingly, authors began applying such terminology as 'New Regionalism' and 'New Localism' to describe the new geographies of scale that were beginning to carve out niches in the supposed global economy (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Jonas & Ward, 2002; MacLeod, 2001; Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000; Deas & Ward, 2000). In this respect, Robertson (1995) remarks that the relationship between the global and the local is becoming progressively less antagonistic and is developing into a more positively entrenched relationship that has beneficial practical implications for the contemporary economies of host localities. Although the role of localities did regain credibility in the 'parent models' of regional dialectics relating to Silicon Valley or the Third Italy, a large portion of this globalisation / localisation literature has given way to an even more specific form of localism that is addressing the function of primary cities, small towns, and rural areas in an era of increased globalisation (Dewees *et al.*, 2003; Taylor, 2003a; Hinderink & Titus, 2002; Robinson, 2002; Sassen, 2002a, 1994; Bebbington & Batterbury, 2001; Daniels, 1989). Now, more than ever, within theories of globalisation and localisation, individual localities are increasingly being viewed as ideally situated entities best placed to engage in processes of globalisation and competitively exploit locality-specific resources or advantages to the benefit of their local economies (Derudder & Witlox, 2004). Or, on the other hand, as pointed out by Bebbington (2003) many localities, which are unable to connect to global flows, are now being viewed as best situated to moderate globalisation by supplying locally applicable answers.

Similar to the prosperous clusters in California and Massachusetts, MacLeod (2001) points to certain urban agglomerations that are performing better in the global

economy and that are rising above the rest when it comes to market-led economic growth. The most cited cities which fall into this category include, for the most part, the standard London, New York, and Tokyo examples, which have become benchmarks for successful, locally situated global competitiveness and are examples of types of localities that both are influenced by global flows, but more so, are in actual fact, leading actors moulding and determining the nature of such flows (R. Smith, 2003; Taylor, 2003a; Sassen, 2002a; Friedmann, 2001, 1986; Begg, 1999; Wollen, 1999). Albeit to a lesser degree, small towns and rural localities the world-over are also compelled to become more internationally focused and are acting as gateways for flows of global commodities. Unlike leading cities, many do not and cannot manipulate global sequences of events for the benefit of local residents and in response are increasingly being called on to look inwardly at local assets to recreate themselves in relation to contemporary realities and often become the site for a number of alternative pro-poor rural locality-based developments (Bebbington, 2003).

In this respect, in various capacities, localities have come to be regarded as the building blocks of globalisation. They are the driving force behind it and the bodies that contains the different political, economic, and social actors that account for a large proportion of the manifestations of globalisation possible, as well as promoting a further integrated interface with other global actors (Cabus, 2001). As such, if this is how globalisation is now perceived, then localities essentially serve as stopovers where global flows can and often are produced and reproduced. Instead of being perceived as a large-scale homogenising phenomenon that swallows up different people and places to create one solitary universal movement, the image that now appears is one in which locations are tied together to form a chain of localities that still function independently in terms of promoting locality-based development, devising relevant local policy, and implementing plans of action, but increasingly operate within a similar, globally oriented paradigm. Larochelle (1996) equates the locality to the 'agent' of globalisation that adds a certain element of singularity or uniqueness of style and approach to an era of universality that gives the locality a more definite identity and purpose. Locality-specific processes may manifest themselves in different ways; through decision-making in national capitals, the choices made in financial centres, or the media outlets from where information is disseminated. Localities are home to the office towers where bankers press buttons

that send capital to off-shore accounts, the studios where the anchormen sit while reading the world's news-headlines, and where governments meet to decide what international trade barriers to do away with. By the same token, however, localities in developing countries are also sites that struggle to accommodate changes in the global environment and which face constant local economic challenges. They are the mega-cities of the Third World that are over-populated and under-serviced. They are the small towns with inefficient local governments. They are the sites where the otherwise unemployed exploit whatever local resources are available to reduce vulnerability to global change and to create jobs. Localities further include the rural countrysides where poor inhabitants pursue different forms of livelihood diversification to put food on the table.

3.7 Conclusions

This chapter pauses here. The specific manner in which various localities express themselves is the subject of the next chapter, but what is of consequence in the preceding arguments is how the locality has become a key component in the study of globalisation and localisation. To accomplish this, the thesis' first objective of providing the context for forthcoming case studies of differing approaches to locality-based development, it was necessary to sketch the developments in globalisation and localisation in recent decades as an event that has had far reaching repercussions both from a theoretical perspective and from the way that people perceive changes in the world around them. Telecommunications and air travel, 'pop' culture, and the spread of liberal democracy have played significant parts in the development of some pundits' allegations of a so-called homogenous society, whereby all parts of the globe are looking more and more alike. There has been a recent outcry through which authors, such as Hirst & Thompson (1999) and Petrella (1996), are speaking out against the heuristic usage of globalisation by stating that it is sidelining cultural and ethnic differences and is ignoring the significance of the locality. Such sentiments have stimulated an enquiry into alternate analyses within spatial theory in order to bring to light various truths over-looked in the globalisation literature. The corresponding rise in the reflexive globalism and localisation discourse have allowed different concepts to emerge and to give a voice to different elements that have been marginalized.

Instead of looking at the global system as a whole, this chapter asserted that it has now become a vital part of critical geography to scrutinize the specifics that make it what it is in order to understand what makes it 'tick' so to speak. In the process, localities are now of prime importance in geographical discourse. They are seen as integral parts of global phenomena and considerable attention is being placed on determining what roles they assume in speeding up or slowing down global processes, how they shape cross-border flows and are, in turn, shaped by them and how they interface with other localities also active on a global playing field. Swyngedouw's (2003, 1996) contribution to the development of the idea of glocality seeks to bridge the divide and cement the understanding that it is frequently difficult to separate global processes from local realities (Korff, 2003; Robertson, 1995). This chapter ends on the point that even though localities are operating within a global context, much of what they accomplish is done independently and based on their own strengths and weaknesses.

This is where the following chapter will pick up. It will consist of an analysis of the different forms of locality-based development through which localities manifest and announce themselves globally and / or locally. Particularly, it examines the characteristics of and actions taken by large cities, small towns, and rural localities within the global / local framework presented in this chapter. MacLeod (2001) noted that some localities are better equipped than others to tap into global flows, and as such, rise to the top of the list of effectively competitive localities. In contrast, small towns are often not as strategically placed and local stakeholders must initiate different varieties of pro-poor locality-based development to ensure survival. Regardless, the prime motivation for the next chapter is the identification of different locality-based development strategies employed by a range of localities in their attempts to mediate the changes and challenges posed by a globalising socio-economic environment.

The next chapter will, in turn, provide the context for an examination of locality-based development in Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni, and how these particular localities relate to theories of globalisation and localisation. It will also frame these individual local development strategies within a broader pro-growth / pro-poor locality-based theoretical construct.

Chapter Four: Manifestations of Localisation

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter argued the case that the locality has emerged as the central feature within the study of globalisation and localisation. Even though some, including Fukuyama (1992) and O'Brien (1992), would argue that globalisation is seemingly producing a standardized, western-biased lifestyle and a political economy based on neo-liberal values; individual localities are now being seen as playing integral parts in shaping and reflecting these contemporary cultures and ideologies (Hines, 2003; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Cabus, 2001; Escobar, 2001; Hines & Lang, 2001; MacLeod, 2001; Mitchell, 2001; Berner & Korff, 1995; Krugman, 1995; Ettlinger, 1994). It has become apparent that global processes are created and recreated within a variety of places across a variety of scales, influenced by a combination of unique extenuating factors located at each site and at each level. Within recent global / local research, it is becoming impossible to escape an analysis of locality-based strategies within an ever-widening global space of flows. Some of these localities have been more successful than others in actively engaging global flows and carving out niches for themselves and, in the process, sponsoring a certain degree of market-led development that leads to enhanced opportunities for improving the quality of living for local inhabitants. In contrast, globalisation has also undermined the economic viability of multiple localities around the world that are now forced to undertake a more reactive approach to pro-poor locality-based development.

In emphasising these processes, this chapter is an attempt to fulfil this research's second objective of providing an additional literature review that examines the role of the locality within global / local frameworks and which outlines different manifestations of locality-based developments that are practiced within different contexts. It contains three primary sections with a number of secondary subsidiary sections supporting discussions about varying manifestations of localisation. The first is an examination of urban localities and their position within an increasingly tightly knit hierarchy of interconnected global cities. It demonstrates how fierce international competition has forced large cities into becoming more proactive in maintaining high

standards of living and providing for market-led economic growth. The second is an assessment of localities beyond the urban core, particularly in small towns and the rural fringe situated in developing countries in particular. It shows how such global processes have forced smaller localities into a reactive position of providing for varying means of income diversification and alleviating poverty, including increased reliance on rural industries. The third section entails a breakdown and description of locality-based development or Local Economic Development in South Africa including the policies, which have encouraged both pro-growth and pro-poor locality-based development to emerge across the country.

It is through this analysis of the various kinds of locality-based development that this chapter will serve to bridge the gap between theory and the more applied case studies to be introduced and summarized in ensuing chapters. Cape Town is very much a reflection of the type of development that is apparent in many of the world's leading global cities where a study of a pro-growth locality-based development reveals a competitive need to tap into global flows. Emalahleni, on the other hand, represents an example of a small town that is beyond the urban core in which local residents must become increasingly self-reliant in the face of limited local government support and external economic pressures. In this case, the concepts of alternative livelihood diversification discussed in upcoming sections are highly relevant. Discussions will also prove useful when examining pro-poor locality-based development in Ndlambe where an especially coherent local government and the seeming proactiveness of community members have produced a unique variation of community-based development that has ensured the longevity of some development projects within the municipality, while a multiplicity of other, similarly instigated ventures have failed around the country.

4.2 Locality-based Development

A primary commonality among all localities has been the understanding that global changes have compelled local stakeholders to search inwardly to balance the countervailing forces of globalisation and localisation and to come up with localised answers to challenges for economic development and to raise the standards of living. One of the leading channels through which the rebirth of the locality has manifested

itself over recent decades has been in the emergence of an evolving field of place-based development discourse analysis known as 'Local Economic Development' or, simply by its easily recognised and widely exploited acronym - LED. Internationally, the expression began appearing in the early 1980s as local government officials and development practitioners, primarily in industrialised nations, effectively started exploring functionally different techniques to respond to global challenges and to fulfil new developmental duties thrust upon localities by higher levels. *LED* as a theoretical concept, in addition to being viewed as a practical tool, is now commonly employed by a variety of authors, academics, and policy makers and has become firmly entrenched within contemporary development rhetoric (Rogerson, 2004c, 2002a; Tomlinson, 2003; Nel, 2001a; Binns & Nel, 1999; Immergluck, 1998; Gough & Eisenschitz, 1996; Blakely, 1994; Bennett & Krebs, 1993; Clarke & Gaile, 1992; Benfer, 1996; Teague, 1987). As previously mentioned in the introductory chapter, this thesis makes use of the term 'locality-based development' primarily because of this research's concentration on development activities that are tied to specific localities. 'LED' does, however, feature in select instances throughout this document.

The principal tenants of locality-based development or LED are grounded in the philosophy that the locality and an assembly of its local stakeholders are the main driving forces behind new, renewed, or enhanced economic growth, job creation, and / or basic needs provision, because they are most knowledgeable of existing local needs, conditions, resources, and skills, as well as being most familiar with an area's traditional strengths and weaknesses (Tomlinson, 2003; Nel, 1999; Stock, 1995). One of the biggest debates surrounding locality-based development that has emerged in importance in recent years has been about the relative merit of pro-growth or market-led versus pro-poor or market-critical local economic development strategies, which become especially relevant when viewed in relation to possible development paths pursued by localities within developed versus developing countries (Bek, *et al.*, 2004; Tomlinson, 2003; Eastwood & Lipton, 2000; Rogerson, 2000; Scott & Pawson, 1999). While there has been some evidence of community-based development projects and initiatives which seek to heighten social welfare, local economic development in countries of Western Europe and North America generally highlights the importance of the private sector, international competitiveness, large-scale employment creation, and

intensive capital investment in business development. Western approaches to development further emphasise employing modern technologies, exploiting up-to-date information, exploring creative means of harnessing social capital, and conducting expert market analysis to regenerate failing inner city economies, attract high-tech investment, promote strategic partnerships and growth coalitions, and to encourage the development of new service-sector industries such as in tourism (R. G. Smith, 2003; Taylor & Walker, 2001; Lee, 2000; Short *et al.*, 2000; Thomas, 2000; Webb & Collis, 2000; Lynch, 1999).

In contrast, development initiatives in developing countries are often market-critical and focus more so on socially responsible development, and efforts by local peoples themselves concentrating on the provision of basic needs, community driven development, survivalist strategies, and service delivery. Localities in peripheral areas must also encourage elements of entrepreneurship and job creation, but at this level they often appear on a much more informal level with what are often limited results (Rogerson, 2004c; MacIntyre, 2002; Stock, 1995; Gooneratne & Mbilinyi, 1992). In this case, it is the informal economy that often becomes the stage for local development or, as viewed by Nel (2001a; 1005) 'the emergence or re-emergence of the informal sector, communal farming and various forms of community survival can be seen as a rough southern equivalent of LED.' Under these circumstances, local peoples are again required to rely on their own innovativeness, but the focus is much more on informal processes encompassing bottom-up, self-reliant socio-economic activities, and coping strategies. Activities related to alternative livelihoods, income diversification, and the establishment of rural enterprises also play an integral role within rural varieties of locality-based development (Ellis & Freeman, 2004; United Nations, 2003; Scott, 2002; Bebbington, 2001; Bebbington & Batterbury, 2001; Smith *et al.*, 2001; Anani, 1999; Carney, 1998a).

4.3 Pro-growth, Locality-based Development in Urban Localities

In many instances, Amin & Graham (1997) are correct in asserting that there has been a 'rediscovery of the city' and a widespread proliferation of groundbreaking publications points to an urban renaissance where once again the study of the city has become fashionable in the wake of a renewed focus on how localities manoeuvre in a

global system. This 'new urbanism' (Yeung, 1997) has led to a challenging of traditional urban theories, whereby Beaverstock *et al.* (2002) are of the opinion that a new meta-geography of urban networks is paving the way for such new theories as 'alternative urban theory,' (Robinson, 2002) 'urban regime theory' (Short *et al.*, 2000), 'globalised urban network theory' (Jones, 2002), and the 'world city hypothesis' (Friedmann, 1986) to emerge.

This extensive urban localisation literature has become firmly established and has been joined by a growing and now independent world city / global city research base. In the 1980s, urban theorists such as Friedmann (1986) together with Wolff (1982) set the scene for a more contemporary analysis of metropolitan centres by advancing an agenda focusing on the role of cities in the world economic system-in-formation. Friedmann (1986; 69) explicitly pointed out when he introduced his world city hypothesis, that his work was 'primarily intended as a framework for research and a starting point for enquiry.' Wollen (1999; 69) tells of how:

> *The concept of the World City is a promising sector of current academic research, which brings together trends from world systems theory, urban geography, anthropology, cultural studies, media and communications, capitalist regulation theory, economic history, and political science.*

Hill & Kim (2000; 2167-2168) go so far as to speculate that, 'the world city paradigm is the most important contribution by urbanists to the contemporary globalisation literature.' As such, within the past years, global city discourse has evolved to an impressive level of sophistication, articulating the varying contributions of global finance, trade, information technology, sociology, and urban geography. The following sections will therefore trace the history of this strengthening branch of urban studies and include a number associated debates including features of world cities and the role that they play in the recreation of global processes.

4.3.1 World Cities / Global Cities

Modelski (1999) explains that the first real globally focused city, Sumer, appeared in 3500 BC in Mesopotamia and was part of a trade network centred on the Middle East and Egypt. What people considered their world to be at this time was limited to the extent of these trading routes, yet over the next centuries, as those routes expanded and smaller merchant centres grew in size and in importance, more and more outwardly focused cities appeared around the Mediterranean rim. In turn, the classical Greek and Roman administrative centres of their far-reaching empires also spread their worldview to cities through southern Europe, a process which was revived and accelerated after the end of the 'Dark Ages' and with the start of the Voyages of Discovery. By the 17th century, London, Amsterdam, Lisbon, Antwerp, Genoa, and Venice had grown into leading cities either as imperial capitals and / or through their role in international trade. In the 18th century, Paris, Rome, and Vienna were included as major European cities but Lisbon and Amsterdam began to experience a decline in their global reach. In the 19th century, industrialisation and technological developments helped Berlin, Chicago, Manchester, New York, and St. Petersburg become powerful cities. By the early years of the next century, New York, London, and Tokyo had risen to the top of a now increasingly apparent world city hierarchy.

The writings of Geddes (1915) and Hall (1966) demonstrated an eerie foreshadowing of the global changes that they predicted would continue to occur around the world, starting with the economic restructuring of major European and North American cities and culminating with a shift away from industrial-based capitalism to what Hall (1966) first called finance-based capitalism. The modern advancements in *'neotechnics'* such as the telephone, the typewriter, and the adding machine enabled the cities of London and New York to shift from a manufacturing economy to one of more advanced services or white-collared based employment (Hall, 1966). Since Hall's earlier considerations on the globalisation of urban areas, academic research and the number of scholarly articles considering world city and / or global city theory and associated case studies have greatly accelerated (Audirac, 2003; Jones, 2003; Beaverstock *et al.*, 2002; Brown *et al.*, 2002; Robinson, 2002; Sassen, 2002a,b, 2000, 1994, 1991; Friedmann, 2001, 1986; Bellandi, 2000; Hill & Kim 2000; Taylor, 1997; Knox 1996; Smith & Timberlake, 1995; Friedmann & Wolff; 1982).

Although much of the earlier writings (Hall, 1997, 1966; Taylor 1997, Yeung, 1997; Friedmann, 1986) on global / world cities contained specific references to either or all of London, New York, and Tokyo, much of the ensuing global city literature, especially by Sassen (2000, 1994, 1991) opened the field of research onto a larger variety of major western cities. Nowadays, multiple authors use either the concept 'world city' or 'global city,' often interchangeably to demonstrate the globality of cities with Robinson (2002) describing 'global cities' as the top ranking cities, i.e. London, New York, Tokyo, within a range of additional major 'world cities'. In the past, a number of world / global cities have been singled out for further enquiry into their contributions to the development of global processes including such localities as Paris (Chevrant-Breton, 1997), Moscow (Alden *et al.*, 1998), Washington D.C. (Gerhard, 2003), Amsterdam (Taylor, 2002), Toronto (Donald, 2002), Philadelphia (Hodos, 2002), Zürich (Taylor, 2003b), Sydney (McGuirk, 2004; Short *et al.*, 2000), Montréal (Paul, 2004), Prague (Sýkora 1994), Birmingham (Hubbard, 2001, 1996), Brussels (Swyngedouw & Baeten, 2001), and Dublin (Breathnach, 2000). Krätke (2001; 1779), who wrote on Berlin's efforts to break into the ranks of now global cities, expressed the view that 'the global city has become a fashionable expression for the very traditional notion of high-ranking service metropolis.' Robinson (2002) noted however, that many of the larger, mainly developing world cities around the globe, still do not register on intellectual maps that chart the rise and fall of global and world cities. São Paulo may have been included in Friedmann's (1986) original hierarchy by virtue of its immense population, and it is undoubtedly well serviced by the global economy, however, today size does not necessarily count in a locality's favour (Chase-Dunn & Manning, 2002; Amin & Graham, 1997). Even though the majority of the world's most populous cities are located in the developing world, very few of them are thought to be world cities (Yeung, 1997). This is because, according to Amin & Graham (1997; 412), 'truly global cities will not be the largest, they will be the smartest.'

A compromise developed by Short *et al.* (2000) and based on Grant & Nijman's (2002) study of cities in Asia and Africa that has allowed for a greater number of cities to be included in the global city debate is the concept of the 'Gateway City.'

This theory expresses the view that 'almost any city can act as a gateway for the transmission of economic, political and cultural globalisation' (Short *et al.*, 2000; 318). Even small localities can be analysed to investigate the effects of globalisation, thus taking the attention away from the rather simplistic question of which localities dominate the globalisation process. Additionally, there has been further research (Taylor *et al.*, 2000) on cities in newly industrialised countries including Hong Kong (Jessop & Sum, 2000; Skeldon, 1997), Singapore (Yeoh & Chang, 2001; Haila, 2000), Jakarta (Dick & Rimmer 1998), and Shanghai (Wei, 2005; Yusuf & Wu, 2002; Wu, 2000). In parallel, there has been a slow but growing number of articles (Gugler, 2004, 2003; van der Merwe, 2004; Grant & Nijman, 2002; Madon & Sahay, 2001; Dick & Rimmer, 1998) outlining the nature of global cities in developing countries and many case studies of localities in these countries have been published including those of Mexico City (Parnreiter *et al.*, 2004, 2002; Wildner & Tamayo, 2002), Cairo (el-Khishin, 2003), Guadalajara (Audirac, 2003), Bangalore (Madon & Sahay, 2001), San Jose (Brown *et al.*, 2002), Phnom Penh (Shatkin, 1998), Bangkok (Boonchuen, 2002), Santiago (Parnreiter, *et al.*, 2004), Mumbai and Accra (Grant & Nijman, 2002), and Johannesburg (Rogerson, 2005b; CDE, 2002). As Jones (2002) points out, this debate has expanded rapidly from a focus on a few core cities, to a wider model that examines the effects and influences of broader economic activity. As such, according to Brown *et al.* (2002), there are no 'backwaters' anymore, and it is also becoming more and more difficult to find places that have not been influenced or in some way touched by global flows, which again conforms to notions introduced in the previous chapter that it is now, more than ever, difficult to disengage local processes from global flows (Castree, 2004; Korff, 2003).

4.3.2 Features of Global Cities

In the past, some of the earlier measures used to identify world / global cities developed by such authors as Friedmann (1986) were exceptionally static such as dividing them into core and periphery or primary and secondary cities, determining how much capital was concentrated within a locality, or counting the number of skilled professionals a city was able to attract. Lately, the analysis of how characteristics such as the number of international headquarters, trans-national corporations, advanced service firms, mobile professionals, airports, technology

parks, international tourist arrivals, events and conferences hosted by the city, Internet connections, leisure facilities, parks, and museums etc., influence a city's globality has become the norm for identifying globally focused localities. Today, the Globalisation and World City (GaWC) Research Group and Network based at Loughbourgh University in the United Kingdom is a leading institution conducting research into world cities and has produced a substantial volume of influential publications on the position of urban localities in the global system (Brown *et al.*, 2004; Parnreiter *et al.*, 2004; Gerhard, 2003; Taylor, 2003a, 2002; Beaverstock *et al.*, 2002; Hubbard, 2001; Taylor & Catalano, 2001).

While what physical features are visible within a city are important qualifiers for world / global city status, they are no longer the sole defining criteria. Recent developments in the world city / global city debate have called into question the continued relevance of an urban hierarchy altogether with authors, including Jones (2002) seeking to broaden the field, while Short *et al.*, (1996; 697) have blatantly sought to unearth its 'dirty little secrets.' It is this accusation of bad geography that has given rise to a further evolution in the global-local debate. Sassen (2002a,b, 2000, 1994, 1991) has broadened the definition of global cities from what they *are* to what they *are doing*. Perhaps the most important outcome of an evolution within world / global city research, which is having a significant impact on localisation theories and the study of the locality, has been a renewed focus on global connectivity. Much less attention is now placed on the creation of or a ranking within an urban hierarchy and more so on an exploration of the connections, urban networks, and the linkages between localities that are active in the ever more so globalised economy (R. G. Smith, 2003; Swyngedouw, 2003; Taylor, 2003a; Short *et al.*, 2000; Smith & Timberlake, 2001). One of the prime arguments emerging in contemporary writings therefore, has been this need to acknowledge that a large numbers of cities throughout the world, though not necessarily being world leaders, do, none the less, interface very directly with the world economy in terms of a multitude of socio-economic transactions, albeit at a perhaps subservient and somewhat dependent levels. Skeldon (1997; 269) has indicated, 'the critical features of the global city, by definition, are its international character and its international linkages.' Ultimately therefore, the global-ness and economic dominance of the world's leading cities require a network of

connected secondary centres with whom they can interact and trade, therefore binding all cities in a dense, complex web of contact, exchange, power, and control (Beaverstock *et al.*, 2002; Brown *et al.*, 2002; Grant & Nijman, 2002; Yeoh & Chang, 2001; Taylor, 2000). Similarly, Beaverstock *et al.* (2000; 123) provide the view, that 'cities exist in a world of flows, linkages, connections, and relations ... an alternative meta-geography, one of networks rather than the mosaic of states.'

In this way, the mantle of the global city is accessible to a greater variety of localities that have recognised the importance of both market-led locality-based development and competitive action for domestic development within the global economy and have undertaken to implement various pro-growth strategies intended to announce their presence, as at least somewhat influential localities in one or more specialised fields on an international level. In an attempt to break into the ranks of globally competitive cities, many urban areas have begun to espouse the need to experiment with various forms of urban development or urban renewal to bolster their position within the global chain of commodity production. Theories and practices relating to macro-economic development are now being actively pursued, not only in the world's leading cities, but also within smaller urban centres that have acknowledged the need to take advantage of global flows and processes. In this way, the international character and linkages that Skeldon (1997) and Beaverstock *et al.* (2000) discussed as being part of an alternative meta-geography are being pursued at different levels within the world city hierarchy.

4.3.2.1 Inner City Renewal
To emulate the private sector successes of established global cities many up-and-coming global cities are transforming their structures of local governance in order to create the appropriate environment to effectively compete on an international scale (Pichierri, 2002; Doogan, 1997; Clarke, 1995; Imrie & Thomas, 1995). Many are now actively encouraging the formation of private-public partnerships between elected officials, local government departments, business groups and chambers of commerce, as well as residents' coalitions to develop their cities' market-led comparative advantages and to generate opportunities to the benefit of local residents. It has become the responsibility of these emerging growth coalitions to market the city and

facilitate programmes designed both to enhance their global presence and to stimulate local economic development processes (Ha, 2004; Perrons & Sykes, 2003; Fainstein, 2001; Roberts & Sykes, 2000; Carmon, 1999; Johnston & Pattie, 1996).

The starting point for many cities in becoming globally oriented and the ongoing course of action for others has been to deal with problem areas within their urban cores, thus making them more attractive to foreign investment and opening them to renewed economic activity. In this way, a combined push towards urban regeneration has helped battle some of the worse outcomes of a decline in the economic viability of city-centres in many western cities following a worldwide business slowdown in the 1970s (Carmon, 1999). Top-ranking global cities underwent such transformations in the 1980s and 1990s, which have led to the periods of *urban renaissance* that authors such as Amin & Graham (1997) earlier noted, have led to an upswing in related urban research. Lower ranked cities, or gateway cities intent on breaking into the global markets, are currently beginning to implement urban renewal initiatives of their own. Subsequently, urban redevelopment is a major feature of globalisation and there is now considerable effort being put into giving inner-cities a new focus, including public investments in infrastructure, the cleaning up of green spaces, and dealing with issues of crime in the hope of refreshing a locality's macro-economic vitality and making it attractive to investors in a competitive global market (Amit-Cohen, 2005; Hutton, 2004).

Hutton (2004) has shown that many urban renewal endeavours have been geared towards the establishment of inner city clusters centring on dynamic, knowledge-based, and high-tech industries, which are hallmarks of today's globalisation, including computer graphics, software design, multimedia applications, and information and communications technologies. Such redevelopment is giving rise to 'smart' precincts that are endowing the locality as a whole with a new vision and attracting skilled people to the area. These types of firms are enhancing the globality of host localities by equipping them with the technologies necessary to access global flows, as well as spearheading a transformation of the local economy into one that has more in common with established global leaders and thus setting them up as potential sites for foreign investment. Furthermore, the establishment of such creative

industries additionally serves as an incentive that attracts skilled young professionals, possibly from outside the country, to the area to enhance the skills base (Ioannidis, 2004; Iredale, 2001; Khadria, 2001). Hutton continues his analysis of these new industrial clusters by providing evidence of the fact that they generate significant pro-growth development outcomes for cities, which include the following:

1. Restructuring of the core economy.
2. Local area regeneration.
3. Regional growth and development.
4. Economic base effects.
5. They complement new urban development trajectories.

(Hutton, 2004; 99)

In addition to the phenomenon of dynamic young professionals returning to the city centre to work in these businesses, is the fact that many of them are now looking downtown as a place of residence. According to different sources, strategies relating to residential developments and associated spin-offs are further important features linked to the concept of urban neo-liberalism (Ha, 2004) and form a large part of many cities' urban regeneration campaigns (Amit-Cohen, 2005; Visser, 2002; Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). Uduku (1999) goes so far as to state that gentrification is an accepted form of inner city development with urban partnerships playing influential roles in sponsoring urban living. Furthermore Ha (2004; 382) stated:

> *Changes in housing renewal in western countries such as Britain and the US during the past two decades have tended to reflect changes in the decision-making environment which can be summarized as: an emphasis on area-based and local initiatives, partnership between local government and key agencies, and community involvement.*

The global trendiness of such settings and / or the desire to live downtown has largely been sparked by the spread of a romanticised 'urban idyll' where the young and financially independent have sought out slightly bohemian, alternative lifestyles (Ley,

2003), or as Tallon & Bromley (2004; 773) pointed out, the desire to live amongst 'people like us.' Zukin (1988; 21), who is often sited as a forerunner in the field of urban living, has acknowledged, 'New York City as the undisputed capital of loft living' and has become a role model in residential conversion developments around the world. The growing demand to live in such places has led to the transformation of historically, culturally, and architecturally important districts from traditional commercial or industrial usages into residential quarters for young professionals that are giving these neighbourhoods a more cosmopolitan feel reminiscent of great world cities (Amit-Cohen, 2005; Tallon & Bromley, 2004; Lees, 2000; Carmon; 1999). This has led to a certain degree of aestheticisation of inner city neighbourhoods, which, according to Ley (2003), has increased reinvestment in and the commodification of central city properties, in turn, heightening the demand for downtown living. In this respect, the processes of gentrification are becoming more apparent in many western cities.

Although there have been various concerns expressed regarding the spread of residential conversions, gentrification, and the establishment of new industries, primarily focused on the displacement of original tenants, much of the urban renewal literature points to the economic benefits to the locality that they bring (Carmon, 1999; Engels, 1999). The increased number of people working and living in urban cores is often the impetus for the further expansion of economic activity in the area, and in many cases, it is a mutually re-enforcing series of events. New residents create the demand for goods and services, and, as more of them become available, additional people are attracted to the city centre, which, in turn, provides the impression that such localities are potential sites for foreign investment. Now the previously derelict urban cores of many global cities are home to economically and socially vibrant communities and are comprised of a range of flagship initiatives including upscale housing developments, convention centres, hotels, shopping malls, parks, theatres, pubs and restaurants, nightclubs, and any number of other of entertainment hotspots (Amit-Cohen, 2005; Hutton, 2004; Tallon & Bromley, 2004). Globalisation and urban renewal have not only spawned numerous employment opportunities in these and other secondary industries, such as the retail trade, dry-cleaning, taxi companies, and security etc., but there are a significant number of jobs being created in fields such as

construction, interior design, heritage consulting, and architectural drafting, over and above employment for the mainstream tertiary and quaternary activities locating in these areas (Hutton, 2004).

4.3.2.2 Tourism

The redevelopment of inner cities also has important spill over effects for tourism, which is also becoming one of the prime features of global cities. As downtown areas transform into culturally distinctive, cosmopolitan, and highly sought after locations, more and more people are drawn to them (Visser, 2002; Carmon, 1999). A major element of the post-Fordist city is that its economy is now based increasingly on consumption rather than production. Cities, at this point, are no longer making goods, rather they are selling services, they are selling life-styles, and they are selling themselves. Place marketing and imagery are becoming as important, if not more so than policies pertaining to trade promotion and investment attraction (Paddison, 1993).

Tourism promotion is now one of the leading means of market-led locality-based development in urban growth campaigns and is considered a powerful engine for world / global cities (Fainstein & Gladstone, 1999; Fainstein & Judd, 1999; Holocomb, 1999). To a noteworthy degree, cities are establishing visitors' centres whose aim it is to promote the locality and attract tourists and their spending power. In this respect, place imaging and branding the city, such as *London Pride, Sydney 2020*, and *Orchid City* for Singapore, combined with playing on the pull of certain elements of urban iconography such as, landmark high-rises, museums, theatres, sporting stadiums, and / or green spaces including key nodes such as the Empire State Building and the Sydney Opera House, are giving some global cities the edge in urban tourism (Colbert, 2003; el-Khishin, 2003; Gospodini, 2002; Webster, 2001). According to Bradley *et al.* (2002), there is direct link between place promotion, urban imagineering, and urban development. Similarly, Therborn (2002; 42) has surmised, 'the Eiffel Tower was perhaps the first, lasting grand globalist, rather than national, monument' and it sends out 'an explicit iconic message' to the rest of the world that Paris is *the* place to see. As a result, quoting Fretter (1993; 165), 'Place marketing has thus become much more than merely selling the area to attract mobile

companies and tourists. It can now be viewed as a fundamental part of planning, and a fundamental part of guiding the development of places in a desired fashion,' it can be seen that proper municipal guidance for the tourism sector is at the heart of successful urban regeneration. Other than the attractiveness of the built environment however, entertainment from attendance at or participation in sporting and cultural events, are further hallmarks of this idea of visual consumption and pro-growth urban development (Pinder, 2000; Sassen & Roost, 1999; Roche, 1992).

4.3.2.3 Hosting of Major Events

In addition to the worldwide growth in generic tourism, specific niche sectors within the mainstream have also become opportunities for localities to push for economic development. Tied in with the idea of sports and cultural events now contributing to the rise of a new globalised popular culture, has been an increase in the number of cities competing to host global mega-events in the hope of increasing tourist numbers and bolstering local coffers. Guy Debord (1994, 1967) is the founding author accredited with the expression of 'Society of the Spectacle' which takes on the idea that the international media is responsible for an increasingly 'image saturated world' that has led to the spectacularisation of the contemporary global city and a reconceptualisation of psychogeographical practices. No longer are cultural icons, traditional values, religious festivals, local sporting events, or even community street fairs interpreted as they may have been intended, such as pride in ethnic origins, spiritual piousness, or athletic prowess. Instead they are being approached from the viewpoint that they have something special to contribute to the world at large, as well as the wider economic development of the locality (Gotham, 2002; Harcup, 2000; Pinder, 2000). Local curiosities, which may have been previously marketed, predominantly towards the local population, now have especially dedicated municipal departments marketing them on a global scale, which is justified through the benefits that they bring to the local economy, as well as through the symbolic kudos achieved by transforming the city into a culturally sensitive global tourist destination (Andranovich *et al.*, 2001). No longer are they sold as an expression of local identity, but rather local governments are seeing them as an opportunity for attracting global tourists and the money they bring. Harcup (2000) even goes so far as to hint that these spectacles have led to the privatisation of many public spaces.

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Given that mega-events offer significant stimuli for urban change, Burbank *et al.* (2002) report that local governments are often willing to outlay substantial resources for inherently risky bidding campaigns to attract tourists to their cities. If successful, they may often be short-term events, but have long-term consequences on the economy and urban landscape of host cities (Andranovich *et al.*, 2001; Essex & Chalkley, 1998). The desire to stage international events can be part of wider plans for urban renewal and improvements, which usually requires large amounts of investment in sporting facilities, hotels, airports, and other of feats of civil engineering. Events are also tied to the construction of further tourist attractions, convention centres, sports facilities, and shopping malls, all important features of global cities; again with the desired outcome of emulating their success (Burbank *et al.*, 2002; Roche, 1992).

By holding the Olympics or an event of similar calibre, the city is announcing to the world that it is a creative, major league city and a major international contender in global culture. It is a symbolic move, yet one that has important direct implications for the way that the city is perceived worldwide. It is an opportunity for the city to express its unique personality and reap the rewards from it. Ultimately, it is a means of putting the city on the world map and a way of placing it in the minds of millions as an international brand name (Burbank *et al.*, 2002). Foremost in these mega-events are sporting competitions that include the likes of the Olympic Games, World Cups, and the Commonwealth Games, but often also include World Fairs, and other similarly globally focused, highly visible cultural events. The following quote taken from Essex & Chalkley (1999; 369-370) illustrates the now perceived monetary and symbolic value of hosting not just the Olympics, but also any of a variety of events that conform to Debord's conceptualisations of spectacle in modern society:

> *Across the century, therefore, the Games have developed into much more than a sporting competition. For the main participating nations, it has become a quest for national prestige and, for the host city; it is now both a means of achieving international prominence and an instrument for promoting physical and economic regeneration. For urban planners and*

policy-makers, the Games have come to represent a major opportunity for infrastructural investment and environmental improvement.

Even if bidding cities lose, the concerted effort required of local stakeholders in putting forth the bid is often sufficient to galvanise support for additional pro-growth economic development initiatives. In this respect, although Cochrane *et al.* (1996) explain that Manchester twice lost the right to host the Olympics in 1996 and 2000, it continues to serve as a role model of a post-industrial city that now channels the positive synergy created through public / private partnerships towards the successful implementation of various forms of locality-based development. It could be argued that such advanced degrees of civic cooperation helped the city win the bidding process that saw Manchester host the 2002 Commonwealth Games (Carlson & Taylor, 2003; Worsley, 2002; Quilley, 2000; Loftman & Nevin, 1996).

4.3.2.4 Convention Tourism

A further niche within the tourism industry that cities are now competing for is the convention trade. In 1995, Fenich (1995) predicted that convention tourism was to become an increasingly prominent feature of the hospitality industry and associated sectors. By 2001, Weber (2001) had demonstrated that Meetings, Incentives, Conference, and Exhibitions (MICE) represented one of the strongest growing segments of the overall global tourism industry and a growing means of generating investment-led locality-based development. It has since been estimated that in America, half a million conference delegates will generate on average US$134 million for host localities per annum (Fenich, 1995; 323).

With the income generated by MICE delegates from all over the world that is counted in hundreds of millions of US dollars, many localities are looking to convention tourism as valuable potential sources for locality-based development (Fenich, 1992). Despite the growing risk of over-saturation, glitzy, hi-tech convention centres are now one of the calling cards of globally focused cities, and it is through the establishment of Convention and Visitors' Bureaux (CVBs) or Destination Marketing Organisations (DMOs) that cities are actively reaching out to the MICE market to attract convention

business (Weber, 2001; Getz, et al., 1998). It becomes one of the city's' prime tasks to project a positive image as a market leader on an international scale, especially given that Weber (2001) believes that site selection is based primarily on the planners' perception and Urry's (1999; 71) statement that 'people encounter the city through their senses.' Proactive strategic alliances have been formed between CVBs, DMOs, tour operators, business leaders, and local governments in order to market their localities globally as the destination of choice for convention activities and ultimately to attract the tourist dollars that delegates may bring.

4.3.2.5 Summary

To summarise, now more than ever, multiple cities are actively trying to break into ranks of global cities by espousing these pro-growth locality-based development strategies so that they may compete internationally for the economic benefits that global processes convey. They are cities that are strategically situated within the space of global flows in such a way that the market-led development activities they pursue, such as inner city regeneration, place marketing, partnership creation, and events, tourism, and convention promotion, create a wealth of economic opportunities for local residents. As alluded to in previous subsections in addition to the direct foreign investment and increased number of jobs created in smart companies or corresponding construction industries, there are many symbolic and indirect benefits to place marketing that serve to introduce the city as a dominant global basing point and a place to take notice of. What this chapter now turns to is an investigation of small town localities that largely go internationally unnoticed and the pro-poor approaches to locality-based development that are visible in these environments.

4.4 Pro-poor, Locality-based Development in Small Towns

The arguments put forward in the preceding discussion dictate that successful international examples of globalising cities require considerable local teamwork in order to achieve beneficial market-led locality-based development and to project a powerful global image. The question that now needs to be asked however, is what about those localities that have not been successful in projecting such an image? What happens to those localities outside the metropolitan core that do not possess the financial or physical resources necessary to mount a global campaign of economic

regeneration, events promotion, or tourism attraction? What form does locality-based development take in these localities? Not all localities will have destination marketing organisations, visitor's bureaux, or a partnership of concerned local stakeholders. Some will not have the necessary local policy framework; others may not have the support of local government authorities, while others still will not have the buy-in from the local business community to undertake locally relevant pro-poor development. Castree (2004; 135) might be right in saying that it is a fact of our time that the 'global is in the local,' but the fact also remains that such statements are relative to the strengths and weaknesses of individual localities.

Indeed, although academic debates recognise an expanding global network of localities, there has been considerable evidence of an ongoing bias in favour of urban centres and regions spatially concentrated within a *triad* of three developed regions (North America, Europe, and Japan) (Arystanbekova, 2004; Decarlo *et al.*, 2004; Wallerstein, 2004). According to Moore & Rugman (2003), 430 out of *Fortune Magazine's* top 500 trans-national corporations are located in this triad alone. As a result, de Haan (2000) is quick to emphasise the skewed nature of global processes, Conley (2002) explains that globalisation is a process very much marked by a series of ebbs and flows, and Brenner & Theodore (2002) add that, in many respects, it is an issue of zero-sum interspatial competitiveness. The evidence now shows that the world's richest fifth of the population earn 86% of the global income (Monbiot & Norberg-Hodge, 2003; 24) and the top 50 companies collectively earn US$ 342 billion (Decarlo *et al.*, 2004). According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (2004, page unknown) in 2003 of the US$ 559 576 million recorded in foreign direct investment inflows, US$ 310 234 million was concentrated in western Europe alone, whereas the entire continent of Africa accounted for only US$ 15 033 million. Figures such as these are a clear indication of the degree of unevenness when it comes to global flows and what host localities in which regions are profiting from them.

Statistics such as these also call into question the validity of a Brown *et al.'s* (2002) earlier assumption that there are no backwaters. Although it is also becoming increasingly apparent that more localities are being pulled into the global space of

flows and are acquiring their unique variations of globalised cityscapes, this is not an all-encompassing phenomenon. Not all localities are in fact proactive players, nor does globalisation necessary affect all localities equally, and it certainly does not mean that the outcomes of an expansion of global connectivity will yield equal status or equal benefit. This comes at a time when even though the developing world is experiencing an intense period of urbanisation and the United Nations Human Settlements Programme anticipates that by 2015, nineteen of world's largest twenty-three mega-cities will be in developing countries, very rarely do these cities appear in the urban economic development or global city literatures (UN-Habitat, 2005). In an international context where national economies are being driven by the global positioning of their smartest cities and the pro-growth related strategies that they undertake, the absence of effectively competitive cities in the Third World seriously retards their capacity to gain access to global flows and thus the benefits that they generate. If cities act as linchpins for national competitiveness, then the absence of links to the global economy and a shortage of market-led investments have added negative knock-on effects for already marginalized smaller centres within these same countries.

The following section will examine pro-poor locality-based development in localities within developing countries, that do not feature in global hierarchies, but are nonetheless touched and very much influenced by global processes. Through an analysis of small towns and their rural surroundings, arguments will be made that the twin theories of globalisation and localisation are also visible within such lower tier localities. Similar to the actions undertaken by global cities, localities on the global economic fringe must also become creative in their attempts to develop alternative means of providing pro-poor development opportunities for local residents, and as ensuing subsections will reveal, so-called rural enterprises in small towns are fast becoming leading features in coordinating rural variations of poverty-related local economic development.

4.4.1 Small Towns and Rural localities

According to Norberg-Hodge (2001), the majority of the inhabitants of developing countries still live in small towns or rural communities; and Wiggins & Proctor

(2001) add that the number of the world's poor living in rural areas amounts to 75%. Likewise, Satterthwaite & Tacoli (2003) show that more than half the population of Latin America, Africa, and Asia currently lives in urban centres with less than 50 000 people. These numbers alone justify a wider contextual analysis of localities and approaches to locality-based development beyond the urban core. If Conley's (2002) analogy of globalisation as a process of ebbs and flows is reconsidered, then it is apparent that much of the developing world is still trapped in the ebbs of globalisation and fall outside the sphere of its positive economic influences. In many respects, they have been amongst the hardest hit areas in terms of growing inequality, and intermittent or even negative local economic growth (Killick, 2001; Mwabu & Thorbecke, 2001; Ashley & Maxwell, 2001; Kayizzi-Mugerwa, 2000). Devereux (2001) now notes that risk and vulnerability are now amongst the most pressing matters in poorer localities.

De Haan & Zoomers (2003) in their article, *Development Geography of Livelihoods and Globalisation* provide perhaps the clearest explanation of this phenomenon as of yet. They wrote:

> *Only people in resource-rich places are in a position to benefit, provided that they have access to those resources... However, the majority of the poor are located in marginal and isolated areas that lack resources and infrastructure. The only way to benefit from global opportunities is to break up and diversify their economic activities, to enable them to perform multi-tasking and to live in different places, thus pursuing multi-local livelihoods* (de Haan & Zoomers, 2003; 359-360).

In contrast to the well developed world / global city literature however, analyses of locality-based development small town research has been largely neglected in the past, with only a handful of seminal publications appearing in recent years to add to the few that emerged in the 1980s (Hinderink & Titus, 2002; Daniels, 1989). Similar to the world city debate though, the increase in interest in the locality, which came about as a by-product of global reflexivity, has also started to spur on renewed

attention focussed on and smaller centres. Equally inconsistent is the lack of consensus as to what qualifies as a small town. Earlier accounts of small town development, including that of Daniels (1989) have admitted that small towns are not homogeneous in size, economic make-up, or social composition. Choguill (1989; 274) meanwhile, in comparing small towns in Tanzania to those in Malaysia, likewise drew attention to the fact that 'both cases reveal how very little we actually know about the dynamics of small town growth, about local decision-making, and about what people really want in their towns.'

What this section will now attempt to emphasise is how the dialectics of globalisation and localisation are very much alive in lower rung localities including small towns and their rural hinterlands and how they differ from their large urban counterparts. Again it is becoming more and more difficult to find localities, whether major metropolitan areas in highly industrialised states or the poorest of remote villages in the developing world that have not been touched in someway by the processes of globalisation. As expressed by Courtney & Errington (2000; 282) in connection to small towns:

> *No economy is spatially bounded, and the economic relations and processes occurring in particular localities are connected through a myriad of links to the wider world; each sector of the economy is linked to others in a seamless web.*

Expressions of local economic development found in these localities take on a secondary form of localisation that is conceptually and diametrically opposite to what is visible in larger urban centres. Instead of the evidence that points to local agents employing local resources to attract outside flows to achieve global development growth, what has been observed at the rural, small town level is something more akin to using existing assets in an exceedingly resourceful manner to generate market-critical locally specific livelihoods (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003; Alkire *et al.*, 2001). Much of the localisation literature emphasises the need to harness local resources, a principle which has become especially vital in small town development discourse. The need to exploit any physical or social resource, which may be in abundance, and

the need for small towns to rely on their comparative advantages have been further been identified as prerequisites for achieving wider socio-economic growth (Woods & Slaggert, 2004; CDE, 1996b; Dewar, 1994; Daniels, 1989).

As such, small towns and rural localities fit nicely into globalisation / localisation discourse, in that they not only feel the pressures of globalisation, but they are also localities that subsequently mediate the impacts of it and respond to the challenges that global processes pose (Dewees *et al.*, 2003). Bebbington (2001) conceivably offers one of the most convincing cases of rural development issues, arguing that many rural communities, based on his studies in the South American Andes, have resisted global forces and managed to refocus their local economies. In his own words, he notes that by engaging in 'new products and labour markets,' or by adopting some of the new diversified forms of rural livelihoods, localities in developing countries are afforded 'one of the few ways to confront the demise of rural localities' (Bebbington, 2001; 414). Importantly, these confrontations, far from being associated with the detrimental negative influences that are supposed to happen in rural localities, are actually often valuable opportunities for rural peoples and for rural socio-economic development. Likewise, Brabazon (2004; 21) suggests that 'communities around the world are using a particular form of participatory development as a tool of resistance against the negative effects of globalisation.' In this respect, pro-poor locality-based alternatives in peripheral localities can have the capacity to counter-act the effects of globalisation. In many cases, such responses have the ability to empower and enhance the capacities of local people, present them with new opportunities for self-actualisation, encourage improved civic participation, bring about new forms of local governance, and produce safer environments for local residents (Bebbington, 2001).

Over the past decades, Daniels (1989) has explained that many small towns have become at risk to external change and have been struggling to adapt to 21st century realities. Likewise, Rogers & Spokes (2003; 1) have acknowledged that 'many rural communities are confronted with a host of unprecedented challenges, caused by globalisation and economic restructure, community fragmentation as a result of service withdrawal, and increasing distrust in political processes.' The International

Fund for Agricultural Development (2004) recently conceded that agricultural production in rural localities can no longer absorb all rural dwellers while urban centres are not growing fast enough to provide for rural migrants. As a result, many small towns are experiencing deteriorating local economies, decreases in farm employment opportunities, heightened incidences of localised business failure, and, in many cases, dwindling populations as people move to larger urban centres in search of jobs. In some developing countries these same problems are often more pronounced and may also be compounded by issues relating to persistent rural poverty, inequality, severe over-crowding, and extreme environmental degradation. In contrast, some of these small towns are going through periods of population growth as displaced farm workers move into the closest centre, which, in turn, further exacerbates existing challenges there (Satterthwaite & Tacoli, 2003; CDE, 1996b; Dewar, 1994).

Despite the decreasing viability of many small towns however, they do continue to play an important role in development planning as service providers, centres for product processing, and are home to small businesses. These traditional roles are no longer enough to sustain development within these centres themselves forcing small towns to look at alternative market-critical solutions for keeping their economies afloat. Kenyon *et al.* (2001) ask the question, how then can small communities become more vibrant? Daniels (1989; 416) asks 'what can these towns aspire to be?' He also questions who is responsible for small town development; outside bodies or local people themselves? In some cases they may be fortunate enough to receive some higher level funding but, increasingly, for the majority of these towns, they must become self-sufficient.

If as Raynsford (2003, page unknown) advocates, there is a need for a *New Localism*, and 'local problems need local solutions,' then recent evidence shows the answer to the question asked earlier by Daniels (1989) as to who is responsible for pro-poor development in marginalized areas, are, in fact, the disenfranchised inhabitants in small towns and rural localities who are best placed to provide their own poverty-reducing solutions. What is becoming increasingly apparent therefore, is that under these difficult circumstances local residents themselves are becoming independently

self-reliant in their quest for household income and poverty reduction, with the World Bank's *Development Report* (2000) acknowledging a similar viewpoint to Raynsford (2003), and expressing the opinion that local stakeholders of a particularly affected community are in the best position to spearhead development initiatives.

Although concepts of individually driven or community-led development have become all the more important, they are varieties of pro-poor locality-based development that MacIntyre (2002) is of the opinion are too often ignored and which Khwaja (2004) states are not clearly understood. It is however, a trend that is becoming increasingly emphasised, whereby individual people and communities must become responsible for their own development needs. In 1992, Gooneratne & Mbilinyi (1992) suggested that local self-reliance on the part of individuals and / or a collective of community members provide a valuable counterweight to impractical and impossible donor-led developments that have simply exacerbated existing inequalities. In addition, earlier authors including Stöhr & Taylor (1981), Mackenzie (1992) and Rahman (1993) also focused on the need for popular and bottom up participation, as did Taylor (1992; 222), who expressed the view 'if meaningful development is to occur, it must be defined, motivated and controlled to a much greater degree than at present by the local population itself.' Likewise, de Soto's (1989) *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World* provided a powerful account of community-based development in Peru, which successfully drew on local organisational skills, initiatives, and abilities. Theories and practices of market-critical community-based development give developmental decision-making directly to the community and build on the strengths of local institutions, networks, and resources. They are based on the premise that poor people make better more efficient use of scarce local resources and reduce attempts at poverty alleviation to more manageable scales. According to Binswanger & Aiyar (2003), it is a proactive experience in which communities take direct control and negotiate directly with one another to see to their communal needs. In this case, ordinary residents are perceived as indispensable assets, equal partners, and as active participants in development initiatives (Khwaja, 2004; Mansuri & Rao, 2004, 2003; Alkire *et al.*, 2001). Community-based development is made stronger in some circumstances by forming local actors into associations to which Mathie & Cunningham (2003; 474) add:

The appeal ... lies in its premise that people in communities can organise to drive the development process themselves by identifying and mobilising existing (but often unrecognised) assets, thereby responding to and creating local economic opportunity.

In many cases, pro-poor community driven ventures have not only provided additional opportunities for socio-economic development, but a review of the literature indicates that this form of development is more inclusive of vulnerable groups and is grassroots friendly, as well as being more efficient over the long run, is cost-effective, and is sustainable. It has also been shown to contribute to local empowerment, strengthen local democracy, enhance social capital, bring local government closer to the people, and provide a greater role for women in development activities (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, 2003; Binswanger & Aiyar, 2003; Alkire *et al.*, 2001; Gooneratne & Mbilinyi, 1992).

MacIntyre (2002) further shows that community-based development may in fact be what she calls the *Third Option* for sustainable development. Because top-down efforts in development have little knowledge or understanding of conditions at a local level and bottom-up development has yielded limited substantive impacts, a combination of community stakeholders may be the answer. The Third Option calls for a blend of both top-down and bottom-up development practices drawing on the strengths of communal proactivity but mediated by local government (MacIntyre, 2002). Accordingly, 'community development is about relationships between people and how they can be more fruitful and mutually beneficial in a specific place at a specific time' (*Ibid.*, 2002; 213). In this respect, it becomes the obligation of local government to present the right enabling environment from which endogenous development ideas will emerge from within affected communities and to allow local officials to become more responsive to local conditions and realities. Likewise, das Gupta *et al.* (2004) are of the belief that top-down levels of authority can learn from communities and there is a pressing need to form mutually beneficial synergies between them.

Movements towards small town and community-based development are often synonymous with concepts of rural renewal or rural development, which are in many ways similar to those of urban renewal, which have now been identified in numerous smaller centres (Kinsella *et al.*, 2000; Frouws, 1998). In developed countries small towns will often focus economic revival on tourism promotion or the beautification of main streets to attract outside investments, but in developing countries, it is often a matter of pro-poor livelihood diversification in towns or within the surrounding countryside or as introduced by way of Wiggins & Proctor's (2001; 430) aforementioned quote, the growth of rural non-farm employment in the immediate vicinity of small towns (Davis, 2003; Smith *et al.*, 2001; Start, 2001a; Barrett & Reardon, 2000; CDE, 1996b). The problem however, is that there are no guaranteed solutions that will lead to local development with Satterthwaite & Tacoli (2003) adding that there has been limited previous success.

Non-farm related employment-generating activities have become more important for pro-poor locality-based development in both small towns and rural localities as residents search for alternative livelihoods (Ellis & Freeman, 2004; Dhanaseeli & Thatheyus, 2003; Spoor, 2003; Bryceson, 2002, 2000, 1999; Ashley & Maxwell, 2001; Barrett *et al.*, 2001; Csaki, 2001; Start, 2001a,b; Reardon *et al.*, 2000; van der Ploeg, 2000; Carney, 1998a). It is this move to avoid vulnerability discussed by Devereux (2001) that has spurred on a growing diversification of non-farm related livelihoods. According to Satterthwaite & Tacoli (2003; 20) non-farm activities are defined as 'services and manufacturing related to the transformation and processing of agricultural produce, as well as non-related services and manufacturing activities.'

Barrett *et al.* (2001; 315) conclude that 'diversification is the norm,' which is particularly effective in the vicinity of smaller towns and Barrett & Reardon's (2000) claim that this has become a natural and normal phenomenon. As a result, it appears as though both non-farm related activities and an acceptance of a need for a multiplicity of income generating alternatives have become firmly entrenched in development literature (Ellis & Freeman, 2004; Scott, 2002; Csaki, 2001; Mwabu & Thorbecke, 2001; Reardon *et al.*, 2000). De Haan & Zoomers (2003) identify the

importance of multiple local livelihoods to which the South African Centre for Development and Enterprise (1996) has added enterprise promotion strategies and small-scale industrial support as key themes in contemporary small town development. Combined, non-farm and off-farm activities, in addition to a pluriactivity of alternative economic activities, according to van der Ploeg (2000), represent the future for locality-based development in many marginalized localities (de Haan & Zoomers, 2003; Ashley & Maxwell, 2001; Mwabu & Thorbecke, 2001; Start, 2001a). Diversification has expanded to such an extent, that it is now estimated that non-farm income accounts for between 40% and 45% of income in some African countries and accounts for a quarter of full-time employment in others (Haggblade *et al.*, 2002; Barrett *et al.*, 2001; Barrett & Reardon, 2000).

Despite the inroads made by the diversification of non-farm activities and small town enterprises in terms of creating a number of job opportunities, they still face numerous obstacles. Notwithstanding, the theoretical arguments expounding the need for hands-on local governance and community participation, in many cases the absence or ineffectiveness of government policy is one of the main reasons why peoples are pushed into alternative livelihoods (Arghiros, 1996). Lanjouw & Lanjouw (2001; 17) continue this line of reasoning by adding, 'in most countries projects to support small-scale and rural enterprises continue to be undertaken in a general policy environment which is biased against them.' In addition, micro-enterprises are similarly faced with issues relating to access to working capital, technical constraints, insufficient skills training, poor links to market networks, environmental concerns, and competition from larger established businesses (Lanjouw, 1999; Theppaya *et al.*, 1998; FAO, 1993).

4.4.2 Rural Enterprises

Despite the preceding, small-scale enterprises continue to be important sources of pro-poor employment and catalysts, even though they may be more simplistic, for further change (Marton, 2002; Barrett & Reardon, 2000). The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) further argues that household, micro, and small enterprises are important sources of self-employment, job creation, and income generation. Many such enterprises are comprised of household or family members

including unpaid child labour (Barrett & Reardon, 2000). Women often also feature significantly in these types of businesses, especially in the absence of husbands who may have left to seek work in larger urban centres. Summarised by the IFAD (2004; v), 'non-farm enterprises promote equitable distribution of income by providing employment for women, unemployed or underemployed youth, small farmers, landless workers and poor people living in rural towns.' They are a basis for renewed market-critical activity and as Arghiros (1996; 25) advocates, 'rural industry is at one and the same time the product of differentiation and a further stimulus for it.' Now, just as CDE (1996b) has shown that there is a wide divergence in the composition of small towns, Haggblade *et al.* (2002), Davis (2001), and Lanjouw & Lanjouw (2001) also note that there is a highly visible heterogeneity amongst lower tier localities and the micro-enterprises that congregate there across the developing world. Today, this may include such lines of work as operating within the tourism sector, clothing production, dairy processing, carpentry, jewellery making, printing, brick making, blacksmithery, small-scale mining and mineral processing, oil pressing, basket weaving, pottery and ceramics, fishing nets and rope making, transportation, tools and equipment repairs, and leather working (Davis, 2003, 2001; Spoor, 2003; Haggblade *et al.*, 2002; Smith *et al.*, 2001; Lanjouw & Lanjouw, 2001; Start, 2001a; Zwick & Smith, 2001, Ellis, 2000; Reardon, 1999).

The following subsections will outline a selection of some of the different manifestations of pro-poor locality-based development within developing countries and demonstrate how some localities are looking inwardly at what is available locally to stimulate economic activity. The subsections will focus specifically on the rural enterprises of small-scale mining and traditional brick making, which merit special attention here because these are the enterprises that are discussed in Chapter Seven relating to Emalahleni.

4.4.2.1 Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining

Artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM) has been identified as an important alternative source of income for residents of marginalized communities, but it is perhaps the fact that these activities are often located in remote, inaccessible areas of similarly forgotten localities that they have, until very recently, been overlooked as

important economic contributors to national coffers and as sources of local pro-poor development potential (Andrew, 2003; Davis, 2003; Hentschel *et al.*, 2003; Hilson, 2002a, 2001; Tráore, 1994; Legge, 1990). Internationally, one of the biggest conceptual headaches however, has been defining what actually is implied by ASM. Labonne & Gilman (1999; 1) offer a very basic and simplistic summation of commonly held understandings of artisanal or informal mining:

> *Although there is no formerly recognised definition of artisanal mining, ... artisanal mining is characterised mainly by the absence or low degree of mechanisation, low safety standards, poorly trained personnel, large influx of migrant workers, low pay scale, low productivity, chronic lack of capital, illegality due to mining without concession rights, little consideration of environmental impact and unknown mineral reserves.*

According to various sources, the number of people engaged in a single artisanal mining enterprise ranges from a single person up to eight, nine or ten salaried employees, but may include many more if unpaid family members are taken into consideration (Hilson, 2002a; Dreschler, 2001; Paul *et al.*, 1997). Mining procedures are typically rudimentary and inefficient, the quality of tools is equally primitive and may include shovels, pickaxes, buckets, wheelbarrows, and donkeys, and there is a general lack of skills amongst mine labourers (Andrew-Speed *et al.*, 2002; Gueye, 2001; Zamora, 2000; World Bank, 1995; Tráore, 1994).

Today, ASM activities dot the landscape of many of the planet's least developed countries. From South America, through to Indo-China, as well as down into Africa, residents of poorer localities within individual nation-states are turning in increasing numbers to ASM as a form of work replacement and as a means of providing for household needs. Countries such as Brazil (do Nascimento, 2001), India (Chakravorty, 2001), Ghana (World Bank, 2003; Hilson, 2002c; 2001b), and China (Andrews-Speed *et al.*, 2002; Gunson & Jian, 2001) continue to feature strongly in the ASM literature. According to various sources, there are between six and thirteen million people in predominantly developing countries employed in this sector

supporting up to 100 million more family or household members (Andrew, 2003; Boers, 2003; Carnegie, 2002; Danielson & Lagos, 2001). When taken as a collective, in 1996 the United Nations (1996a) showed that ASM miners represent an approximate 20% of all jobs in the global mining industry.

Over the last two decades, it is precisely because ASM provides employment for so many in localities of developing countries that it has come to be considered an essential component of poverty reduction and diversified rural economies and has incited a recent flourishing of interest and a rush on the part of scholars, development agencies, and international governing bodies to conduct research into and analyse the outcomes of ASM (Hentschel *et al.*, 2003; Hilson, 2002a, c, 2001; Quiroga, 2002; Dreschler, 2001; Gilman, 1999; Zamora, 1999; Amavilah, 1996; Spiropoulos, 1991, Wels, 1983). This growing fascination with place-bound small-scale mining parallels the wider global 'alternative' discourse and notions of holistic, bottom-up, community-based, or socio-economic development that this thesis wishes to call upon to demonstrate a further manifestation of pro-poor locality-based development (United Nations, 2003, 1996b). Thrown into the mêlée is the now quite extensive and vocal debate on the sustainable / non-sustainable nature of informal mining that calls into question the pros and cons of issues relating to income generation, local economic development, and alternative rural livelihoods versus long-term environmental degradation, questionable health and safety standards, and concerns over child labour and land conflicts (United Nations, 2003; World Bank, 2003; de Mowbray, 2002; Hilson, 2001a). Despite this, at the Harare Seminar on *Guidelines for Development of Small and Medium Scale Mining* in 1993, representatives definitively acknowledged that the positive economic spin-offs associated with small-scale mining outweighed the negative and that it 'collectively makes important contributions to national economies, and provides economic stability to thousands ... residing in rural [localities] areas' (Hilson, 2002a; 6).

This enquiry into ASM has notable implications for globalisation / localisation theory, because in many ways, the rapidly expanding ASM industry is fuelled by and is symptomatic of much larger fluctuations in the global economy that have preceded a re-organisation of the global mining industry. In a paradoxical twist, a worldwide

reduction in demand for minerals has forced retrenched mine workers into assuming development activities associated with artisanal and small-scale mining, due to the fact that mining might be the only skill they possess, and is a viable means of providing incomes for their families (United Nations, 2003; Hilson, 2002a; Gilman, 1999). Furthermore, the United Nations, in a report to the Secretary General in 1996, declared, 'small-scale mining should be viewed and approached from the broader view of socio-economic development and poverty eradication' (United Nations, 1996b; 20).

There is no question that with an income counted in the hundreds of millions of dollars, small-scale mining has a positive impact on the economic situation of many impoverished and marginalized localities (Keita, 2001). In a modern localisation context that calls on communities to look inwardly to sustain local pro-poor development, small-scale mining represents one of the few options for local people to generate labour intensive jobs using otherwise untapped natural and economically valuable local resources. From a market-critical, socio-economic point of view, artisanal and small-scale mining represents a people-centred approach to local development that feeds into a larger global movement of socially and economically disenfranchised people becoming more proactive and self-reliant in initiating poverty-alleviating strategies of their own, within their impoverished localities (de Mowbray, 2002). Moreover, artisanal mines are usually locally owned, implying that income is retained locally, leading to increased domestic savings and improved economic empowerment within the area (Andrew, 2003; Andrews-Speed *et al.*, 2002). Artisanal and small-scale mining, on account of its ability to often act as a catalyst for economic growth for localities, has the further potential to spark additional entrepreneurial endeavours that translate into secondary entrepreneurial and commercial developments, that bring about even more employment opportunities for local residents in the equipment manufacturing, tool repair, transportation, and food service industries or the downstream products of mining (e.g. coal and clay) are used in secondary manufacturing such as brick making or ceramics (McMahon & Davidson, 2000).

4.4.2.2 Traditional Brick Making

Small-scale brick making is a second example of rural entrepreneurship that many marginalized localities are resorting to in order diversify rural economies and to sponsor pro-poor locality-based development (Smith *et al.*, 2001; Zwick & Smith, 2001; Theppaya *et al.*, 1998). An early survey of brick making by Keddie & Cleghorn (1980) into the techniques used to manufacture bricks in developing countries revealed that it is a dynamic process, which varies from one locality to the next in terms of size, output, raw materials used, sources of energy, kiln construction style, cost-effectiveness, and impacts on the environments. In 1993, the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organisation (1993) released a report entitled; *Status and Development Issues of the Brick Industry in Asia*, which provided a good general overview on brick making issues in such places as India, Indonesia, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. In these five countries alone, it is estimated that two million people are employed in the direct production of bricks, with potentially millions more working in up- and down-stream sectors such as in fuel collection, transportation, sales, and brick laying (FAO, 1993). There is also further evidence that brick making has contributed to poverty alleviation for localities within Mexico (Cook, 2001), Uganda (Zwick & Smith, 2001), Vietnam (Jensen & Peppard, 2004), and Thailand (Arghiros, 1996) where traditional brick making is estimated to be between eight and ten times more labour intensive than it is in formalised mechanised brick making factories.

As with small-scale mining, brick making is often perceived as a welcome alternative to agricultural production that represents a valuable source of income generation in peripheral and poor localities. For some it can be a secondary source of income during the off-season, but, in many cases, brick making is one of the only labour intensive employment opportunities for the poor and the landless (Cook, 2001; Smith *et al.*, 2001). The FAO (1993) explained that the artisanal brick making industry can be spurred on by backlogs in the housing industry in developing countries, whereby an increase in demand for building materials has, in turn, encouraged the establishment of numerous brick making enterprises. Again, they are frequently run as household businesses by family members using inputs that are sourced locally. There is some evidence which indicates that multiple brick making enterprises may form

associations in order to create further employment, provide bricks for social housing or communal buildings within their communities or to protect and strengthen their position within the local brick making industry (Zwick & Smith, 2001; Arghiros, 1996). Brick making conforms to pro-poor locality theory in terms of the need to harness local assets through adding additional value to natural resources such as clay deposits and wood and / or coal for fuel (Smith *et al.*, 2001).

Even though brick making does provide thousands of jobs to people living in poorer localities and represents an example of a rural enterprise, operators do face numerous obstacles, which prevent them from developing further. In addition to technical constraints, these include insufficient access to working capital; institutional constraints; difficulty in attracting and maintaining labour; energy inefficiency and quality assurance problems; competition from mechanised brick making factories, and issues relating to environmental degradation (Zwick & Smith, 2001; Blackman, 2000; Theppaya, *et al.*, 1998; Arghiros, 1996, FAO, 1993). Blackman (2000) argues that there is a real need to develop policies that are location-specific in order to help regulate these micro enterprises.

The two sections detailed above have demonstrated different means through which both pro-growth and pro-poor locality-based development are manifested in various urban and non-urban centres. It is apparent that metropolitan localities are influenced and, in turn, may influence international processes through competitive market-driven actions designed to announce their role and rank within global networks. It is also obvious, however, that most localities outside of urban agglomerations cannot and do not have such control over these same global flows, even though they must accommodate them on different levels. Risk reduction through a diversification of pro-poor strategies now appears to be the way forward for many marginal localities such as through informal mining practices and traditional brick making enterprises. The next section will turn to local economic development policies and practices in South Africa and the differing ways in which locality-based development is manifesting itself around that country.

4.5 Locality-based Development in South Africa

South African familiarity with locality-based development, in particular Local Economic Development - LED and the advanced state of its relevant policy development, has attracted considerable attention lately. The decentralist tendencies, which Helmsing (2003) have observed taking place around the world, have instigated considerable pressures for local level public sector reform and have thrown the doors open to improved avenues for participatory public governance in South Africa. In many respects the story of LED in South Africa straddles the First / Third World divide and contains instances of both market-led and market-critical development initiatives (Tomlinson, 2003; Rogerson, 2000). South Africa has since developed a substantial locality-based development research base and associated policy framework of its own with Rogerson of the University of the Witwatersrand and Nel of Rhodes University being amongst the leading academics exploring the evolution of LED, who have sought to chronicle theoretical and practical LED trends throughout South Africa (Nel, 2005a,b, 2002, 2001a,b, 1999, 1994; Rogerson, 2005a,b, 2004a,b,c, 2002a, 2000, 1996; Nel & Rogerson, 2005a,b; Nel & Binns, 2003, 2002a,b, 2001).

The following subsections will look at several aspects of locality-based development or LED in South Africa that are of particular relevance to this thesis and to this chapter. The first will examine national LED policy that has influenced both pro-growth and pro-poor variants of local development occurring in South African urban centres, small town and rural localities. The second sub-section provides an investigation of how examples of urban development in the country's largest metropolitan localities, specifically Johannesburg and Cape Town, are beginning to follow private sector-led paths to pro-growth development that are similar to those undertaken by global cities introduced earlier in this chapter. The last part within this section provides a general overview of the different, predominantly pro-poor local development strategies that have been recorded in small towns and marginalized localities around South Africa.

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4.5.1 Locality-based Development and LED Policy in South Africa

The World Bank is one such organisation that has recently turned to the LED experience of this country in attempt to determine whether lessons learnt may offer guidance to other developing countries faced with similar economic challenges (Nel, 2005c). One of the key messages from the South African context is the extent to which LED ideals and principles have become enshrined within national policy documents. Even before the African National Congress (ANC) assumed political power in 1994, the party's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) set the tone for ongoing and future pro-poor development in the country (ANC, 1994). Following the ANC's successful election, successive national governments have continued this focus, albeit, adapting it to evolving international trends, and have since produced one of the most comprehensive local economic development strategies of any country. Such commitment to addressing legacies of social and economic inequality and the subsequent expansive policy endorsements merit a brief over-view of the various key policies and funding bodies that have allowed South Africa to become a leader in constitutionally stipulated, and in some cases, nationally funded market-led and / market-critical locality-based development.

4.5.1.1 The Reconstruction and Development Programme

The RDP initiative represented a distinct break from South Africa's discriminatory past and sought to tackle the pressing issues of disenfranchisement, inequality, disempowerment, social injustice, and chronic poverty (Marais, 1998; Stewart, 1997; ANC, 1994). It introduced the concepts of people-driven development and grass roots participation (Nel, 2005c). The RDP also marked one of the first attempts to devolve decision-making authority to and increase development responsibilities at local levels, which were considered critical arenas for democratic representation. The six principles of integration and sustainability; people-driven processes; peace and security; nation building; linking reconstruction and development; and the democratisation of South Africa were identified to guide the RDP's five programmes of meeting basic needs; developing our human resources; building the economy; democratising the state and society, and implementing the RDP (ANC, 1994). Despite the best intentions with which the RDP was initiated, it was not sufficient to deal with the severity of unemployment problems plaguing South Africa and as Adelzadeh

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(1996) argued, the fact is, that such a Keynesian framework was at odds with a broader global context of neo-liberalism capital accumulation. The RDP folded in 1996 as a defined Ministerial plan of action, but the founding ideologies of civic participation and pro-poor growth have remained firmly entrenched in development planning and have since re-emerged in later LED policies.

4.5.1.2 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

In 1996, the new South African constitution established the basis for future policy planning for LED in the country enshrining many of the values originally explored in the RDP (RSA, 1996b). It distinguished the roles and responsibilities of different levels of authority and set up local governments as key independent role players in local development. According to section 153, each municipality must not only see to the administration and budgeting of localities, but they are further mandated to pursue priority planning in order to address basic needs within their constituencies and to adopt programmes of socio-economic development for the benefit of all residents. The constitution also set the tone for increasingly participatory development projects and programmes, whereby local municipalities would be obligated to involve local people and provide the means through which they could influence local decision-making processes (DPLG, 2005b; Nel, 2005a).

4.5.1.3 The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme

The launch of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme in 1996 has since largely replaced the RDP as the current economic policy used by the national government to promote national macro-economic growth, based on a macro-economic global integrationist framework (Rogerson, 2000). In a push to prove that South Africa could become an influential global player, the national government undertook many of the same structural changes that countries around the world are implementing to ward off further economic erosion (Sellars, 2000). For South Africa, this meant abandoning previously made social and welfare commitments and pursuing a minimalist agenda focusing on providing the right framework for good governance, macro-economic stability, and economic discipline (Hesse, 2000). It was intended that GEAR would be able to produce a GDP growth rate of 6% per annum which would drive a globally competitive economy and generate hundreds of thousands of jobs

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(Loots, 1998; RSA, 1996a). To a large degree, while the economy has grown, GEAR has not been able to produce the expected number of jobs and the government have been forced to look at other means of assisting depressed local economies in particular.

4.5.1.4 The White Paper on Local Government

The White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998) is a further piece of government policy that has shaped locality-based socio-economic development in South Africa. Nel & Rogerson (2005b), explains that its principal motivation was to again increase the responsibilities of local municipalities, whereby they would be required to work closely with local communities to establish strategies to enhance not only social equity but to spearhead economic growth for all of an area's residents. This form of local governance was branded 'developmental local government' and expected local elected officials to work in conjunction with local people, and to take up leadership roles in providing strategic planning and building avenues for civic representation processes, in order to help bring about an environment conducive for the emergence of employment opportunities (Nel & Rogerson, 2005a; Nel & Binns, 2001).

Amongst the envisaged outcomes of developmental local government are the provision of household infrastructure and services; the creation of liveable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas; and the promotion of local economic development (RSA, 1998). This also marked one of the first inclusions of term and idea of LED in the South African development rhetoric, which strengthened local municipalities' duties to undertake locality-based development endeavours. Finally, the White Paper further provided the groundwork for the establishment of municipal, integrated development planning and budgeting procedures, as well as the mechanisms for performance monitoring and evaluation (RSA, 1998).

4.5.1.5 The National LED Fund

The national LED Fund was launched in 1999 and ran until 2003 as part of the Department of Provincial and Local Government's strategy of pro-poor development, job creation, poverty reduction, and redistribution across the country (DPLG, 2000). The fund was intended to be responsive and supportive of local government's

individual attempts at providing locality-based development and to afford them with proactive opportunities for cooperative governance and a diversification of their local economies. An initial amount of R42 million was made available for all municipalities in the country, which could then apply for a maximum of R1.5 million, each to be used towards targeted development initiatives (MXA, 2003b). It was anticipated that this fund would help support the creation of short-term and long-term job opportunities, human resource development, partnership linkages, urban renewal, and rural development, as well as afford greater opportunities for women in development. By 2003, according to the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG, 2003), the amount committed to the LED Fund increased to R120 million per annum with 275 projects receiving funding with the goal of creating approximately 13 000 (mainly short-term) jobs.

By this time, however, critics began questioning the efficacy of the LED Fund, especially in the light of the reduced numbers of employment opportunities actually being generated by targeted initiatives (MXA, 2003b; Atkinson & Ingle, 2003). On further inspection, reports revealed that approved proposals often did not refer to the cost-effectiveness of the intended projects nor did they necessarily include details of the impacts that they would have on local economies. Feasibility studies were very rarely conducted, base-line information was often unavailable, there was a poor selection of indicators, and figures were seldom verified. In many cases, bureaucrats with limited developmental experience and less hands-on practice produced impractical proposals, often with the support of high-priced and equally detached consultants, which had little chance of surviving on the ground. There was a further disjuncture at the level of monitoring and evaluation, whereby provincial departments were mandated with the responsibility of monitoring such projects, yet they did not have any say in the way future funding was allocated (MXA, 2003b; Atkinson & Ingle, 2003). Moreover, intended beneficiaries were frequently not included in early planning stages, which compounded ownership issues and often led to the abandonment of projects. In cases where there were initial signs of project survival, Atkinson & Ingle (2003; 4) again asked at what 'cost-benefit ratios?' They added that instead of expanded business activity, there is a risk of spreading cultures of entitlement, dependency, demoralisation, and helplessness in many localities. In 2003,

in part due to these considerations, the LED Fund was suspended and later incorporated in the 2005 Municipal Infrastructure Grant.

4.5.1.6 The Municipal Systems Act

The Municipal Systems Act of 2000 is an additional government law that has direct impacts on the ways in which localities in South Africa carry out LED (RSA, 2000). It adds to the White Paper on Local Government and further roots the notion of popular participation in both local government and local development activities. Under this Act, local governments are obligated to provide the mechanisms to ensure the appropriate levels of public consultation and those, which will hold the municipality accountable for social and economic development within all communities (Nel & Rogerson, 2005a; Tomlinson, 2003). In particular, in accordance with the Municipal Systems Act (2000 page unknown), municipalities must:

- Use the resources of the municipality in the best interests of local residents.
- Provide democratic and accountable governance.
- Encourage the involvement of local residents.
- Provide municipal services to all local residents.
- Promote development in the municipality.
- Create a safe and healthy environment.

According to Nel & Rogerson (2005b), elements of pro-poor development feature strongly in this document including the need to focus on basic needs and service delivery for the most deprived segments of the population.

4.5.1.7 Emerging Draft Local Economic Development Policy

The South African Department of Provincial and Local Government is currently working towards the establishment of an all-encompassing local economic development policy document that will bring all LED strategies under one roof. A draft version released for comment in 2002 again revealed the government's intention of placing development priority on pro-poor interventions targeting job-creating strategies, rural development, and urban renewal (DPLG, 2002). Preliminary evidence

suggests that the significantly modified final strategy will seek to promote an evolved version of developmental LED and push for:

- A wider range of community-based development.
- Stronger links between wealthy and poor localities.
- Further investment in human capital.
- Expanded service delivery and infrastructural development to those most deprived areas.
- Plugging leaks in the local economy and keep money circulating locally.
- Expanded local economic activity.

This document calls for enhancing the role played by integrated development planning and the creation of LED units within municipalities to develop appropriate strategies, coordinate LED projects, monitor progress, control associated budgets, and motivate local stakeholders (DPLG, 2002).

In 2005, the first of three new envisaged LED policy documents was released (Nel, 2005a). This first document entitled, 'Policy Guidelines for Implementing Local Economic Development in South Africa, 2005' provides a 'framework' for LED largely though aligning LED to current government policies. Subsequent documents will presumably spell out defined interventions and strategies.

These policies have, collectively, been instrumental in shaping the varieties of locality-based development visible throughout South Africa today. Many of them have been adapted by elected officials and staff at LED units after careful analyses of internationally successful examples of LED, but, in turn, South African LED experience is also serving as a lesson to other countries and localities within them in their attempts to create their own unique versions of urban and rural development. A ten-year review of LED research conducted by Rogerson revealed four themes that have become visible. They include (Rogerson, 2005a):

1. LED policy and planning.
2. LED within the country's primary and secondary urban centres.

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3. LED within small towns and rural areas.

4. Thematic or sectoral investigations concerning the implementation of LED.

To complement the overview of policy and planning listed above, the ensuing subsections will sketch the different varieties of locality-based development including pro-growth LED visible first in South Africa's major urban centres and secondly pro-poor locality-based activities centred in the nation's small towns are rural areas. These descriptions are especially salient because they too will provide a contextual background for the case studies of Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Indwe, which will be introduced in up-coming chapters.

4.5.2 Global City Development in South Africa

The global city / world city research has been extremely limited in Africa and has only just reached out to African cities with van der Merwe (2004; 38) stating, 'Africa is by far the continent with the fewest world cities in any of the classifications. The six cities most often indicated in the literature are Cairo and Casablanca in the North, Lagos in the West, Nairobi in the East, and Johannesburg and Cape Town in the South.' South African cities are, by the far however, the prime localities on the African continent best equipped to sponsor the degree of cooperation that Amin & Graham (1997) emphasise is required to deal with a global paradigm of market-led economic restructuring and the need to successfully promote such global competitiveness through adopting innovative, dynamic, and creative development. Furthermore, according to Rogerson (2005a, page unknown), 'since 2000, the country's large cities have continued with a strong LED focus upon promoting competitiveness across various sectors and of re-positioning in the changing global economy.' An analysis of LED in South Africa's larger cities reveals that many of the country's more important cities have become more global in outlook and where the private sector is fostering pro-growth policies designed to enhance their international competitiveness and develop approaches that are pro-business and service based. Much of this is based on inner city rejuvenation projects, property-led investments, tourism development, and convention business (Rogerson, 2005b, 2000, 1996; CDE, 2002; Marks & Bezzoli, 2001; Maharaj & Ramballi, 1998; Tomlinson, 1994).

Johannesburg is often quoted as being South Africa's greatest chance for having a global city (van der Merwe, 2004; Taylor *et al.*, 2002; Friedmann, 1986). The 2002 declaration by the Centre for Development and Enterprise (2002; 9) that Johannesburg is the 'New York of Africa' illustrates how the city is now being viewed in relation to contemporary leading cities. It has not always received such warm welcome in the world city debate, and in the past his been relegated to a rather minor role. Johannesburg originally appeared in Friedmann's (1986) 1986 world city hypothesis, in 1999 in Beaverstock *et al.*'s (1999) roster of world cities, and again in 2003 in Taylor's (2003a) world city network. But, as emphasised by Rogerson (2005b), Johannesburg is something of a 'special case' and has become viewed as the planet's 'most isolated world city.' Johannesburg's re-insertion into the global economy is very much a post-1994 occurrence that has exposed the locality to the full forces of global competition, and, in the process, it has come to mirror the models of western post-industrial global cities. Combined with localised, decentralist trends, internal restructuring, and the decline in manufacturing importance, the development of an internationally focussed local economy has transformed Johannesburg into a tertiary, service-based economy reminiscent, albeit at a simplistic level, of Western European, North American, and Japanese post-Fordist economies. Regional and national headquarters, property-led investment, as well as the improvement of its transportation and communication have helped secure the city's position as South Africa's premier centre for decision-making and control functions This has further strengthened Johannesburg's business related sectors such as financial services, insurance, real-estate, and information technologies. Sustained macro-economic growth in both business and leisure tourism and the expansion of creative industries has seemingly cemented Johannesburg's status as an up and coming global city (Rogerson, 2004b; CDE, 2002). As such, local government officials have actively been touting Johannesburg as an aspirant world-class city in recent years (City of Johannesburg, 2002).

The City of Cape Town is often mentioned as South Africa's secondary global city, but one, which has not received as much attention in the published literature as Johannesburg (van der Merwe, 2004; Taylor *et al.*, 2002; CDE, 2002). The CDE (2002) has, however, even expressed the view that Cape Town surpasses or is at least

on equal footing as Johannesburg in terms of lifestyle, investment attraction, and smart industries. Although research has not explicitly stated that Cape Town is a global city, the city is very much active within global flows and has been making inroads in carving out a niche for itself within them. Cape Town, as with Johannesburg, is now beginning to respond to the challenge of global competition and market-led locality-based development and is 'plugging' into the global network, but it is also starting to acquire an urban landscape that is reminiscent of the world's truly global cities (Jenkins & Wilkinson, 2002). In the wake of de-industrialisation and in addition to concentrating on niche, high-value manufacturing sectors, Cape Town is also transforming into a service-based economy with a substantial clustering of financial institutions, IT firms, creative industries, such as in film and fashion, and a fast growing tourism sector that is experiencing almost exponential growth in all forms of the tourist trade including business, leisure, convention, sporting, and event-based markets (Ozinsky, 2004; Walters, 2004; Jenkins & Wilkinson, 2002). Cape Town has followed the example of contemporary global cities through the commodification of urban space and the encouragement of a lifestyle of consumption in the development of shopping centres, entertainment complexes, and leisure facilities that are marketed at a global level to attract foreign tourists (Marks & Bezzoli, 2001).

The conception of global / world cities in South Africa is marred however, in that such cities as Johannesburg and Cape Town remain spatially polarised and represent examples of highly uneven and fragmented development (Samara, 2005; Pieterse, 2004; Jenkins & Wilkinson, 2002; Marks & Bezzoli, 2001; Turok, 2001; Turok & Watson, 2001; Wilkinson, 2000; Kahn, 1996). To some degree this follows Friedmann's (1986) claim of mounting social polarisation amongst diverging interest groups within many established world cities. Metropolitan areas are increasingly being confronted with the need to balance both pro-poor and pro-growth local economic development, two seemingly conflicting challenges that many localities are struggling to reconcile in South Africa (Mail & Guardian, 2003; Tomlinson, 2003). Turok & Watson (2001; 136) note 'there is a gulf between Cape Town's impoverished townships and its affluent areas, which appears to be widening ... Development trends are tending to reinforce spatial divisions and fragmentation rather

than assist urban integration.' To help counter these trends, both Johannesburg's *Johannesburg 2030* and Cape Town's *Going Global, Working Local* or *Local Area Economic Development Framework* documents recognise and highlight the need for responsible local governance that, through the establishment of coalitions of local agents, will focus strategies on both the fostering of a sound macro-economic environment to attract foreign direct investment and provide the means through which basic needs will be afforded to the poorest groups within their populations (City of Cape Town, 2003d; City of Johannesburg, 2002; Cape Metropolitan Council, 1999).

4.5.3 Small Town Development in South Africa

As Nel (2005b) observed there is a limited pool of small town research in South Africa, which reveals that trends in South African small towns follow international patterns in terms of issues such as a wide divergence in size and composition, with their economic status varying from those of wealthier, holiday destination-type coastal towns, to declining mining centres, and commercial farming communities in addition to locally unique rural agglomerations in previous homelands. Small towns in South Africa are generally acknowledged to be centres with fewer than 50 000 inhabitants of which the Centre for Development Enterprise (1996b) estimates that there are some 500 such small towns across the country.

The plight of such secondary centres and farming towns in South Africa is symptomatic of those confronted by small towns the world over. Some small towns have been able to respond to contemporary challenges by implementing pro-poor locality-based strategies and, in the process, achieve certain degrees of sustained growth, while others face a continuous uphill battle. In a recent article in South Africa's *Sunday Tribune* (2005), it was noted that scenic small towns located within easy access of larger cities have experienced some measure of growth in the form of heightened demand for holiday homes and in terms of tele-commuters looking for quieter localities in which to work away for centralised offices. The outcomes have included more jobs in the construction industry and the increasing property values of existing homes. For other towns, due to manufacturing / mining job loss, many face an uncertain future as rising unemployment forces many of the more skilled residents to abandon their towns in search of jobs elsewhere in large urban centres, leaving

behind the unskilled, the old and the young (CDE, 1996b). Despite this form of out-migration, small towns have also experienced phases of rapid population growth as more and more usually unskilled people quit the countryside and settle in neighbouring small towns as they too look for increasingly rare opportunities for work. Dewar (1994) showed that unemployment becomes compounded by problems of over-crowding, threats of environmental collapse, and persistent poverty. In 2003, Merten (2003a) writing for the *Mail & Guardian* exposed the problem that many small towns are now struggling to provide socio-economic development and address basic service delivery and housing backlogs. She also raised the issue that cash-strapped municipalities are in debt to the tune of R22.5 billion and, in some cases, a significant portion of small towns' budgets are spent on wages for municipal employees.

The survival of South African small towns now rests on the creativity and ability of local actors to identify and adopt new economic foci, to which Dewar (1994) added that some measure of pro-poor development can be achieved by encouraging rural enterprise and small-scale manufacturing. Again, the notions of self-generated employment and the creation of small-business opportunities become vital for small towns, with considerable importance being placed on such characteristics as self-reliance, group and individual action, community participation, and entrepreneurialism. The idea of pooling local expertise, as well as focusing development on the sustainable use of local natural resources in market-critical locality-based development is particularly strong in South African small town literature (Nel, 2005b; CDE, 1996b; Dewar, 1994). Possibly the most critical statement put forth in the South African development discourse is Nel's (2005b; 263) assertion 'it is apparent that South African small towns are in desperate need of appropriate forms of local economic development.' Exactly what *the* appropriate form of pro-poor LED is has yet to be deciphered and, indeed, Kenyon *et al.*'s (2001) claim that there is no secret formula now implies that small towns across the country must now form their own interpretations of what is appropriate to their own needs, realities, and abilities.

It is within South Africa's lower tier centres and rural localities that instances of pro-poor locality-based development are becoming more apparent. It is within these contexts that, according to Nel (2005b), locality-based development has usually entailed measures to deal with chronic poverty and high levels of unemployment. However, this combined with uncertain access to financial resources and the limited capacities of local governments have made the LED challenge particularly difficult in these places. In the mid 1990s, the Eastern Cape town of Stutterheim proved to be a model of municipally led and community-based LED embodying a spirit of national and local reconciliation. LED in Stutterheim has led to the creation of numerous jobs for townspeople, improved access to public services, and enhanced the quality of life for many local residents (Nel & McQuaid, 2002; Nel, 1994). Tourism-focused development has been a further recurring theme in small town LED around the country with the coastal town of Still Bay promoting itself as a tranquil getaway far from the hustle and bustle of the city. The opening of B & Bs and other related hospitality ventures have reduced rates of unemployment in adjoining townships (Nel & Binns, 2002a). Similarly, the town of Utrecht in KwaZulu Natal is attempting to counter a loss in coal mining employment by developing and marketing a game park, which portends to encircle the entire town (Binns & Nel, 2003). There has also been evidence of a certain amount of pro-poor community-based development in the Eastern Cape with Nel (1999) indicating that NGO support LED in the town of Seymour and cooperative action on the part of residents in the rural district of Herzog have produced positive results in the past.

4.5.3.1 Artisanal Small-Scale Mining and Brick Making in South Africa

Although, not linked specifically to the LED literature, artisanal and small-scale mining has been shown to play a valuable role in local economies in selected South African localities. The activities of the country's informal miners have not appeared as prominently or as frequently within ASM research as they have in West Africa and Latin America, but estimates show that there are between 15 000 and 20 000 working in the small-scale gold, precious metals, and coal mining sectors in South Africa (Hilson, 2002a,b; Dreschler, 2001). Similar to West Africa, droughts in 1973-74 and 1984-85 in South Africa compelled many rural inhabitants to switch from agrarian production to small-scale mining to survive (Weber-Fahr et al., 2002) The

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International Institute for Environment Development, which spearheaded the Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development research into ASM in such countries as China and Ghana has also recently supported an analysis of the mining sector in South Africa (Hilson, 2002c; MEPC, 2002; Gunson & Jian, 2001). It has shed some light into the development of ASM within this country and the role that it plays within the mining industry at large. The document (MEPC, 2002; 11-12) further emphasised that the following issues should also be taken into consideration in relation to sustainable small-scale mining enterprises in disadvantaged localities in South Africa:

- Information about and access to mineral rights
- Access to finance and technology
- Consistent regulations and improved administration
- Environmental management
- Promotion of mineral beneficiation
- Minerals marketing

There has been some evidence of attempts at quantifying the varying classifications of mining operations in the country with Table 4.1 providing the delimitations, which have been set by the National Small Business Act of 1996 (RSA, 1996c). According to Scott *et al.* (1998), the term 'artisanal mining' in the South African context does not refer to the number of people engaged in such practices; rather it is the nature of the procedures themselves. Artisanal miners do not use mechanised equipments but most often are of the 'pick and shovel' variety (Scott *et al.*, 1998; 3).

Table 4.1 Classification of mining and quarrying, National Small Business Act, 1996

Category	Size or Class			
	Micro	Very Small	Small	Medium
No. of Employees	<5	<20	<50	<200
Assets (property excluded)	<R100 000	<R1.8 million	<R4.5 million	<R18 million
Annual Revenue	<R150 000	<R3 million	<R7.5 million	<R30 million

Source: RSA, 1996c; Page Unknown

A survey of 641 South African mineral producers revealed that 41% provided employment to between 10 and 19 people, indicating that small operations, both within the formal and informal sectors, comprise a significant portion of the mining industry. These, in turn, have important pro-poor spin-offs for the rural localities where many are situated (MEPC, 2002). It has also been noted that ASM usually employs local people at rates of between R15 and R50 per day, providing valuable employment opportunities in marginalized localities (Scott *et al.*, 1998; 17). Of the smallest and most informal of mining operations, many are constrained by numerous barriers including the lack of entrepreneurial and management skills, inadequate equipment, and insufficient access to finance capital. In some respects, artisanal and small-scale miners have attempted to overcome these barriers by forming cooperative associations to voice collective concerns. However, Scott *et al.* (1998) also point out that, particularly on an artisanal level, small-scale mining associations are not effective and are often prone to disagreements, jealousy, and infighting.

Research conducted into locality-based development associated with ASM has shown its ability to independently spark the emergence of secondary industries. In countries such as South Africa, where there is a relative abundance of easily accessible coal, it has been noted that it often serves as a cheap source of energy used in the light manufacturing in, for example, brick making (Weber-Fahr *et al.*, 2002). Research into community-based brick making has been limited in South Africa, but there is some evidence to suggest that it has had isolated, positive impacts on locality-based development in some rural localities. Hentschel *et al.* (2003), for example, noted that in the Ozizwenzi area of KwaZulu Natal, small-scale coal miners have begun manufacturing bricks using coal-burning kilns that are, in turn, sold locally to build homes. This again is a clear illustration of a diversification of rural livelihoods and the spreading of risk amongst a variety of income generating sources in South Africa.

The state of the brick making industry in Ozizwenzi, however, is also indicative of the challenges faced by brick makers in developing countries around the world. Hentschel *et al.* (2003) concluded:

While these facilities sustained the local community, there were adverse environmental and health and safety impacts ... the bricks were found to be of sub-standard quality and a number of fatalities occurred from buildings collapsing and people being buried alive. Other legal irregularities include the use of child labour, and neither labour relations legislation nor basic conditions of employment were observed.

Although small-scale brick makers in Ozizwenzi were able to gain assistance from the Department of Minerals and Energy to form a trust that aided them in drawing up business plans, developed appropriate skills, and acquired a certain amount of financing, many more such rural enterprises within South Africa continue to operate without any or sufficient external support (Scott *et al.*, 1998).

4.5.4 Summary of Locality-based Development in South Africa

As of yet there continues to be a distinct gulf between policy and practice in South Africa. Despite the numerous policy documents presented in the sections above, municipalities and localities around the country continue to be plagued by ongoing economic disparities, unemployment, and poverty. Evidence from Johannesburg and Cape Town suggests that locality-based developments are centred on major market-led projects related to urban renewal, service and financial sectors, and tourism but which have had insufficient impacts on the cities' poorest and in many cases have enhanced inequalities. Several of the approaches to pro-poor locality-based development have begun to appear in smaller towns in response to national policies with equally varying degrees of success. Tourism development, informal sector trading, small-business support, and service delivery have been explored with different results on job creation and poverty reduction. Small towns continue to be the locus for independent and market-critical community-based developments with rural enterprises such as informal mining and brick making forming the backdrop for locality-based development in many marginalized areas.

4.6 Conclusion

Previous sections in this chapter provided an outline of the various means by which different localities have expressed themselves within a global environment. Concepts of both pro-poor and pro-growth locality-based development vary across contexts depending on size, availability of local resources, the strength of existing skills, the presence of partnerships, and the coherence of local governance. Initial subsections looked at the notion of the global / world cities as they evolved from singularly including those which rose to the top of a hierarchy of dominant capital intensive, service-based centres of control and command, to encompass a wider variety of emerging yet equally globally focussed urban centres (Taylor, 2003a; Robinson, 2002; Sassen, 2000, 1991; Friedmann, 1986). The idea of connectivity and international competitiveness is again revisited as these global cities strive to access global flows that allegedly bring investment potential, employment opportunities, and enriched trans-national lifestyles. Arguments developed in preceding subsections made the case that ongoing programmes of market-led urban regeneration have become focal points in private sector induced, locality-based development strategies and in many cases have succeeded in luring in new businesses that are the mechanisms used for global connectivity such as in information and tele-communications, marketing, and financial services (Hutton, 2004). Additionally, earlier paragraphs have demonstrated how expansions in trendy residential quarters, entertainment districts, and leisure facilities are bringing more and more affluent professionals to the CBD and contributing to increased business and economic activity (Tallon & Bromley, 2004; Zukin, 1988). Municipal tourism promotion strategies are now highlighting resultant urban lifestyles as important drawing cards for foreign tourists wanting to experience what the city has to offer and thus spend more time and money. The spectacularisation of festivals that may once have been commonplace and the great lengths that some municipal development planners go to secure internationally prestigious sporting and cultural events are indicative of the need to be creative in competing globally for scarce development opportunities (Gotham, 2002; Carmon, 1999; Fainstein & Judd, 1999; Debord, 1994). Similarly Fenich (1995) has shown that convention tourism is a further growth industry with globally oriented cities spending considerable amounts on the construction of conference venues and attracting liberally spending delegates.

However, as this chapter has also indicated, not all localities are equally represented within global networks, nor are they equally able to foster such substantial and complex urban development initiatives. Many, while also being swept up by waves of globalisation, do not have the capacity to influence global processes to the same degree. The discussion in the chapter therefore shifted to focus on non-urban localities, particularly small towns and rural areas, and an analysis of the different forms of market-critical locality-based development that are frequently observed in such places.

This chapter has shown that a consensus in the development literature has revealed that now, more than ever, local peoples themselves need to be progressively more self-sufficient and responsible for their own pro-poor development and livelihoods activities. Popular participation and community involvement have been singled out as key ingredients in a yet unwritten recipe for sustainable development (MacIntyre, 2002; de Soto, 1989; Gooneratne & Mbilinyi, 1992). Nonetheless, small town and rural inhabitants in the most disadvantaged regions continue to eek out a living by implementing a variety of income earning activities. Discussions earlier in the chapter, as presented by Barrett & Reardon (2000) and Ellis (2000) have demonstrated the necessity of diversified and alternative strategies for many people. In these areas, pro-poor locality-based development often encompass a multiplicity of informal micro-enterprises as discussed by Davis (2003) and Arghiros (1996) that have served to improve the qualities of living for many of the world's most destitute. The two examples used to illustrate alternative approaches to locality-based development are those of artisanal and small-scale mining and traditional brick making. ASM has long been used in under-privileged and remote localities as a means of employment generation in such localities, and various authors have shown how brick making is a popular choice as a rural industry in developing countries, which often offers empowering, proactive experiences and much needed income for female-headed households in marginal areas (Jensen & Peppard, 2004; FAO, 1993).

Debates relating to LED in South Africa present an interesting case-in-point for theories and practices pertaining to both global city and small town development as

they appear in various localities across the country (Nel, 2005c; Rogerson, 2005a). This chapter has revealed that past and contemporary national policies continue to influence developmental decision-making at local levels, and have led the way in conceptualising and implementing acutely different approaches to locally relevant development in several municipalities. The RDP initiative in the earlier 1990s set the tone for local development by seeking to tackle such issues as poverty eradication and job creation (ANC, 1994). It was later joined and subsequently replaced by a series of additional strategies and legislation including the Constitution, GEAR, the White Paper on Local Government, the Municipal Systems Act, and draft Local Economic Development Policies that would intensify efforts to establish clear lines of responsibility for local level development and draft appropriate planning, budgeting, funding, monitoring, and evaluation measures (DPLG, 2002; RSA, 2000, 1998, 1996a,b).

In terms of applied market-led locality-based development practices, South Africa's largest metropolitan areas appear to be keeping to the international pattern of pursuing an agenda of global outlook and macro-economic competitiveness. Prior paragraphs have indicated that Johannesburg is largely viewed as Africa's leading candidate for global city status and that Cape Town is a secondary globalising city that has been exposed as being home to innovative partnerships, abundant smart industries, and a sophisticated urbane lifestyle that is comparable to those achieved in many traditionally leading world cities (Rogerson, 2004b; CDE, 2002; Jenkins & Wilkinson, 2002; Marks & Bezzoli, 2001).

Within the nation's secondary centres and small towns, there occurred a multitude of market-critical responses that are largely dependent on the competence of local authorities, the availability of resources, the degree of community involvement, and the resourcefulness of local peoples (Nel, 2005b). Preceding discussions included an examination of how, depending on the level of local unity, some municipalities have succeeded in initiating different tourist-related ventures or have managed to transform into becoming commuter centres for larger cities. Others have set up business advice offices to encourage the establishment of small enterprises or industries, while still others focus on the provision of public lands for community gardens or agricultural

projects. Many under-resourced municipalities, however, have been unable to sponsor extensive locality-based development initiatives and continue to struggle with basic service delivery and housing provision. In these cases local people are, for the most part, left on their own to individually or, if possible, collectively pursue alternative forms of pro-poor income generation (Merten, 2003a; Dewar, 1994).

This chapter fulfils objective number two of this thesis, because such discussions on different varieties of locality-based development will be used to provide a contextual grounding from which to compare case studies in subsequent chapters. The following chapter, which looks at Cape Town, takes the position that it is increasingly evolving into a global city that has much in common with many of the theories and practices relating to market-led and pro-growth locality-based development taking place within major urban localities. Not only is Cape Town beginning to acquire many of the physical attributes similar to those of leading global cities, such as a revamped inner core, a convention centre, and downtown residential areas, but the business community is also accessing the network of global flows and is succeeding in attracting a significant amount of foreign investment and it is currently enjoying a tourism boom. Millions of Rand are being channelled towards its economic revival and the hundreds of thousands of tourists it receives are placing Cape Town on the map of increasingly global cities.

An overview of the considerations that are influencing the evolution of small towns and rural communities around the world helps place the South African municipalities of Ndlambe and Emalahleni into an international context. They will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Six and Chapter Seven respectively. Ndlambe has followed a similar path to that of other declining small towns in that it has experienced a downturn in agriculture. Local residents have been forced to look inwardly at available resources to come up with unique ways of providing for poverty-related development and local growth. Contemporary strategies include supporting a variety of small community-based enterprises in agro-processing and in brick making, or making land available for community-based gardening projects. Finally an investigation into rural localities and the need for alternative livelihoods within the global network have important bearings on what is occurring on the ground in

Emalahleni Municipality. Persistent poverty, high unemployment, and limited municipal interventions are factors that have pushed local residents into setting up what are often unsafe, small-scale coal mining operations and environmentally unsound brick manufacturing enterprises. The micro-economy that has emerged in Indwe has allowed hundreds of local residents to find work, even if it is sporadic and not particularly high paying. It is, however, an excellent example of how one locality is mitigating global forces and local vulnerabilities and has been able to provide a significant degree of pro-poor locality-based development.

Chapter Five: Pro-growth, Locality-based Development in the City of Cape Town

5.1 Introduction

As suggested in the previous chapter, localities are becoming more accountable for, and assertive in, planning and spearheading applied locality-based development, particularly in the wake of increased global competition and a parallel decentralisation of economic decision-making (Helmsing, 2003; Begg, 1999). In recent years, South African municipalities have also adhered to this pattern of autonomous, local level development planning. Following the prescribed recommendations of various national policy documents and after the restructuring of the Cape Metropolitan area into one municipal body, local developmental decision-making in Cape Town has itself undergone significant transformation (RSA, 2000, 1998). The restructuring of local government has implied that development initiatives in Cape Town are now relying more on the expertise of municipal authorities, the proactivity of local partnerships, and the strength of local comparative advantages to ensure sustained socio-economic development for local area residents.

Cape Town has been selected as this thesis' first case study, primarily because it is often referred to as South Africa's *other* global city (van der Merwe, 2004; Taylor *et al.*, 2002; CDE, 2002). Despite Johannesburg's dominant position as a hub for financial institutions and information dissemination, the Centre for Development and Enterprise (2002) has noted that Cape Town matches or even exceeds Johannesburg in terms of its current ability to attract outside investment and support smart industries. Just as importantly, the CDE (2002) has also pointed out that Cape Town is home to standards of living (for a select few) that bring to mind those of great world cities. These considerations warrant a greater analysis of Cape Town's global competitiveness and pro-growth locality-based development. An investigation of Cape Town will therefore partially fulfil this thesis' third objective of identifying, examining, and documenting a South African example of globally competitive pro-growth locality-based development. In this case, this chapter will only focus on an analysis of large-scale, market-led development projects that have contributed primarily or directly to the economic growth currently being experienced by the City of Cape Town. Further, it has been chosen as this thesis' initial case study to provide

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an example of how one South African urban locality is beginning to emulate the pro-growth locality-based development strategies employed by key leading international cities as discussed in the previous chapter. This further implies looking more closely at the variety of top-down, investment focused, infrastructure, and tourism-related developments that are predominantly situated and concentrated in the city's CBD and that make it worthy of global city classification. Moreover, in 2001, Zolilwe Siswana (pers. comm., 2001), estimated that 80% of the city's development budget was being directed to major projects with only the remaining 20% being channelled towards community-beneficial initiatives, providing an additional incentive to focus on these larger, spatially concentrated, and pro-growth projects. While research in this locality has recently revealed that municipal departments are beginning to stress the importance of and to budget for direct pro-poor and community-oriented developments, they are still (2005) primarily being developed, or are in the preparatory stages. As a result of this, and for reasons noted in Chapter One, this chapter does not focus on citywide developments but rather presents an analysis of locality-based developments that are taking place in Cape Town's city centre, and which are purposively pro-growth in nature. Debates pertaining to bottom-up or socially responsible local development, which actively seeks to incorporate targeted communities and individuals, are reserved for and will be explored more fully in the Ndlambe and Emalahleni chapters.

The first primary section of this chapter will focus on an examination of municipal documents that have influenced contemporary development planning in Cape Town including the *Going Global, Working Local* document, the Local Area Economic Development Framework (LAED), and a selection of early Joint Marketing Initiative (JMI) draft documents, which introduced the need for global competitiveness in a number of investment and tourist-related sectors (CCT, 2003a; JMI, 2001a,b,c; CMC, 1999). Subsequent Integrated Development Plans and associated budgets have re-emphasised this need to become globally assertive, but continue to place emphasis on job creation, socio-economic development and the upgrading of informal settlements (CCT, 2005b; Mfeketo, 2005). Despite these parallel policy foci on pro-growth and pro-poor foci, the research of Samara (2005) and Turok & Watson (2001) has emphasised that developments have particularly favoured business-led ventures at the expense of poverty reducing strategies.

Upcoming sections will demonstrate how the Cape Town Partnership has become a powerful driving force behind market-led urban renewal in the city. Through ongoing contact with a staff member, Terri Carter (pers. comm., 2005, 2004, 2003), research has revealed that the Partnership has been able to encourage over R12 billion in new economic activity in the city centre and the creation of thousands of new jobs since its inception in 1999. Recent trends include increased investor confidence, improved economic activity, and now, a developing residential component to the inner city. Residential conversions represent a second focus area for this chapter as they represent the transformation of central Cape Town into a 24-hour city environment that parallels the lifestyle found in other global cities. Furthermore, the refurbishment of many under-used buildings into luxury flats and upscale hotels, including the multi-million Rand Rhodes Mandela complex have the potential to contribute to even more economic activity in the food and entertainment industries, as the growing number of locally based residents increase the demand for such services (Joyce pers. comm., 2005; Kirk pers. comm., 2005).

Sections on pro-growth development will also focus attention on the city's tourism strategies and the establishment of the Cape Town Routes Unlimited and Cape Town Tourism, which are tourist bodies put into service to promote economic development in Cape Town and the Western Cape. In a similar vein, the strength of the global business and conference tourism industry provides additional stimuli for the city to cater to foreign markets. This chapter will show how the construction of the R1 billion international convention centre represents an added symbolic step in Cape Town's urban regeneration processes, but that it too provides the impetus for job creation and economic spin-offs in the city centre based on accessing global flows of people (Schreiber pers. comm., 2005).

The research in this chapter does recognise however, that developments designed to enhance Cape Town's competitiveness have been spatially concentrated and that the benefits that they bring have been limited to select sectors and social groups. Although there appears to be a number of positive attributes associated with enhancing Cape Town's globality, poverty still exists throughout the city. It will be pointed out that these large-scale developments in the CBD have contributed to even

more accentuated spatial imbalances across the city (Turok, 2001). There additionally has been a certain amount of exclusivity with regards to the globally focussed developments in Cape Town. Despite the municipality's intentions of combining both pro-market growth and pro-poor development, much of what is taking place, either through public or private initiatives, favours Cape Town's local elite and also caters to foreign concerns, reinforcing an unequal and divergent geography (Samara, 2005; Pieterse, 2004; Turok & Watson, 2001).

An assessment of pro-growth development in Cape Town later in this chapter will partially help attain this thesis' fourth objective of identifying beneficiaries of development interventions and it reveals that the presence of urban partnerships, tourist attractions, urban lofts, global events, and a world-class convention facility have bestowed the central city with an urban landscape that now increasingly resembles, albeit on a smaller scale, major European cultural capitals. Complementing this focus, this chapter demonstrates that the number of people and the direct foreign investment that the city is attracting have benefited only a select number of people who have access to the downtown area, while the majority of the population have derived little benefit and are, in many ways, excluded from market-led developments.

The chapter finishes by tying together different arguments and shows how Cape Town is very much a reflection of the market-led locality-based development practices pursued in urban localities around the world. The fact that its recent 'rebirth' is the result of the attractiveness of its local characteristics and the ingenuity of local stakeholders in tapping into global flows shows the pre-eminence of and the necessity of having local anchors in the creation of links to a global environment.

5.1.1 The Study Area
The City of Cape Town is located on the southwestern tip of Africa and is the second largest of South Africa's metropolitan areas. Map 5.1 shows the current boundaries of the City of Cape Town and includes amongst others such previously independent municipalities / communities as Simon's Town, Hout Bay, Mitchell's Plain, Khayelitsha, Gordon's Bay, Bellville, and Atlantis.

Map 5.1 City of Cape Town

Source: Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping, 1971-2000, 3318, 3319, 3418, 3419

The first European settlement was established in present-day Cape Town in the mid 1600s and served as a refuelling station for ships laden with goods travelling along trade routes to and from the Far East. Since then, the area has had a long and vibrant history. In the 1900s and through the Apartheid era, Cape Town grew into an important manufacturing centre for South Africa. The 1990s heralded a period of mass transformations in the city with the unbanning of political parties, the release of Mandela from jail, the abolition of the Group Areas Act, the first democratic local elections, and the re-introduction of Cape Town onto the world scene. Municipal structures and systems were overhauled and increased developmental duties were ceded to the newly elected local government (City of Cape Town, 2005; Wilkinson, 2000).

Today, according to the most recent census (2001) and as is indicated in Table 5.1, the City of Cape Town has a population of just under three million people. Table 5.1 also shows that the population of Ward 56, the municipal ward in which the Cape Town city centre is located and which is the prime focus of this chapter, has decreased in size since 1996. As will be examined in upcoming sections, it is now one of the city's primary goals to implement strategies that will encourage more people to move back to the city centre and its immediate surroundings and to therefore contribute to renewed economic activity in the area. Collectively, this local population fuels South Africa's second strongest urban economy, which is growing at an average of 3.8% per annum as compared to the national average of 2.2%. This higher than average growth, however, has not been sufficient to supply all Capetonians with job opportunities, and, again based on these 2001 estimates, since 1996, official unemployment has risen from 19.6% to 29.2% in Cape Town. In that same period, official unemployment levels in the city centre rose from 9.2% to 11.3%. Although there have been significant increases in the number of people finding work in the social services, financial sectors, and in the wholesale and retail sectors, these have not been enough to provide work for metropolitan Cape Town's growing population and those affected by manufacturing job losses visible in Figure 5.1. This Figure also denotes that unemployment and poverty is compounded by dependency ratios resulting from substantial proportions of local residents who are either economically inactive, who earn less than R800 per month, or who do not have a monthly individual income at all (Demarcation Board, 2003a).

Table 5.1 2001 Census statistics for the Western Cape, Cape Town, and the CBD

POPULATION					
	Western Cape	Cape Town		CBD	
	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
African	1 207 429	644 229	916 520	3693	3283
Coloured	2 438 976	1 240 033	1 392 656	15 330	134 59
Indian	45 030	37 924	41 490	1956	1397
White	832 901	543 696	542 580	11 301	8967
Total Population	4 524 336	2 563 612	2 893 246	35 427	27 105

LABOUR FORCE										
	Western Cape		Cape Town				CBD			
	2001		1996		2001		% ↑↓	1996		2001		% ↑↓
Employed	1 489 722	73.9 %	904 471	80.4%	939 440	70.8 %	11.9 ↓	14 353	90.8%	11 388	88.7%	2.3 ↓
Unemployed	526 995	26.1%	219 842	19.6%	386 781	29.2%	48.9 ↑	1446	9.2%	1449	11.3%	22.8 ↑
Total Labour Force	2 016 717		1 124 313		1 326 221		18.0 ↑	15 799		12 837		18.7 ↓

Source: Demarcation Board, 2003a

Figure 5.1 2001 Census statistics for the Western Cape, Cape Town, and the CBD

PEOPLE EMPLOYED PER INDUSTRIAL SECTOR IN CAPE TOWN: 1996 & 2001

INDIVIDUAL MONTHLY INCOME: CAPE TOWN

Source: Demarcation Board, 2003a

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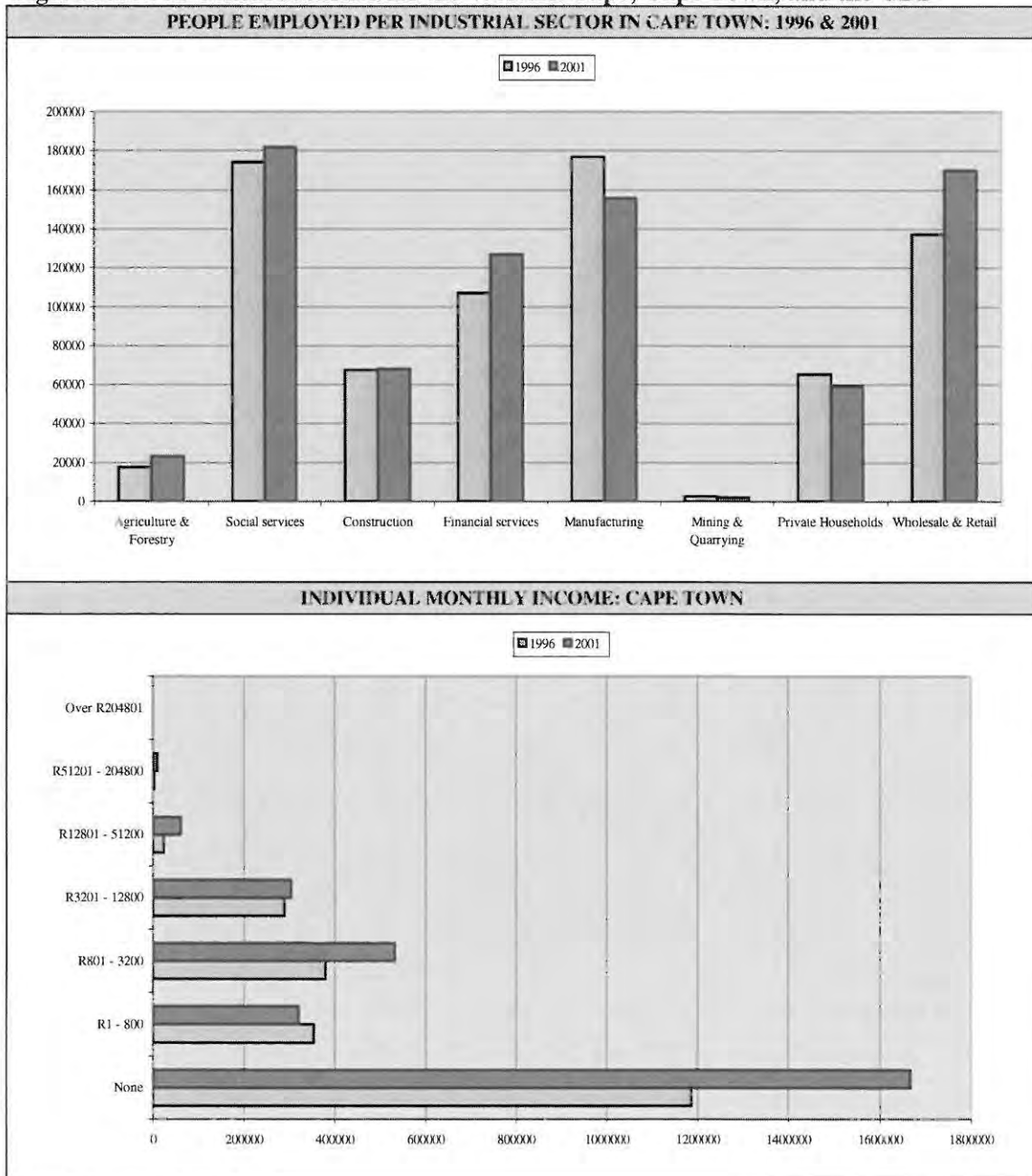
5.2 Locality-based Development Policy and Planning in Cape Town

In recent years, development planners in Cape Town have devised a series of sophisticated development policy documents that continuously try to direct economic growth and poverty alleviation interventions throughout the city. They acknowledge the need to remain abreast of changes occurring in the world economy but also, importantly, stress the need to cater for the legacies of Apartheid. However, despite this recognition, having an appropriately formulated policy has not guaranteed that both goals of pro-poor and pro-growth development has been attained, and indeed in the last five years the private sector has assumed a lead in developmental outcomes. In many cases, the city's multifaceted, socially conscious development policies have yet to be applied. Nonetheless, the city is taking cognisance of this issue and is now harking back to policies that target the poorest sections of the population, the more important of which are outlined in the following subsections.

5.2.1 The Going Global, Working Local Document

Much of the current development discourse coming out of departmental offices in Cape Town stems from the *Going Global, Working Local* document produced by the then economic and social development directorate of the former Cape Metropolitan Council in 1999 (CMC, 1999). This working paper provides the basis, or rather a comprehensive framework from which subsequent development strategy and targets for the Cape Town region continue to flow. It has become a guide in recent years for economic development practitioners to refer to as they seek to align their activities with the overall vision of creating a growing, vibrant economy. The founding principle or the 'Golden Thread' that weaves its way through this document is the understanding that sustainable economic development of any kind will only be accomplished by simultaneously adhering to a policy of global competitiveness and poverty reduction. On one hand, there is the recognition that global aggressiveness has been the path towards urban growth for many global cities and that Cape Town runs the risk of falling behind in the global race if it does not strive to become more competitive. On the other hand, however, South Africa's socio-political and economic inequalities have left a need to contend with the pressing issues of social exclusion, unemployment, and widespread deprivation.

Table 5.2 City of Cape Town: Global competitiveness framework - priority LED action plans

Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:
Investing in people	Ensuring world class infrastructure & investment areas	Ensuring world class local government services	Facilitating cluster / sector development	Facilitating world class marketing
Aim:	**Aim:**	**Aim:**	**Aim:**	**Aim:**
To improve productivity & ability to work with new technology & promote life-long learning	To enable efficient local & int'l economic transactions with quality infrastructure	To provide cost effective efficient local government that ensures a supportive business environment	To promote development of competitive sectors	To promote the city as a destination for domestic and international business & leisure travel
Checklist of Actions:	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**
Promote basic education and literacy Promote training for industry Facilitate re-skilling of workers Implement human resource government planning	Ensure dev of world class major facilities Boost competitive communication & trans infrastructure Ensure appropriate management of environmental resources	Implement continuous improvement programmes Implement sound business practices	Promote continuous improvement programmes Provide support for sectors in transition Provide support for SMMEs Support human resource development	Implement a city investment & promotion strategy Implement a city major events strategy Implement a city tourism promotion strategy
Local Government Priority Actions:	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**
Develop & implement human resource dev strategy, including adult basic education & training in according with relevant acts Require that local gov suppliers actively support employee training & skills dev Facilitate linkage between industry & educational institutions Lobby for maximum resources for quality primary education & health services Foster a culture of life-long learning	Prepare and implement a city public transport plan to address the mobility requirements Promote the competitive dev & expansion of the Cape Town Port Actively participate in the future dev of the Cape Town International Airport Facilitate the construction of an International Convention Centre Explore and promote provision of fibre optics networks Promote safety by implementing city-wide crime reduction initiatives Establish a partnership forum in each CBD to facilitate improved management Dev a city Integrated Environmental Action Plan	Implement entrepreneurial local government business practices Develop, implement, and monitor local government alternative service delivery strategy Continue the development of the financial framework Review and revise by-laws regulations and procedures that obstruct sound and efficient business development and streamline decision making Ensure local government service characterized by a culture of excellence, customer service, and code of ethical standards Implement city general valuation	Develop and disseminate strategic info on priority sectors Facilitate linkages between industry and training institutions Provide info on economic trends & skills training requirements of the economy Ensure local gov is informed on provincial and national sector support programmes Provide start-up funding for selected priority sector support initiatives Provide support for selected sectors in transition Facilitate linkages between SMMEs and key sectors of the economy Publicise and promote ISO 9000 and the concept of quality standards	Continue to support investment and trade promotion through funding of WESGRO Develop and implement a major events strategy for the city Support high-impact major events as port of the city major events strategy Promote tourism as the city' number one growth sector through on-going funding and the implementation of a tourism dev strategy Facilitate establishment of a convention bureau Review and ensure relevant working agreements with other cities Disseminate info on investment / trade incentives Ensure linked websites between government, WESGRO and Cape Metropolitan Tourism

Source: Cape Metropolitan Council, 1999; 22 & 25.

Table 5.3 City of Cape Town: Poverty reduction framework - priority LED action plans

Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:
Ensuring a minimum social safety net	Providing efficient basic infrastructure and services	Improving spatial integration of the city and environmental quality for the poor	Promoting job creation and economic development	Supporting community and social development
Aim:	**Aim:**	**Aim:**	**Aim:**	**Aim:**
To ensure that the most vulnerable receive essential support	To ensure access to basic infrastructure & services which improve quality of life & support economic activities of the poor	To develop sustainable supportive living environments for the poor	To support the dev of economic opportunities & the ability of the poor to access these opportunities	To build on the positive initiatives of the poor in order to promote human development & self-reliance, maximize use of resources
Checklist of Actions:	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**
Facilitate access to welfare subsidies for all who qualify Ensure essential services are linked to life line tariffs	Promote access to affordable basic household needs & services Promote access to essential social services Facilitate provision of economic infrastructure including telecommunications in poor areas and affordable public transport	Promote sustainable access to economic, social & recreational opportunities Facilitate the creation of safe physical environments Support the use of public transport that serves the needs of the poor Support projects in geographic areas of special vulnerability Ensure disaster mitigation through risk reduction	Support human resource dev, i.e. skills training & affirmative action programmes Support provision of economic infrastructure targeted at informal SMMEs Facilitate removal of regulatory barriers & constraints	Support a city crime reduction strategy Support projects for vulnerable groups Support social networks of the poor Support participatory governance & social tolerance Implement preventative health care programmes Facilitate the practice of life long learning
Local Government Priority Actions:	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**
Facilitate public access to information on national & provincial welfare programmes through municipal libraries	Develop, implement, & monitor local gov minimum household service delivery Facilitate the formulation of city housing strategy Promote safety by implementing city-wide crime reduction initiatives Provide funding for economic infrastructure through community-base job creation & SMME support Prepare & implement a public transport plan Develop municipal libraries to serve as community info centres	Develop & implement integrated environ management strategy plan Promote partnerships with communities Promote community safety by implementing crime reduction strategies Prepare & implement a city public transport system Develop & implement risk reduction programmes in vulnerable areas Develop new emerging tourism attractions	Fund & monitor selected SMME support programmes Resource & monitor selected SMME projects Fund selected community-based tourism dev projects Implement & monitor SMME friendly local gov procurement policy & procedures Ensure community-based projects focus on vulnerable groups Implement a dev strategy in support of tourism & related industries	Promote community safety & city-wide crime reduction initiatives Facilitate the city local gov elections Clarify local gov role in social dev Explore & support establishment of community dev corporations as non-profit organisations Facilitate dev of community facilities & events which support social networks Lobby for maximum resources for quality primary health services

Sources: Cape Metropolitan Council, 1999: 23 & 26

Tables 5.2 and 5.3, which are taken directly from the *Going Global, Working Local* document, show Cape Town's earlier vision, strategic plans of action, and objectives for undertaking both globally sound and locally responsible local development. Such aims as ensuring world class infrastructural development, local governance, sectoral support, and place marketing were designed to give Cape Town a competitive edge in numerous markets, such as the international tourism and convention business trade. Conversely, the city's poverty reduction formula of ensuring a basic social safety net, providing public services, promoting job creation, and supporting community and social development were designed to uplift the city's poorer neighbourhoods.

5.2.2 The Joint Marketing Initiative

Some of the earlier strategies for strengthening the city's global competitiveness were enshrined in the Joint Marketing Initiative (JMI), which was established in 2001 by the Cape Town Unicity and the government of the Western Cape. The JMI was an attempt to create a common vision for the city and to attract international attention and thus investment to Cape Town and surrounding areas. The five focal areas of tourism, trade promotion, investment attraction, major events, and the film industry were highlighted as key niche sectors in which the city could internationally compete and potentially excel. Public / private partnerships and the construction of world-class facilities were actively encouraged by the municipality to drive the economy, brand 'Cape Town' in the minds of the global economic community, and to market the locality as a premier leisure and business destination (JMI 2002a,b,c, 2001e). Specific draft documents on each of these sectors of the economy were released emphasising various visions including:

> *To be ranked by global players as the prime investment location*
> *in Africa, and a leading location in the Southern hemisphere*
> (JMI, 2001a; 2).

> *By the year 2010, Cape Town and the Western Cape should be*
> *recognised as a unique, world-class events destination delivering*
> *real economic and social value to all citizen through the hosting*
> *of events* (JMI, 2001b; 3).

By 2010 the Western Cape will be among the top 10 long-haul
destinations in the world, the leading destination in South Africa
and a major economic stimulus and job creator (JMI, 2001c; 2).

Create about 197, 500 new export related jobs or an average of
22, 000 per year (JMI, 2001d; 12).

A number of what were then called Special Purpose Vehicles (SPVs) were put in place to drive these initiatives, including Convenco, which was to look into the feasibility of building an international-standard convention centre. They also included the Destination Marketing Organisation (DMO), which later transformed into Cape Town Routes Unlimited. The municipality further supported the establishment of the Cape Town Partnership and the Central Improvement District (CID) in the central core. Although the JMI has since been renamed and restructured, and many of the original SPVs have undergone considerable transformations, the idea of local partnerships still remains a chief focus today throughout municipal development planning. Future sections will demonstrate how these processes, which the JMI process initiated, have further influenced pro-growth local development in Cape Town.

It is important to point out, however, poverty reduction and unemployment are still as pressing issues as they were in 1999 when these guidelines were formulated and since the SPVs were created. It is true that becoming more globally competitive has created considerable jobs, but many of these are spatially concentrated and have done little to reduce the overall picture of poverty within the city. What is becoming apparent is a breaking down of this Golden Thread, whereby Cape Town's global competitiveness is *not* producing the desired results, or at least not on the intended magnitude, to put a dent into the levels of unemployment and discrepancies faced citywide.

5.2.3 The Local Area Economic Development Framework

In 2003, the municipality released the Local Area Economic Development Framework (LAED). This policy recognized the current dilemma of ensuring that development in the city required the encouragement of both economic growth and poverty reduction, but also acknowledged that competing strategies had yielded

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lopsided results (CCT, 2003d). Although previous policies, which encouraged local business growth, inward investment, and cluster development, had provided a significant number of indirect benefits to Cape Town's poorest, these initiatives were not enough. As a result, according to Parnell *et al.* (2005), this new LAED plan called for a shift in developmental thinking in order to achieve an integration of both market-led and market-critical developments throughout the city. The LAED framework therefore has sought targeted solutions or sub-metropolitan strategies that would reach all parts of the city in terms of specific infrastructural developments and priority economic interventions. It also attempted to link the council and council members directly to priority areas by means of hands-on planning and ongoing information evaluation procedures (CCT, 2003d).

5.3 The IDP Process

This need to juggle both growth and poverty has also filtered into Cape Town's Integrated Development Plan, the contemporary document that guides the city's applied development strategies (CCT, 2005b). As with the *Going Global, Working Local* document and the LAED Framework, the IDP provides a comprehensive guideline that recognises the city's dual responsibilities for global, as well as local action in pursuing sustainable development strategies. It further acknowledges that much has changed for the better in the metropolitan area including the extension of local democracy and basic services, but that issues of violent crime, rising unemployment and urban decay are accelerating at a rate faster than many of the positive changes that have occurred. Social and spatial polarisation has further been identified in the city's most recent IDP as posing the greatest dangers for future socio-economic development (CCT, 2005b, 2004a). It is again within the IDP process where the ideas of targeting specific projects or programmes, which focus on the most under-privileged communities, are emphasised.

Recent IDP reviews and a Mayoral Listening Campaign have yielded a number of public comments and concerns that are now shaping locality-based development planning including the provision of housing, job creation, skills development, addressing crime, supporting community-based projects, constructing and maintaining community halls and recreational facilities, improving health facilities, and catering for youth development programmes (CCT, 2005b, 2004a). Cape Town's revised IDP

keeps and spells out many of the original values influencing its vision including its dedication to establishing:

> *A dignified city that is tolerant, ... an accessible city that extends the benefits of urban society to all, ... a safe and caring city, ... and a prosperous city known for its ability to compete globally and its commitment to tackling the challenges facing South Africa* (CCT, 2005b; 15).

It is with this vision for a better future in mind, for the most under-privileged that the most current (2005) Integrated Development Plan has identified five strategic themes designed to enhance development and service delivery within the metropolitan area. They include integrated human settlements; economic growth and job creation; building strong communities; access and mobility; and equitable and effective service delivery. Figure 5.2 illustrates these key priority focus areas. If one were to compare them to the ten key strategic priority actions of the *Going Global, Working Local* document, it would be possible to see that development planning is now purposely targeting marginalized areas of the city (CMC, 1999). Within these five priority focus areas, and in line with the earlier municipal LAED framework, the IDP has identified a variety of flagship programmes designed to help promote targeted pro-poor development within the municipality and to improve the quality of living for local residents. These programmes are listed in Table 5.4 The latest municipal budgets have also come to reflect the goal of raising standards of living by diverting more funds to housing, cutting the price of municipal services, providing a certain amount of water and electricity free of charge, and cleaning up public spaces. For the 2003 / 2004 budget year, over R10 billion was set aside for poverty relief projects (van Gass, 2003; van Zilla, 2003). This year (2005), the city's operating budget increased to R14 billion (Mfeketo, 2005).

Notwithstanding this contemporary move towards targeted pro-poor locality-based development and the allocation of funds to pay for them, many of these flagship initiatives are still in the planning stages and have yet to be put into action and / or are such large, spatially dispersed undertakings that they are muted relative to the sheer size of development needed in Cape Town. What is apparent is that they are also

Figure 5.2 Priority focus areas for the City of Cape Town: 2005 / 2006
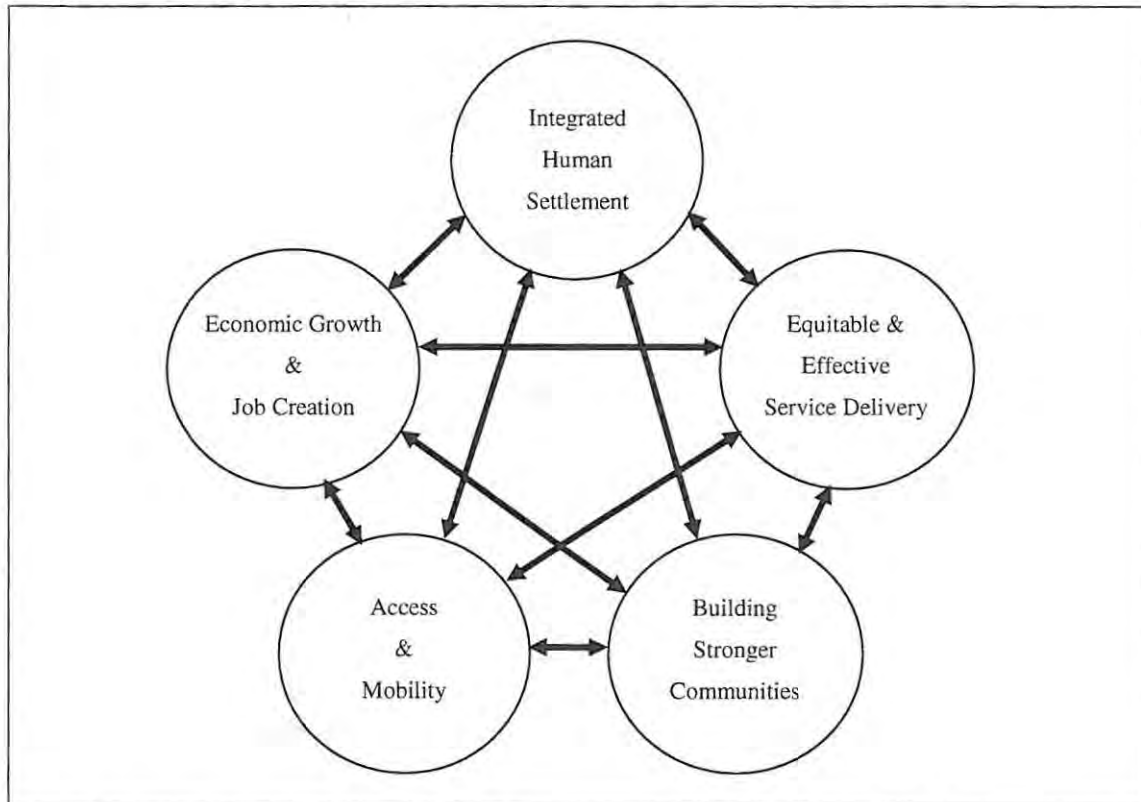
Source: Adapted from City of Cape Town, 2005b.

Table 5.4 Flagship programmes as identified by Cape Town's 2005 – 2006 IDP

Programme	Features
Urban Renewal Programme (Khayelitsha & Mitchells Plain)	▪ Infrastructural development ▪ Business and retail development
Informal Settlement Upgrading	▪ Water, sanitation, and refuse collection
N2 Gateway Initiative	▪ Upgrading of living conditions ▪ New economic opportunities
Expanded Public Works	▪ Employment creation ▪ Skills building
Gender Equity	▪ Improved quality of life for women ▪ Capacity building
Displaced Children Support	▪ Family reunifications ▪ Social crime prevention programmes
Extending HIV / AIDS Treatments	▪ Anti-retroviral drugs ▪ Local clinic support
2010 Soccer World Cup	▪ Integrated management ▪ Improved transport nodes

Source: City of Cape Town, 2005b

being dwarfed by the market-led SPV interventions that were devised by earlier strategies, which are more spatially concentrated in the CBD and thus more visible. This chapter now turns to the product of these major projects and the key features of locality-based development that have helped Cape Town transform into a globalising city.

5.4 Globally focussed, Partnership facilitated, Locality-based Development

The following subsections will outline in greater detail how since 1994 Cape Town's central business district initially suffered a considerable level of capital and business flight and was in the precarious position of no longer being the primary centre for locality-based economic development within the city, let alone being an asset in promoting the city's image globally. Strategies of urban regeneration discussed in Chapter Four, which some of the world's major cities have implemented and which have heightened their global competitiveness, have now generated comparable improvements in Cape Town's CBD. The Cape Town City Partnership, which was successfully established to deal with issues of urban decay, and which has since served as one of the catalysts catapulting Cape Town onto the global stage, will now be detailed. Map 5.2 shows the Cape Town city centre where the majority of field research was conducted and where a significant proportion of pro-growth development are situated.

5.4.1 The Cape Town Partnership

According to Southworth (2003), the practice of urban regeneration is only now beginning to become part of mainstream development initiatives within South African cities. The Cape Town Partnership is a classic example of an inner city private public partnership that has sought to promote urban renewal and which follows similar models and patterns of local development experienced in other influential cities around the globe (Ha, 2004; Hutton, 2004; Carlson & Taylor, 2003; Carmon, 1999). It provides an excellent case in point of a locality that is increasingly striving to rectify issues relating to retarded local economic development based on a series of moves that have now opened the city centre to increased opportunities for domestic, as well as global investment.

Map 5.2 Cape Town City Centre
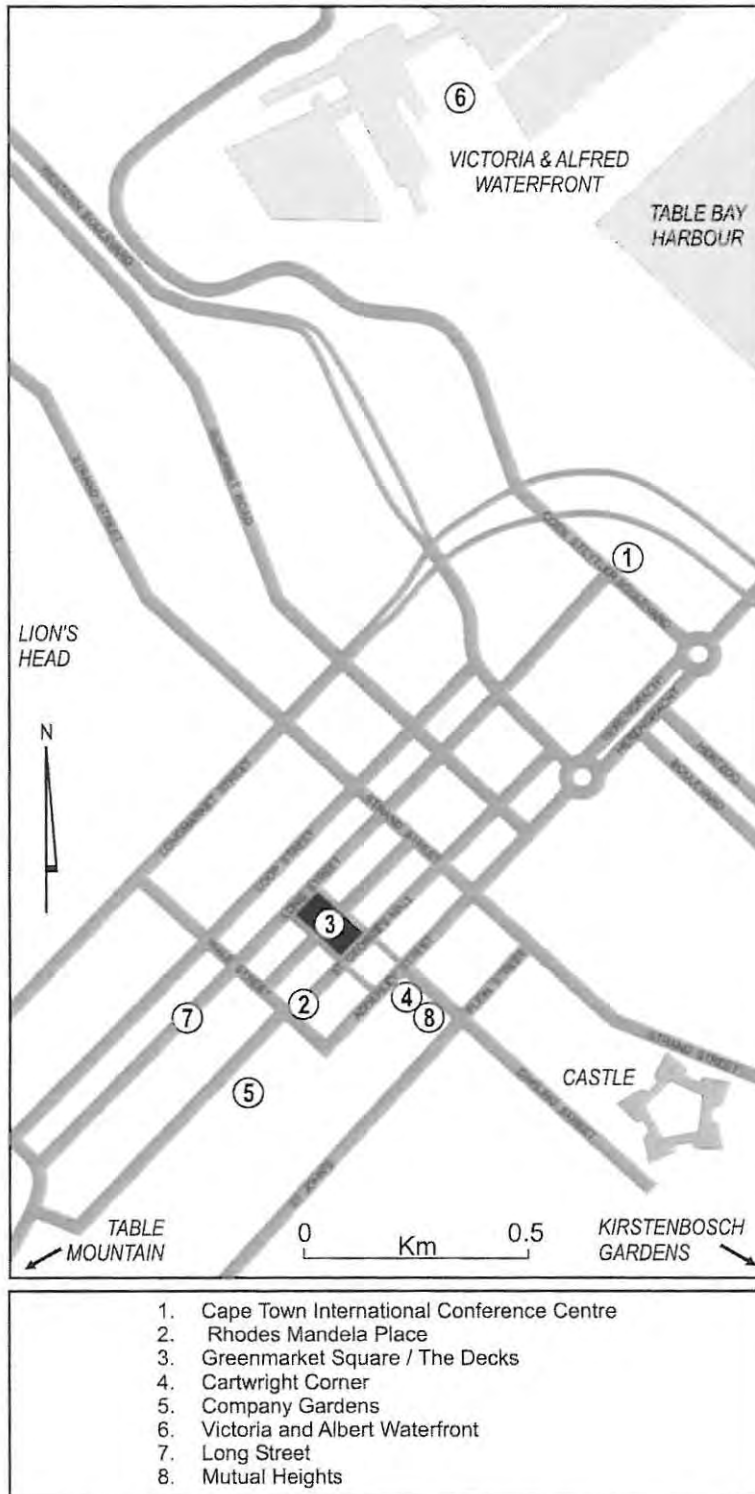
Source: Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping, 1998, 3318 CD

In the 1980s and in the early 1990s, according to Martin Rippon (pers. comm., 2004), general manager of Rand Merchant Bank Properties, Cape Town's central business district was an economically sound locality with strong and profitable businesses, high levels of business activity, it was a centre for retail shopping, as well as having a vibrant and fashionable social scene for after-work gatherings. Following the democratic transition throughout South Africa, the removal of the Group Areas Act and the subsequent *Africanisation* of Cape Town's CBD, many businesses altogether left the area from the mid-1990s, until recently, for perceived better locations in the surrounding suburbs (Visser, 2002; Turok, 2001; Beavon, 2000; Bremner, 2000; CBN, 1998). The downtown area soon became dotted by empty office buildings and retail space owned by banks and other financial institutions that seriously weakened local property markets (Liebman pers. comm., 2004; Rippon pers. comm., 2004). The CBD became a place of retail vacancies, stagnant economic activity, decreased profitability, and was void of social life after nightfall. Increased security issues and the general decay of the centre was evident in mounting acts of criminality and the dirty, garbage-littered image that greeted the remaining people as they arrived for work in the morning, which, in turn, provided further incentives for businesses to relocate to other parts of the city (CBN, 1998).

Property and business owners still located in the CBD realised that they would have to join forces in an attempt to stop the downward economic spiral and to try to breathe new life into the city. The private sector approached the municipality, and in June 1999, this relationship was institutionalised in the form of a Section 21 (non-profit) Company to be known as the Cape Town Partnership, hereafter referred to as the Partnership (Partnership, 2004). The contemporary challenge for the Partnership is embodied in its mission statement that points to the broad range of areas that need to be addressed in the city centre. In particular, the Cape Town Partnership (2003; 1) now aims to:

> *Facilitate and promote partnership-based management solutions*
> *in order to revitalise the Cape Town central city by developing,*
> *managing and promoting it as a leading centre for commercial,*
> *residential, cultural, entertainment, education, tourism and*
> *leisure activities.*

Amongst the key functions of the Partnership is to work closely with various government departments in order to obtain favourable buy-in for their activities, to lobby policy-makers, to leverage funds, and to influence decision-making that affects the central city. In particular, the Partnership's annual report (2004) lists its aims as being:

- Mobilising the public and private sectors and other stakeholders around common development objectives
- Providing expertise to establish the Central City as the productive heart of the Cape Town city-region
- Co-ordinating and facilitating development solutions
- Guiding decision-making and directing resources into solving the economic and social challenges facing the Central City

The composition of its board of directors is reminiscent of the growth coalitions found in multiple cities around the world, where both public and private interests have banded together for the benefit of their cities (Ha, 2004; Roberts & Sykes, 2000; Carmon, 1999). This partnership comprises local elected officials, representatives of the tourism sector, members of property owners' associations and the Cape Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as well as representatives from the city's heritage trust. While politicians were eager to deal with the politically sensitive issue of a degenerating city, property owners sought to protect their inner city investments, and business owners were keen to increase business in the area. The Partnership was quick to identify areas where it believed it could contribute; particularly in enhancing the liveability, attractiveness, and cleanliness of the city centre. Their goals included:

- Marketing and promoting the central city as the heart of a world-class city
- Studying and analysing international success stories on urban renewal and extracting key elements suitable to the Cape Town central city context
- Improving the environment by ensuring that the central city is safe, clean, and attractive and able to serve the needs of all its users
- Developing and promoting tourism and leisure activities in the central city
- Facilitating economic growth, business investment, and development

- Improving accessibility by supporting investment in public infrastructure and transport
- Participating in the creation of a strategic plan and urban renewal initiatives
- Managing non-core key areas of urban management.

(Partnership, 2004)

Transforming and improving the heart of Cape Town was seen as the first step in developing into a global city by local business owners who were keen to become involved in the process. In November of 2000, the Partnership established a City Improvement District (CID) in response to public hearings, where these business owners expressed the need to deal with issues of 'crime and grime' in the CBD. The CID, which is itself a Section 21 Company, is directly responsible to the Partnership and is primarily tasked to enhance security and improve the cleanliness of Cape Town's inner city.

Terri Carter, now a project manager with the Partnership, explained how one of the first acts of the Partnership was the establishment of the Service Level Agreement, a contract between the Partnership and the local government (Carter; 2005, 2004, 2003). This agreement offered the area's business owners the opportunity to provide additional top-up services that would complement those presently provided by the municipality, but, which had not been sufficient to deal with the problems of urban decay in the downtown core (CCT, 2000). Rippon (pers. comm., 2004) who is now on the Partnership's board of directors, added that it was necessary to obtain 51% of property owners' votes within the affected area and have them agree to pay levies of 9.5% on their property taxes, in order to secure a mandate and the funds required to initiate urban renewal projects in the CID. A majority vote was reached, and as Liebman (pers. comm., 2004), of Investec Properties and member of the CID Board of Directors further pointed out that these levies, now collected from area businesses, are used in addition to existing municipal funds received to improve local standards of cleanliness and security. These levies are used as top-off funding in the provision of additional services in the CID in combination with existing municipal services. In exchange for providing this complementary service, the municipality must agree to maintain certain guaranteed standards. For example, if the CID wants more frequent garbage removal or washing of street pavements than is provided by the municipality,

it must pay for such services from its own funds. A full list of these services is available in Annexe 5.

According to both Rippon (pers. comm., 2004) and Carter (pers. comm., 2004, 2003), solving the issue of crime in the city centre was, by far, the most pressing matter because it had contributed to negative perceptions of the area as being a no-go zone and a personal safety risk. Part of the CID's response included putting 128 additional security personnel on the street in the form of foot or community patrol officers, horse-mounted units, and patrol vehicles. In addition, a security camera system was installed. There has also been substantial effort on the part of the CID at rehabilitating street children, many of whom had previously been perceived as responsible for petty crime (CID; 2003a). In addition, the CID has contracted private cleaning companies to provide maintenance services as part of their top-off commitments in the areas of street sweeping, rubbish removal, hosing of streets and pavements, maintaining roads and footways, removing graffiti, illegal bills and expired posters. This has helped improve the image of the CBD as being a physically and visibly pleasing environment to visit and shop in. In 2003, the CID was able to remove an additional 634 310 kg of refuse from the city centre (CID, 2003; Powell, 2003b).

Although the CID's prime duties include providing private policing and cleaning services, a small portion of the budget is spent on assisting the Partnership in the promotion and marketing of the city, which falls into their vision of attracting more people downtown, giving them something to do there, and keeping them entertained, thus spending more money and in the process triggering urban renewal through business investment (Liebman pers. comm., 2004; Rippon pers. comm., 2004). The establishment of the CID also marked the beginning of a move towards place promotion and the changing of the mindsets of people regarding coming downtown. In the recent years, the Partnership and the CID have been instrumental in organising the Chilli Fiesta, which is a festival targeting chilli and jalapeno pepper lovers that attracted over 3000 people in 2003; the 'Christmas in Town' programme, which aims to bring holiday shoppers to the inner city; and the North Sea Jazz Festival, which offers free concerts in city squares. Other activities consist of seasonal promotions, a coffee route, lunchtime entertainment for office workers, restaurant guides, and

newsletters advertising what is on offer in the central business district (Carter pers. comm., 2004, 2003).

According to Carter (pers. comm., 2004), 2002 / 2003 was a defining year for both the Partnership and for the CID. A. Smith (2003) writing for *The Saturday Argus* believes that due to the combined efforts within the inner city the economy of the area quickly began recovering and the previously held negative popular perceptions associated with the CBD started changing. By three-quarters of the way through 2002, R750 million worth of new investment had occurred or was taking place in the city centre. Out of the total amount of investments generated in the inner city between the establishment of the Partnership in 1999 and 2002, it was believed that almost a third was as a direct result of the activities undertaken by the Partnership within the CID. In the same time period, vacant retail space had dropped by 25% and only one vacancy was listed on the newly revitalised Long Street by 2002 (Bamford, 2002a; Smith, 2002b). By the end of 2002, Farr (2002a) reported that crime in the CBD had reduced by more than 40%, while in a recent interview Carter (pers. comm., 2005), admitted that all but petty crime has disappeared. In 2003 the R1 billion per annum investment target for that year was exceeded early in the year and by mid-year R3 billion in investment had been secured for the downtown area, 29 000 direct construction jobs had been generated, and almost double that amount created through indirect spin-off activities (Partnership, 2003; Powell, 2003b; Smith 2003a). By 2004, the Partnership had secured R12.5 billion of direct investment in the city centre since its inauguration in 1999 (Carter pers. comm., 2005; Johns, 2004b). The success of the central business district CID has further encouraged the additional development of improvement districts in Green Point, Sea Point and the Oranje-Kloof area, which the Partnership also helps coordinate. There is even talk of establishing CIDs in the Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plains, Woodstock and Athlone areas to deal with similar issues of urban renewal and local economic development (Ntabazalila, 2002a).

Thanks to the efforts the CID has put into securing and cleaning the CBD, and its combined efforts with the Partnership in marketing and promotion, there has been a turn-around in the economic health of the central city. For all intents and purposes, it appears as though the cancer, which was reported in the late 1990s in Cape Town, is in remission and the city is showing considerable signs of rebirth and economic

growth. Property vacancies are down and investor confidence is up sparking a renewed wave of business growth and fresh interest in retail trading in the city centre.

Now that the Partnership and CID have largely tackled some of the auxiliary manifestations that are the by-products of urban decay, they are now turning to larger projects designed to provide for an even greater level of urban renewal within Cape Town. The Partnership has entered into further relationships with the City of Cape Town to create a special Action Task Team to focus on a range of economic and social issues in the Grand Parade / Castle of Good Hope area, the train and bus station, and the Company Gardens districts, which have fallen into disrepair and which require considerable upgrades (Johns, 2004a; Le May, 2003). The Partnership will focus on encouraging the renovation of vacant and rundown buildings, intensify street cleaning efforts, and improve the quality of public spaces (A. Smith, 2003). The Partnership further proposes to transform the area known as the East City into the E-City by encouraging many of the city's businesses, that employ 15 000 people in the information and communications technology sectors, to relocate there and in the process transform the area into the type of 'smart city' that Hutton (2004) has shown has benefited numerous major, globally recognisable cities. There are plans to retrofit buildings in this district with the necessary Internet and fibre optic wiring to allow smaller businesses, which would not ordinarily have the finances to pursue such renovations on their own, to set up businesses there.

Based on its successes, the Partnership has been able to embark on a number of additional projects in the central improvement district that are helping revive the local economy. Much of what is now occurring in the city centre has further strengthened its connections to outside global flows, particularly in the case of catering to the growing international tourist trade and meeting the needs of international property investors. According to the Partnerships 2003 Annual Report, out of the growing investments in the CBD, there are now three recognisable trends relating to market-led economic development. The first is that international investors are beginning to take notice of what is happening, especially on account of the increased marketing being undertaken. The second is that capital flight has been reversed and the city has managed to attract significant amounts of foreign investment. The third trend is a redevelopment of vacant office space into upscale residential conversions

(Partnership, 2003). It is this third trend of urban gentrification that Visser (2002) identifies as taking place in Cape Town's inner-core, which is leading to a considerable reversal in economic fortunes. Residential redevelopment and the linked retail and service sector expansion that such redevelopments have encouraged are increasingly transforming the CBD from a traditionally single-purpose commercial district into a mixed-used work / living area, reminiscent of many European capitals (Eurocape, 2004b).

5.4.2 Residential Conversions

As alluded to, the CBD of Cape Town is now being revived by giving renewed focus to many buildings and precincts that had been left effectively vacant following the flight of businesses to suburbanised commercial developments such as Century City and more technologically equipped locations on the Foreshore and in the V & A Waterfront district (Joyce pers. comm., 2005; Wener pers. comm., 2005; Rippon pers. comm., 2004; Turok & Watson, 2001). Zukin (1988; 18), who extensively researched New York's transition to a *loft-living* society, wrote 'it is the flight of investment capital of older manufacturing centres like New York, that creates preconditions for the residential redevelopment of loft space.' In Cape Town this phenomenon was additionally explained by Wener (pers. comm., 2005), who demonstrated that property developers and real-estate agents created the demand for flats through extensive lifestyle marketing campaigns. Following the CID's success in reducing crime and cleaning up the area, Amin & Graham's (1997, 411) assertion that 'the city has become trendy' has become particularly relevant in Cape Town's case, as more and more people, both locals and foreigners alike, are looking at the inner city as a possible locality in which to live. Following New York's lead, and trends visible in other European cities, all around the CBD, historically important and strategically located office towers and architecturally attractive, yet underused building are being converted into up-scale, luxury flats and boutique-style hotels. As a result, the downtown area is now experiencing a highly anticipated rebirth (Reily, 2003c; Thiel, 2003a). According to Powell (2004a,b, 2003a), B-grade unused office space is increasingly being snapped up and earmarked for redevelopment with some of the city's prime locations, including virtually all buildings fronting the popular tourist curio shopping destination, Green Market Square.

This is one of the areas in which the Partnership has been heavily involved in recent years and which has the potential to have the most dramatic impact on the future of Cape Town's central business district (Carter pers. comm., 2005, 2004). Since the start of field trips to Cape Town to conduct research for this thesis in late 2002, property investors have identified numerous sites for redevelopment that have been facilitated by the Partnership. Many of these sites, as well as new ones, are currently in various stages of completion. In many respects, what is now occurring in the centre of Cape Town is a reflection of what Amit-Cohen (2005), Ha (2004), and Holloway & Hubbard (2001) are stating is happening in other cities in terms of using housing development as a tool for urban regeneration. Many hundreds of millions of Rand are being invested to buy-up properties downtown and to transform them into sectional title units offered at long-term leases. This is very much tied into the notion that Cape Town is becoming more and more of a globally focused city as it strives to replicate many of accomplishments achieved by many of the world's leading metropolitan areas, while simultaneously promoting strategies that will enhance economic viability within the locality, which, in this case, implies the availability of premium flats and condominiums, superior retail outlets and restaurants, leisure activities, green spaces, as well as a clean and safe living environment.

No longer are the inner city and other downtown quarters to be avoided after-hours, but Joyce (pers. comm., 2005), managing director of Pam Golding Properties' Western Cape office, states that they are now highly sought after as the new trendy places to live and socialise in. In many ways, the ongoing transition of Cape Town's CBD into a mixed-use space is succeeding in redefining the way the inner city's image is being perceived. Many short articles have appeared in Cape Town area newspapers or property developers have issued press releases recounting the progress of residential conversions in the city, the likely impact they will have on the local economy, or have drawn comparisons with what is already happening in other leading global cities (Engineering News, 2005; Eurocape, 2005; Bosch 2004; Breach, 2004; CTS 2003a; CVS, 2003; Fortein, 2003; Reily, 2003b; Thiel, 2003a). In an attempt to emulate these successes Cape Town is quickly moving towards becoming a 24-hour city where people remain in the downtown core after working hours, enjoying freshly opened social 'hotspots' and walking home to one of the many newly redeveloped

residential complexes (Meerholz, 2005; Harris, 2004; CTS, 2003a, Reily, 2003a; Thiel, 2003a).

As mentioned, the Cape Town Partnership has been heavily involved in facilitating this conversion of empty office space to housing units by acting in a liaison capacity between current owners and potential property developers (Carter pers. comm., 2005, 2004; Rippon pers. comm., 2004; Liebman pers. comm., 2004). Amongst the most visible projects that represent the greatest value in terms of residential investments in the CBD is the ongoing redevelopment of three city blocks in the heart of one of the oldest financial districts (Stanford, 2003). In this particularly salient case, Gormley, an Irish tourist, came to Cape Town, enjoyed his holiday experience and purchased a flat on the Atlantic Sea Board, but looked to the downtown area for potential investment opportunities. As head of an important property investment company in Ireland, Howard Holdings, he played a leading role in the economic turn-around of Dublin's Temple Bar district, and looked to Cape Town to see if a similar venture could be as lucrative (Kirk pers. comm., 2005; Carter pers. comm., 2004). Gormley contacted the Cape Town Partnership, which, in turn, introduced him to a number of prospective sites in the city centre.

One of the properties available for redevelopment was the old Board of Executors building, which was initially thought to be worth R16 million. Instead, through the newly established Eurocape Company, Howard Holdings acquired not only the building, but numerous other neighbouring buildings on three different city blocks centred on the pedestrian friendly St. George's Mall / Green Market Square districts. Kirk (pers. comm., 2005), operations manager of Eurocape, confirmed that with even more recent acquisitions, in total, the purchasing and refurbishing of these properties represents approximately R1 billion worth of new investment in the city centre (Eurocape, 2005; Powell, 2005). These properties, to be known as Rhodes Mandela Place, will form part of a much larger flagship development including upmarket flats, penthouse-style apartments, a six-star hotel, a winery, luxury retail shops, food concessionaires, and restaurants that are expected to serve as a catalyst for further development in the area (Norris, 2003a). A press release circulated by Eurocape in 2004 showed the vision of such a development that is very much in line with the city's goal of becoming increasingly globally focussed. Specifically it stated that their

aim is to 'achieve the city's vision of providing residents and visitors with a host of entertainment and round-the-clock leisure activities, and creating a lifestyle experience alongside that of the most advanced cities in the world' (Eurocape, 2004a; page unknown). Such statements find resonance in Skeldon's (1997) belief that it is a city's international character that is important in determining its degree of globalness. The project is expected to not only contribute to Cape Town's international feel, but it also has important implications for local development through the anticipated 2000 construction jobs that will be created, as well as an additional 4000 indirect employment opportunities, demonstrating the extent to which residential conversions can have a positive impact on the unemployment problem in the Cape Town area (Stanford, 2003).

Further redevelopments in process include the stylish, former art deco Old Mutual headquarters on Darling Street that is being redeveloped as Mutual Heights at a cost of R100 million, R390 million has been set aside for the construction of the Icon Building on the Foreshore, R160 million has been budgeted for the Harbouredge, R30 million for the conversion of an old medical centre, and the approximately R50 million that has been budgeted for Namaqua House on Green Market Square (Engineering News, 2005; Meerholz, 2005; Breach, 2004; Ndenze, 2004; Norris 2004c; Bosch, 2003; CVS, 2003; Reily, 2003b). Additional new projects include The Decks, also on Green Market Square, another R130 million apartment hotel complex on the foreshore, another on Upper Long Street, R20 million worth of housing development to transform The Adderley, Cartwright Corner, an additional multi-storey office block, and a multi-million Rand development to be known as *The Plaza* on Castle Street modelled after the perceived appeal of studio / loft New York-style living (Norris, 2004a, c; Fortein, 2003; Reily, 2003c). According to Kirk (pers. comm., 2005), once these developments are completed, many of the streetscapes around the centre of Cape Town will resemble the café society which Harcup (2000) has demonstrated is now apparent in some European cities.

Plates 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 show some of these developments, including the projected image of the Rhodes Mandela Place, as well as Cartwright Corner and The Decks, which is located off Greenmarket Square.

Plate 5.1 Mandela Rhodes Place - phase I

Plate 5.2 Cartwright Corner

Plate 5.3 The Decks

Sources: Decks, 2005; Pam Golding, 2005a,b

The price of individual units within these developments range from three quarters of a million Rand upward with larger living configurations commanding millions more (Joyce pers. comm., 2005; Wener pers. comm., 2005). Joyce (pers. comm., 2005) has shown that flats in the R3 million range are popular amongst foreigners eager for an opportunity to experience firsthand some of the amenities that urban-*chic*, city living has to offer, including access to private rooftop pools and gyms, valet parking, top-range security, as well as sweeping mountain and city views. There is an evident appeal to living in the CBD, as is supported by the fact that many conversions have been scooped up by locals and foreigners alike eager for the chance to live in a downtown environment, with some locations, including the Old Mutual Building, selling out shortly after initial offers were made. Wener (pers. comm., 2005), also of Pam Golding, reported strong resales by people looking to cash in on their investments even before occupancy (CVS, 2003). International buyers are joining the many South Africans who are, according to Bosch (2004), keen to adopt a life style similar to that in many European capitals where residents prefer living in the vicinity of where they work and within easy walking distance to sidewalk cafés and restaurants. Kirk (pers. comm., 2005) estimates that 10% of the units being sold in the CBD are to foreigners, while in the Rhodes Mandela development in particular, it is 50%. Similarly, *The Saturday Argus* reported in 2002 that foreigners consistently represent 50% of sales in property for semi-retirement purposes in the greater Cape Town area (Powell, 2005; STAS 2002a).

Joyce (pers. comm., 2005) notes that there are a wide range of people who are purchasing these properties, either out of a genuine desire to live downtown or for investment purposes based on the belief that the value of their investments will increase in future years. Some of the flats are being sold to older executives, wealthy pensioners, retirees, foreigners who split their time between working part of the year overseas and the rest living in the Cape, and couples who spend their annual holidays in the area. Amongst the largest group, who are moving into the city centre, are again the young professionals, who the international literature is indicating are looking for the convenience of living close to their places of work and within an environment that is beginning to emulate the lifestyles associated with downtown living in other fashionable global cities (Joyce pers. comm., 2005; Wener pers. comm., 2005; Ley, 2003; Zukin, 1988). Furthermore, similar to the notion that was proposed by Tallon &

Bromley (2004) and then by Visser (2002), with specific reference to South African cities, that people are moving to certain areas within a city to live amongst like-minded individuals, Joyce (pers. comm., 2005) also explains that many within the emerging black middle-class, are looking downtown as an alternative place of residence to the townships or to traditionally white suburbs. In the process, it is expected that those who do move to the city centre, black or white, will eventually create their own community, giving the CBD its own unique flare, which will help to establish a new collective consciousness that Cox (1998) states is often associated with prominent global localities. In some sections of Cape Town's downtown, the gentrification processes, which Ley (2003), Rofe (2003) and Harvey (2000) have noticed around the world, and which Visser (2002) has noted in Johannesburg and Durban, will accelerate in Cape Town as people of a similar socio-economic background begin to congregate in certain areas, again giving each locality a particular 'feel'.

Eurocape (2005) has acknowledged that inner city living is still in its early phases in Cape Town, with many of the residential conversions still (April 2005) in the process of being decked out. Regardless, this new direction for the CBD promises to significantly revitalise the area and presents numerous economic spin-off opportunities for the local economy. Liebman (pers. comm., 2004) suggested that what is being witnessed is in fact the beginning of a cycle of redevelopment for the inner city and economic revival is likely to pick up once people move in. By 2003 it was estimated that between 500 and 600 new residents were already living downtown, but by the end of 2005 or early 2006 it is expected that there will be approximately 2500 new residents located in the centre of Cape Town, profoundly reshaping the nature of the city and effectively giving it a new lease on life, both in terms of economic growth and global image (Norris, 2003b; Reily, 2003a). It is expected that this experience will follow worldwide trends, namely as discussed by Hutton (2004) and Tallon & Bromley (2004) that the thousands of people who will move to the centre of Cape Town will increasingly demand a wider range of goods and services, and as Harris (2004) predicted for Cape Town, these new housing units would become the cornerstone for urban regeneration. In particular, they represent an opportunity to revitalise the economy of the inner core by catering to the new needs of the people beginning to live there. By mediating conversions, the Partnership is

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actually providing an additional and perhaps an even more valuable service in terms of pro-growth economic development for the area by creating and stimulating a demand for products and services in the CBD.

On top of the vast capital amounts that property speculators and potential residents are investing in the real estate market, considerably more economic activity and real economic benefits will be generated by these residents, often with higher levels of disposable income, who demand auxiliary services in the food, entertainment, laundry and dry cleaning, banking and health-related sectors (Reily, 2003a,b). New businesses have already or are expected to open within the area. Wener (pers. comm., 2005) has predicted an increase in demand for delis, coffee shops, pubs, restaurants and other venues for socialising, while Kirk (pers. comm., 2005) has confirmed an upmarket food store is planned for the Rhodes Mandela complex. It is also reported that some chain stores and high-end clothing retailers have been looking for appropriate sites at which to open their downtown franchises to cater for the people who will eventually settle there (Carter pers. comm., 2005; Joyce pers. comm., 2005).

As more of these shops and restaurants open, it is expected that they will begin drawing-in more people to the area to join those who already live there. Visser (2002) has acknowledged that new residential areas have also become important nodes for tourism development. People will again be attracted to the boutiques, the nightlife, the restaurants, and leisure spaces that are being developed. More will be drawn to the pedestrian areas, the outside coffee shops, and the around-the-clock activities during the daytime, as well as after hours. Already the Green Market Square and St. Georges Mall are teaming with locals, but increasingly these quarters have become key to Cape Town's internationally driven tourism industry. Foreign tourists are also being drawn to the area, which is proving to be an even greater incentive to broaden urban renewal efforts and the focus on tourism development (CTS, 2003b; Visser, 2002).

In fact, tourism is quickly becoming an additional valuable means of stimulating the local economy, not only within the CBD, but also within the greater metropolitan area and throughout the Western Cape. In order to maximize the benefits that greater tourist numbers bring, municipal officials and relevant role players within the local tourist sectors have had to join forces to market the city within the broader global

tourist industry. The following subsection highlights some of the more important aspects of the tourist trade in Cape Town and the inroads made in securing for the city a place in the global tourism market.

5.4.3 Tourism Development

As indicated in Chapter Three, the number of people now travelling around the world has increased significantly as global processes have provided the technology to make this possible. In addition, competitive pricing by tour operators has meant they can afford to, and creative marketing on behalf of host localities has given them the incentive to travel abroad (Azarya, 2004; Wells, 2004; Foreign Policy, 2003; Hampton, 2003). To put this phenomenon into perspective, the global tourism industry, according to the World Tourism Organisation (2005), will continue to expand considerably in the future with international arrivals expected to reach 1.56 billion by 2020, of which 400 million will be to long-haul destinations. This is of particular significance to Cape Town and the rest of South Africa, especially as it is estimated that tourism is worth 7% of all international goods and services (WTO, 2005). South Africa as a whole has successfully competed in the global tourism industry and, in 2003, the Mail & Guardian announced that the country 'has emerged as the world's fastest-growing tourism destination' with over six million people arriving the previous year (Merten, 2003b; page unknown). In a similar statement the following year, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Minister of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, quite proudly announced

> *The story of tourism in South Africa for the last ten years is the*
> *story of success. There is no disputing the simple fact that in*
> *1994 we welcomed a mere 640 000 international travellers, and*
> *in just ten years that number has climbed ten-fold to 6.5 million*
> (van Schalkwyk, 2004b).

The fact that South Africa is considered a safe destination, a value for money destination, is politically stable, in the same European time zone, and over the past few years has been Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS)-free, has greatly added to the allure of the country and cities such as Cape Town (Ozinsky pers. comm., 2004; Walters pers. comm., 2004).

With millions of tourists visiting the Western Cape every year, and the majority of them travelling through Cape Town, tapping into these yearly arrivals has become an opportunity for the city to cash in on tourist revenues. Indeed, tourism promotion has become one of Cape Town's prime comparative advantages and a major contributor to job creation, poverty alleviation and economic development for the city (Iafrica, 2002). But, in the past, numerous obstacles such as the lack of a defined strategy, fragmentation within the tourism industry, inadequate tourist infrastructure, miscommunication between event organisers, as well as a lack of citywide leadership, inadequate marketing, and the difficulty in securing corporate sponsorship prevented the city from presenting a cohesive policy on tourism promotion both locally and globally (CTRU, 2005a; CCT, 2003a). Thanks to past efforts made by the Joint Marketing Initiative, which looked into establishing a coordinated city-wide tourism authority, and an ongoing rationalisation process in the various tourism-related service agencies, this has changed in recent years and further partnerships have been established between the municipality and key actors within the leisure tourism, convention, and events industries to promote a unified face to tourism in Cape Town (CTRU, 2005a; JMI, 2001c).

Much of this rationalisation occurred in the late 1990s, as local stakeholders sought to stave off further economic decline in the city by coming together to discuss the possibility of designing a common strategy. In October 1998 for example, the then Cape Metropolitan Council called a meeting of both private and public sector stakeholders who had interests in tourism to prepare for the looming 2003 Cricket World Cup. At this meeting it was decided that the Cape Town area was in need of an all-inclusive strategy to coordinate future tourism activities in and around the city. Municipal officials began looking to the strategies implemented and the benefits resulting from event promotions in Manchester, Miami, Barcelona, Perth, and Göteborg for key lessons in developing their own strategies (CCT; 2003a; JMI, 2001b; CMC, 2000). It was shown that by concentrating on hosting tourist events, these cities have been able to revive their local economies (Carlsen & Taylor, 2003; CCT, 2003a, 5; Worsley, 2002). According to an earlier study on the benefits of hosting events as a form of tourism attraction (CCT, 2001; 1), it was identified that, 'encouraging events in Cape Town is potentially one of the most powerful means of

enhancing the identity and positioning of the city, while simultaneously creating business opportunities and employment, developing human skills and generating social cohesion and civic pride.' A similar report was drafted in 2001 by the Joint Marketing Initiative, which looked at the then *status quo* of the general tourism industry in the Western Cape and in Cape Town and raised the issue of the definitive need for the region to become increasingly competitive in its attempt to attract tourists (JMI, 2001c). Specifically, it considered possible methods to best brand the City of Cape Town and position it within the global tourism industry in such a way so as to maximise the positive impacts of tourism and to best showcase the tourist attractions that the region has to offer.

These reports have since led to the redefinition of the way that Cape Town attracts and presents tourism. In 2002, municipal legislation provided for a binding framework that brought together twenty-six previously independent provincial and municipal tourism agencies to create the Destination Marketing Organisation (DMO) as a Section 21 company. Brent Walters (pers. comm., 2004) who became Change Manager for the DMO revealed that this transformation was designed to create a single marketing platform for selling the city and enhancing sustainable tourism development in the province centred on the provincial capital. According to a joint press release issued by the Western Cape Minister of Agriculture, Tourism, and Gambling and the City of Cape Town Executive Councillor for Tourism (2002), membership within this partnership included local government officials from a variety of Western Cape municipalities, representatives from big businesses, including South African Airways, tour operators, hotels, national parks, and the CEO of the V & A Waterfront. Together, these representatives agreed to jointly formulate policies, brand the locality at an international level, market tourist attractions, and fund the region's leisure, events, and business tourism promotion activities through a number of subcommittees.

Just as the municipality was forced to respond to the needs of the Cricket World Cup held in 2003, the municipality is now rising to the challenge with regards to maximising tourism beneficiation related to the expected 400 000 tourist arrivals for the 2010 Soccer World Cup (van Schalkwyk, 2004a,b). Later in 2004, therefore, this evolution continued and the DMO was renamed the Cape Town Routes Unlimited

(CTRU) but still retained its mandate of operating as a partnership working as the official tourism marketing board for the Western Cape and the Cape Town area. According to its website, the CTRU 'has created a brand for Cape Town and the Western Cape as a year-round holiday destination which has world-class urban and rural offerings. In addition, the body provides strategic direction and marketing support to the province's tourism industry' (CTRU, 2005a; page unknown). Additionally, provincial legislation made room for one single tourism body for the City of Cape Town to be known as Cape Town Tourism, which has also become responsible for the establishment of several visitor information centres around the city. Sheryl Ozinsky (pers. comm., 2004) who is now the manager of this body has reported that, together with the CTRU, Cape Town Tourism are now actively marketing and branding the city to develop tourism in the area.

According to Ozinsky (pers. comm., 2004) eight of the ten top tourist attractions nation-wide, including Table Mountain, the V & A Waterfront, and the wine region are easily accessible from the Cape Town city centre, where statistics obtained show that 71.1% of tourists stay (CMT, 2002). Exploiting locality-specific advantages and focusing the spotlight on such sights as the Cape Point Nature Reserve or Robben Island, both of which are unique to the metropolitan area, have given the city a particular competitive edge. As Walters (pers. comm., 2004) has shown, while foreigners may be drawn to see globally recognisable icons such as Table Mountain, Ozinsky (pers. comm., 2004) adds that the region's natural scenic beauty, interesting past, cultural diversity, warm hospitality, and comfortable weather are further incentives for tourists to come to Cape Town. They complement such images as Table Mountain and the V & A Waterfront, as shown in Plates 5.4 and 5.5, which, in turn, have become instrumental in the branding of the locality and providing powerful visual iconographic identification with the city its and surrounding areas, in much the same fashion as the Eiffel Tower, the Sydney Opera House, and the Empire State Building have achieved similar landmark status in Paris, Sydney, and New York City respectively (Colbert, 2003; Gospodini, 2002; Therborn, 2002; Webster, 2001). Likewise, catchphrases such as *The Cape of Great Events* and *The Mother City*, have joined those of the *Orchid City* for Singapore and *Sydney 2020* as the greeting cards of great world cities and have been further identified as becoming quick and easily recognisable symbols (CCT, 2003b; el-Khishin, 2003).

Plate 5.4 View of Table Mountain

Source: Virtual Tourist, 2005

Plate 5.5 View of the Victoria & Albert Waterfront

Source: Sydney, 2003

One style of marketing, which has elicited good reviews, has been to bring out journalists from specialist overseas magazines to Cape Town to experience what the city has to offer in return for featuring in their publications. It is largely because of this aggressive tourism promotion style that the city has been able to corner significant segments of the world tourism industry, including a number of niche markets to which Cape Town is beginning to cater. Ozinsky (pers. comm., 2004) and Walters (pers. comm., 2004) have both reported that the city has achieved a certain track record in attracting tourists who have particular interests in one or more of the food and wine, sand and surf, backpacking, gay and lesbian festivities, cosmetic surgery, golfing and sport, and music related events that Cape Town has to offer. They add that by providing for these kinds of tastes, the city has been able to attract a variety of people of different ages and different income brackets, from the young gap-

year / backpacking crowd looking for adventure to the semi-retired business executives wanting to sample some of the city's culinary delights and its laidback lifestyle.

5.4.4 Events Promotion

A further specific type of niche market tourism, which has been pulled under the umbrella of Cape Town Routes Unlimited, and which gives tourists a specific reason for visiting the city and, at the same time contributing to its economic development, is events promotion. The same JMI process that called for a unified voice in the leisure tourism sector in 2001 has also been responsible for a strong contemporary events management in Cape Town (JMI, 2001b). It is through the establishment of similar partnerships between event organisers that the city is evolving into a powerful competitor in the mega-events market. The failed 2000 Olympic bid, which Hiller (2000) emphasised announced Cape Town's move towards becoming a competitor in the global events industry, did however provide a basis for local collaboration, synergy, and the vision to 'sell' the city as a venue for major events. Although this bid proved to be unsuccessful it demonstrated Essex & Chalkley's (1999) and Hiller's (2000) theories that such attempts have lasting positive implications for potential host cities. This was the case for the 2003 Cricket World Cup, which provided R200 million in benefits for the city and proved that Cape Town could host world-class sporting events. A series of yearly, smaller, but no less globally focused cultural and sporting events are also cementing Cape Town's position as a premier events-based tourism destination (CCT, 2003c).

There are currently nearly 194 annual events scheduled and staged in the Western Cape, the majority of which are held in and around Cape Town. Having a wide range of events that cater for increasingly diverse tastes has been identified as one of the keys to event success (CCT, 2003a). They include multiple sporting events, food and wine festivals, the Cape Town *Karnaval*, horseracing, and fashion shows. The Cape Town Partnership is also heavily involved in events promotion in the CBD through the 'eating out' campaign and the Chilli Fiesta (Carter pers. comm., 2003). Although much smaller in scale than, for example, the Olympics, they represent a symbolic reawakening of the city and its centre in particular and also help heighten levels of civic pride. Some of the more popular and well attended larger events include the

Cape Argus Pick 'n Pay Cycle Tour which generated R317 million in total economic benefits in 2003 and the Old Mutual Two Oceans Marathon with nearly 10 000 participants from around the world that same year. In 2003, events in Cape Town contributed an approximate R1 billion to the local economy (CCT, 2003c). Later, in 2005, the African Harvest North Sea Jazz Festival, attracted 15 000 people to the city centre according to Carter (pers. comm., 2005; CCT, 2002b).

The Volvo Ocean Race - Cape Town stopover is a further tourist draw card on the event calendar, which takes place every four years, that has helped project Cape Town's name on a global level. In this event Cape Town is one of eight stopovers in an around-the-world race for racing yachts. It falls within an exclusive niche that caters for the well-heeled jet-setting class, which adds to the allure of Cape Town as a popular destination for the rich and famous. It is also a major source of economic development for the city as well. On its most recent circuit in 2001, it was estimated that the ocean race provided almost R225 million in economic benefits to the city and

Table 5.5 Spin-offs of event promotion

Economic	Social and Cultural
▪ Destination promotion ▪ Increased visitor numbers ▪ Improvement of destination image / profile ▪ Extended length of stay ▪ Increased tax revenue and foreign exchange ▪ National & international linkages ▪ Investment attraction ▪ Job creation & SMME opportunities ▪ Positive economic impact ▪ Increase business opportunities ▪ Reduction of seasonal fluctuations	▪ Shared experience ▪ Showcase of community skills ▪ Fosters creativity and innovation ▪ Revitalising tradition ▪ Validation of community groups ▪ Builds bridges between different communities ▪ Increased community participation ▪ Expanding cultural perspectives ▪ Enhanced cultural exchange ▪ Enhanced community pride
Political	**Physical and Environmental**
▪ International prestige ▪ Political linkages ▪ Improved profile of host destination ▪ Promotion of investment ▪ Social cohesion & nation-building ▪ Development of administrative skills	▪ Showcasing the environment ▪ Increasing environmental awareness ▪ Upgraded infrastructure ▪ Infrastructure legacy i.e. facilities ▪ Improved transport & communications ▪ Urban Transformation & renewal

Source: Adapted from the CTRU, 2005b; CCT, 2003a, 2001a; JMI, 2001b

was worth over R13 million in additional international media coverage (Peeters, 2003). Competitors, support staff, and spectators spent R217 million on accommodation and shopping alone. Equally important, research revealed that 91% of them planned a return visit to Cape Town (CCT, 2002a). Morris (2003) and Peeters (2003) writing for the *Cape Times,* anticipate a further boost for the Cape Town local economy with the next race as over 5000 foreigners are expected to attend the 2005 / 2006 Volvo Ocean Race. The Volvo Ocean Race also has significant spin-offs for the Cape Town boat-buildings industry, which was valued at R1.8 billion in 2002 (Morris, 2003). It serves as the backdrop to display some of their products to a captive audience (CCT, 2002a). This is all part of the value chain that is increasingly evident in Cape Town. It is yet another example of how Cape Town is developing one industry to encourage the development of another. Simply put, it can be interpreted as, bring people to the city to participate in a trans-ocean sailing race and while they are here, sell them a luxury yacht, and boost the local economy.

Table 5.5 adapted from the CTRU (2005b), CCT (2003a, 2001a) and JMI (2001b), demonstrates that the city has identified several significant outcomes of, and reasons for, hosting events including those in the economic, social and cultural, political, and physical and environmental related sectors.

Now that a more concerted effort is being channelled into tourism development, Cape Town is beginning to experience the benefits of increased tourist arrivals. In a press release issue by the DMO before it became known as the CTRU, it was stated 'tourism is a major contributor to new job creation in the Cape and most foreign and local investment in recent years has been in hotels, golf courses, wellness centres, casinos and the convention centre' (DMO, 2004; page unknown). Furthermore, the V & A Waterfront has grown into Cape Town's number one tourist attraction, with over twenty-two million people visiting it every year. Investments to the value of R1 billion in the Clock Tower Precinct have essentially transformed the Waterfront into a hub for tourist activities and created a number of jobs and economic spin-offs in retail, restaurants, hotels, residential developments, tour operations, and commercial businesses (STS, 2003). Infrastructural developments such as the R1 billion Rhodes Mandela residential / hotel development in the heart of Cape Town's old city, the R2 billion being spent to upgrade the terminals and facilities at the Cape Town

International Airport, and the new R1 billion convention centre complex are all examples of how tapping into global flows is increasingly generating benefits on a local level (Eurocape, 2005; Airports Company of South Africa, 2004; CBN, date unknown b).

The following section will examine how convention tourism and the construction of a dedicated multi-million Rand meeting and exhibition space have significantly contributed to urban renewal movements within the inner city and which have, to a large degree, played a leading role in turning around Cape Town's economy. It is a key example of a municipally identified, jointly funded, partnership driven, and locality enhancing project that has become vital in positioning the city within the global convention and conferencing market.

5.4.5 Convention Tourism

Weber (2001), Fenich (1995, 1992), and Sanders (1992) have reported that attracting international convention business and the associated foreign exchange spent by conference delegates is becoming one of the choice means of promoting urban renewal and locality-based economic development within a competitive network of global flows. Increasingly, South Africa is being viewed as a conference destination of choice with its largest cities tapping into this growing niche market. *Sawubona*, South African Airlines' in-flight magazine, which provided an overview of the country's conference facilities in early 2004, showed that the Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Exhibitions (MICE) industry contributes an estimated R20 billion to the national economy and is responsible for 246 000 related jobs. The same publication also emphasised the growth experienced by this industry that has grown by almost 50% since 1996, placing South Africa on the list of the top 50 destinations for international conferences (Mkefa, 2004). In recent years, a string of high profile international meetings have contributed to the local economic development of the host localities and helped consolidate South Africa's position as a premier conference destination, by highlighting its capacity to organise high profile events such as the Summit on Sustainable Development hosted by the Sandton Convention Centre and the World Conference against Racism held at the Durban International Convention Centre (Brundtland, 2002; Maharaj & Ramballi, 1998). In 2002, in the light of the

successes that it had experienced, Durban's International Convention Centre was voted Africa's top convention destination (Mkefa, 2004).

Although traditionally featuring only moderately strong in the MICE market, the absence of a dedicated central convention facility in Cape Town previously counted against the city being regarded as a viable host for large globally focused meetings (CTICC, 2001a). A coalition of private investors and government departments has changed this, and Cape Town is now tapped to become both the national leader and a powerful international contender in the global MICE industry. The 1999 *Going Global, Working Local* document first raised the prospect of an international-standard convention facility contributing to the city's global competitiveness and later in the same year, the Cape Town International Convention Centre Company (Convenco) was formed as a result of a partnership between the Western Cape Provincial Government, the City of Cape Town, and Business Cape to explore the feasibility and to eventually undertake the development of a convention centre in the city (Schreiber pers. comm., 2005; van der Westhuizen, 2004; Douglas pers. comm., 2002; CMC, 1999). It was the intention of Convenco, now the parent company of the Cape Town International Convention Centre (CTICC), to establish a facility and allow Cape Town to become an aggressive competitor in the global convention industry. In 2000, in a bid to ascertain the exact benefits of becoming a player in the MICE industry, a study was commissioned by the City of Cape Town to measure the socio-economic impacts of a proposed international convention centre. Standish (2002; 1), team leader of the University of Cape Town study, revealed that the establishment of a convention centre would have three positive impacts on the economy of the city. They included:

- The physical transformation of the foreshore area from a polluted and unsafe environment into a clean and attractive site for further redevelopment.
- Increased employment opportunities and income generation through income tax, foreign exchange earnings, and money spent at the convention facilities.
- The convention centre would serve as a 'showcase' for Cape Town and regional industries including filmmaking, financial services, and boat building.

On a visit to the construction site in late 2002, Douglas (pers. comm., 2002), who is the current CEO of Convenco, explained the importance attached to the development

of the CTICC and an adjacent up-market hotel, both in terms of adding to urban renewal strategies within Cape Town, as well as enhancing the city's image as an international destination for business travel. Douglas is also an alternate director on the Cape Town Partnership's board of directors, which denotes the close relationship between varying organisations within the city that are collectively working towards improved economic development from different angles.

Municipal officials from the City of Cape Town itself recognised the value that Fenich (1995) attributed to such convention business and contributed R284 million towards the total R582 million development costs in order to bring foreign, as well as local convention delegates to the city. The West Cape Province and the hotel / casino group, SunWest, provided the balance. Private investment of a further R460 million for the construction of the six-star Arabella Sheraton Grand Hotel has brought current investments in the complex to over R1 billion (CTICC, 2001d). During the construction phases R1.2 billion was generated towards the Western Cape's GDP through construction alone, while its overall contribution is projected to reach R4.175 billion by 2012 (Standish, 2002; CTICC, 2001c). It has also been responsible for 4000 direct jobs and 14 000 indirect jobs during the construction phases, while by 2012 an estimated 47 000 direct and indirect jobs will have been created by the convention centre (Schreiber pers. comm., 2005; Standish, 2002; CTICC, 2001c). From its conception in 2000 until its highly awaited grand opening in late 2003, the CTICC has been the subject of numerous debates concerning the perceived renaissance of Cape Town in terms of the city moving towards a service-based economy centred around both leisure and business travel. As such, Cape Town is succeeding in wrestling away Durban's claim of being Africa's top convention destination by taking on larger markets through the provision of its world-class facilities, strategic marketing, and dynamic tourism promotion (Schreiber pers. comm., 2005).

Much of the publicity surrounding the opening of the CTICC centred around the impressive architectural design of the centre with details of how much meeting space is available, how many delegates ca be accommodated, the artwork, and the open spaces. The international journals *Architect and Builder* (2003) and *Popular Mechanics* (2003) featured spreads on the design and technological innovations built into exhibition space. Some of these features can be seen in Plates 5.6 and 5.7. Cape

Plate 5.6 Exterior view of the Cape Town International Convention Centre

Source: CTICC, 2005b

Plate 5.7 Interior views of the Cape Town International Convention Centre
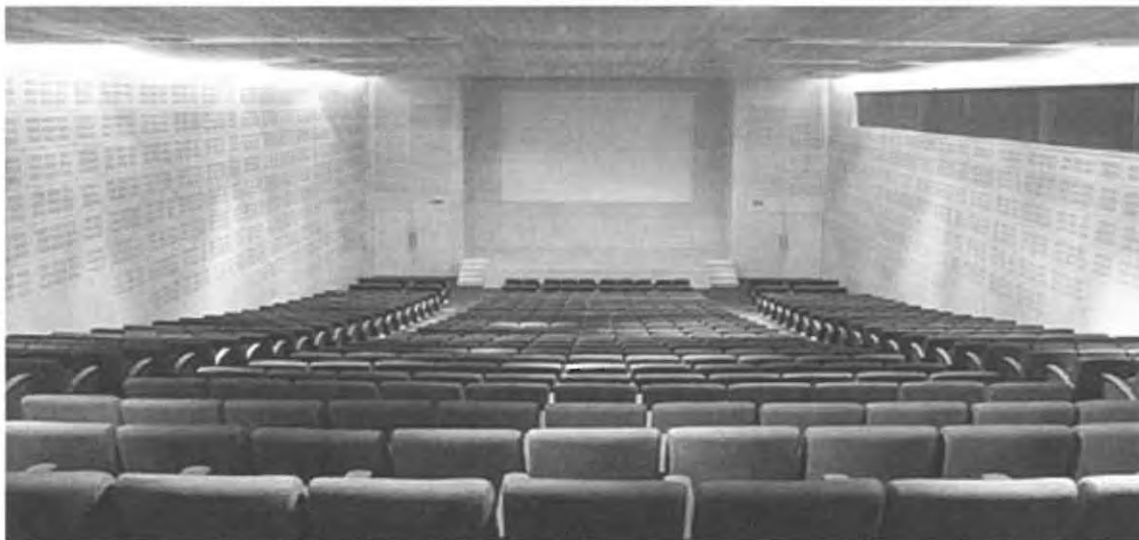
Source: CTICC, 2005b

Town's location and the innovative design concept of the CTICC have helped with initial success, but Gill Schreiber (pers. comm., 2005), who is the centre's marketing manager, has indicated that there is an ongoing need for dynamic place marketing, specially if, as she believes, 'people are not coming for a meeting, they are coming for a destination.' In addition, the CTICC's success is strengthened by an emerging trend, whereby conference organisers want to hold meetings in non-traditional localities of the southern hemisphere. However, considering the fact that only 3% of rotating conference-holding organisations will select an African destination, assertive place promotion in Cape Town becomes all the more important to attract limited outside business (Schreiber pers. comm., 2005).

By the end of its opening year, the CTICC had exceeded expectations by hosting 196 events. In 2004, it welcomed what was heralded as the 'world cup' of conventions when it hosted the International Congress and Convention Association that afforded the city the opportunity to showcase its facilities and attractions to conference organisers from around the world (Schreiber pers. comm., 2005; CTICC, 2004; van der Westhuizen, 2004). The CTICC has since been able to book an impressive array of meetings that will take place for many years to come, including the International Congress of Urologists with 3500 delegates in 2006 and the International Diabetes Federation that will bring 10 000 delegates to the city in 2008 (CTICC, 2004c). By 2003, there were confirmed bookings worth R193 million in convention business for the CTICC and other conference venues in Cape Town (CAS, 2003a). Cape Town has managed to climb into 30th position from the 47th place according to the latest International Congress and Convention Association rankings published in June 2005, but given the rate at which it is rising through the hierarchy, convention marketeers in Cape Town are hoping that it will make it into the top ten by 2010 (CTICC, 2005a; BDY, 2002). In order to keep up with demand, the CTICC is planning further expansions by 2007, and, if finances can be secured, it will double its current available space by 2010 (Schreiber pers. comm., 2005).

With delegates counted in the thousands, Cape Town is definitely beginning to reap the benefits of having a convention centre in its city centre. Focusing on the global market and the attraction of foreign delegates is particularly beneficial. The average national conference delegate spends an estimated R2000 per day in Cape Town, but

the average foreigner will spend an estimated R2600 per day and stay longer in the city than South African delegates. In addition, they often come out early or stay on longer as tourists and spend more in other tourist-related sectors (SNS, 2003). This is another indication of the success of the Roots Unlimited campaign and the need to tie leisure tourism to business tourism (Schreiber pers. comm., 2005; van der Westhuizen, 2004; Walters pers. comm., 2004). The macro-economic spin-offs of the CTICC are projected to continue to have important economic outcomes for the country and the locality. Chief amongst these benefits are the contributions being made by the CTICC to the national Gross Domestic Production. Even before it opened, according to the October 20, 2002 edition of the *Weekend Argus*, it was envisaged that the CTICC would be the driver behind permanent changes in the city, including increased security and cleanliness in the area, echoing many of the earlier projected impacts identified in the original feasibility study (Standish, 2002; Weekend Argus, 2002). In many respects the CTICC is playing its part in urban regeneration in Cape Town, both physically in the Foreshore district through hotel developments and links to the Waterfront and by providing the impetus behind renewed economic activity and job creation in the hospitality industry and for tour operators who are benefiting from delegates desiring to see more of the area (BDY, 2002).

5.5 Assessment of Locality-based Development in Cape Town

The following subsections present an assessment of locality-based development in Cape Town that emphasises major market-led projects that have enhanced its global linkages and its global appeal. On one hand, these endeavours have yielded positive outcomes, as well as investment opportunities and development planners should be commended for the physical transformations within the city centre and for putting *Cape Town* more creatively in the minds of millions of people. On the other hand, however, these large-scale developments have been isolated to select parts of the city and have done little to address everyday realities of unrelenting poverty for the majority of the city's inhabitants.

5.5.1 Positive Outcomes

Based on earlier policy recommendations that emanated out of municipal offices in the late 1990s, which called on the city to embark on a series of progressively more globally competitive strategy developments, the above discussions have indicated that

Cape Town has in fact enhanced its competitive position in a number of fields, especially in the provision of 'world-class infrastructure, investment attraction, and marketing promotion' (CMC, 1999). The city has come a long way in terms of developing its international image both in terms of attracting foreign investment and tourists and by physically transforming its downtown core. Increasingly it is being compared to New York, Milan, Paris, and London in terms of trendiness, fashion, lifestyle, cultural activities, smart industries and human resource potential (Els, 2003; Sboros & Thiel, 2003; Powell, 2002). It has been called an 'undiscovered city' (Thiel, 2003b) and in 2003 *The Cape Argus* announced 'we're a winning world city!' (Mangxamba, 2003).

On a global level, value for money, place marketing, image selling, and tourism development is paying off for the city. According to a 2001 edition of *Business Day* (2001), Cape Town had already achieved that status of being Africa's leading holiday destination. *The Saturday Argus* (2002b) called Cape Town 'a destination of dreams,' The *Cape Business News* (date unknown a) reported that there is now a certain element of romanticism surrounding the city, which is increasingly being seen as a gateway to the rest of the African continent, and *Frontline News* (date unknown) added that the city offers the opportunity to leave for a safari experience in the interior, as well as enjoy a traditional city holiday. In fact, Iafrica (2002), an on-line news publication, has reported that Cape Town has become one of the top-5 destinations for that Britons want to visit before they die. Such claims are based on a survey of 20 000 viewers of the BBC programme *Holiday Programme*, who ranked Cape Town 5th below the Grand Canyon and Walt Disney World, but above such destinations with obvious global tourist appeal as New York City, the Taj Mahal, the Pyramids, the Great Wall of China, and Venice (Iafrica, 2002; STAS, 2002b; van der Westhuizen, 2002). Cape Town is further ranked in the top-10 creative and culturally sensitive cities alongside Antwerp, Marseilles, and Austin in terms of the presence of innovation, creativity, knowledge-based business, and the high percentage of intellectuals residing amongst the local population (Mostert, 2002; Smith, 2002a).

As such, in recent years, in addition to increased numbers in tourists visiting the city, more people living in the downtown area and a growing number of exhibitions and trade shows taking place at the CTICC, Cape Town has increasingly become caught

up in Debord's (1994) 'society of spectacle.' This process is helping build the city's international reputation as being a centre of leisure, business, and sporting recreation. This spectacularisation and commodification of Cape Town's persona is helping it to attain the elusive title of 'global city.' Its desire to be taken seriously in the international community and within global markets is evident in its competitiveness and in the proactive and creative ways in which it is providing sporting and cultural entertainment and appropriate infrastructure (CCT, 2001). In this way, Cape Town's policy is emulating much of the international events theory and practice, which indicates that economic regeneration and image improvement are often the desired goals, as well as the projected outcome of hosting events (Gotham, 2002; Andranovich *et al.*, 2001; Harcup, 2000; Sassen & Roost, 1999).

All of this is adding to the momentum of tourism development and investment in Cape Town. The more Cape Town features in the overseas press, the more recognisable it becomes in the minds of foreigners, the more likely it is that they will come to the city. It is becoming a mutually reinforcing cycle (van der Westhuizen, 2002). Organisations such as the CTRU and Cape Town Tourism are luring people to the city, who, in turn, return home and tell their families and friends about their experiences that then becomes romanticised in their minds, leading them to make such claims as 'seeing Cape Town before they die'. If such trends continue, Cape Town is projected to receive three million international tourists a year by 2010, which would be worth in excess of R22 billion to the local economy (BDY, 2001).

5.5.2 Negative Outcomes

It is important to note however, that Cape Town's transformation into a global city has come at a cost and involves a number of trade-offs. Despite policy documents including *Going Global, Working Local*, which have emphasised the need to cater equally for market-led and pro-poor development and the LAED Framework that has attempted to direct development to specifically needy areas of the city, most of the noteworthy investments have continued to favour the CBD (CCT, 2005b, 2003d; CMC, 1999). In addition to spatially imbalanced investment, the lack of an adequate and appropriate transportation system is one of the reasons why many residents are cut-off from the economic and social opportunities emerging in the city centre. As a result, in 2001, Turok (2001) wrote on what he considered the persistent polarisation

of post-Apartheid Cape Town and the failed attempts to carry out poverty-reducing economic development beyond growth poles that have thus widened the gulf between affluent and impoverished areas. In a similar, co-authored article, he further argued, that private sector investment remains concentrated and market forces have deepened social and spatial divisions (Turok & Watson, 2001). More recently, Pieterse (2004) similarly reported that such polarisation continue in South African cities including, Cape Town where he says investment patterns are still particularly disjointed. According to Robins (2002), recent neo-liberal economic practices are reproducing poverty and constituting the re-emergence of a city that is both highly dysfunctional and disconnected to which Samara (2005) adds there is a growing public frustration regarding increasing inequality. Such sentiments are echoed in Cape Town's own most recent IDP that states, 'from a spatial perspective, Cape Town is inequitable and not integrated because citizens do not have equal access to the opportunities offered by the city' (CCT, 2005b, 36). This document shows that despite recent investments in the city centre it continues to be a highly segregated locality that is inaccessible to the majority of its population, whereby the unemployed and working classes cannot afford its new consumerist lifestyle (Christopher, 2001; Uduku, 1999).

As of yet, the main winners are property developers and the private sector with limited or minimal trickle-down benefits for the poor and unemployed other than limited jobs in construction and in seasonal, tourism-related sectors (Uduku, 1999). Visser's (2002; 42) research has further revealed that the processes of gentrification are highly unbalanced in the central city despite the reality that 'in South African cities issues of social justice in terms of more important basic service delivery does not provide the relative luxury of placing the needs of a few hundred households above the needs of very literally the poor masses.' Robins (2002), sees a privatisation of public space unfolding in Cape Town with surveillance cameras, outsourced private security firms, and community policing feeding into exclusionary practices and attitudes of zero tolerance towards perceived unwanted social elements. Likewise, Carter (pers. comm., 2004) discusses what kind of message the city is sending out by backing the Partnership and the CID in terms of facilitating the conversion of underused property into multi-million Rand flats in the city centre, when there is a back log in the construction of thousands of homes in informal settlements throughout the city. Indeed, Cape Town's IDP now also questions what benefits did a municipal

investment of over quarter of a billion Rand into the CTICC achieve for ordinary citizens (CCT, 2005b). What is now visible in Cape Town in terms of growing inequality is playing into Friedmann's (1986) theories of social polarisation within leading cities. In this case, is there a risk that Cape Town develops into a neo-Apartheid style city such as the one the Beavon (2000) suggests has grown around Johannesburg? Maybe Turok (2001; 2349 & 2371) is right in speculating on two occasions that 'Greater Cape Town is a starkly polarised city' and 'Cape Town remains one of the least-altered cities in the country.' Robins (2002; 684) however provides perhaps the most intuitive glimpse into this phenomenon when he remarked,

> *Despite the many well-intentioned interventions by the city authorities, the socio-spatial logics of the apartheid city persist. Investors and businesses continue to gravitate towards the well-policed, historically white, middle spaces of the city. These parts of Cape Town have indeed been incorporated into a representation of Cape Town as a globally competitive, multicultural city driven by the tourism industry and the IT and financial service sectors. There are, however, at least two other sides to Cape Town. One side is the 'fortress city' of middle class neighbour-hoods characterised by gated communities, neighbourhood watches, vigilantes, private security companies, surveillance cameras, high walls and barbed-wire fences. The other is the urban ghettos of the Cape Flats, characterised by racialised poverty, crime and violence.*

There is a defined mismatch in the skills possessed by the unemployed and the skills required to seek employment in the growth industries available in the downtown core as the economy moves towards becoming more service-based and a centre for luxury living and leisure tourism (Robins, 2002; Turok, 2001; Turok & Watson, 2001). The lack of appropriate tourism-related skills that Kaplan (2004) sees as problematic across the country is particularly accentuated in Cape Town, whose contemporary economy is heavily dependent on tourism. Moreover, many local peoples also do not have the education or training needed by Cape Town's expanding financial services and IT sectors that are now being re-established in the CBD. The resurgence in white-collar employment in the city centre and a scarcity of expertise amongst the city's

most disadvantaged communities that prevents them from finding work in the vicinity has led to a further actual and symbolic exclusion of many residents from the flagship developments taking place there.

Furthermore, there is considerable visible evidence that suggests mega-projects have done little to curb the poverty that exists in and around the inner city including homelessness, street children, loitering, prostitution, begging, and people selling goods at street corners. There are an estimated 850 children alone currently living on the street in Cape Town (CCT, 2005b). Although violent and serious crime has been reduced due to the combined efforts of the CID, minor offences still occur on a regular basis, which are blamed on so-called vagrants. The previous local government attempted to deal with these perceived social ills through the Safety and Security Committee including the tabling of the Promotion of Security and the Prevention of Nuisance by-law. This would have criminalized behaviours such as the ones listed above that were viewed as retarding economic development, scaring off tourists, and preventing investment from taking place in the city centre (Dreyer, 2003; Lombard, 2003). Writing on this phenomenon in central Cape Town, Samara (2005; 223-224) provided the following insight regarding the desire to removed 'unwanted' people from the CBD:

> *Black bodies become obstacles to economic growth, as street children and illegal parking attendants 'scare away' investors and visitors; the opposition to their presence in the CBD is ostensibly not about race or even class, but about economic growth, an undeniable 'public' good. Criminality in this context is not about race, inequality and exclusion, but rather the desire to make globally visible urban spaces clean and safe.*

Following the 2002 municipal elections however, the new local administration headed by executive mayor Nomaindia Mfeketo scrapped this by-law and called for new discussions into the matter (Dreyer, 2003). It was deemed necessary to make a distinction between criminal and anti-social behaviours to make sure that the appropriate committees debated them. While there is recognition of a need to regulate anti-social behaviours such as drinking and urinating in public, one of the primary

reasons for doing away with the Promotion of Security and the Prevention of Nuisance by-law is the inappropriateness of criminalizing poverty and / or criminalizing social behaviours caused by poverty. This is not an image that the city wants to be portraying especially given the values put forward in its IDP that clearly states that Cape Town seeks to be a tolerant, caring, and trusted city open to all citizens (CCT, 2005b). Issues such as these require long-term solutions and cannot simply be hidden. In this manner, the city is saying that the poor and the homeless are not pariahs, they should not be stigmatised, and that they are a fact of life in working and living in the CBD (Samara, 2005).

Reducing the extremes of social and spatial polarisation will remain an important priority for both the municipality and the Partnership long into the future as they seek to establish an integrated city that all local residents can enjoy and benefit from. This is a belief that is re-affirmed by Christopher (2001) who calls for effective hands-on local government action in bridging the divide in cities across South Africa, and Turok & Watson (2001) who emphasise the need to establish a workable municipal spatial development framework in Cape Town to overcome spatial differences.

5.6 Conclusion

In relation to this thesis' earlier chapters, the CBD of Cape Town serves as a prime example of a South African urban locality that is increasingly taking on the traits of a global city and possesses a strengthening localised economy. It is now expounding the virtues of a service-based economy and is a strong proponent of attracting market-led growth and foreign direct investment (Liebman pers. comm., 2004; Rippon pers. comm., 2004). As with many cities operating within this sort of macro-economic environment, Cape Town has had to deal with issues relating to deindustrialisation, manufacturing job loss, and urban decay. Unlike most cities in industrialised nations, it has however also had to deal with significantly higher levels of, not only unemployment, but also chronic poverty, inequality, social polarisation, disempowerment, and inadequate skills development. Although the LAED document and the current draft of the IDP are leaning more towards pro-poor development planning, they are not yet being fully applied. Instead, as this chapter has shown, market-led projects in the city centre have taken the limelight away from more

socially responsible developments in the rest of the metropolitan area (CCT, 2005d, 2003d).

This chapter has shown that since 2000, Cape Town's stakeholders have been attempting to prove their global competitiveness and encourage pro-growth development in a number of ways, the foremost being by entering into various partnerships that have been successful in pooling resources and which have aggressively marketed the city in the international arena. The Cape Town Partnership is the most noticeable example of collaborative action in the city centre where evidence given in this chapter indicates that several business and property owners have pulled together for the sake of saving and enhancing economic activity in the area (Liebman pers. comm., 2004; Rippon pers. comm., 2004). Their primary initial concern involved attending to issues of criminality and cleanliness that were seen as deterrents to people working and otherwise not spending any time or money in the CBD. Research has exposed that the Partnership has successfully implemented a central City Improvement District, which has invested considerable amounts of locally raised funds in private law enforcement and contract maintenance services; thus removing negative stigmas associated with the downtown area (Carter pers. comm., 2004; CID, 2003; Powell, 2003b).

The now more inviting environment and atmosphere have been shown to be an attractive setting in which to reside and has drawn people in greater numbers to live in one of the many flats being refurbished out of the several vacant, yet attractive, office blocks. Representatives of property developers, including Kirk (pers. comm., 2005) and real estate managers such as Joyce (pers. comm., 2005) and Wener (pers. comm., 2005), have confirmed that the multi-million Rand transformation of the city centre into a residential, leisure, and entertainment precincts, is and will continue to have positive pro-growth impacts on the local economy as more retail spaces and service industries open in the area to cater for increased numbers of local area residents. Previous discussions also denoted that the commodification of the CBD is now being tied to provincial and municipal tourism strategies that have evolved out of the earlier Joint Marketing Initiative proposals on coordinated tourism marketing plans for the region (JMI, 2001e). Place marketing by Cape Town Routes Unlimited and Cape Town Tourism has increased the number of overseas tourists visiting the city and

enjoying the natural and physical attractions that have been highlighted or recently built to tap into the global tourist trade (Ozinsky pers. comm., 2004).

Niche markets within the international tourism industry including convention and events tourism have been further identified as areas where Cape Town has become globally competitive and, as been demonstrated in previous paragraphs, have positive impacts on pro-growth locality-based development for the city. The construction of a R1 billion convention complex and the concerted efforts of the convention bureau within the CTRU have swollen the number of high-profile conferences and trade shows that are being held in the city (Schreiber pers. comm., 2005). Linked to this movement are increases in hotel construction, business opportunities for tour operators, and enhanced numbers of jobs being created in related hospitality industries. Foreign visitors in particular are spending larger amounts of money not only while in Cape Town attending business meetings, but they also spend a significant amount while participating in one of the increasingly internationally focussed cultural and sporting events. The city has gained international fame for hosting several world cups and large sports events, as well as by demonstrating its global aspirations through its past Olympic bid (CCT, 2003a; Hiller, 2000). As a result, the beneficial products of hosting such events include foreign media attention, an international recognition, improved reputation, increased economic activity and job creation, as pointed out by Gotham (2002) and Harcup (2000). Even smaller events are being managed in such a fashion that they are producing positive outcomes for local economies.

In conclusion, the move towards becoming a global city and the pursuance of major market-led locality-based developments in Cape Town seem to have produced mixed results. On the one hand, the city itself, at least in the CBD, has enjoyed increased private and public investment and thus has experienced a localised, primarily economic rebirth and has been transformed from a dirty dangerous location into one that is lively, sophisticated, and multi-cultural. Many tens of thousands of jobs are being created in the tertiary and business sectors, as well as in the construction, retail, hospitality, and tourist-related service industries. On the other hand, this growth is spatially clustered in one part of the city, it is physically and figuratively cut-off from the most disadvantaged sectors of the population, and is not expansive enough to put

more than a passing dent into the poverty and unemployment present on a larger scale throughout the rest of Cape Town. While it likewise appears as though Cape Town's position as an increasingly global city is assured, it will become of one the prime tasks for development planners in upcoming years to ensure that this global success does not overshadow the need to balance private sector investments against pro-poor locality-based developments required in other parts of the city.

This examination of Cape Town meets, in part, objectives three and four of this thesis in that it provides an analysis and assessment of an outwardly focussed approach to pro-growth locality-based development in South Africa. Only a handful of the country's most competitive metropolitan areas will be able to successfully compete in the global economy and, as a consequence, tap into the macro-economic benefits that they convey. Alternatively, what is a more likely case throughout the rest of the South Africa's secondary centres and small towns, is the need for stakeholders to look inwardly at their existing localised assets to develop appropriate pro-poor responses that more actively seek to include disadvantaged communities and individual peoples. The next chapter on local development in the Ndlambe Municipality and then the following one pertaining to Emalahleni Municipality will look primarily at these issues of pro-poor development and concepts such at community driven, moderated, or endogenous development initiatives and the actions carried out by local authorities that specifically reach out to under-privileged residents, which offer complementary, yet, contrasting approaches to locality-based development to the ones debated above in Cape Town.

Chapter Six: Pro-poor, Locality-based Development in Ndlambe Municipality

6.1 Introduction

Ndlambe Municipality is the second case study selected to provide an example of a different form of applied locality-based development currently visible in South Africa, as well as to provide another face to some of the theories developed in Chapter Four. This case is an example of pro-poor or bottom-up development that significantly involves the municipality and targeted local populations. Ndlambe is a municipality beyond the urban core and very much a lower ranked locality in the hierarchy of South African cities and small towns. As highlighted by Rogers & Spokes (2003) and Daniels (1989) many small towns are struggling to adapt to 21st century realities, and similar to the notion advanced by Devereux (2001), the towns within Ndlambe Municipality, like most other towns, has become vulnerable to global economic fluctuations. Furthermore, like so many of the country's second and third tier localities, which are not able to proactively engage in, or able to refashion the processes of globalisation such as Cape Town can, Ndlambe is still very much influenced by changes in international trends and processes. For the municipality's farming communities and those that rely on this sector for employment, decreases in the global price and the demand for pineapples specifically, which is the primary agricultural commodity in the region, have had negative impacts on the area. But, an increase in domestic and international tourist arrivals in Ndlambe's coastal towns has likewise created opportunities in a booming associated accommodation and holiday home construction industry. Striking a balance between these challenges and guiding these opportunities, however, continue to test the limits of the local authority' abilities to lead and provide effective development planning that targets under-privileged sub-localities within the municipality and that simultaneously can allow for pro-poor growth.

Ndlambe was further chosen as a research site because it provides a median example of variations in locality-based developments that are taking place on a rough development continuum between such places as Metropolitan Cape Town to places such as the predominantly rural Emalahleni Municipality. While Ndlambe is also largely a rural municipality, it is wealthier, and has better-capacitated municipal personnel than Emalahleni and is therefore better placed to support different aspects

of both market-led and market-critical development. However, it does not have quite the same number of global linkages or competitive advantages as Cape Town has that would encourage large-scale developments through private investment. Instead, it has been able to stimulate targeted business activity in a number of disadvantaged localities, particularly in one small town under its jurisdiction, Bathurst. It is the evolution of a specific community-led variation on locality-based development, which emerged as a successful derivative of joint community / municipal action that indicates that pro-poor development in Ndlambe is matching a range of the elements of successful small town development discourse introduced earlier in this thesis. Certain individual concepts, such as undertaking alternative forms of income generation, exploiting local assets, and establishing small businesses, which Barrett & Reardon (2000), Mathie & Cunningham (2003) and Lanjouw & Lanjouw (2001) explain are important ingredients of locally unique development, are visible within Ndlambe.

What is exceptional about Ndlambe, and what will be examined later on, is the degree to which the municipality has been able to encourage and then support endogenous development that has yielded two particularly successful pro-poor community-based development projects. These case studies actually represent a winning mix between bottom-up and top-down development practices, or what MacIntrye (2002) calls 'The Third Option,' which is also rarely witnessed in South Africa. The combination of resident-produced resourcefulness and municipally provided assistance has generated a seemingly prosperous platform of community-based / community driven development in Ndlambe that has all the hallmarks of the successful local development theories described in Chapter Four. These schemes originally started as locally identified opportunities to safeguard jobs within the community and as potential small business enterprises that could be enlarged to create supplementary chances for work for other residents of the area. Although, like most other municipalities across the country, Ndlambe does not have the necessary funds to undertake large projects on its own, it has a history of successful applications to funding bodies in order to support pro-poor development. The national LED Fund was one such source where the municipality had been particularly successful in obtaining access to capital. In total, the local authority succeeded in securing funding for three development projects in what has since been constituted as the Ndlambe

Municipality, including the Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project, the Isitena Brick Making Project, and the Nomzamo Small Business Hive / Micro Industrial Project. These projects, but primarily the first two, have since employed dozens of people from the area and continue to grow. A fourth initiative, the Masiphatisane Community Garden Project, though not funded by the national LED Fund, has also received support from the municipality and has also become a source for socio-economic development potential in the area.

While pursuing a developmental path may appear to be an ordinary course of action for the hundreds of municipalities across South Africa, and indeed is one that is expected of them, in the case of Ndlambe, something is different. As this chapter will demonstrate what is unique to the experience of LED Fund-funded development projects nationally, is whilst most supported projects failed, in Ndlambe Umsobomvu and Isitena, and to a lesser extent Nomzamo, have continued to flourish long after securing initial funding. This is in contrast to the findings contained in a document produced by McIntosh, Xaba and Associates (MXA) for the Department of Provincial and Local Government (MXA, 2003a) that contained a scathing evaluation report on the state of LED Fund projects around the country. One of their opening remarks concluded, 'In respect of the LED [Fund], the key finding is that while there are stark differences in the performance of the LED across provinces, generally the fund has been a conceptual and practical failure' (MXA, 2003a; 1). How the two main LED Fund projects in Ndlambe, which appear to be well entrenched in the local community, have survived and grown and clearly have the potential to yield lessons of national significance, are the key foci of this chapter. An analysis of this style of pro-poor development will also help this thesis reach its third objective of examining different approaches to locality-based development in use throughout South Africa.

As with the Cape Town chapter, this chapter will begin by providing a brief contextual overview of the study area followed by an examination of the municipality's development planning foci, as well as a discussion on its IDP document. Primary subsections will principally focus on the Umsobomvu, Isitena, and Nomzamo development projects, which have received financial assistance from the national LED Fund, and fourthly the Masiphatisane Community Gardening Project, which has also been supported by the municipality, will be examined. This analysis is

based on primary data collected from fieldwork that took place between late 2002 to mid 2005. Although research indicated that there are a number of sectors within the local economy, particularly those related to tourism activities, that do generate a fair amount of market-led development activities in the municipality and that have the potential to create several much needed jobs, this chapter will focus specifically on these four development initiatives. These initiatives have the needs of the poor in mind as a primary justification for their creation and as a basis for justifying municipal support. Similar to Cape Town, findings presented in this chapter are the product of research targeted at a specific sub-locality within a particular municipality. In this case, they focus on the outcomes of an investigation of pro-poor development activities located in or near the small town of Bathurst. In contrast to the study of Cape Town's CBD, where research focused on market-led developments, what is emphasised in this chapter is a study of projects (Umsobomvu, Isitena, Nomzamo, and Masiphatisane), which are of a market-critical or pro-poor variety. Collectively, discussions on these key foci will demonstrate a specifically pro-poor community-based development approach. Umsobomvu and Isitena will be examined from the point of view that they are two community-led and driven ventures that have had the benefit of higher level funding, local government facilitation, and strong market links. Nomzamo, which, although it has also received LED funding, has not been as successful, and is included to provide a cross-comparison and to further illustrate the dangers of inadequate development planning. The first two initiatives are used to denote the necessity for locally or community inspired yet market-driven enterprises to be complemented with proactive local governance. In the case of Umsobomvu, numerous local jobs were saved after the intervention of the local authority. This same process has produced over twenty new jobs within Isitena, which has grown to the point where it can purchase additional equipment from its own funds and is now starting to support various additional development schemes within the community. The Nomzamo Business Hive will be analysed from the point of view that, despite accessing similar government grants, insufficient business skills and the lack of marketable products contributed to the failure of numerous newly installed micro-enterprises.

A later subsection will include the fourth and final case study of the Masiphatisane Community Gardening Project that has succeeded in providing to a certain degree a

supply of fresh vegetables for project members and has, therefore, contributed to their social welfare, but is unlikely to evolve beyond the subsistence level. It is an example of a partially municipally sustained development project that is providing considerable poverty relief in the area, but is a case of an initiative that is unlikely to provide for significant economic development given its limitations.

Providing an assessment of development activities in Ndlambe and answering the questions of why and how the municipality has been so successful at preventing possible negative influencing factors and instigating a distinctive community driven, locality-based yet municipality supported variant of development is the subject of the concluding sections of this chapter. The goal is to contribute to accomplishing objective number four of this thesis of identifying beneficiaries. In many respects, it is the sponsorship of an enabling environment, which local authorities have created, that has permitted a multi-pronged development process to take hold in various locations. Self-initiated action, which embodies many of the tenants of community-led development, forms the foundation of local development in Ndlambe, but it is, however, how the local government has acted on this self-assuredness that has allowed for the growth of these micro-enterprises. In this case, it was not enough to encourage local people to come forward, the municipality itself and the staff are now increasingly in a position to recognise the value of such proactivity and channel it in the right direction. Arguments developed will explain how a variety of proactive local stakeholders and a hands-on local government appear to be critical in this situation.

6.1.1 The Study Area
Ndlambe Municipality is centred around the administrative capital of Port Alfred, as shown in Map 6.1. It is located on South Africa's southeastern coast in the middle of what is otherwise known as the 'Sunshine Coast' in the Eastern Cape Province. Port Alfred and the inland districts of Albany and Bathurst played an important role during the 1820 settlers period when it was envisaged that Port Alfred would grow into an important harbour for the Cape Colony and become a regional administrative centre (Skead, 2003; Grahamstown, Bathurst, and Port Alfred Publicity Association, 1928). This, however, never materialised and major shipping routes were diverted to Port Elizabeth, and Grahamstown, not Bathurst, grew to become the leading administrative town in the region. Instead, the farmlands surrounding Bathurst became closely

associated with commercial pineapple growing, and Port Alfred grew largely as a holiday destination. These two sectors continue to be the leading sectors of the local economy today.

As with Cape Town, the area has undergone considerable transformation in the last five years. As a result of the demarcation commission's 2000 amalgamation process, Ndlambe Municipality was created out of substantial portions of the former Albany, Alexandria, and Bathurst transitional regional council areas, the former Alexandria, Bathurst, Bushmansriver Mouth, Kenton-on-Sea, Port Alfred transitional local councils, as well as the local councils of Boknes / Cannon Rocks and Seafield. Ndlambe Municipality also encompasses large rural farming and conservation areas in its interior. Today, Table 6.1 indicates that there is an estimated population of 55 000 people spread out in the various small coastal settlements and farming communities. The population of Ward 5, the municipal ward where Bathurst is located and which is the prime focus for this chapter, has a population of just under 7000 residents. In contrast to the CBD of Cape Town, which has recorded a decreasing population, the number of residents in Bathurst is growing.

Even though Ndlambe has a well-developed agricultural sector, according to one report, it is a municipality that is still 'deeply affected by poverty' and has experienced considerable rural-to-town migration (MXA, 2003b; 66). Statistics compiled by the Municipal Demarcation Board based on the 2001 National Census show in Figure 6.1 that employment in agriculture has dropped significantly since the last census, but that there have been noticeable upswings in the social services, construction, financial, and retail service sectors, as well as in the number of job opportunities found in private houses. Despite the growth in almost all sectors of the economy, Table 6.1 also demonstrates that official unemployment in Ndlambe and in Bathurst hovers at around 40% of the labour force. In some township areas the number is often reported to be considerably higher (Balura pers comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2004). Ndlambe's relative poverty is also evident in Figure 6.1, which indicates that the majority of the population has an income of under R800 per month or none whatsoever (Demarcation Board, 2003b). Compensating for these shortfalls and contributing to poverty eradication is one of the foremost tasks for local officials in Ndlambe today.

Map 6.1 Ndlambe Municipality
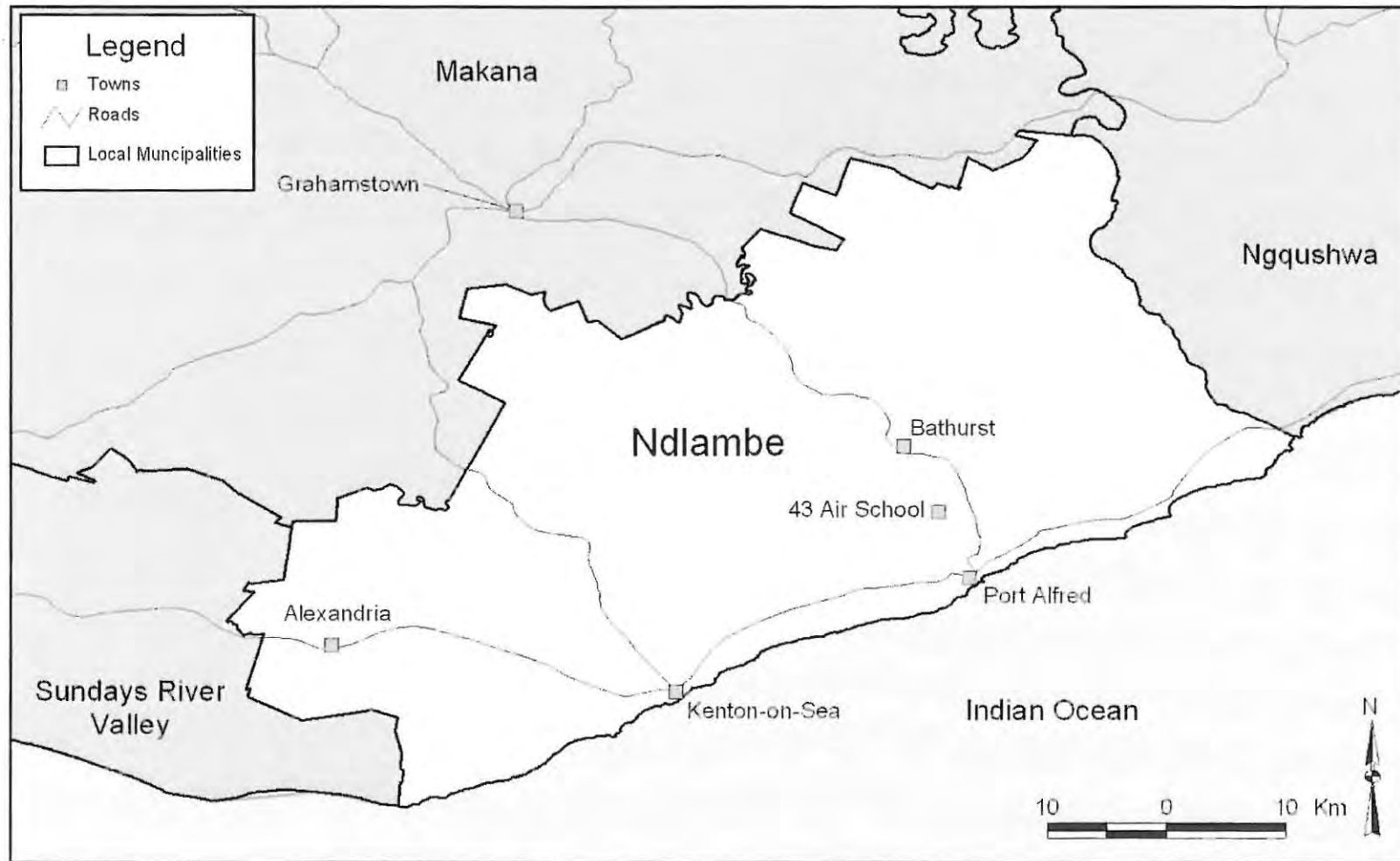
Source: Directorate: Surveys and Mapping, 1977-1980, 3326

Table 6.1 2001 Census statistics for the Eastern Cape, Ndlambe, and Bathurst

POPULATION					
	Eastern Cape	**Ndlambe**		**Bathurst**	
	2001	**1996**	**2001**	**1996**	**2001**
African	5 635 079	37706	43 715	5281	6499
Coloured	478 807	3176	3974	13	19
Indian	18 372	23	46	4	3
White	304 506	6201	7744	368	410
Total Population	6 436 764	47526	55 479	5739	6930

LABOUR FORCE										
	Eastern Cape		**Ndlambe**				**% ↑↓**	**Bathurst**			**% ↑↓**
	2001		**1996**		**2001**			**1996**		**2001**	
Employed	754 338	45.4%	10 346	66.2%	12 509	59.3%	10.4 ↓	1131	65.7%	1200 60.5%	7.9 ↓
Unemployed	907 984	54.6%	5293	33.8%	8584	40.9%	21.0 ↑	590	34.3%	786 39.5%	15.2 ↑
Total Labour Force	1 662 322		15 639		21 093		34.9 ↑	1721		1992	15.7 ↑

Source: Source: Demarcation Board, 2003b

Figure 6.1 2001Census statistics for the Eastern Cape, Ndlambe, and Bathurst

PEOPLE EMPLOYED PER INDUSTRIAL SECTOR IN NDLAMBE: 1996 & 2001

INDIVIDUAL MONTHLY INCOME NDLAMBE 1996 & 2001

Source: Demarcation Board, 2003b

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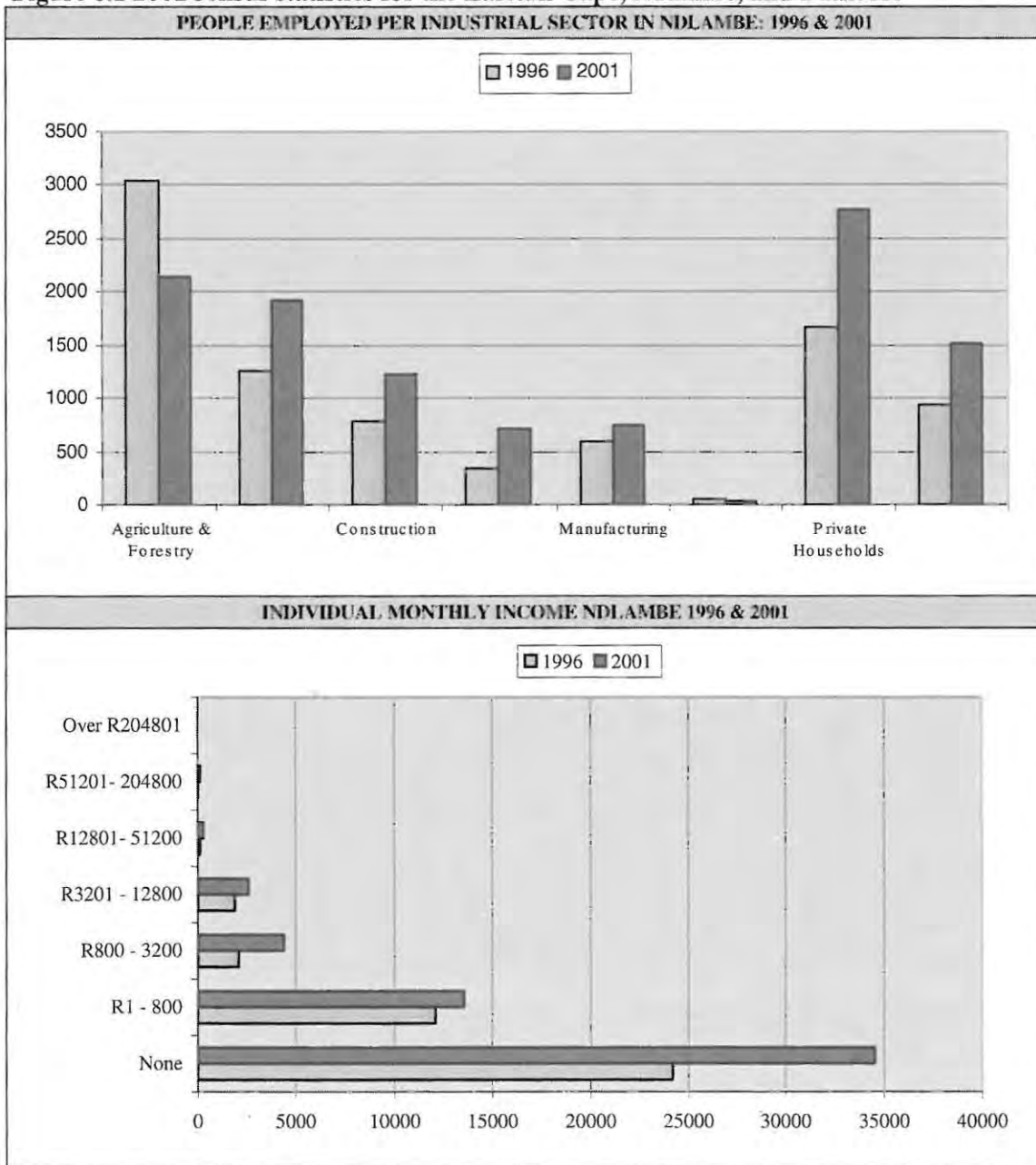
6.2 Locality-based Development Policy and Planning in Ndlambe

During the initial stages of formalising Ndlambe's new local government in 2000 / 2001, a single LED / RDP / Tourism Development / Agricultural Development Committee was established. It was the role of this body to direct development planning within the new municipality and to coordinate development projects that were taken over from the several previously autonomous town councils (Jordaan pers. comm., 2003a). This was a period when the local authority took the opportunity to reflect on development priorities for the municipality and to plan the way forward. Although the local government had limited access to funding of its own, and was therefore hesitant to invest its few resources in undertaking new, as of then undefined projects, they nevertheless displayed a keenness to continue working on the existing strengths and successes of development initiatives recently brought under its jurisdiction and move cautiously towards establishing their own unified local development framework. One of the earlier considerations was the recognition that it was not so much a matter of new developments exhibiting a Rand per Rand return on investments, as it was the desire and real need for the municipality to attempt various, sometimes experimental, forms of local development in an effort to combat poverty and provide jobs, regardless of the long-term outcomes (Balura pers. comm., 2004). It was also acknowledged that whatever responses it undertook might also have spatially limited impacts, but again, such acts were viewed as a move forward in addressing inequalities and positive steps in the right direction.

Today, in many respects, matters relating to locality-based development and LED, which have become ensconced in the South Africa development lexicon, are now influencing decision-making in Ndlambe. Like in other municipalities in South Africa, local development planners in Ndlambe have been mandated to assume a role of developmental local governance, were instructed to submit applications to the erstwhile national LED Fund, and are still now being called upon to create jobs, attract business investment, encourage small-scale entrepreneurial development, extend public services, and contribute to poverty reduction (Magopeni pers. comm., 2004). However, unlike many municipalities that now appear to be struggling to implement applied local development, while still an experiment in process in Ndlambe, this municipality has had the benefit of a strong development foundation and viable projects inherited from former municipalities which can be used as a basis

from which to grow and extend contemporary development planning. As future subsections will explain, Ndlambe Municipality has acquired multiple development projects from the former Bathurst Council that have demonstrated significant success and has also brought on board the former Bathurst town manager who established these projects and who has become a key developmental role player in the new municipality. Recently, the new municipality has been proactive in consolidating development practices and are currently in the process of formulating a unified understanding of and strategies for LED priorities. The 2004 hiring of a dedicated LED officer and creation of a single LED Office have further carried forward this process and have since helped the municipality internalise issues of local development and then translate theory and policy into practice (Jordaan pers. comm., 2004).

Under the guise of the newly established LED office, the municipality is trying to strengthen the idea of local development through communicating the idea to local residents that local development is also a means through which they too must address their own socio-economic requirements. To help pass on this message, Ndlambe has sought the expertise of outside sources. A partnership between the municipality and the provincial Rural Livelihoods (RULIV) programme, in conjunction with the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), has been developed to tap into outside experience. RULIV has been instrumental in bringing together various stakeholders from around the municipal area and introducing them to the principles of local development. Through the means of GTZ facilitated workshops, the municipality and local peoples more broadly are being made aware of what it is to practice LED. Together the people of Ndlambe are working towards developing a broader-based locality-specific LED strategy drawing on the needs and opportunities identified by area residents (Ende pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2004).

Additionally, despite, the growing number of tourists, both South Africans and foreigners alike, that Ndlambe Tourism Director, Beverly Young (pers. comm., 2004), has explained are flocking to Ndlambe's coastal communities, they have not had quite such an impact on the local economy and on associated municipal development planning as they have had in Cape Town. As is seen in the next section, tourism only features moderately in the municipal IDP. While processes of globalisation and localisation are clearly bringing more people to Ndlambe for a number of reasons,

unlike in Cape Town, stakeholders in Ndlambe have not been proactively contributing to the recreation of the globalisation processes nor are they in a situation, whereby they too can influence global trends in the tourist industry. In parallel, global / local fluctuations in agricultural commodities have likewise influenced prices and decreased the demand for pineapples that are grown in Ndlambe Municipality, which have contributed to rising job losses in the local commercial farming industry (Jordaan, pers. comm., 2004). In this case, it is the high levels of unemployment in disadvantaged localities that is shaping the direction of locality-based development in the municipality. As such, Ndlambe's IDP document noticeably reflects a priority focus on strategies to promote and uplift poorer communities.

6.3 The IDP Process

Ndlambe Municipality has acknowledged the key roles that local authorities now play in spearheading locality-based development through different projects and creating the right enabling environment in which to encourage socio-economic development. Ndlambe's development planning objectives and strategies are detailed in its IDP, which is considered to be the municipality's primary tool for initiating LED. The IDP process was initiated in 2002 when an IDP Forum met to formulate the municipality's development priorities. At this time, Ndlambe's current long-term vision proclaimed,

> *Ndlambe Municipality strives to be a growing and investment-friendly region that provides sustainable efficient, cost-effective, adequate and affordable services to all citizens in a healthy and safe environment* (Ndlambe, 2002; 13).

The IDP Representative Forum's primary task was to identify key community needs and after a series of public meetings and workshops acknowledged ten priority areas that the local government needed to focus on to unlock the municipality's development potential. Along with each priority, development objectives were formulated, and targeted responses were drawn-up to again help fulfil Ndlambe's vision. In addition to these ten, the IDP Forum also identified an additional four priority areas for the municipality, which it believes are the responsibility of higher levels of government, but which also need careful consideration in Ndlambe. The following is a list, derived from the IDP, of the fourteen most pressing matters

identified by the Forum. This list is followed by a more complete inventory and summation of priority areas, objectives, and plans of action as are provided in Table 6.2 (Ndlambe, 2004; 9).

1. The provision of water, sewage, and sanitation services
   - Bulk water supply and reticulation networks
2. The provision of adequate healthcare services
   - Health personnel, healthcare facilities, and emergency services
3. The extension and upgrading of municipal buildings / offices
   - Administrative & technical services and centralised offices
4. The upgrading of roads and transportation infrastructure
   - Access roads, traffic control, and enforced standards
5. The provision of electricity to under-serviced areas
   - Household connections, street lighting, and crime reduction
6. The development of tourism within the municipality
   - Unlocking tourism potential, cultural villages, and tourist info centres
7. The provision of recreational facilities for local residents
   - Sports facilities, multi-purpose centres, and beach access
8. The development of an appropriate environmental management policy
   - Beachfront management, alien vegetation, and pollution control
9. The extension of social services for disabled and older residents
   - Educational facilities, issues relating to accessibility, and satellite offices
10. The provision of bursaries for further education
   - Academic & technical skills training and assistance to selected students

The four additional municipal development priorities that local officials have identified but which they believe fall under the jurisdiction of various other government departments include:

1. Land and housing
   - Residential plots, commonage, and industrial land
2. Security
   - Policing, traffic, and crime fighting services
3. Economic development

Table 6.2 Ndlambe's development priorities

Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:
Provision of adequate water supply, sewage, & Sanitation	Provision of adequate health care services	Extension and upgrading of municipal buildings	Upgrade existing road network and infrastructure	Provision of electricity to all residents
Aim:	**Aim:**	**Aim:**	**Aim:**	**Aim:**
To provide all residents with potable, accessible, and affordable water, sanitation and sewage infrastructure	To ensure access to basic infrastructure & services which improve quality of life & support economic activities of the poor	To develop sustainable supportive living environments for the poor	To support the dev of economic opportunities & the ability of the poor to access these opportunities	To build on the positive initiatives of the poor in order to promote human development & self-reliance, maximize use of resources
Checklist of Actions:	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**
Conduct an analysis of existing and future water, sanitation, & sewage needs Conduct an investigation into alternative sources of water supply Appoint dedicated personnel as funding agents Identify existing short-comings	Promote access to affordable basic household needs & services Promote access to essential social services Facilitate provision of economic infrastructure including telecommunications in poor areas and affordable public transport	Promote sustainable access to economic, social & recreational opportunities Facilitate the creation of safe physical environments Support the use of public transport that serves the needs of the poor Support projects in geographic areas of special vulnerability Ensure disaster mitigation through risk reduction	Support human resource dev, i.e. skills training & affirmative action programmes Support provision of economic infrastructure targeted at informal SMMEs Facilitate removal of regulatory barriers & constraints	Support a city crime reduction strategy Support projects for vulnerable groups Support social networks of the poor Support participatory governance & social tolerance Implement preventative health care programmes Facilitate the practice of life long learning
Local Government Priority Actions:	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**
Develop & Implement water usages plan Provide municipal funding for water resources upgrading Improve standard of existing water supply Provide healthy and functional sanitation infrastructure	Develop, implement, & monitor local gov minimum household service delivery Facilitate the formulation of city housing strategy Promote safety by implementing city-wide crime reduction initiatives Provide funding for economic infrastructure through community-base job creation & SMME support Prepare & implement a public transport plan Develop municipal libraries to serve as community info centres	Develop & implement integrated environ management strategy plan Promote partnerships with communities Promote community safety by implementing crime reduction strategies Prepare & implement a city public transport system Develop & implement risk reduction programmes in vulnerable areas Develop new emerging tourism attractions	Fund & monitor selected SMME support programmes Resource & monitor selected SMME projects Fund selected community-based tourism dev projects Implement & monitor SMME friendly local gov procurement policy & procedures Ensure community-based projects focus on vulnerable groups Implement a dev strategy in support of tourism & related industries	Promote community safety & city-wide crime reduction initiatives Facilitate the city local gov elections Clarify local gov role in social dev Explore & support establishment of community dev corporations as non-profit organisations Facilitate dev of community facilities & events which support social networks Lobby for maximum resources for quality primary health services

Source: Ndlambe, 2004

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Table 6.2 Ndlambe's development priorities (continued)

Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:	Strategic Action:
Development of tourism into a leading industry	Provision of recreational facilities	Environmental management	Provision of social needs for the disabled	Provision of bursaries / financial aid for further studies
Aim:	**Aim:**	**Aim:**	**Aim:**	**Aim:**
To ensure that the most vulnerable receive essential support	To ensure access to basic infrastructure & services which improve quality of life & support economic activities of the poor	To develop sustainable supportive living environments for the poor	To support the dev of economic opportunities & the ability of the poor to access these opportunities	To build on the positive initiatives of the poor in order to promote human development & self-reliance, maximize use of resources
Checklist of Actions:	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**	**Checklist of Actions:**
Facilitate access to welfare subsidies for all who qualify Ensure essential services are linked to life line tariffs	Promote access to affordable basic household needs & services Promote access to essential social services Facilitate provision of economic infrastructure including telecommunications in poor areas and affordable public transport	Promote sustainable access to economic, social & recreational opportunities Facilitate the creation of safe physical environments Support the use of public transport that serves the needs of the poor Support projects in geographic areas of special vulnerability Ensure disaster mitigation through risk reduction	Support human resource dev. i.e. skills training & affirmative action programmes Support provision of economic infrastructure targeted at informal SMMEs Facilitate removal of regulatory barriers & constraints	Support a city crime reduction strategy Support projects for vulnerable groups Support social networks of the poor Support participatory governance & social tolerance Implement preventative health care programmes Facilitate the practice of life long learning
Local Government Priority Actions:	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**	**Local Government Priority Actions:**
Facilitate public access to information on national & provincial welfare programmes through municipal libraries	Develop, implement, & monitor local gov minimum household service delivery Facilitate the formulation of city housing strategy Promote safety by implementing city-wide crime reduction initiatives Provide funding for economic infrastructure through community-base job creation & SMME support Prepare & implement a public transport plan Develop municipal libraries to serve as community info centres	Develop & implement integrated environ management strategy plan Promote partnerships with communities Promote community safety by implementing crime reduction strategies Prepare & implement a city public transport system Develop & implement risk reduction programmes in vulnerable areas Develop new emerging tourism attractions	Fund & monitor selected SMME support programmes Resource & monitor selected SMME projects Fund selected community-based tourism dev projects Implement & monitor SMME friendly local gov procurement policy & procedures Ensure community-based projects focus on vulnerable groups Implement a dev strategy in support of tourism & related industries	Promote community safety & city-wide crime reduction initiatives Facilitate the city local gov elections Clarify local gov role in social dev Explore & support establishment of community dev corporations as non-profit organisations Facilitate dev of community facilities & events which support social networks Lobby for maximum resources for quality primary health services

Source: Ndlambe, 2004

- Business development, job creation, & industrial incentives
4. Education and training
- Counter-illiteracy, school buildings, & library facilities

One of the reoccurring themes that is now apparent and which will come out more clearly in upcoming analyses of key focal areas, is that local policy makers see pro-poor development as an indispensable tool for improving socio-economic conditions within impoverished communities. The ability of the municipality to provide the right environment, ostensibly by supplying the basics such as housing and public services, has enabled a number of independent initiatives to emerge from within the community (Bathurst), which this chapter now turn to.

6.4 Community drive, municipally supported, Locality-based Development

In the past, Ndlambe Municipality has offered a certain amount of informal support to development initiatives, which although may not have formed part of a formal, specific strategy, such action did have important impacts on community socio-economic development. One official gave the examples of considerable municipal expense being put into extracting cattle that had become mired in the mud or residents popping by the municipal offices to make use of the internet, making photocopies, or faxing applications for project aid. Again, the concept of rising to the occasion and providing business advice to residents is further evidence of an informal means of providing assistance to those in need. Also upgrading road access to projects or turning a blind eye to municipal water usage in community gardens goes a long way to supporting pro-poor development (Jordaan pers. comm., 2004).

By far the most significant projects, in terms of outcomes and the impacts that they are having on the local economy are those that were initiated during the time of the former Bathurst Council, which is now subsumed in Ndlambe, and which received funding between 2000-2002 from the national LED Fund. They were instigated through ideas generated within the communities and then realized after successful applications were submitted by the then Bathurst Transitional Local Council (TLC) to the Fund. The area's success with the national LED Fund can be attributed to the significant history of municipal officials, particularly in Bathurst, acting in a gatekeeper role between local residents wishing to start development projects and

higher levels of funding. This process has continued to this day between the new Ndlambe Municipality and members of staff inherited from the Bathurst TLC. In this case, although local officials were not in a position to provide funding directly *per se*, they were, however, instrumental in liaising with national funding agencies and relevant provincial departments to assist when and where possible. The outcomes of such an approach then and still now have often proven beneficial and some particularly motivated people from within the community are now approaching local offices with development ideas or business plans. Again, if funding cannot be sourced locally, Ndlambe now has a proven track record of successfully making applications to various other institutions to make up the difference. On these occasions, Jordaan (pers. comm., 2003a) explained that councillors may also provide advice on business plans, fill in funding applications, and add their stamps of approval to particularly feasible project proposals before sending them off higher levels. In this respect, by signing-off on proposals, municipal officials have been helping to legitimise applications and have provided projects with a greater amount of legal recognition and credibility. Successful applications in the past have helped purchase existing businesses, private property, manufacturing equipment, trucks, fencing, seedlings, and / or paid for skills development (Balura pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2004; Magopeni pers. comm., 2004).

Therefore, the current pro-poor development projects in Ndlambe, which have been selected for further study in this chapter, have evolved over time through the above processes. Today, they represent a number of stand-alone initiatives that continue to be facilitated by the municipality, and, as such, form the core of its supported projects. In particular, research in this chapter focuses on Umsobomvu and Isitena that were set-up prior to the municipal demarcation processes by the then Bathurst Council and have subsequently been left to the newly incorporated Ndlambe Municipality. Likewise the Nomzamo Small Business Hive and the Masiphatisane Community Gardening Project also became operational during these transitional phases. Map 6.2 shows the positioning of these projects in and around Bathurst. Together, they include a fragmented collection of community-initiated, nationally funded, or municipally supported enterprises, some of which are subsistence in nature, while others have begun to generate a profit and provide job opportunities for others. Forthcoming sections will provide an analysis of each of these projects beginning with, if

Map 6.2 Bathurst

1. Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project (Mount Pleasant Farm)
2. Masiphatisane Community Gardening Project
3. Isitena Brick making project
4. Nomzamo Business Hive

BATHURST

Township

Major road
Secondary road
Railway
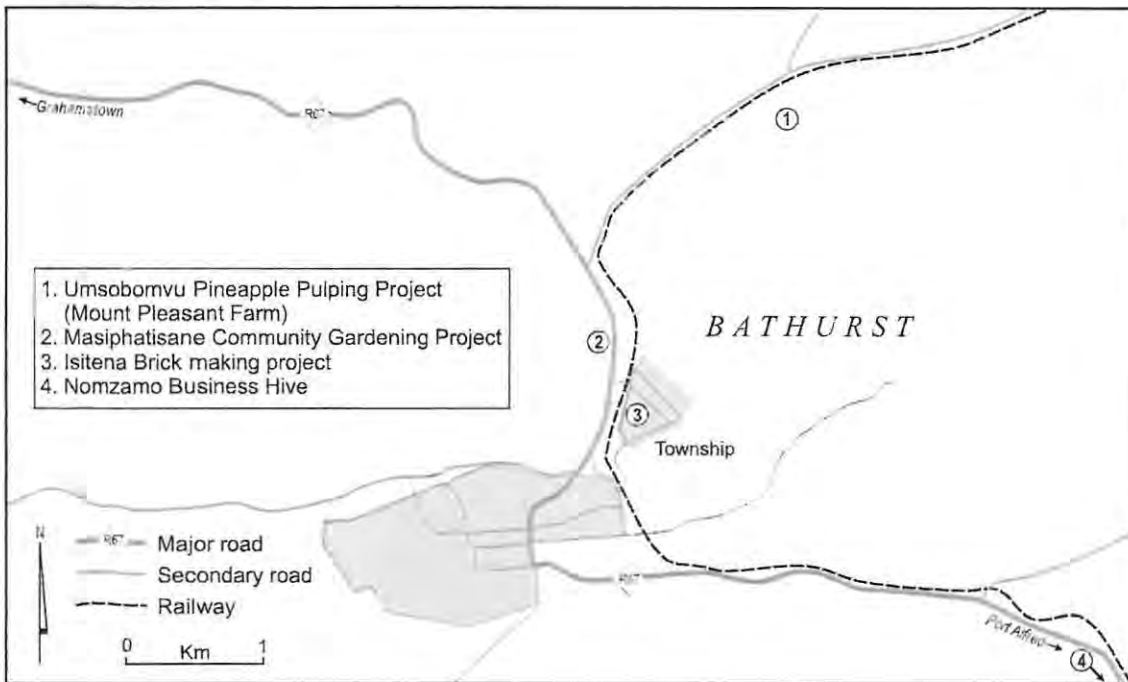
Source: Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping, 1988, 3326 DB; 1979, 3326 BD

applicable, how they emerged as nationally funded development schemes brought about under Bathurst Council's administration and the routes that they have continued to follow once absorbed by Ndlambe Municipality in providing for improved quality of life in host localities.

Up to the point when the LED Fund was suspended, the Eastern Cape had received a total funding amount of R43.39 million of which R20.15 million was allocated in the 2003 / 2004 budgetary year alone, an amount that was considerably higher than the original R6 million put aside for the province. Within the forty-nine projects that were approved for the Eastern Cape, a significant portion was established in former homeland municipalities (MXA, 2003b). As the following subsections will now demonstrate, Ndlambe however, did receive over R2 million in funding from this source and is now home to three national LED Fund projects. Of the three, the Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping and Isitena Brick Making Projects have, in particular, continued to grow up to the present (2005) and have developed into prosperous small community-businesses employing several people in the Bathurst area (DPLG, 2005c). The third, the Nomzamo Small Business Hive, has met with several difficulties and has not been as successful. Its long-term sustainability is now being questioned.

6.4.1 The Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project

The Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project was initiated in early 2001 after five residents from the Bathurst local township met to discuss the possibilities of creating an income-earning project for themselves, as well as for other unemployed people of their community. One issue that concerned them was the prospective closing of an existing pineapple pulping micro-factory on the outskirts of town and the impact that the ensuing loss of jobs would have on the already impoverished area (Tladi, 2003). The existing factory was relocating to Port Alfred to a larger and more centralised location, but its previous owners were willing to sell the existing infrastructure if the right buyers could be located. Dyakela (pers. comm., 2004), one of the original group of five explained how they believed that it was critical for the local economy that this business be saved. They began meeting with local municipal authorities, at this time still within the then Bathurst town council, to discuss ways of preventing its closure and safeguarding local jobs. Then town manager, Jordaan (pers. comm., 2002), recognised the value of such a business towards fulfilling municipal obligations of developmental local governance but was unable to free up enough funds from within municipal coffers to purchase the Mount Pleasant Farm on which the pineapple pulping factory was located, and thus rescue its operations.

Instead, the municipality put through an application to the national LED Fund for a capital grant that would allow the town council to buy the existing operations and interface with national development strategies for entrepreneurial stimulation and job creation within marginal environments. The business plan was approved for the 2001 / 2002 Fund allocation, and the municipality was awarded R850 000 towards the purchase of Mount Pleasant Farm, which was priced at R1.2 million (DPLG, 2005c). The balance (R350 000) was secured the following year and the farm was transferred into the possession of the new Ndlambe Municipality. Subsequently, local authorities turned over the micro-factory operations to the community, now led by four of the original five group members, and now calling themselves the Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project, to create a pro-poor local development project (Dyakela pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2003a,b). Plate 6.1 provides a photograph of the Umsobomvu plant.

Plate 6.1 The Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project

Source: Nel, 2005c

Plate 6.2 Employees of Umsobomvu peeling and cutting pineapples

Source: Nel, 2005c

The purchase of this micro-enterprise has allowed operations to continue virtually uninterrupted, and it continues to function in a business-like manner providing pineapple products to juice makers around the country. Umsobomvu employs twenty-four people from Bathurst, including the four management positions, with the rest working in the various stages of production including peeling, cutting, pulping, and transporting cases of pineapple pulp. Plate 6.2 demonstrates employees of Umsobomvu processing pineapples. The pulp is frozen on site and is stored in a freezer before being distributed to fruit juice manufacturers nationally (Jordaan pers. comm., 2003b). Some of the people, whose jobs this joint community / municipal intervention have been able to preserve, have worked at Mount Pleasant Farm for up to ten years. The initiative highlights the participation of local women, as the majority of employees, including two from the front office are women. The employees working in production are paid by piecework, and monthly salaries for these twenty-four employees range from R850 to R1500. If Figure 6.1 is again consulted, with the majority of Ndlambe's residents earning R800 or less per month, or nothing at all, those employed at Umsobomvu are amongst Ndlambe's higher income earners. This says a lot for the comparative success of this particular locality-based project (Dyakela pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2004).

Since then, Umsobomvu has expanded and generated valuable small business experience as a role model for community-led development projects. The municipality provides the land on which Umsobomvu is located practically rent-free, but the project must manage production itself and must pay salaries out of its own profits, as well as being responsible for re-investing back into the business in order to purchase inputs and buy new equipment. Project members have been required to enter into negotiations and form partnerships with local commercial pineapple growers in order to obtain pineapples on an ongoing basis. There are currently six local farmers who rotate pineapple deliveries throughout the week, depending on the demand and seasonal availability of pineapples. There has been some evidence of supply chain problems and an irregular and undependable flow of pineapples, especially during the holiday seasons when farmers sometimes do not arrive at the scheduled time. It appears as though commercial farmers are giving preferential treatment to their larger markets and only provide pineapples to Umsobomvu if and when they have time, which might be more infrequent during periods of travel over the holidays. When

available, the cost of pineapples is on average 88 cents per kilogram per finished product of pulp produced (Dyakela pers. comm., 2004).

Depending on the availability of pineapples, employees at Umsobomvu can process up to three tonnes of raw pineapples per day. This is equivalent to 80, 20kg boxes of pulp and pieces, which are then shipped to markets across South Africa at prices ranging from R50.00 to R72.60 per box, depending on whether the cost of transport is included. The customer usually covers the cost of transport, but in certain cases Umsobomvu is required to take responsibility for delivery of the product. It can cost, for example, up to R3000 to ship 125 of these 20kg boxes to Johannesburg. At R24 per box, outside transportation consumes a large portion of the per box profit. Shipping in bulk possibly reduces such expenses, but the purchase of their own lorry remains high on the list of Umsobomvu's priorities to help reduce costs (Dyakela pers. comm., 2004). There are up to twenty buyers in South Africa, principally in Cape Town and Johannesburg, and during one interview with Jordaan (pers. comm., 2002) it was estimated that the project produces 3% of the global supply of pineapple pulp, demonstrating the not insignificant volume of pulp generated by the project.

Plate 6.3 Pineapple by-product compost

Source: Nel, 2005c

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Umsobomvu members are also looking towards additional usages and markets for pineapples and their by-products, primarily through product marketing at trade shows, which management regularly attends. There have been some discussions about using pineapples in the production of beer to be sold in local communities. In addition, the project is also considering making paper from fibres extracted from pineapples leaves and other waste products to be sold principally within the homemade greeting card and crafts industry. A papermaking machine has been donated to Umsobomvu and members have been experimenting with it to try and obtain a marketable product. The proposed pineapple paper is currently being marketed alongside the pineapple pulp and pieces at trade shows and exhibitions. There is the further possibility of composting pineapple waste as illustrated in Plate 6.3 and selling it as garden fertiliser (Dyakela pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2003b).

6.4.2 The Isitena Brick Making Project

The Isitena Brick Making Project is a second national LED Fund funded development project in Ndlambe, which is also situated in Bathurst. It is a further example of a pro-poor community-led but municipally supported development initiative that has continued to thrive, while most other instances of locality-based development have failed throughout the country (MXA, 2003a). Like the Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project, Isitena came about through the combined efforts of a group of locally concerned residents looking to create jobs in an environment characterised by high levels of unemployment. In 1996, six residents of Bathurst's township came together to collectively identify potential alternative sources of income generation. Included in this group was Dinisile Jam Jam, who went on to become mayor of Bathurst for one term of office, and who has continued to be an influential member and key driver of the project (Jam Jam pers. comm., 2004). Collectively, brick making was identified as providing possible employment opportunities for residents in the construction of low cost housing, especially in the light of the Reconstruction and Development Housing scheme, which, at that time, was beginning to accelerate and expand (Jordaan pers. comm., 2003a). This parallels debates presented by the Food and Agricultural Organisation (1993), which pointed out that a backlog in low-cost housing in some developing countries is frequently the impetus for an expanded brick making micro-industry.

It was with the idea in mind, to initiate a brick making development project that this group approached the then Bathurst council with its plans. Again, as with Umsobomvu, Jordaan realized the potential value of a business of this nature towards promoting community development and the utility of such a business in providing the bricks needed in RDP housing construction through its associated public procurement initiative (Jam Jam pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2002a,b). Bricks could also be sold independently within the township to private households building or expanding homes, while, to a certain degree, bricks could also be sold to the growing holiday home construction industry along the coast. Financing, however, again proved to be an issue. The municipality began searching for other avenues for funding including the DPLG, which advised them to increase the number of people within the group to ten and to include more women and disabled people, before it would be considered for funding. The municipality then applied to the national LED Fund on behalf of the people of Bathurst for the project capital needed to start the brick making venture. In the end, they were also successful and funds to the value of R131 000 were secured and carefully managed by the municipality, which helped launch the Isitena Brick Making Project. It has since grown into a successful small community-business, employing over a dozen of the area's residents (Jam Jam pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2004).

The national LED Fund was dispersed in two phases. The first funding phase of R67 000 occurred under the Bathurst TLC in 2000 / 2001, and second phase, amounting to R64 000 under the current Ndlambe Municipality in 2001 / 2002 (DPLG, 2005c). An additional R18 000 was obtained from the District Council after supplementary applications were made for further funding. The local government provided municipal land on which the project now operates and leases it to Isitena for R100.00 per month. Portions of the original funding were used to purchase the equipment and the brick making tools now used by the project members (Jordaan pers. comm., 2003a). They are now responsible for covering their own costs based on the profits they make from the sale of their bricks. In earlier interviews with local officials (Jordaan pers. comm., 2003b), it was estimated that Isitena employed fourteen people, today, this number has grown and Isitena now employs between nineteen and twenty-three labourers as machine operators, mixers, or drivers at its production plant in Bathurst depending on the prevailing demand for bricks. Labourers, some of which are illustrated in Plate 6.4

Plate 6.4 Employees working at the Isitena Brick Making Project

Source: Nel, 2005c

Plate 6.5 Bricks laying to dry at the Isitena Brick Making Project

Source: Nel, 2005c

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are currently earning roughly R2000 per month. If Figure 6.1 is once again used as a reference, then employees at the Isitena also account for some of highest paid residents in the area (Jam Jam pers. comm., 2004).

It is estimated that 60% of output from Isitena, such as the bricks illustrated in Plate 6.5 goes towards the construction of RDP homes. The remainder is supplied to the private homebuilding industry. Although it was earlier recommended that the project ensure the inclusion of women, and despite proactive attempts to encourage them to participate, due to the physically demanding nature of brick making, it has become a challenge to keep them involved for extended periods of time (Jam Jam pers. comm., 2004). In 2003, transport became a problem when the lack of a lorry jeopardised Isitena's ability to bid for a contract to provide bricks for 535 RDP homes to be built in Ndlambe. Project staff realised that they could not possibly do so on their own, and on the advice of the local authority, entered into a partnership with another commercial brick supplier, Neat Contech, located in Bushmans River Mouth, to jointly provide the bricks to this phase of homebuilding. Isitena would eventually provide 40% of the bricks, while Neat Contech would supply the remaining 60%, as well as cover the transport costs. In the meantime, the project would look for various funding sources to procure the much-needed lorry. Again, through municipal offices, funding to the value of R200 000 was secured from the DPLG and channelled directly by the Department towards the purchase of an 8-tonne truck similar to the one pictured in Plate 6.6. Remaining funds were then used to buy protective gear and work-related clothing for employees (Jam Jam pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2004). Due to the purchase of this truck, Isitena was able to independently and successfully tender for supplying bricks for 212 and then for another 249 RDP homes. This truck also serves as a means of generating additional income for Isitena, which rents it out for other transport contracts when it is not in use. In this case, it is actually paying for its own operating costs.

In a recent interview with Jam Jam (pers. comm., 2004), he reported monthly business earnings approaching R150 000 from which the employee's salaries are paid and new inputs are purchased. One of the future plans for Isitena is expanding to meet the needs of the growing construction market by acquiring a new brick making machine capable of producing 35 000 bricks per day. However, at a cost of R500 000 this

Plate 6.6 An 8-tonne truck used to transport Isitena's bricks

Source: Nel, 2005c

machine would be an extremely expensive capital investment. Notwithstanding the cost, Jam Jam (pers. comm., 2004) is adamant that Isitena will purchase it out of its own profits in the near future. If this new machine is indeed purchased, there are plans to send existing equipment to Alicedale, another small town in the neighbouring Makana Municipality that is also experiencing a construction boom, where they can be used to establish another profit-making endeavour. The ability to raise such capital on its own, as well as the commitment on the part of project leaders to stand on their own two feet, are good indicators of the degree of success enjoyed by the initiative and the impacts that it is having within the local communities.

Isitena also plans to contribute to social and welfare development within Bathurst through the establishment of the Ilinge Youth and Agricultural Project. It has already identified a 29-hectare site within the community on which to establish this venture. This project would help give unemployed youth in the area an opportunity to do something constructive with their spare time by growing vegetables and possibly chicory. The provincial Department of Agriculture has indicated the possibility of providing fencing while contacts have already been made with the local chicory

processing company, Chicory SA, about possibly supplying the company with chicory from this project. It is unsure at this point whether the vegetables would be for individual household consumption or for sale within the community for profit (Jam Jam pers. comm., 2004). As of yet, however, Jam Jam (pers. comm., 2004) reports that the young people do not appear interested in the Ilinge Youth and Agricultural Project because of negative popular perceptions they perceive are associated with farming. Isitena's social commitment is also evident elsewhere however, especially through the provision of bricks to be used towards the construction of community-oriented facilities, as well as having donated R30 000 to a local charity catering to the needs of disabled people is the area. The fact that Isitena has progressed to the point where it too can support and / or finance auxiliary pro-poor ventures is a good testament to the community's ability to carry out locality-based development, with a degree of municipal support (Jam Jam pers. comm., 2004).

6.4.3 The Nomzamo Small Business Hive and Micro Industrial Projects

The Nomzamo Business Hive is the third development initiative that has received funding from the national LED Fund. Unlike the previous two projects described, the Nomzamo Business Hive was identified by the municipality itself as a means of stimulating local activity within Ndlambe. With the aid of outside support from the firm WWC Consulting, an application was made to the LED Fund for finance capital to create a business park to house small businesses and light industry within a sheltered environment and to give emerging entrepreneurs an opportunity to access cheap rentals and thus gain a foothold in the business community (Jordaan pers. comm., 2003a,b; MXA, 2003b). The municipality was successful in obtaining nearly R1.3 million in a two-phase process from DPLG (DPLG, 2005c). The Nomzamo Small Business Hive was then established in abandoned storehouses on premises of the 43rd Air School outside of Port Alfred and became home to sixteen micro-enterprises. A photograph of Nomzamo is illustrated in Plate 6.7. These small businesses offered services ranging from clothing production to panel beating, and from wood working to an African themed restaurant. The Nomzamo Business Hive got off to a flourishing start with most of the available spaces being rented out to prospective businessmen and women anticipating brisk business activity within the centre (Jordaan pers. comm., 2003a). It was estimated that sixty people were initially

Plate 6.7 The Nomzamo Small Business Hive

Source: Nel, 2005c

employed at Nomzamo as glaziers, joiners, and welders in a dozen businesses in 2003 (Jordaan pers. comm., 2003b).

After the initial novelty of Nomzamo wore off, the number of anticipated customers never materialised. Despite the erection of municipal signage indicating the direction to Nomzamo, its location far-off the main road to Port Alfred and its distance from the centre of the town and townships have discouraged visitors and potential customers (Magopeni pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2003a). The lack of marketable products and insufficient marketing meant that entrepreneurs have been unable to sell their products and services, and therefore they were been unable to gain a firm foot hold in the market place before the final vestiges of LED Fund funding ran out. By early 2003 when this finally did occur, many of the businesses were forced to close. Today most of these businesses have now shut down and of the original sixteen only one or two remain (Balura pers. comm., 2004). This is a clear indication of the importance of strategic site selection and aggressive marketing for small businesses over and above issues of skills and support and demonstrates the poor outcomes when not taken into consideration.

6.5 Additional Development Interventions

In addition to Ndlambe's national LED Fund-funded projects, the municipality lists a number of agriculturally based development projects that have emerged from within various localities in the municipality. In recent years, the municipality has further identified the use of commonages for the establishment of community gardens as a means of addressing issues relating to improving standards of living and food security. By liaising closely with the national and provincial departments or by making available under-utilised municipal properties, land has been made available to different pro-poor development projects and community associations. Municipal officials presently offer an additional variety of services to these projects. The municipality has also ensured that in many cases utilities such as water and electricity are made available on these properties and that the infrastructure exists to facilitate agricultural related business development, tying in the idea that if essential services are provided or the right development, which ties policies are in place, then local peoples are better placed to undertake income-generating initiatives for themselves. Ndlambe has also bought a tractor with funds acquired from the Provincial Department of Agriculture, which is additionally available on a rotational basis for projects to use to facilitate fieldwork (Balura pers. comm., 2004; Magopeni pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2003a).

Of the different sites around Ndlambe being set aside for communal gardening activities, the Masiphatisane Community Gardening Project has been identified as a short case study for this research as it exemplifies an additional, applied example of locality development in Ndlambe that attempts to alleviate poverty in targeted localities. It is, however, one, which has not secured national LED funding, and which represents a more endogenous form of locality-based development that has not enjoyed the degree of success as Umsobomvu or Isitena, but which nevertheless has succeeded in providing a certain measure of poverty alleviation for those involved.

6.5.1 The Masiphatisane Community Garden Project

The Masiphatisane Community Garden illustrated in Plate 6.8 is also located in the Bathurst area of Ndlambe and began in 1998 as a gardening skills training project coordinated by Masifunde, a local non-governmental organisation. The original

motivation for developing a community garden was to increase food security in the area and to allow members to sell whatever surplus they generated locally to generate an income. Although some produce is sold in the neighbouring community or to passers-by, much of the produce is consumed by actual members of Masiphatisane. The municipality provides the land for the project at nominal leasing rates, as well as providing access to water for irrigation purposes. Members also have use of the rotating municipal tractor when it is available (Jordaan pers. comm., 2004; Magopeni pers. comm., 2004).

In July of 2003, Jordaan suggested that the number of members active in the community garden varied, with some joining or leaving as they lost or gained interest. Ongoing research has revealed that regular membership usually stands at between twelve and fifteen with up to eight people working in the garden at any given time (Jordaan pers. comm., 2003b). Current project leaders explain that a small management committee governs the project with a bookkeeper recording incurred expenses and whatever income they may generate (data collected, 2004). Most of the members pictured in Plate 6.9 are over the age of 60 and are from the neighbouring township. None report earning a steady income from working at the community garden; rather gardening supplements the food supply for their households. Both members of Masiphatisane and the municipality would like to see the project grow into a small business supplying fresh produce to local communities, but they are faced with numerous obstacles including lack of seeds and gardening implements, insufficient access to the municipal tractor or the fact that it often breaks down or runs out of petrol, and high incidences of theft or vandalism. During informal discussions with different members, most of whom spoke on condition of anonymity, many identified that the biggest challenge was getting more people, particularly the young and unemployed involved in the project so that it may grow into something bigger. Again, members explained that the youth are not interested in agriculture, which is similar to the belief expressed by Jam Jam (pers. comm., 2004;data collected, 2004).

The outcomes of providing local residents with increased access to municipal commonage and supporting community gardens are mixed. The municipality is both politically and practically fulfilling its mandate of providing greater access to land, which are having valuable impacts on qualities of life, pro-poor development, and

Plate 6.8 Fields at the Masipatisane Community Garden Project

Source: Nel, 2005c

Plate 6.9 Members of the Masipatisane Community Garden Project

Source: Nel, 2005c

food security for limited numbers of people within under-privileged communities. The availability of land now acts as an incentive for residents to undertake further forms of endogenous development, even if it is only related to growing food for household consumption.

The relative longevity of the Masiphatisane Community Gardening Project compared to other such projects can be attributed in part to the partnership formed between the municipality and the members themselves. The provision of land and water from the municipality complemented by the albeit sporadic availability of seeds and farming equipment is sufficient to grow a limited amount of produce that is enough to supplement household needs, while the extra income from the odd sale of surplus is an added bonus. The limited amount of support received by the community garden is enough to keep it operational at the subsistence level, while at the same time it also prevents them from entering the open market where there would be considerably more obstacles to face such as finding additional markets, meeting demand, providing transport, acquiring more advanced business management skills, or encouraging disinterested people to work for the garden. Furthermore, many of the members or their spouses receive state pensions and therefore have at least one guaranteed source of monthly income, so there is little incentive to grow the project into something bigger than it already is. In that respect, evidence suggests that Masiphatisane has reached a quasi-sustainable level of perceived cost-effectiveness on the part of its members.

6.6 Assessment of Locality-based Development in Ndlambe

In general, these highlighted projects yield important lessons for pro-poor locality-based development in Ndlambe and for the rest of the South Africa, especially those derived from the Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project and the Isitena Brick Making Project. They are positive examples of community-based, yet municipally assisted development initiatives that have an ongoing history of advantageous links between local entrepreneurs, municipal officials originally from the Bathurst TLC and now in the Ndlambe Municipality, commercial farmers, and contacts within the private sector. The also demonstrate rare examples of community-businesses that have been able to effectively operate and survived in an open market system. Moreover, additional valuable lessons from Umsobomvu and Isitena, other than that

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they represent some of the few successful outcomes of national LED Fund supported projects is that they embody a practical illustration of how one municipality has successfully continued to assist community-identified initiatives that tap into local resources, local skills, and local needs i.e. pineapples and an expanding demand for bricks. The question that now needs to be asked is why have two national LED Fund-funded projects located in Ndlambe survived so long when, in actual fact for the most part similar projects have failed around the country? What is unique about the way that Umsobomvu and Isitena have come about that has had such a lasting impact on the host locality?

By way of prefacing answers to these questions, it is important to note that pro-poor local development has been a reflexive process in Ndlambe. Ongoing site visits to the municipality (2005, 2004, and 2003) have shown that municipal authorities are trying to move in a direction where their actions can present a unified strategy for locality-specific development and LED that will be of benefit to all residents. In the past, it had relied on the strengths of staff members, including Gert Jordaan, who have come from previous TLCs to provide direction in its developmental planning. The recent hiring of a LED officer has helped shape Ndlambe's development goals and strategies, which currently emphasise a need to focus on pro-poor development (Balura pers. comm., 2004; Magopeni pers. comm., 2004). To achieve this, the current municipal IDP is fixed on addressing social services backlogs such as providing access to drinking water and to sports and recreational facilities, as well as responding to infrastructural backlogs. The municipality now believes that if it makes these and other services available, then local residents will be able to focus on and undertake development themselves. The local authority also emphasises its role of providing informal and 'off the record' aid as leading to significant, immediate impacts within disadvantaged communities (Magopeni pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2004, 2003b).

An assessment of local development in Ndlambe reveals that its success lays largely in the fact that municipal officials once employed by the Bathurst TLC and now with the Ndlambe Municipality have long focused considerable attention on community-based initiatives within disadvantaged communities for the purposes of addressing the area's high rate of unemployment. One of the most likely reasons for success in

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Ndlambe has been the enabling environment that these people created under the Bathurst TLC and carried forward under the new administration that seeks to support the emergence of an endogenous developmental spirit amongst local peoples. In the same vein, leadership, personal commitment, and supervision furnished by Jordaan has ensured a smooth transition for these micro-enterprises during the changeover period from Bathurst to Ndlambe and has assured that they remain a key focus in new municipal development planning. Jordaan has also played an important part in motivating project members and ensuring that they participate in community development forums.

One of the most important lessons learned from the Ndlambe case study, particularly with reference to the pineapple pulping and brick making enterprises, is that they are unique projects that operate on the strengths of existing local resources and contact networks. They are not trying to replicate other development initiatives, which often fail due to a combination of limited business experience and an equally limited market. The pineapple pulping business has the obvious benefit of being located in a pineapple growing region, but also has the added benefit that it had a long established history before it was acquired by the municipality and community as a job saving / creating project. There was a definite market and a seemingly growing demand for the product, a pool of experienced and relevantly skilled labourers, and a number of capable local people willing and anxious to push the project forward. The Isitena Brick Making Project has the apparent advantage of having a former municipal mayor as a project manager, who is experienced in negotiating existing contracts and networks. Furthermore, Isitena produces a product that is in demand in both the public housing industry and the growing demand for tourist accommodation and holiday resort homes.

Not only is it a fact that these two community-businesses operate in an entrepreneurial manner that is an important consideration in their success, but it is also the idea that they use a demand-driven developmental approach that has improved their long-term viability. They clearly do not validate the opinion expressed by the LED Fund evaluation report that many of the development schemes undertaken by municipalities across the country will never survive in the private sector nor will they be able to mediate market cycles (MXA, 2003a). This assertion does not seem to be the case in

Ndlambe where both Umsobomvu and Isitena are both operating within the context of competitive private enterprise. In this case, the move to a market economy has been attained by the municipality supporting existing business opportunities or, in the example of Isitena, project leaders have been able to enter into partnership with another private business i.e. Neat Contech, to leverage private sector support and ensure its ability to deliver a product.

Moreover, the municipality's stance on providing basic services and for micro-entrepreneurial development in combination with accessing funds to purchase private property or commonage for public use has again been successful because it has been able to encourage the growth of small business development, as well as to stimulate a growing business climate. As with the case of the Nomzamo Business Hives, which although appearing not to be as successful as the other two enterprises, there has been an increase in the number of local residents who have acquired a certain amount of business and entrepreneurial skills / experience in the process. From a municipal perspective, this variety of locality-based development, which they are not directly funding themselves, represents an almost cost-effective means of encouraging pro-poor development at relatively little expense locally.

Furthermore, according to MXA (2003a), many of the LED Fund projects have collapsed either because the money available for a particular purpose ended or because various project proposals were hurriedly thrown together to take advantage of this ready supply of funding with little regard to long-term sustainability. Such artificial, supply driven projects lacked the individual commitment of those whose lives they were intended to benefit and included a distinct lack of ownership amongst project members. Projects such as these were doomed to fail from the start, when after the funding dried-up, so did the interest in maintaining the initiative. In Ndlambe, on the other hand, things were seemingly different. In the case of the Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project, it was a group of local people who recognised the value of an existing micro-enterprise and who approached the municipality, which then accessed the national LED Fund. They demonstrated a considerable level of internal cohesion and personal dedication to the project in collectively presenting a project proposal and, after securing the funds to start it, and continued to drive the process forward as part of a management team. They have a real incentive in seeing that it is

fruitful because it is they who started it and are the main beneficiaries of it. Likewise, it was the identification of a demand for bricks in the expanding public works and home construction sectors around the municipality that mobilised local residents into lobbying the local government for assistance. It is this cooperative action that has helped secure Isitena's future. For their part, local authorities realized the viability of the enterprises, their own development obligations and the strong demand for pineapple pulp and the need for bricks in the area, and made applications on the community's behalf, backed by the knowledge that there appeared to be a genuine ownership of these projects by project members and community residents alike.

It is additionally also important to note that the LED Fund proposals from both Umsobomvu and Isitena were assembled and put forth solely by the concerned members of the community and local officials, whereas the feasibility study and funding applications for Nomzamo were carried out by outside consultants. The first two have brought about positive responses, whereas the third has produced extremely limited results. This validates the point presented by both Atkinson & Ingle (2003) and MXA (2003a) that external 'specialists' not directly involved in the day to day activities of a municipality frequently lack the all-important participatory dimension to developmental planning and thus subsequently recommend non-market related ventures that regularly lead to an inevitable failure. The fact that the initial phases of the pineapple and brick projects were carried out by local residents in Ndlambe is a further indication of a need for community ownership and involvement from identification to implementation. This leads back to the related concept of the municipality being required to play the role of being a facilitator or enabler, and not to be the driver of locality-based development, which was given as a further reason for the failure for numerous LED Fund projects around the country by MXA (2003a). Municipalities did not accord sufficient responsibilities to those they intended to uplift, once again raising the issue of the real need to create an appropriate policy and strategic environment to encourage the right balance of endogenous participation and local government commitment (MXA, 2003a).

Although Ndlambe does not presently have a small business support centre, the presence of local officials acting as business mentors, again embodied in some way by Jordaan or the advice of local commercial pineapple farmers, has greatly contributed,

not only to their initial achievements in securing national funding, but also in responding to their daily business needs. Interviews with local government officials has shown sound aptitude levels in, and a sincere willingness to assist with, business planning, finding additional sources of funding, marketing advice, supplying technical support, or management expertise (Balura pers. comm., 2004; Jordaan pers. comm., 2004). Rather than being viewed as bureaucratic chores, which Atkinson & Ingle (2003) believe has led to the failure of numerous locality-based development undertakings in other municipalities, local officials in Ndlambe express an actual hands-on interest in what is happening within these projects and what outcomes they are having on host communities. Even unofficial help, such as making available municipal offices' fax and Internet facilities or the occasional provision of stationary to be used towards funding searches, proposal submissions, or bookkeeping indicates the commitment of the local government towards encouraging the emergence of development potential and seeking opportunities from within local communities.

6.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, an examination of Ndlambe has provided an examination of the first of two alternative variations of pro-poor locality-based development that contrasts with the large-scale urban regenerative developments that are occurring in Cape Town. What is apparent in Ndlambe, and specifically in Bathurst, is a uniquely pro-poor development focus that has achieved a significant level of local government buy-in.

This chapter has revealed there is evidence that locality-based development in Ndlambe is now beginning to mirror many of the theoretical debates surrounding localities in various peripheral areas of the world. Such areas are caught up in global flows, which although they may not be directly advantaged by them, are nonetheless indirectly subject to their influences (Rogers & Spokes, 2003; Daniels, 1989). In addition, unlike in Cape Town, Ndlambe is not a locality that is in a position to influence global trends by cornering substantial percentages of international niche market opportunities and therefore stimulate widespread market-led development. Instead, as suggested by Bebbington (2001) and Bebbington & Batterbury (2001), localities such as Ndlambe and Bathurst, must now perceive the forces of globalisation as opportunities to undertake market-critical development initiatives of their own that reflect their own abilities, skills, and resources. In this case, Ndlambe

has been singled out as an obvious illustration of a locality that has shown the ability to embrace change and is attempting to recreate itself based on contemporary strengths and weaknesses. Furthermore, the point put across by the World Bank's *Development Report* (2000) and authors such as Alkire *et al.* (2001), Gooneratne & Mbilinyi (1992) and de Soto (1989) that residents of poor areas are assets in development processes and therefore are better placed to pursue their own development initiatives resonates well in Ndlambe where concerned local peoples themselves have introduced various development opportunities.

It is apparent from the research presented in this chapter that the need to diversify the local economy is subscribed to by development planners in Ndlambe, as traditional, agriculturally based employment cannot be counted on to sustain large numbers of people. Attempts at livelihood diversification, which have been identified by Davis (2003), Smith *et al.* (2001), and Start (2001b) as precursors to renewed opportunities for employment creation in marginalized areas, are evident in the case studies of Umsobomvu and Isitena. The congregation of community-identified and local government assisted rural enterprises in small towns is a further hallmark of Wiggins & Proctor's (2001) appeal for proactive economic development. While a multiplicity of income generating activities may not yet be the norm within the greater Ndlambe Municipality, in Bathurst however, van der Ploeg's (2000) notion of a pluriactivity of alternative poverty reducing ventures is clearly visible and this small town is very much becoming a 'locus of small industries' (Dewar, 1994; 352). These successful examples of non-farm activities are endowing local residents with much needed business and entrepreneurial experience and are equally supporting Khwaja's (2004) and Mansuri & Rao's (2003) points of view that poor people are also valuable assets and equal partners in community-based development. It is also becoming increasingly probable that these micro-enterprises will be able to generate secondary opportunities for additional rural industrial development in related or downstream sectors, as has been the case in some scenarios in other developing countries (Arghiros, 1996).

The above discussions have also shown that the Nomzamo Small-Business Hive has been something of a disappointment for development planners in Ndlambe with over R1 million spent on a project that, for the most part, lies vacant to this day. The lesson learned in this scenario is the need to involve local residents in all stages of

development, not just when there is funding available to do so, in order to create community buy-in. It also demonstrates the perils linked to insufficient marketing and inappropriately placed business ventures and not sufficiently considering issues of accessibility. Jordaan (pers. comm., 2003b), however, expressed the view that even if development projects are not entirely successful, 'LED is also the psychological income behind it all.' In this case, the process itself is also about empowerment, self-actualisation, and broadening one's horizons.

Arguments have also indicated that the Masiphatisane Community Gardening Project has been responsible for providing a degree of pro-poor development by supplementing local households with fresh produce. In this case, municipally supported community gardens have improved standards of living for several pensioners in the area and have given them a certain amount of direct control over their food supply and a modest means of occasionally earning a minimal income. Masiphatisane has the potential to develop into a bigger money making venture if more members are brought on board, but conversations with members has indicated that younger generations are not interested in agriculturally based forms of income generation (data collected, 2004).

To summarise, in Ndlambe, pro-poor socio-economic growth has not only been substantiated by utilising existing physical resources (pineapples) and catering to a local demand (bricks), it has been complemented by creative thinking and strategic planning on the part of both municipal authorities and local stakeholders. The municipality's facilitation as opposed to domination of the development process has been instrumental in both allowing and supporting successful community initiatives. Concepts of hands-on and effective local governance, decentralisation, and appropriate decision-making, which have been singled out by various authors as having had favourable impacts on other small towns, have also been recognised as key elements supporting community buy-in, ownership, and local independent action in Ndlambe (Woods & Slaggert, 2004; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003; Rogers & Spokes, 2003; Satterthwaite & Tacoli, 2003; Hinderink & Titus, 2002; Kenyon *et al.*, 2001).

This chapter has also helped reach this thesis' third and fourth objective of examining and assessing different styles of locality based development in South Africa, which in this case, has demonstrated a combined approach of supporting micro-level enterprise development that uplifts the poor. The next chapter on Emalahleni will also help attain these objectives by focusing on predominantly grassroots development activities undertaken by individual peoples themselves, but this time in response and in parallel to the incapacity of local government. In the following case study, independent and proactive community-based action provides the basis for pro-poor locality-based development in the Emalahleni Municipality.

Chapter Seven: Pro-poor, Locality-based Development in Emalahleni Municipality

7.1 Introduction

This chapter now turns to Emalahleni Municipality, a municipality at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum, and how it, or more specifically its residents, are looking towards their own assortment of comparative advantages to reduce the town's vulnerability to external economic changes at a local level. It is presented as a point of contrast to Chapter Five, which demonstrated how Cape Town has resorted to important urban market-led redevelopment initiatives embracing the processes of globalisation and Chapter Six, which pointed out how Ndlambe follows a community-based approach to pro-poor development. Whilst Ndlambe has the benefit of a local government, which has assisted locality-based development, in Emalahleni local residents have largely had to rely on their own skills and resources, which makes this a distinctive case. It is also this thesis' second practical example of a specifically pro-poor approach to locality-based development in South Africa that seeks to introduce an additional face to the debates pertaining to development issues in marginal and rural localities as investigated in Chapter Four. Hence, this case will examine how stakeholders of one impoverished locality much further down the hierarchy of South African small towns have looked inwardly to their own skills and locally available resources in a desperate effort to survive in a hostile national and global economies that have marginalized, as opposed to incorporated local residents. In this sense, endogenous development, with limited or effectively absent municipal support is indicative of a community economic development variant of locality-based development as identified and detailed by Helmsing (2003) and de Soto (1989), which seeks to facilitate household economic diversification and poverty reduction.

The spatial context in which Emalahleni finds itself however, is perhaps even more challenging than that of Ndlambe as it spans the border of the former Transkei homeland, one of the poorest regions of the country (Woolard, 2002; Stofile, 2001). Over and above inherent local economic weaknesses, according to Lahiff (2003), cities and small towns of the Eastern Cape, which once provided a large contingent of the migrant workforce for South Africa's mining and industrial sectors, are now feeling the pinch of reduced remittances from absent family members on account of

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national trends towards de-industrialisation and mine closure. Nel & Binns (2002b) have shown for example that the down-sizing of gold mines in the Free State, which once produced a significant proportion of the world's gold supply, have led to redundancies amongst mineworkers often drawn from rural localities such as Emalahleni. This demonstrates their vulnerability to the ripple effects of being linked to global processes and how these processes play out in the most isolated of municipalities.

It is how municipalities such as Emalahleni, and the sub-localities within them, respond to the challenges posed by shifting international, national and local forces that is again of importance to this chapter. This becomes especially relevant in Emalahleni where two thirds of the population is unemployed (Demarcation Board, 2003c) and are living beneath the poverty line, which gives credence to recent claims by du Toit (2004), a leading national land claims / land rights legal expert, that parts of Emalahleni, including those surrounding Indwe, are amongst the poorest, if not *the* poorest, in South Africa. How local inhabitants within Emalahleni are able to adapt to global realities and how they have individually, yet within an increasingly collective context, been able to look at internal existing advantages to cater for local needs is what is of the essence in the upcoming debate in this chapter. In the case of Emalahleni Municipality and more specifically Indwe, a small town under its jurisdiction, this has required both the local authority and local residents to become more creative and innovative. The need to establish locally appropriate pro-poor development initiatives becomes all the more salient in places like Indwe, which has experienced the reality of weak and limited local government interventions from municipal offices. In this case, however, creativity and innovativeness have not been forthcoming from all role players. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, local residents in Indwe have been able to channel positive energy into creating a not insignificant number of jobs and alternative sources of income for hundreds of people. The fact that Emalahleni is located in one of South Africa's poorest provinces and is endowed with an exceptionally weak local government with even fewer resources to work with, and that local residents have independently, yet jointly, been able to embark on development initiatives that encompass a large portion of the community in Indwe, gives much weight to MacIntyre's (2002) claim that local peoples are best situated to cater for their own needs in lagging areas. In this case, a micro-economy

centred on artisanal coal production is currently providing job opportunities for many of the area's residents and in a number of subsidiary brick making industries. These cases exemplify resourcefulness on the part of local residents in their attempts to stem the tide of unemployment and demonstrate the value of diversified rural income generating mechanisms as identified by Davis (2003), Smith *et al.* (2001) Barrett & Reardon (2000), and van der Ploeg (2000). In a local sense, what they have been able to accomplish is noteworthy.

Therefore, this chapter seeks to draw parallels between the theoretical concepts regarding small town and rural development developed in Chapter Four and the type of locally identified and pro-poor locality-based developments that are occurring in Emalahleni. This is also the final case study and concludes this thesis' third objective of conducting a survey of various types of South African locality-based development. While limited local government interventions in Emalahleni are examined, the variety of informal community-based activity found in Indwe, receives special attention as this case serves to provide applied examples of how global forces have led to a resurgence in small-scale mineral exploration and traditional brick making as discussed in Chapter Four (United Nations, 2003; Hilson, 2002a; Gilman, 1999). Globalisation in this case has led to the marginalization of poorer areas, but in response, Bebbington (2001) notes that globalisation provides deprived localities with the impetus and the opportunity to pursue alternative forms of income generation. An examination of pro-poor development in Emalahleni parallels Dewees *et al.*'s (2003) assertion that small towns can mediate the impacts of global pressures This chapter will express the view that some localities within Emalahleni are now also in a position where they too should and can reconcile some of the tensions between globalisation and localisation by providing local solutions to local problems.

In this chapter, as with the Cape Town and Ndlambe chapters, an overview of locality-based development in Emalahleni will begin with a spatial contextualisation of the local environment. Opening discussions on locality-based development in Emalahleni will show how interviews with key local government officials (Gobingca pers. comm., 2005; Kwepeli pers. comm., 2005; Mdyodyo pers. comm., 2005; Feleti pers. comm., 2002) have revealed serious institutional, financial, and personnel weaknesses or shortages that have hampered both market-led and market-critical

locality-based development originating from the municipality. The municipality has also had difficulties formulating its IDP, which remains in the early stages of planning. The analysis of applied pro-poor development practices that is highlighted in this chapter is based on fieldwork and primary data collection that took place between June 2002 and February 2005 in Emalahleni. The first two examples of locality-based development that will be briefly examined will be those of the proposed Dordrecht Cheese Factory and the Cumakale Wool Growers Association, both of which have received outside support through provincial government and municipal facilitation. Discussions will show how the Dordrecht Cheese Factory is anticipated to stimulate employment in the dairy farming industry for emerging commercial farmers, whereas assistance to the Cumakale Wool Growers Association has been in the form of providing a shearing tent that has increased the quantity and quality of wool producers by local woolgrowers.

However, other than these few exceptions of municipal action, this chapter will illustrate how the lack of capacity on the part of the municipality has compelled local residents to exercise a high degree of self-reliance focusing on individual and community driven development. This is when the chapter will turn to research conducted in Indwe specifically, which, similar to the CBD in Cape Town and Bathurst in Ndlambe, is the sub-locality where specific development activities, which are used in this thesis to highlight an additional method of achieving pro-poor locality-based development, are clustered. Again, while recognising that there may be select instances of market-led development occurring in different areas of the municipality, this chapter will nonetheless look solely at mechanisms for poverty alleviation in Indwe as a means of emphasising this type of local development in South Africa.

A brief overview of Emalahleni's and Indwe's mining history is particularly relevant in this case because coal mining is the reason for Indwe's foundation in the 19th century and was the mainstay of its economy for many decades before going into decline. Community-based mining today has been revived at the informal level and plays an important role in Indwe, and at many of the same sites that were last used commercially over a century ago. This chapter will further demonstrate that local people have been reworking the old coal deposits in Indwe as a means to earning a

living since the 1980s, but it was not until the 1990s that they became valuable sources of employment for a greater number of people, many of whom had lost their jobs in other industrial sectors or had been retrenched from neighbouring farms. Today there are up to one hundred local inhabitants employed seasonally in different positions in artisanal coal mining. This chapter will demonstrate that the informal mining activities taking place around Indwe are conforming to theories of localisation where local self-sufficiency and the harnessing of local natural resources, such as coal, has become some of the prime means of mediating the outcomes of globalisation and have become a good example of a community-based development initiative (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). In the process, the contemporary constraints that Indwe's coal miners are facing are now echoing those of rural entrepreneurs and small-scale miners described by Andrew (2003), Andrew-Speed (2002), and Gueye (2001) worldwide.

The small-scale coal mining industry has spawned a greater number of employment opportunities in downstream sectors, which subsequent subsections in this chapter also highlight, primarily in brick making. Personal communications with a number of brick makers (Xegwana pers. comm., 2005, 2002; Mbelekwana pers. comm., 2002; Nonguwedle pers. comm., 2002; Siqhuqho pers. comm., 2002) have shown that the informal brick making industry is now one of the largest employers in Indwe and throughout the region. Using readily available coal, local brick making micro-enterprises are providing the bricks used in the extensive house building campaign that forms part of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. According to one spokesperson, several hundred people are now employed in brick making, but like the coal miners, levels of employment are dependent on the demand for bricks in and around Indwe and the lack of business skills amongst business owners has meant that it is nearly impossible to quantify their profitability (Dyantyi pers. comm., 2005).

Follow-up research has demonstrated that the local municipality has attempted to formalise both the coal miners and brick makers and to obtain licenses required for their legalisation. However, due to adverse environmental and health reasons, not only were the applications unsuccessful and rejected, but the municipality was informed that operations need to be closed immediately (Mdyodyo pers. comm., 2005). Discussions will show how municipal officials are now forced to tread a fine line -

debating what to do about the situation; close them down and deliver a severe blow to the local economy or leave them operating in the same dangerous manner, but in doing so, safeguard hundreds of much needed jobs? As indicated, coal mining and brick making have largely progressed unfettered, but the municipality has begun looking into alternative locations to move these rural enterprises to. This proposed move has, however, upset many local entrepreneurs who now see the municipality as a potential threat to their livelihoods (Dyantyi pers. comm., 2005; Xegwana pers. comm., 2005).

Closing arguments will include an assessment of the mining and brick making activities in Indwe and how they reflect key concepts contained in international small town and pro-poor development literatures. In many respects Indwe offers a practical illustration embodying the notion that localities and local peoples are required to assert their self-sufficiency in order to reduce their vulnerabilities to global changes (Brabazon, 2004; Helmsing, 2003; Gooneratne & Mbilinyi, 1992).

7.1.1 The Study Area

Emalahleni Municipality, shown in Map 7.1, is located in the northeastern region of the Eastern Cape Province, with the town of Lady Frere as its administrative capital. In is situated near the southern foothills of the Drakensberg in an area known as the Stormberg. Many parts of the area have a long history of livestock farming with a number of farming communities and market towns springing up in the area in the late 19th century as European settlers moved north from East London and Queenstown in search of more farmlands. Early settlers also played a significant role in the development of the local coal mining industry that initially provided the fuel used in the Cape Colony's efforts at industrialisation, before the mine closed (Mabin, 1993; Hillhouse et al., 1952). Many other parts of the region were designated parts of the Transkei homeland in the 1970s and 1980s, to which a considerable number of 'surplus' black labour was relocated. Again, as with Cape Town and Ndlambe, the area faced significant changes in the 1990s, particularly with the assimilation of the Transkei into South Africa proper and the later formation of Emalahleni Municipality itself out of parts of South Africa and parts of the Transkei. Today Emalahleni encompasses the former transitional local councils of Indwe, Dordrecht and Lady

Map 7.1 Emalahleni Municipality

Source: Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping, 1978-2000, 3126-3127

Frere. It is also home to approximately 200 rural villages that were once under the authority of the Transkei homeland government.

According to the 2001 National Census (see Table 7.1) the combined population of Emalahleni Municipality is approximately 116 000 residents, which is roughly twice the size of Ndlambe. The population of Wards 12 and 14, the two municipal wards that the small town of Indwe straddles, have a combined local population of 18 000 people (Demarcation Board, 2003b,c). Table 7.1 also indicates that the population of both Emalahleni and Indwe have decreased since 1996. This chapter will examine how the lack of employment opportunities is, in part, one of the reasons for a decreasing population, as people leave the municipality in search of work elsewhere. It is also one of the reasons why those who have stayed behind, or who have returned from larger urban centres, are now required to look for alternative livelihoods. Again, according to Figure 7.1, official unemployment levels have surpassed 42% in Emalahleni in general, while in Indwe they stand at around 47% (Demarcation Board, 2003c).

This high level of unemployment can be explained by the lack of large employers in the region that has been compounded, as demonstrated in Figure 7.1, by the recent declines across the board in employment in the agriculture, social service, financial services, retail, construction, and manufacturing sectors. The end result is that despite official figures, which place unemployment figures in 40-50 percentile range, unofficial estimates reveal that unemployment reaches as high as 80-90% in some of the rural and more remote communities (George pers. comm., 2005; Gobingca pers. comm., 2005; Feleti pers. comm., 2002). Figure 7.1 further indicates that virtually the entire population is dependent on the few residents who are employed, but who, for the most part, earn less than R800 per month (Demarcation Board, 2003c).

7.2 Locality-based Development Policy and Planning in Emalahleni

Interviews with municipal officials in Emalahleni have revealed that it is an uphill and an ongoing battle to catalyse pro-poor socio-economic development and provide service delivery to under-privileged residents (George pers. comm., 2005; Gobingca pers. comm., 2005; Mdyodyo pers. comm., 2003). During initial site visits in early 2002, the then municipal manager Feleti (pers. comm., 2002) commented on the lack

Table 7.1 2001 Census statistics for the Eastern Cape, Emalahleni, and Indwe

	POPULATION				
	Eastern Cape	Emalahleni		Indwe	
	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001
African	5 635 079	123 279	114 695	19 614	17 525
Coloured	478 807	641	618	217	147
Indian	18 372	23	28	3	0
White	304 506	786	595	252	169
Total Population	6 436 764	125 308	115 936	20 220	17 841

	LABOUR FORCE									
	Eastern Cape		Emalahleni				Indwe			
	2001		1996		2001		% ↑↓	1996		2001		% ↑↓
Employed	754 338	45.5%	7205	39.1%	5455	39.9%	2.0 ↑	1532	45.2%	1515	46.5%	2.9 ↑
Unemployed	907 984	54.6%	11 135	60.7%	11 626	68.1%	12.9 ↑	1855	54.7%	1740	53.5%	2.2 ↓
Total Labour Force	1 662 322		18 340		17 081		6.9 ↓	3387		3255		3.9 ↓

Source: Demarcation Board, 2003c

Figure 7.1 2001 Census statistics for the Eastern Cape, Emalahleni, and Indwe

PEOPLE EMPLOYED PER INDUSTRIAL SECTOR IN EMALAHLENI: 1996 & 2001

INDIVIDUAL MONTHLY INCOME: EMALAHLENI

Source: Demarcation Board, 2003c

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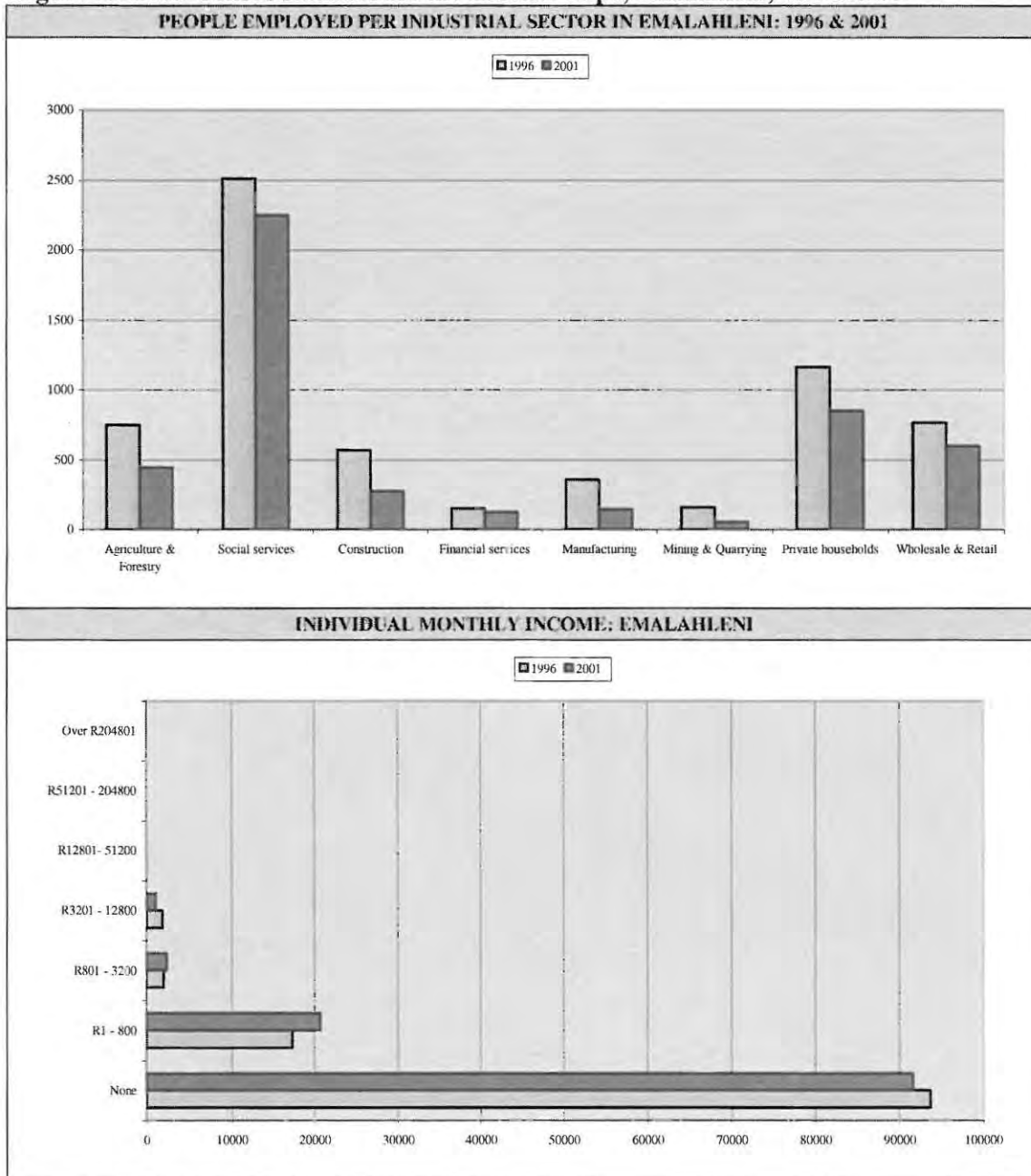
of institutional capacity, financial resources, manpower, and appropriate know-how in undertaking nationally mandated LED, especially in such a physically large municipality. In many respects, these trends have largely continued to the present. Local government staff has only just (2004) moved into new municipal offices having previously relied on inadequate facilities, but Emalahleni's current mayor Mninimzi Gobingca (pers. comm., 2005) has re-emphasised that it is difficult to attract the right people to fill vacant positions in local government. He added that local people with any significant skills are moving to larger urban centres to find work and professionals are put off by Emalahleni's and Lady Frere's remoteness and lack of mid-range housing. Transportation and communications are also problems for ward councillors, who often have to drive over severely degraded roads to nearly inaccessible communities within the former Transkei homeland (Makoma pers. comm., 2005). In early 2005, on a follow-up visit, the municipality was still without a finance manager, making it very difficult to draw up budgets and conduct important financial planning for local development purposes.

Not only are institutional challenges creating problems for local economic development, but the processes of globalisation and locations are again influencing the need for development aid in Emalahleni. As with Cape Town and Ndlambe, Emalahleni's economy has also recently been subjected to changes in world markets and global industries that are having important impacts on local economies. The country's larger industrial regions and mining sectors may have traditionally drawn a sizeable component of their labour from the former homelands, but downsizing in these sectors have meant decreases in remittances from absent family members and / or significant losses in job opportunities for inhabitants of the country's rural areas, including for Emalahleni (Slater, 2001). The global pattern of mining cut-backs has also hit hard in the municipality, which has heightened the need for strategic development planning at home, due to retrenched mine workers returning and adding to the already high municipal unemployment rates (Nel & Binns, 2002b). In response, there has been a pressing need for both local officials to devise and implement development strategies for the growing number of jobless, and for the unemployed themselves to look for different means of making ends meet. Emalahleni's IDP document sets out its current development priorities.

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7.3 The IDP Process

Research has revealed that municipal authorities are eager to fulfil their developmental mandates, but, as mentioned, do not (always) have the capacity to carry them out, or, on many occasions, to follow up on them. According to the national Department of Provincial and Local Government's IDP Nerve Centre (DPLG, 2005a), Emalahleni is one of the only municipalities that by 2005 had not provided the DPLG with its latest annual draft of its Integrated Development Plan to be included on the department's website. The mayor has added that the town's Spatial Development Framework remains incomplete (Gobingca pers. comm., 2005). Therefore, much of the municipality's contemporary development planning is based on its original 2002 IDP. An IDP Representative Forum was established in 2002 to set Emalahleni's development agenda and included delegates from ward councils, local chambers of businesses, youth and farmer's associations, as well as representatives from hawkers' associations. Together they formulated a municipal vision that called for:

A municipality that by 2006 is able to meet all the basic needs of the community by fostering economic growth and sustainable development to create self-sufficiency and independence (Emalahleni, 2002; 34).

In order to meet this vision, a number of priority issues were identified that were to be addressed in order to promote pro-poor development. The most pressing needs identified included improving institutional competencies, undertaking various development (often undefined) initiatives, and improving existing local infrastructure, especially that of addressing backlogs in housing (Emalahleni, 2002). A complete list of priority areas is listed in Annexe 6. Figure 7.2 illustrates the strategic framework that was developed earlier through a series of municipal workshops designed to help the municipality achieve its vision. In it, four strategies and thirty-seven individual projects were identified to unlock the development potential of Emalahleni. While the four strategies are clearly visible in this Figure and are detailed in following subsections, the list of associated projects, such as by-law development, clinic building, and focusing on wool production can be found in Annexe 7. It is worth noting that, based on final field trips to Emalahleni in 2005, very few of these projects

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Figure 7.2 IDP strategic framework for Emalahleni Municipality
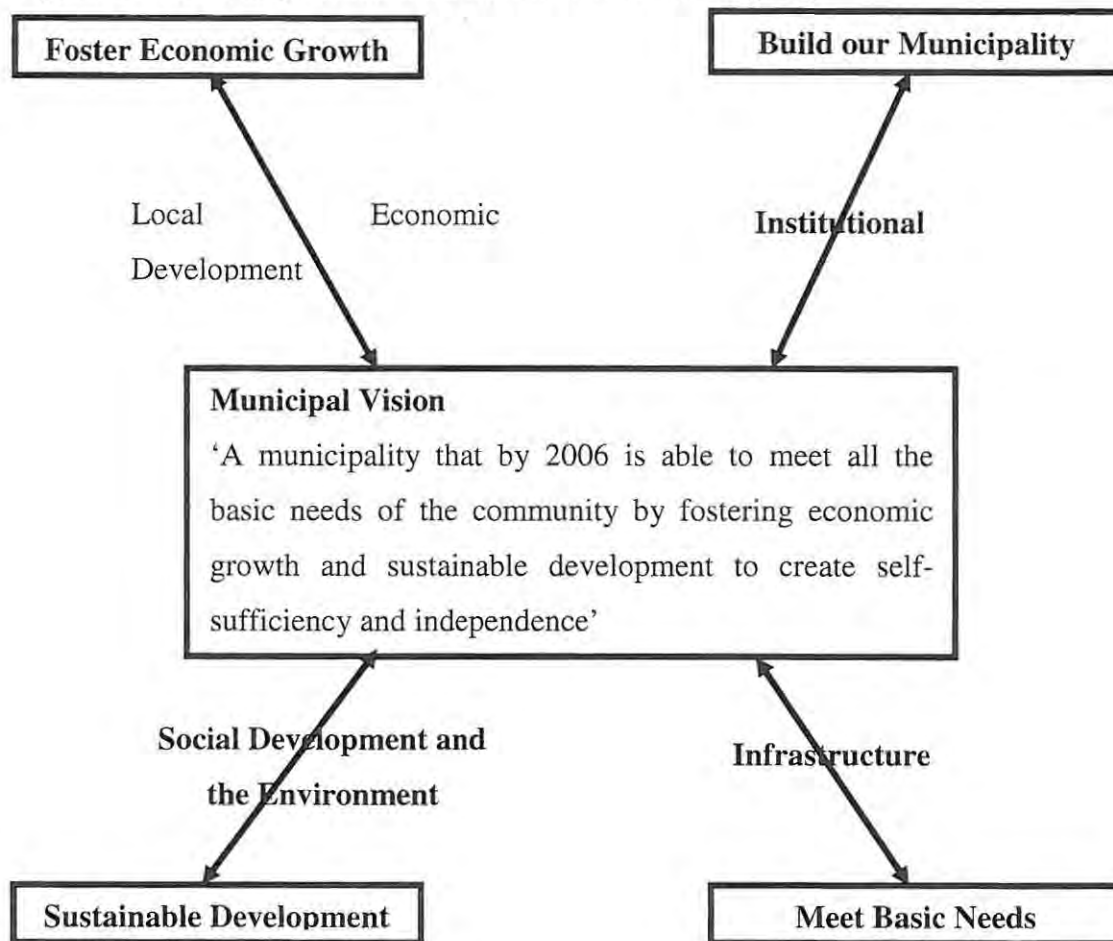
Source: Emalahleni, 2002: 42

will be actually initiated in time to meet the 2006 vision of 'economic growth and sustainable development.'

7.3.1 Institutional Strategies

Institutional issues were identified as key problem areas hampering development throughout the municipality. Local officials are struggling with amalgamating the previously independent TLCs under one administration and designing by-laws that will uniformly cover all communities within the municipality. The completion of new municipal buildings and bringing staff members under one roof, as well as obtaining proper office equipment are simply early steps in addressing these problems. In addition, the question of attracting skilled professionals to work for the municipality still remains (Gobingca pers. comm., 2005; Emalahleni, 2002).

7.3.2 Infrastructural Strategies

Upgrading roads and existing transportation nodes is a further priority need for the municipality in terms of integrating its development goals, especially in remote rural villages. Public services, including sanitation, electricity, telecommunications and running water, which over three quarters of the population do not have access to, have also been earmarked as important infrastructural considerations for Emalahleni to address, as is land rehabilitation and erosion prevention (Emalahleni, 2002).

7.3.3 Social Development and the Environment Strategies

Social development issues such as welfare, health, and education are also key target areas that the municipality believes it should concentrate considerable efforts on. There has been an ongoing demand for land reform in Emalahleni that complements spatial development initiatives to enhance existing rural housing projects, land management practices, commonages and public lands, as well as to lay out additional space for cemeteries (Emalahleni, 2002). Community Services Manager, Mdyodyo (pers. comm., 2005) has acknowledged that the municipality does support a number of community gardening projects in terms of providing seeds, fertilisers, and fencing, but does not have the capacity to provide them with financial resources, nor does the municipality have the capacity to singularly take on larger projects. Mdyodyo has also admitted that it has become increasingly difficult to motivate the youth in Emalahleni, mentioning the fact that there appears to be a significant level of apathy amongst the younger generation, which comprises a significant portion of the population.

7.3.4 Local Economic Development Strategies

Probably the most pressing need in Emalahleni is to address issues of economic development and poverty reduction. To that end, the municipality has identified agricultural development and tourism promotion as two possible means of supporting locality-based development within the municipality (Emalahleni, 2002). Specifically the municipality is keen to revitalize the local wool production industry and revive failed irrigation schemes, as well as to put forward proposals to market Emalahleni's mountains, dams and natural scenic beauty as possible tourist attractions. George, the municipal LED officer has admitted however that as the municipality is faced with such large backlogs in infrastructure and service delivery that there are few financial resources left over to pursue new job-creating initiatives and they do not have enough

personnel to drive the processes forward (George pers. comm., 2005). Emalahleni's new municipal manager Kwepeli (pers. comm., 2005) has also emphasised the fact that the municipality will not fund projects that have a history of long-term failure, such as poultry or bead working projects. Those that may receive funding must demonstrate some level of business proficiency and long-term survival potential. The level of municipal capacity is so weak that outside assistance is now needed to pursue municipal LED projects. Much of the current LED attention is now focused on a joint project looking into establishing a cheese factory in Dordrecht.

7.4 Joint Municipal and Outside supported, Locality-based Development

Even though Emalahleni is faced with various institutional and budgetary shortcomings, local development officials have demonstrated a clear willingness to undertake and pursue their LED responsibilities, but in discussions have re-emphasised the constraints that they face in doing so (George pers. comm., 2005; Gobingca pers. comm., 2005; Kwepeli pers. comm., 2005). On their own, the municipality has been able to instigate a limited number of small development projects, such as the gardens described earlier by Mdyodyo (pers. comm., 2005). The municipality has also attempted to embark on some larger undertakings that have the potential to diversify the incomes for local peoples, but have required outside help. In many cases, progress has only been made possible through external support from such organisations as the Rural Livelihoods Programme (RULIV) and the German Agency for Technical Co-operation - Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). RULIV was instituted in 2001 by the Office of the Eastern Cape Premier to generate approaches and opportunities for strengthening local decentralised governments in poorer parts of the province. According to one of its project assistants, Wolf (pers. comm., 2002), amongst the key GTZ areas of support in Emalahleni are targeting business and entrepreneurial development. At present, RULIV's role in Emalahleni is that of a facilitator providing links between identified projects and possible role players and funding agencies. The following sections outline two different development projects in Emalahleni that RULIV and GTZ have been instrumental in identifying, facilitating, mediating access to funding and / or associated skills training for these initiatives. They have been included in this chapter because it is necessary to point out that although Emalahleni is a poor municipality and it understandably has limited abilities and assets, these projects, or rather the

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partnerships formed to bring them about, exemplify the path that marginalized localities are required to follow in order to carry out their developmental duties

7.4.1 The Dordrecht Cheese Factory - Dordrecht

In 2001, the RULIV programme conducted a scoping study in Emalahleni, which was then selected as a pilot locality in which RULIV aimed to provide appropriate interventions aimed at creating 'employment opportunities through better agricultural production ... on the basis of improved and sustainable utilisation of natural resources in ... rural areas' (Fabricius *et al.*, 2002; 5). One of the ongoing projects, initiated in 2002, that has come from the relationship between Emalahleni and GTZ is the redevelopment of an abandoned dairy and cheese factory in the town of Dordrecht. The municipality saw this project as an opportunity to spearhead local economic development and job creation, in addition to encouraging the emergence of small-scale dairy farmers in the area (Feleti pers. comm., 2002; Rippon pers. comm., 2004, 2002). The GTZ provided the original grant to draw up a feasibility study that was undertaken by an international expert on dairy development projects, which revealed that a cheese factory could be sustained in Emalahleni (George pers. comm., 2005; Anneberg pers. comm., 2002). Although the GTZ's involvement was limited to the initial grant, municipal officials have succeeded in entering into partnerships with other institutions and government bodies in order to carry out the setting up of the cheese factory, with RULIV still being active as a facilitator in the process. In total, close to R8 million has been raised towards the establishment of this factory (George pers. comm., 2005). Tenders were sent out for construction estimates, and construction itself is set to commence during the course of 2005 (Kwepeli pers. comm., 2005).

Once operational, the cheese factory is predicted to create some eighty jobs on site and many more income generating opportunities for dairy farmers. To assist emerging farmers, the municipality has purchased the Koffiefontein Farm at the cost of R780 000 on which these farmers will have access to grazing land for their dairy cattle. The municipality is eager to get this project off the ground, because it is anticipated that both the cheese factory and the associated increased access to farm lands will have a positive impact on rural livelihoods in the region. They are expected to boost economic activity in the area, keep more money in circulation locally, provide greater

opportunities for employment, generate a means for earning an income for cattle owners, and supply local residents with an affordable source of dairy products, which in itself introduces a certain amount of food security-related benefits (Mdyodyo pers. comm., 2005; Feleti pers. comm., 2002; Rippon pers. comm., 2004, 2002; Anneberg pers. comm., 2002).

7.4.2 The Cumakale Wool Growers Association - Cumakale

The rural village of Cumakale in Ward Seven of Emalahleni is approximately four kilometres outside of Lady Frere and is home to numerous, primarily subsistence small-scale wool growers. Dunjwa (pers. comm., 2002), who is the chairman and association spokesman, explained how he and five other local woolgrowers came together to form the Cumakale Wool Growers Association. Its original purpose was to increase profits from the sale of their wool by selling it in large volumes in order to cut down on costs. Cumakale has since grown to include over fifty members from around the community who are eager to tap into the benefits that they see accruing to their friends and neighbours. Each farmer now pays an annual membership fee of R20.00, which is placed in a bank account and is used to pay for transporting wool to the market. Some of the issues now discussed by members relate to gaining access to appropriate medicine for their sheep, buying such medicine in bulk to again save costs, pressuring the municipality into providing dipping facilities, stock improvement and management, land care, and the provision of fencing. Additionally, the lack of shearing and sorting facilities had traditionally hampered progress for wool producers (Dunjwa pers. comm., 2002). In the past, much of the wool was left on the sheep and became wasted, or once it was shorn off, often became dirty thus reducing the value of the wool and the amount of money earned by these farmers at the end of the season.

The Cumakale Wool Growers Association has since also become the recipients of aid resulting from the partnership between the municipality and RULIV. In October of 2002, through RULIV, the GTZ provided a mobile shearing tent to the woolgrowers to provide shelter during the shearing season and improve the quality and quantity of the yield (National Wool Growers Association, 2002). Victoria Gqotso, who is counsellor for Ward Seven, explained that the sheep shearing tents is also to be rented out to local residents during the off-season to be used for weddings, funerals, and

mobile markets to generate funds to pay for the upkeep of the tent (Gqotso pers. comm., 2002). Since then, the municipal LED officer, George (pers. comm., 2005) has acknowledged that the efficiency of wool production has improved and Cumakale members are earning more profits. He also notes that the Chris Hani District Municipality has constructed numerous permanent sheep shearing structures throughout the area, including in Cumakale, which have further formalised the wool growing industry. The tent is still circulating through the community however (George pers. comm., 2005).

As a result, fifty sheep farmers, with more continuing to join the Association, are enjoying increased profitability from their sheep. In some cases it is reported that these farmers are able to get up to 50% more wool from their sheep due to improved sheep-shearing techniques (George pers. comm., 2005; Dunjwa pers. comm., 2002). Cumakale is again an example of a locality exploiting a resource of which there is a large quantity of i.e. sheep and wool, for the sake of poverty alleviation in the area. The municipality has demonstrated a further commitment to directing what limited resources it has at the poorest segments of the population, which has yielded noteworthy results. This again demonstrates a proactive development ethos through collaborating with RULIV in the realization of this project. Not all localities in Emalahleni have received this form of aid, but at least it is a small but positive step in the right direction for LED within the municipality.

7.5 Individually identified and Community driven, Locality-based Development
Emalahleni's inability to sponsor a broad assortment of development projects throughout the municipality has left many communities on their own to deal with local problems of economic hardship. Many residents of some of these localities are now looking inwards to see where they can instigate activities of their own to individually and / or collectively moderate local economic pressures and begin to address scarcities in employment.

The remainder of this chapter will examine pro-poor locality-based development in Indwe, which encompasses the individually initiated and community organised coal mining and brick making micro-enterprises. The layout of these micro-enterprises and the RDP housing extensions, which were constructed out of locally produced bricks,

Map 7.2 Indwe

1. Original coal mining site
2. Secondary coal mining site
3. Original brick making site
4. Secondary brick making site
5 & 6. RDP housing expansion sites
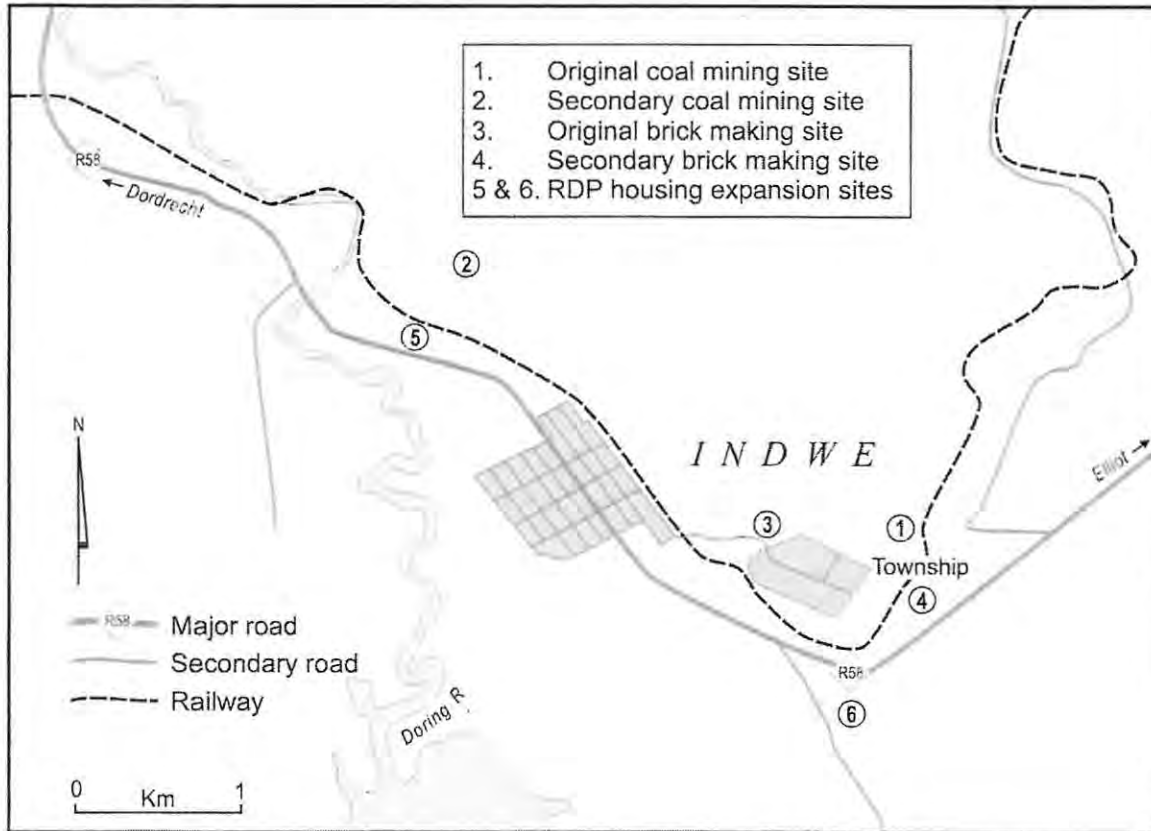
Source: Chief Directorate: Survey and Mapping, 1981, 3127 AD

is visible in Map 7.2. The micro-economy is being driven autonomously by associations of local inhabitants largely free of external support, which have had important implications for this thesis's locality-based research focus in terms of both theory and practice. These case studies serve to illustrate many of the theories of localisation developed in Chapters Three and Four, which point out that even within municipalities that have virtually no global influence, outreach, or resources, the locality itself and the people residing there-in are important players in development. Whereas Cape Town is an example of a locality that is forging numerous global links, Indwe in Emalahleni Municipality specifically has none what so ever. In addition, due to the local government's comparatively limited resources (financial, human, and infrastructural), there has been remarkably little municipal development assistance in Indwe. Regardless of this, a dynamic micro-economy has developed in this locality through independent community initiatives, which in many simple, yet beneficial ways, compensates for shortfalls within the municipality. Many hundreds of local residents have now created income-generating opportunities of their own through small-scale mining and brick making.

The informal mining activities in Indwe recount the classic tale of a depressed remote community tapping into local resources and, in the process, have managed to partially revive the local economy, give it new direction, and contribute to the diversification of rural livelihoods. In Indwe, small-scale mining, which is at the heart of this new economic growth, has spurred on the development of secondary industries including local transport and an extensive brick making sector that, in turn, has facilitated the construction of local RPD housing at reduced costs to the municipality (George pers. comm., 2005; Kwepeli pers. comm., 2005). This form of small-scale mining actually closely parallels the artisanal and small-scale mining literature detailed in Chapter Four with many of the achievements and pitfalls experienced by local miners mirroring those of their counterparts around the world. Indwe, in many respects, represents a microcosm of international debates pertaining to artisanal mining including the questions of local economic impact, legality, sustainability, health and safety, and environmental concerns (United Nations, 2003, 1996a; Hilson, 2002a, 2001; McMahon & Davidson, 2000; Tráore, 1994).

7.5.1 Coal Mining History in Indwe (1883-1917)

Historically the key feature within the economic history of the Emalahleni area was the once prominent position held by Indwe as a major coal mining centre. Given this significant reality and the fact that local community initiatives are currently focussed on reworking the century old mine a historical contextualisation is included to provide a background to current endeavours. Mining has influenced the economy of Indwe for many years, first starting at the end of the 19th century and now again starting at the end of the 20th century. Coal mining is now seen by many to be a way of reviving the economy of this old company mining town. Although the scale and degree of formalisation are at opposite ends of the mining spectrum, there are similarities between the two phases of mining history. This subsection includes a summary of Indwe's mining background and how a thriving local economy grew up, seemingly from nothing, around the presence of an abundantly available natural resource. Contemporarily, a new and no less vibrant local economy is once again growing up centred around this resource and is once more giving the community a degree of hope for a better future.

Signs of interest in the fertile lands and coal deposits of the Indwe Valley became apparent in the mid 19th century when English and Afrikaans settlers began occupying farms and rearing cattle and sheep in the northeastern border areas of the Cape Colony (Methodist Church of Southern Africa, date unknown). At the same time, a steady influx of merchants and settlers set out from Dordrecht, and began claiming additional lands in neighbouring valleys, and started establishing basic coal mining operations along the banks of the Indwe River. The lands east of the river were finally annexed to the colony in 1883 and Dordrecht businessmen were quick to apply for and were granted mineral leases in the newly opened territory. The demand for coal to fuel industrialisation throughout the Cape Colony including Kimberly's diamond fields, an expanding rail network, and later the requirements of the Witwatersrand gold mines attracted increasing numbers of profiteers to Indwe's coal fields (Mabin, 1993). With the advent of the railway, productivity flourished and, at its height, the Indwe Railway, Collieries, and Land Company (IRC&L) produced 100 000 tonnes of coal per annum and employed approximately 60 whites in managerial positions and 1100 Africans, predominantly as labourers (Mabin, 1993; Hillhouse *et al.*, 1952).

Soon thereafter in 1896, according to Bulpin (1980), Indwe formally gained municipal status and the town was divided into almost six hundred plots for residential housing, banks, churches, and other municipal buildings (Mabin, 1993; Hillhouse *et al.*, 1952). Indwe even had the noteworthy honour of being the third municipality in the country, after Cape Town and Kimberly, to have electric lights installed, which was an indication of the importance attached to coal mining by the rest of the colony, and which further enhanced the economic viability of the town (Burgess pers. comm., 2002). Numerous mine-related businesses cropped up in the settlement including several general dealers, hardware stores, and recruiting agencies, as well as a multitude of shops, green grocers, butchers, banks, insurance companies, attorneys and surveyors to cater for miners and their families. The erection of schools, churches, the Royal Hotel and public buildings followed this influx of newcomers. By 1904, the population of Indwe had reached 2604 and was still growing (Mabin, 1993).

It was also at the turn of the century however, that Indwe first began to experience economic troubles when a labour shortage during the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 prevented the ICR&L from keeping up with the demand for coal. The later discovery

of higher grade coal closer to the gold mining areas in the centre of the country was a further set back for the local coal mining industry and Indwe's coal production and economic activity began to fade after 1910 as even more manual labourers were recruited from the district to work on the mines in the Witwatersrand. Unable to supply the expanded demand, facing stiff competition from more conveniently located mines, contracts became difficult to come by for the ICR&L. The company finally went into liquidation in 1917 and the remaining land controlled by the company was bought by the government and redistributed to soldiers returning home from the First World War for farming purposes (Burgess pers. comm., 2002; Mabin, 1993; Hillhouse *et al.*, 1952). The complete closure in 1917 of the coalmines equated to an instantaneous shock to the local economy and precipitated a rapid decline in business activity. Unemployment rose drastically, personal incomes dried-up, and retrenched mine managers, miners and their families began leaving the town and surrounding areas in droves in search of employment elsewhere in other industries. Some whites bought local farms in the surrounding areas, while within the black population those who could, left, and the others sought employment on neighbouring farms, or simply stayed in the local township and lived-off whatever earnings they could (Franz pers. comm., 2002). Figure 7.3 demonstrates the extent to how much business activity dwindled with the number of businesses listed in the directory dropping off significantly since Indwe's Heyday.

Figure 7.3 Number of businesses in Indwe between 1894 and 2004
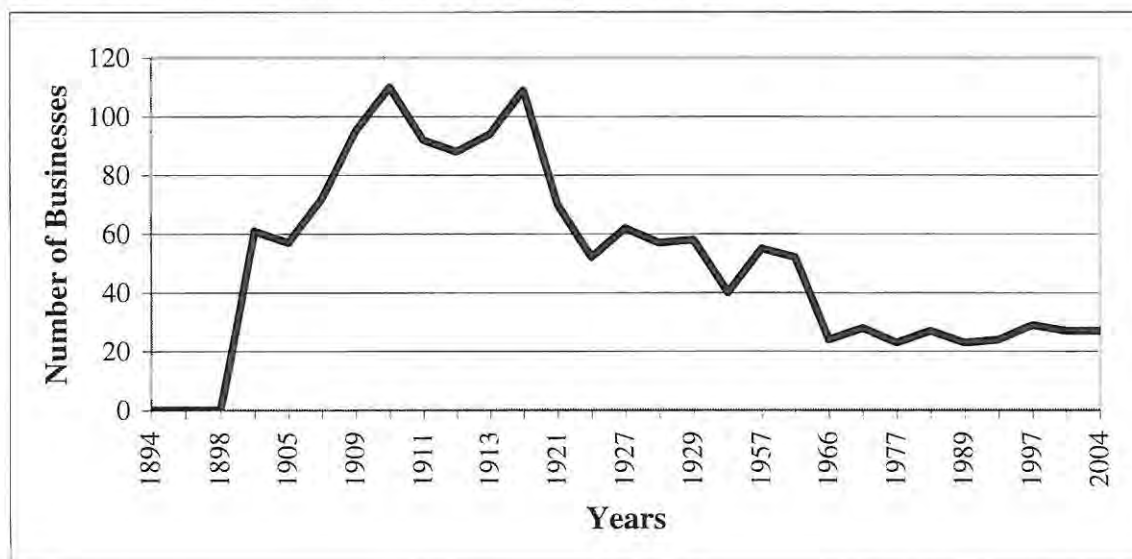
Source: White, 2004

The town of Indwe soon settled into its new role as service centre for its rural hinterland for the livestock and dairy farmers. Hillhouse *et al.* (1952) explain that the community continued to grow, albeit on a slower pace, with the establishment of various churches, health services, schools, and professional organisations catering to remaining residents and their families. Similar to Higgins & Proctor's (2001) view of small towns presented in an earlier chapter, Indwe's main street represented an odd mix of butcheries, a few general stores, farming equipment shops, and hardware stores supporting the outlying farms. Local government and social service jobs were the only other sources of employment in Indwe for much of the 20th century. The next jolt to the local economy came in 1976 with the creation of the independent homeland of the Transkei and an expansion of its borders in the early 1980s. Harold Burgess (pers. comm., 2002), a long term resident of Indwe, described how his farm and some 247 additional others in the region were expropriated and added to the Transkei. Although he and his family moved into the town of Indwe itself, many farmers and their families left the district altogether. The loss of a substantial percentage of farmers and clientele signified another setback for local businesses. The precarious nature of the municipality's economy came to a head in 1994 with the closure of the local branch of the Standard Bank, a symbol of the town's regional economic importance for almost 100 years (Burgess pers. comm., 2002; Franz pers. comm., 2002).

This historical overview has shown how Indwe once emerged as a leading national town at the turn of the century when coal mining served as the engine driving both national industrialisation and the local economy, but it has since experienced a major economic slump. Plate 7.1 provides a historical illustration of Indwe's coal mining fields in the late 1800s, whereas Plate 7.2 provides a snapshot taken from the same vantage point of Indwe today. Once again, mining is being seen as a means for a possible better future for a number of local residents in need of employment, but as future sections will show, limited financial resources and skills, minimal local government support has made this particularly challenging to achieve. Contrary to the occurrences of nearly 100 years ago, instead of people leaving Indwe to find work in other cities once the formal coal industry closed, they are now returning to Indwe to earn a living in small-scale mining because such industries in other cities have now themselves shut down.

Plate 7.1 View of Indwe - circa 1894-1902

Source: Roberts, circa 1894-1902

Plate 7.2 View of Indwe - 2005
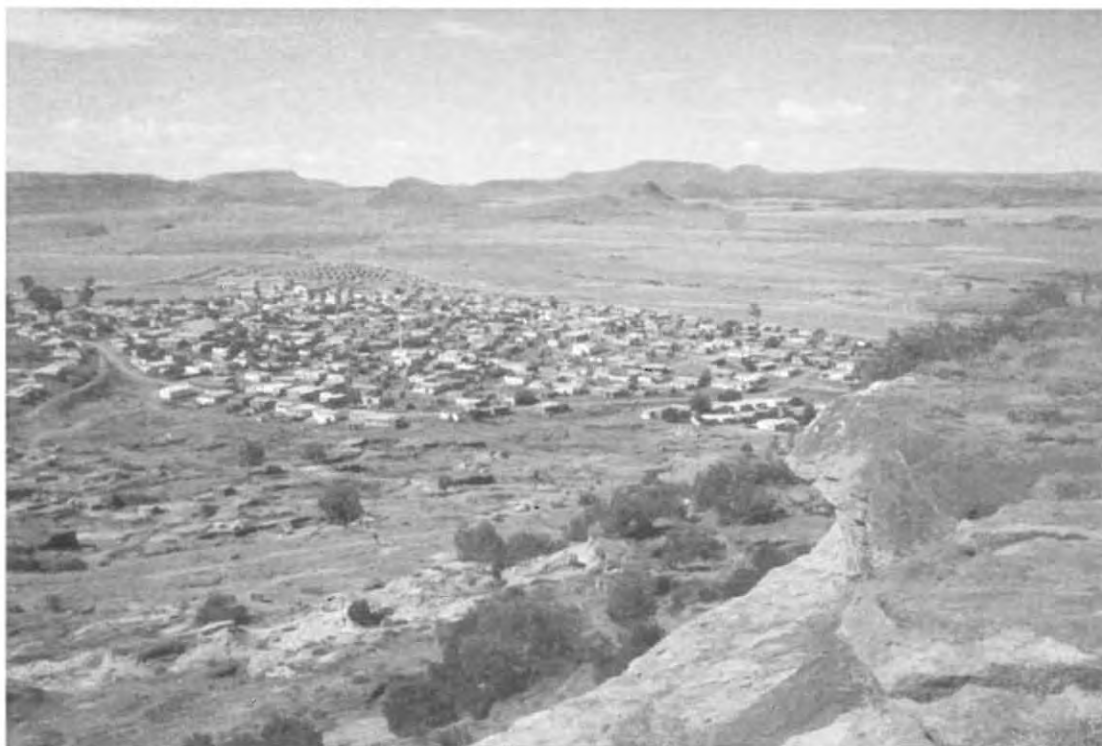
Source: Gibb, 2005

7.5.2 Contemporary Coal Mining in Indwe (1990s – present)

In recent years, although formal, commercialised exploitation of coal came to and end in 1917, there has been an accelerated revival of small-scale coal mining. It must be pointed out from the start of this section that these are the most basic of operations. They are informal micro-enterprises that are currently operating illegally without the proper licenses and without meeting the requirements of contemporary workplace, health, and safety standards. Although some of these entrepreneurs have been working in the area for years and most claim 'ownership' over their mine shafts and / or the land on which they operate, they actually have no legal claim to the land, which is owned by the municipality. Nonetheless, they illustrate a significant degree of ingenuity on the part of local residents that is seldom seen in the rest of South Africa and which further validates the merits of endogenously driven community development activities. The collaborative nature of the ventures and the degree of success that they have attained make these particularly interesting cases of locality-based LED.

In Indwe, similar to international evidence on ASM (United Nations, 2003; Hilson, 2002a; Gilman, 1999), a global decline in the demand for and the extraction of minerals by formal mining sectors causes retrenched miners (in this case many of the new miners were retrenched from gold mines elsewhere in the country) to resort to small-scale mining activities. In many ways the resurgence of small-scale coal mining in Indwe is the product of a national downsizing in South African mineral production. Xegwana (pers. comm., 2002) explained that, included in the tens of thousands of miners laid-off from the Free State's Goldfields or from Gauteng's mines are some former Indwe residents of Indwe who have returned to their homes. As is becoming apparent in localities around the world facing economic hardships, necessity has compelled residents to look to local resources for solutions. It was from amongst these unemployed miners that the first of Indwe's entrepreneurs began looking to the hills above their homes as possible sources of income in the 1990s. Previously acquired skills in the formal mining sector made the choice to become small-scale coal miners all the more easy.

Today's small-scale coalmines dot the landscape to the north of Indwe just outside of the town. Jerry Xegwana, who is one of the local coal mining entrepreneurs and who

regularly acts as a spokesman for the Indwe's miners, assisted in this research as a field guide and in a community-liaison role. He was able to point out that there are two different mining sites in Indwe (Xegwana pers. comm., 2002). As seen in Map 7.2, the first is located on the hill above the town in the vicinity of the previous ICR&L mining operations, and the second is on the same hill but further along the ridge on the other side of town above the road from Dordrecht. The first location is home to the majority of coal miners and is accessed through a network of precarious dirt and mud tracks that cross the original rail link to Indwe and wind their way up the side of the hill to a series of gapping holes in the mountainside. The second site is adjacent to a recent RDP housing expansion project is closer to the main tarred road, and is therefore more easily accessed by secondary routes. It is at this location that some miners have sunk new shafts after having left the original site because they have run out of coal at their old shafts, their former mines were filled with water, or because their old mines were no longer considered safe. Until very recently (the end of 2004 / beginning of 2005), it was generally acknowledged by all miners that this second site would most likely be where they would all gradually move to as their original deposits become depleted (Bula pers. comm., 2002). Today, however, there is talk of a third location thirteen kilometres outside of town on the Washington Farm to where they may all be forcibly relocated. It is this prospect of moving to another location that has created a certain amount of friction amongst local coal miners and has generated a split in the usual consensus regarding the self-regulation of their industry (Dostile pers. comm., 2005; Goba pers. comm., 2005, Xegwana pers. comm., 2005). This planned relocation will be discussed in later sections. The following subsections, however, will outline the manner in which small-scale coal mining in Indwe has traditionally been organised and how this community-run development initiative has evolved.

Subsistence-style coal mining has long been carried out in Indwe, but as Xegwana (pers. comm., 2002) again explained, that by 1996 as more and more people became engaged in this activity, there grew an apparent need to establish some form of unified guidelines for all miners to follow. In that same year, a group of six coal mining entrepreneurs came together to form the Zama Mine Project to consider similar issues such as safety standards, standardised salaries for their employees, how to market their product, and to establish uniform prices for their coal (Dostile pers. comm.,

2002; Fotu pers. comm., 2002). By 2002, when Indwe was first visited and selected as a case study for this thesis, the Zama Mine Project had grown to include seventeen members. By the beginning of 2005 that number had risen to twenty (Bula pers. comm., 2005; Xegwana pers. comm., 2002). There has, however, been a split in the Zama Mine Project arising from the proposed move to the third site, with those located on the original site leaving Zama and renaming themselves the Siyazama Mine Project, with those on the second site retaining the Zama Mine Project title (Bula pers. comm., 2005; Xegwana pers. comm., 2005).

At the original site there are currently seventeen coal mine entrepreneurs / owners. Although they are only considered owners in the very loosest sense of the word, they are often referred to as such, because it was they who either first dug the mineshaft or have provided the capital and / or the equipment to start the mine. Each mine owner 'possesses' one mine complex consisting of up to two shafts. Each mine owner at this site also employs between one and eight additional labourers in his business, some of which are visible in Plate 7.3. Drawing on a survey of existing mines conducted specifically for this thesis, the average number of people employed per mine was four in 2002; the number, Xegwana (pers. comm., 2005) has confirmed remained the same in 2005. At the second site, which has grown considerably since the first visit in 2002, three mine owners operate eight combined shafts. Two of these mine owners employ an additional fourteen labourers each, while the third employs two. The first two employ six women between them who act as mine managers giving some credence to the literary evidence outlined previously that states that many women are employed in this sector (Gilman, 1999; United Nations, 1996a,b).

Many of the sites for coal mining are selected, seemingly at random, although some have been chosen because there was some evidence of coal near the surface, or because of a natural rock formation that would serve as a roof or support beam for the entrance of the mine as seen in Plate 7.4 Using flattened pikes, the miners then proceeded to dig into the side of the hill, removing the coal, and dumping excess rock and dirt down the side of the hill. Some of these mines extend for many meters with no support beams, other than the initial rock entrance girder, and have numerous tunnels leading off to the sides from where coal is extracted. There are virtually no safety measures taken within the mines. Few, if any, miners wear protective gear or a

Plate 7.3 Small-scale coal miners on a hillside outside Indwe

Source: Gibb, 2005

Plate 7.4 Entrance to informal mines in Indwe

Plate 7.5 Source of light inside mine shafts

Source: Gibb, 2005

Source: Gibb, 2005

helmet. There are no means of measuring or detecting accumulated coal gases. There is no ventilation, light is limited (as indicated in Plate 7.5), and there is little access to clean drinking water (Dostile pers. comm., 2002, Fotu pers. comm., 2002; Xegwana pers. comm., 2002).

The tools used, the techniques put into practice, and the personal characteristics of Indwe's miners themselves parallel many of the traits outlined in the international examples developed in theoretical discussions pertaining to the pressures, obstacles, and challenges faced by small-scale miners worldwide (Andrew, 2003; Andrew-Speed, 2002; Gueye, 2001; Zamora, 2000; Lanjouw, 1999; Theppaya *et al.*, 1998; FAO, 1993). Of the twelve artisanal miners interviewed for this research, none reported having finished high school and many indicated that they never received any formal education (data collected, 2002). Some, however, did mention that they had acquired some skills from previous formal gold mining employment and that further experience had been gained through years of small-scale mining in Indwe. The problem in this case, is that skills that were acquired from mining gold, which is a highly mechanised process conducted in much deeper shafts, are not entirely transferable and are not actually of much benefit to the current small-scale coal mining being carried out in Indwe (Landman pers. comm., 2002). International evidence suggests that the tools and techniques used by small-scale and artisanal miners are extremely simple (Andrew-Speed, 2002; Gueye, 2001; Zamora, 2000; World Bank, 1995; Tráore, 1994). Those used by the Indwe's miners are no exception and, are, in fact, extremely rudimentary. The method of extraction is equally basic. Most tools are manufactured on site using whatever materials can be found including abandoned, ageing pieces of metal left from the ICR&L days. In addition to a limited amount of basic pick-axes, miners make use of lengths of scavenged iron rail tracks that are flattened and used as pikes. As Plate 7.6 taken deep underground and away from any source of sunlight shows, lighting within the coalmines is provided not by headlamps, but by discarded gin bottles filled with paraffin and lit with rags. The mine labourers work in near total darkness by feeling where the coal deposits are. Plate 7.6 further gives some kind of indication of how dangerous it potentially is. Plate 7.7 similarly shows how coal is brought to the surface in rusty old wheelbarrows and buckets before it is dumped in haphazard piles on the side of the dirt track, where clients must come and collect it themselves.

Plate 7.6 Small-scale coal miners approximately 100 m underground

Source: Gibb, 2005

Plate 7.7 Mine labourer depositing coal outside of a mine

Source: Gibb, 2005

These labourers are not full-time workers, however, and not all will be working on site at the same time. The number of people working at the mines depends on the demand for coal, which is highly erratic and changes from one day to the next. If there is a large quantity of mined coal ore in reserve ready for sale then the mine owner may cut back on production. But, if the reserve is low, then he may hire additional people to produce more, particularly if the demand is high and the reserves are being depleted at regular intervals. In Indwe there is likely to be a heightened demand if Emalahleni or one of the neighbouring municipalities embarks on a housing project that requires brick makers to increase production and this, in turn, puts pressure on the demand for coal in the brick making processes. There is also increased demand in the winter when coal is purchased locally to heat homes and schools (Dostile pers. comm., 2002; Fotu pers. comm., 2002). Notwithstanding the cyclical nature of the demand for coal and the fact that not all labourers are working in a full-time capacity, research does indicate that approximately 100 residents from Indwe gain some form of income from small-scale mining (data collected, 2005, 2002). This is not an insignificant number of individuals in a small town where only 17% of the population is reported to be employed (Demarcation Board, 2003c).

It was in 2002, at the initial start of the RDP housing campaign in Indwe, that demand for coal was pushed up to supply the local kilns, which has directly accounted for the seemingly high profits enjoyed by mine owners. At this time, just by catering to existing markets, there were some reports of mine owners earning up to R1500 per week, placing them well above the average R1000 monthly income earned by almost 80% of Indwe households (Emalahleni, 2002; Xegwana pers. comm., 2002). Xegwana (pers. comm., 2002) was half-joking when he revealed in jest that mine owners are extremely sought after as husbands in the community. At that time, mine labourers also reported earning R50.00 per day implying that if demand was strong and they were working five days a week they could be earning upwards of R250.00 per week, also placing them among the slightly above-average income earners in the municipality. Again however, this was under optimal circumstances. Since then however, RDP home building in Indwe has slowed considerably and there has been a reduced demand for bricks and thus coal. Income from mines has dropped for both the mine owners and their labourers. When questioned in February of 2005, mine owners could no longer estimate even an approximate value to the profits they were making

from coal and many stated that they were unsure of their monthly income versus their monthly expenditures. Bula (pers. comm., 2005) estimated that he was earning between R2000 and R3000 in a good month but that was before he had paid his employees. Furthermore, there has been a considerable drop in the daily individual wage earned by labourers. They are now being paid R2.00 per wheelbarrow-full of coal (see Plate 7.8) that they extract and most only produce fifteen per day on average. That means they can now earn R30.00; a decrease of R20.00 per day.

Tough times in this locality have forced the coal miners to act cooperatively, which has generated some interesting, if not entirely beneficial, but well-intentioned results for local members. They have had to formulate their own rules for mining and they have become innovative in developing a fair and equitable system of selling their coal. They also have set their own parameters for what they consider dangerous mining practices. As a safety precaution, miners are not permitted to have mine shafts that are wider that their arm span. Therefore, if a miner has a particularly wide arm span, then his mine is comparatively less safe then others (Xegwana pers. comm., 2002). Xegwana (pers. comm., 2002) for example further explained how, in November 2002, one of the then seventeen independent entrepreneurs was banned from working at the coal fields and selling coal for one month because he was deemed to be mining dangerously after a committee, which sanctioned the measuring of his mines shafts, revealed that they were wider than his arm span.

Committee members have also devised methods of ensuring that each mine owner gains equal access to markets, which are primarily the brick making fields in the surrounding region. At both sites they use a rotational system, whereby the next lorry that arrives to purchase coal is directed to the next mine along the dirt track (each mine is located along the same track at varying heights along the same hill). These trucks come from within Indwe itself and from an increasing number of neighbouring villages and small towns. The next truck is directed to the next mine and so on. Each truck purchases up to four tonnes of coal per trip. Each miner must have this quantity of coal waiting outside his mine in time for his next turn; otherwise he misses his turn and must wait for a full cycle before he is able to sell his coal reserves again. During the 2002 research trip, between four and eight trucks were visiting the mines per day, implying that each mine may be required to supply coal up to four times per week.

Again, this amount has been reduced with declining demand. Running concurrently is a second cycle, with lorries arriving weekly from Queenstown that purchase ten tonnes of coal that each miner is allowed to provide for in turn. Coal is also supplied on a rotational basis to schools in Dordrecht and Indwe. If a smaller buyer comes with a *bakkie* (small pick-up truck) from within the community to purchase coal for private household use however, then that person is allowed to buy from the miner of his or her choice based on previous arrangements (Dostile pers. comm., 2002; Xegwana pers. comm., 2002). The greater part of the coal being produced is being used to fuel brick making, a locally specific and affiliated industry in Indwe. Most of this coal is sold to the brick-makers operating below the coalmines or those that have opened in neighbouring towns including Dordrecht, Whittlesea, Tarkastad, Queenstown, Xobo, Cala, Cofimbvaba, Butterworth, and Elliot.

A wider view of the picture reveals that the ripple effects created by small-scale mining have reaches beyond just mining and the 100 or so jobs it creates. The multipliers and the hundreds of employment opportunities created down-stream have far greater implications for the locality that make it all the more worth while in terms of local employment and economic growth. Again, as detailed in the small-scale and artisanal mining literature, informal mining often serves as a focal point around which other business opportunities will cluster (McMahon & Davidson, 2000). Coal mining in Indwe has sparked a number of jobs in transportation and tool repair, but by far, the biggest industry that has been able to grow out of the presence of coalmines in Indwe has been the aforementioned small-scale brick making businesses (Bula pers. comm., 2002; Xegwana pers. comm., 2002).

7.5.3 Small-Scale Brick Making in Indwe

Xegwana (pers. comm., 2002), who also owns a brick making business told of how, similar to coal mining, brick making has been a feature of Indwe's local economy for many decades. Some elderly brick makers and residents revealed that they started in the industry as early as 1958 (Mbelekwana pers. comm., 2002; Nonguwedle pers. comm., 2002; Siqhuqho pers. comm., 2002). It has, however, only become an indispensable part of the economy in the past ten years after the supply of locally sourced and relatively affordable coal increased, and the national government's commitment to building hundreds of RDP houses in the area stimulated the demand

for bricks and other home building materials. Most of the brick making businesses and their sites are again the 'property' of emerging black entrepreneurs, but they too do not have title deeds to the land on which they operate.

There is also one larger enterprise owned and operated by a white businessman from the town. Prinsloo (pers. comm., 2002), who began making bricks as a hobby in the 1980s, has considerably grown his business in recent years. He has hired a foreman to oversee production and now has a staff of up to twelve people (depending on the demand) working in the production stages of brick making and an additional twenty people hired to stack bricks, assemble the kilns, and take them apart after completion. Prinsloo does not provide bricks to the RDP housing project because he believes this contract should go to local disadvantaged people who are emerging as entrepreneurs and who need the business experience, as well as the income it generates. Instead, he is now supplying bricks, which he states are of a better quality than those produced by his local counterparts, to private, predominantly white households in Indwe, Elliot, Maclear, and neighbouring Transkei towns (Prinsloo pers. comm., 2002).

The emerging brick making entrepreneurs are not as well organised as the coal miners nor, are they as institutionalised as is Prinsloo's business. There is a heightened degree of in-fighting now occurring between different brick making enterprises due to which entrepreneur gets to serve different markets. Indeed, since 2002, there appears to have developed some rivalry amongst those operating in the different sites emphasised in Map 7.2. The brick making enterprises concentrated closest to town, which include the oldest and most established, originally formed a loose organisation calling themselves the Indwe Brick Makers Association. Again, as with the Zama Mine Project, it was formed out of the belief that the local government and / or NGOs would be more likely to provide them with funding if they acted as a group. During the original site visit in 2002, the remaining brick makers, then comprising almost two thirds of the total, were each working in an independent capacity at a second site below where the coalmines are situated. Here, Zakayi (pers. comm., 2002), who acted as the unofficial spokesman, maintained that a source of resentment amongst brick makers stems from the question of which group the RDP housing officials should buy bricks from versus which brick makers private households should buy bricks from. Zakayi similarly reported that municipal officials should only buy bricks from the

independent entrepreneurs, whereas Ngaleke (pers. comm., 2002) and Methlomane (pers. comm., 2002) of the Indwe Brick Makers Association insisted that the municipality should only procure bricks through their organisation. In recent years, this confusion has forced the municipality itself to become involved and insist that all brick makers form a single organisation to speak for all of them, which has only just (2005) begun to take place (Nelani pers. comm., 2005).

Today (2005) there are still almost 100 brick making enterprises operating in and around Indwe, the same amount as there were in 2002. Owing to a relatively high degree of business turnover, numerous businesses have closed while new ones have opened. This is evident by the pockmarked landscape left after the closure of old sites and the presence of freshly opened new ventures in different locations. This can largely be accredited to the downturn in the demand for bricks after the completion of an earlier RDP housing phase, but is now gaining renewed steam after the announcement of further expansion of the scheme. The number of brick making businesses also depends heavily on the availability of capital to purchase input materials such as coal.

Again, as with the coal miners, the amount of people working at each brick making site depends on the demand for bricks with each business employing between three and twenty additional local residents depending on size and desired output. This number is higher if unpaid family members, including children, are taken into consideration. Even though it is difficult to estimate the exact number of people who are gaining an income from the brick making industry because of the cyclical demand for bricks and the fact that many of them work at multiple brick making sites, it would seem that there are approximately 500 people working in Indwe's brick-making industry (data collected; 2005, 2002). Most of them act as contract labourers who are employed as the need arises. In contrast to the coal miners though, is the fact that almost half of the brick makers are women. Many of them are the business 'owners' themselves or are employed in the physically less challenging aspects of brick making or help out their husbands in their businesses. Again based on 2001 census figures, in a town with a surrounding population of just under 18 000 people and a labour force of approximately 3000, the fact that 500 people or roughly 15% of the work force are employed, in some capacity, in this informal economy is noteworthy.

Plate 7.8 Brick making labourer mixing mud, clay and coal dust

Source: Gibb, 2005

Plate 7.9 Brick making labourer placing brick mixture in mould
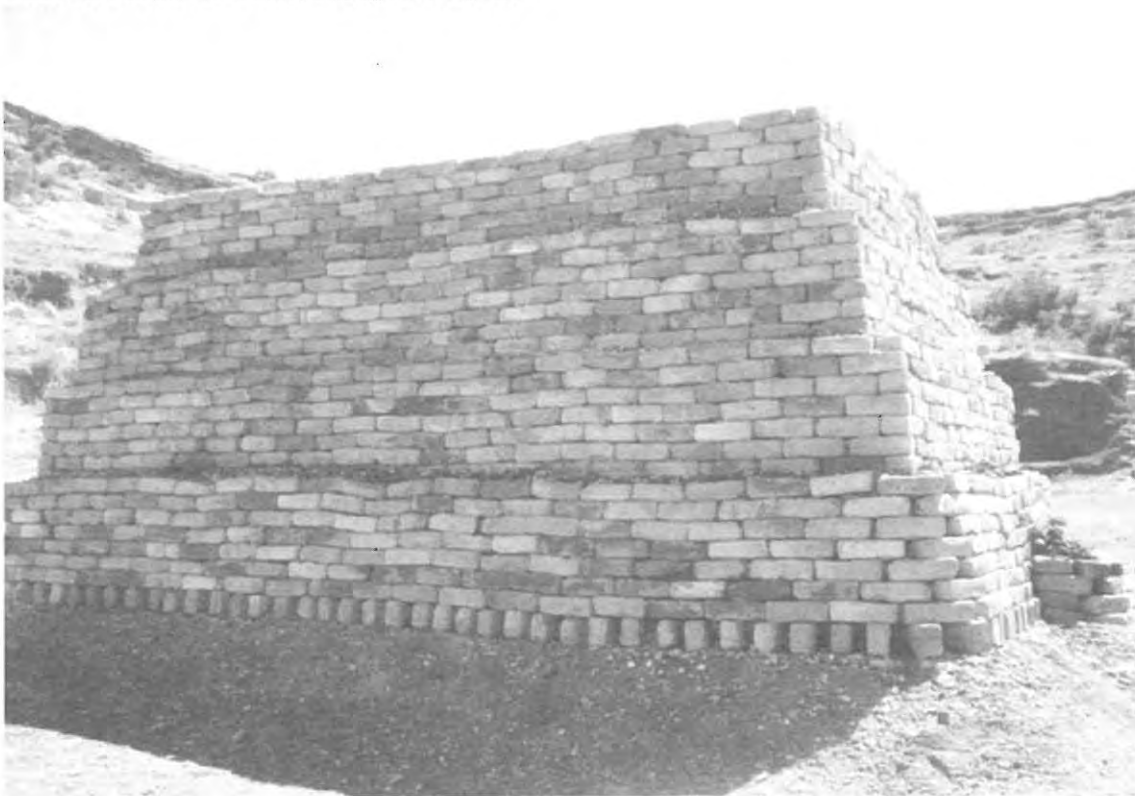

Source: Gibb, 2005

Plate 7.10 Brick making labourers placing bricks to dry before firing

Source: Gibb, 2005

Plate 7.11 Kiln of bricks ready to be fired

Source: Gibb, 2005

Most labourers' wages are based on a piecemeal system where they are paid a certain amount, which varies according to which task he or she performs per 1000 bricks. This amount is usually between R7.00 and R35.00. This may include a variety of jobs including collecting clay from nearby deposits, mixing it with mud, filling brick moulds with the mixture, laying them out to dry, stacking them in the kiln, and finally dismantling the kiln once they have been fired. Plates 7.8 through to 7.11 show men and women of Indwe's brick fields engaged in some of the tasks associated with brick making. In 2002, it cost between R75.00 and R90.00 worth of labour to produce 1000 bricks. Wages are still largely the same today (Dyantyi pers. comm., 2005). How long it takes to produce 1000 bricks and what the average weekly / monthly wage earned by brick makers is also highly inconsistent and entrepreneurs find it nearly impossible to determine. During periods of peak demand, the length of time it takes for them to produce 1000 bricks is adapted according to how motivated they are to produce that amount. But, because brick making is such a lengthy process, and because it is difficult for brick makers to guess how many of their bricks will be bought in the end, it is increasingly difficult to determine how many they must produce. There is a certain amount of wastage of bricks, for example, due to damage caused by rain and roaming livestock and the amount paid per 1000 bricks to produce does not necessary equate to the number of finished bricks that will ultimately be sold. They know that coal and labour cost 'X' and that bricks are sold for 'Y' but because there are so many variables they cannot control before, during, and, after production and because many do not keep records or have few business skills, it is difficult for them to pinpoint what their profits are. Their most common response when asked about profits is, 'it depends' (data collected; 2005, 2002). Kiln sizes vary from between 5000 to 30 000 bricks per oven and the micro-entrepreneurs fire either one or two kilns per month. Although the set price per 1000 bricks is now R300.00 or R350.00 for better quality bricks, the brick makers cannot estimate what percentage of that is wasted or what amount of that is profit. After paying for the coal, the labour, and costs of transportation there is little money left over, but as long as there is enough to provide for household expenses and purchase the next batch of coal and pay for more labour then they will continue in this manner. This uncertainty filters down to the employees who are likewise unsure of their weekly / monthly income. As long as they continue to receive an income that affords them the ability to put food on their families' tables,

Plate 7.12 RDP homes constructed with locally produced bricks

Source: Gibb, 2005

then brick making, regardless of the minimal pay and hardships involved, is one of their sole, if not only, job options.

Currently, as alluded to, the largest demand for bricks comes from the latest RDP housing schemes. In the end, hundreds of both private and RDP homes or home extensions have been constructed at a number of sites using locally made bricks in Indwe (Gobingca pers. comm., 2005; Kwepeli pers. comm., 2005). Plate 7.12 shows some of the homes that were built with these bricks. Many of the white people still living in Indwe and neighbouring towns, as well as a number of local commercial farmers tend to buy bricks predominantly from Prinsloo, but do buy bricks from the emerging brick making entrepreneurs on occasion (Cloete pers. comm., 2005; Prinsloo pers. comm., 2002). Many of the brick makers are gearing up for the next proposed housing development expansion in neighbouring Lady Frere, which they believe will heighten demand for locally sourced bricks and generate more employment opportunities in Indwe. George (pers. comm., 2005) stated that the municipality plans to build a number of homes there, which will have a profound

effect on brick production in the town. They also expect to sell many of their bricks in Dordrecht during the construction of the aforementioned cheese factory.

Both coal mining and brick making are having a distinct impact on the local environment. The debates surrounding the environmental sustainability of small-scale mining in developing countries is very much an issue in Indwe because there is little attempt at the rehabilitation of mine shafts or the areas around them once they have been abandoned for another location (Mtshali pers. comm., 2005). The vegetation on the slopes of the hill is often stripped away to make room to extract deposits of coal, which has led to a certain amount of erosion. The brick makers however, contribute to an even greater destruction of the environment. Plate 7.12 shows some of the evidence including significant evidence of erosion in the brickfields brought on by digging clay and earth used in the production of bricks. In Plate 7.13 there is also a noteworthy amount of refuse produced by the brick makers that litters the environment and lays trapped in deserted clay pits. Pits also fill with water, which become a danger to roaming livestock (Matoti pers. comm., 2005). The environment has been degraded to such an extent that the municipal manager has admitted that the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) has informed the municipality that it is becoming increasingly necessary that the brick makers should be closed or moved to a new location where they could be better managed (Kwepeli pers. comm., 2005).

7.6 Contemporary Issues in Coal Mining and Brick Making

To date, despite the fact that coal mining and brick making provide jobs to hundreds of people in Indwe, there has been remarkably little positive involvement on the part of the municipality, other than ensuring that the public procurement policy reflects the priority purchasing of local bricks. It was again through the GTZ that municipal officials first became interested in potentially assisting and developing the micro-economy in Indwe in early 2001. One of the primary concerns at this time was that these small-scale miners did not in fact have the appropriate permits allowing them to extract coal from their present location. Local government authorities subsequently applied on behalf of the coal miners for proper permits. Also, on the advice of the GTZ, the municipality invited officials from the Department of Minerals and Energy Affairs (DME) to come to Indwe to offer recommendations on the future of small-scale mining. After arrival, they conducted a survey of existing operations and carried

Plate 7.12 Erosion caused by digging clay to produce bricks

Source: Gibb, 2005

Plate 7.13 An abandoned clay pit

Source: Gibb, 2005

out an analysis of the quality of coal, and presented their findings to the municipality (Landman pers. comm., 2005). The outcome was that their application for permits was rejected and the DME recommended that the coalmines be closed immediately due to health and safety risks (Mdyodyo pers. comm., 2005).

According to mayor Gobingca (pers. comm., 2005), the municipality is now faced with a serious dilemma. Similar to the view expressed by Landman (pers. comm., 2002), municipal officials recognise that small-scale mining and brick making employ numerous people and that they are vital to the local economy, but they cannot legally condone such activities and should put a stop to them. On the one hand, the municipality would optimally like to provide the small-scale enterprises, if it had the resources to, with better serviced roads, access to water, or business and technical skills training, but on the other, because the DME and the DEA have declared their activities unsafe, and environmentally unsound, municipal officials cannot be seen to be helping them out with large-scale, but illegal development interventions.

One alternative, which is currently (2005) in the planning stages, is relocating all the coal miners and all the brick makers to a different site. There is talk amongst municipal officials that the Washington Farm, which is located approximately thirteen kilometres outside of town towards Dordrecht, may be a suitable replacement site (George pers. comm., 2005; Gobingca pers. comm., 2005, Kwepeli pers. comm., 2005). The current owner has told the municipality that there are coal deposits on his farm and that they would be more easily accessible through strip mining rather than through comparatively more dangerous sub-surface mining (Hillhouse pers. comm., 2002). There is an abundant supply of water on the farm and the access roads are much better than those on the original sites. The municipality also envisages moving the brick makers to this location, where they could become more formalised and better supervised. Instead of digging clay right from the spot where they would be situated, the local government would then insist that the inputs be purchased and brought onto the site, thus avoiding erosion and environmental damage (Gobingca pers. comm., 2005; Kwepeli pers. comm., 2005). Furthermore, the municipality has indicated that an outside donor has made the offer of donating a brick making machine capable of making 10 000 bricks per day, provided all brick makers join forces to act as a collective and move to a new location (Nelani pers. comm., 2005).

The remainder of the farmland would then be used as additional grazing land for local small-scale farmers.

The mere speculation of this proposed purchase has however, upset the *status quo* and is potentially jeopardising the long-term viability of Indwe's local and regional economy. Not everybody is pleased with the idea of moving and many local residents are realising that the end result of an actual move would not be of benefit to all people currently engaged in the micro-economy. The coal miners operating on the second site are quite willing to move to a new location provided that there are large deposits of coal. Those working at the original location are not interested in moving at all. Their concerns include: who is going to pay for the larger, more expensive equipment needed in strip mining, what is going to happen to their status as mine owners, who then is going to own the mines, how are they to be managed, who is going to provide transport, and how are their profits to be distributed? Arguments of this nature are what led to the schism that, in turn, led to a split in the Zama Mine Project. Now some are no longer paying their membership fees as they do not see the relevance if they are simply going to become labourers themselves. There has been some evidence that they are also starting to undercut each other's prices in an attempt to draw customers away from their competitors (Fotu pers. comm., 2005; Xegwana pers. comm., 2005). Some question the point of moving if, after everybody else has gone, those that remain will still be closer to the community and cater to the needs of local households and those micro-enterprises that are left. Likewise, some of the less established brick makers are interested in moving to a new location where they can access a brick making machine, but those who have better entrenched businesses are not as enthusiastic about the prospect of having to move, as there is no incentive to do so and their market is currently right next door. More questions arise, including what rank will previous entrepreneurs will have, who will own and operate such a machine, who is going to pay to import coal, clay, sand, etc., who is going to transport the bricks, and how are the profits to be distributed? More importantly, Dyantyi (pers. comm., 2005) is rightfully sceptical and asks whether such a machine can still sustain so many people? Even the mere hint of a coal mining / brick making enterprise has neighbouring commercial farmers worried about safety issues and crime, but also the real worry is veld fires caused by the brick kilns threatening their livestock and grazing lands (Cloete pers. comm., 2005).

The fact that the farm will not likely be purchased in the near future bodes well for these micro-entrepreneurs, at least for the time being. The municipality has not yet secured the funds to put towards its purchase and there is also the need to verify whether such easily reached deposits are actually there. In the meantime, mayor Gobingca (pers. comm., 2005) has acknowledged, 'coal mining is an important asset for local residents and will continue regardless if it is legal or not.' Short of fencing off the entire hill in Indwe, which they cannot afford to do and are much less willing to do, the local government does not have the capacity to stop small-scale mining efforts. Others within the municipality echo the mayor's sentiments by asking the question, why should they stop mining considering the positive impact it is having on unemployment in the area (Bula pers. comm., 2005; Cloete pers. comm., 2005)?

7.7 Assessment of Locality-based Development in Emalahleni

As the third and final case study for this thesis, an analysis of locality-based development in Emalahleni also offers valuable lessons. The locally identified and community-moderated version of locality-based development, which is visible at the grassroots level in Emalahleni echoes many of the theoretical debates surrounding rural livelihoods and income earning activities in peripheral localities found in other developing countries (de Haan & Zoomers, 2003; Rakodi, 2002; Ellis, 2000; Anani, 1999; Carney 1998b). Local residents in Indwe have become caught up in global flows and for many of them, this has implied being marginalized by the outcomes of a rationalisation in mining and industrial sectors. In this case, Conley's (2002) ideas related to a process of ebbs in globalisation are clearly visible in Emalahleni and further validate Killick's (2001) claim that globalisation continues to undermine the world's rural poor. As suggested by de Haan & Zoomers (2003) and Bebbington & Batterbury (2001), localities must now perceive the forces of globalisation as opportunities to re-invent themselves and pursue a diversity of livelihood activities based on what they already have. As with the example of Bathurst in Ndlambe, residents of Indwe are also responding to the same pressures that incited the World Bank (2000) to claim that residents of poor areas are better situated to practise their own locally developed development initiatives.

In the face of a hostile international economic environment, residents of Emalahleni have been forced to become more innovative in their own attempts to put food on their tables. Perhaps even more so than in Ndlambe, Emalahleni proves the point made by Devereux (2001) that poor localities are in actual fact vulnerable to outside forces and Rogers & Spokes' (2003) argument that many small towns are struggling to keep up with contemporary global realities. With a considerable proportion of its population unemployed and / or living below the poverty line and with an exceptionally weak and insufficiently funded local government, some residents of Emalahleni, predominantly those within Indwe, nevertheless have, to some degree, sorted out their own forms of pro-poor local development. In many respects, this municipality serves as an excellent example of one municipality where local development is almost entirely spontaneous, with very little significant municipal or outside intervention (outside of the two small cases listed). Efforts towards livelihood diversification, which has been singled out by Davis (2003) and Smith *et al.* (2001), as a means of income generation in marginalized areas, are particularly evident in the case studies of Emalahleni's coal miners and brick makers and to a lesser degree in the case of the wool farmers.

From an assessment perspective, it is primarily from a abstract viewpoint that the positive elements of Emalahleni relating to pro-poor locality-based development, such as the hundreds of people employed and the thousands of Rands being earned by local residents, can be validated. At first glance the particularities pertaining to small-scale mining and brick making in Indwe paint a pretty bleak picture of a locality where the area's residents are forced to resort to backbreaking labour, implement unsafe and damaging mining practices, use archaic tools, deplete local resources, and in the process seriously harm the environment. And, for their troubles, earn as low as a paltry R2.00 per wheelbarrow of coal dug out of the side of the mountain or R7.00 to mix 1000 bricks-worth of mud. In a region that has such an extensive unemployment rate, small-scale mining and brick making have, however, in no small way, boosted the number of immediate and downstream job opportunities for local people. In line with what was previously discussed with regards to rural livelihoods, artisanal mining *has* provided valuable alternative livelihoods in Indwe. The level of income being generated may not be significant, but these mine owners and brick making entrepreneurs, and to a lesser extent their labourers, now have the capacity to provide

a basic income for their households and are still amongst the highest income earners in the municipality.

Regardless of Indwe's peripheral status, both in terms of location and economic standing, it represents one locality where residents are fighting back, although not intentionally, against this new global economic order that has marginalized them, in order to create basic jobs (in this case informal and part time) for local people. Notwithstanding the fact that they are doing this simply in order to be able to put food on the table, Indwe's entrepreneurs are representative of something much larger. Theories pertaining to local people using local resources to solve local problems such as those discussed by, amongst others Mansuri & Rao (2003) and Binswanger & Aiyar (2003) find a particularly strong resonance in Indwe. The link between theory and practice is equally sound and those involved in making this connection possible i.e. people on the ground in Indwe, do not even know that they have done so. This is the beauty of locality-based development; it is local stakeholders doing it for themselves without giving much thought as to why they are doing it, other than for the need to make ends meet. The fact that they are conforming to theories of globalisation, anti-globalisation, and the resurgence of the locality is moot and is of little consequence to them. They are simply doing what they must do to earn an income and often have no other ulterior motive for doing so.

7.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, Emalahleni and the specific focus on Indwe provide a practical overview of a second case study of a locality where locality-based development caters specifically for the poor. This chapter has demonstrated how the residents of one locality have been forced to become increasingly proactive in their attempts to provide for household needs, especially when faced with a local government that has limited resources, despite national policy that requires them to pursue local economic development. Resourcefulness and industriousness have indeed become key to rural diversification in Indwe where individual residents are tapping into deposits of coal in a field originally developed by a previous coal mining operation but have formed into loosely defined associations to collectively moderate their growing informal industry. In this case, community development is not as entrenched as it has been in Ndlambe, but it does denote a situation where a community, at varying levels and times of need,

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has pulled together, even though such relations are at times tense, to achieve pro-poor development.

Debates have shown that, according to different sources within the municipality, Emalahleni itself is particularly under-resourced and is finding it difficult to attract the right people to fill developmental decision-making roles within local government (Gobingca pers. comm., 2005; Kwepeli pers. comm., 2005; Feleti pers. comm., 2002). Additionally, it has been shown that their IDP process has suffered and has resulted in often incomplete or vague descriptions relating to undefined and somewhat improbable development goals (Emalahleni, 2002). Local officials have identified a number of smaller projects, such as community gardens, which they can assist with, but research suggests that they are now relying more so on the expertise and funding of outside support to undertake larger initiatives (Mdyodyo pers. comm., 2005). The municipality has joined forced with RULIV and the GTZ to revitalise a dairy processing factory in the town of Dordrecht, where funds have been raised to allow for the development of a possible fledgling dairy industry (Anneberg pers. comm., 2002). Similarly, fieldwork has likewise shown that cooperative action taken by this partnership has developed a much needed sheep-shearing facility for the people of Cumakale, who have now collectively been able to reap the benefits of a better quality of wool produced by their sheep (Dunjwa pers. comm., 2002). Other than these few isolated cases of targeted municipally involved development, the majority of localities in Emalahleni have been compelled to resort on their own ingenuity in order to cope in such a harsh national economy and limited local environment.

Main conclusions drawn in this chapter are derived from the pro-poor micro-economic activities underway in Indwe. The town's very reason for emerging is grounded in the coal deposits in nearby hills that were exploited at the turn of the last century and were responsible for the economic growth of Indwe (Mabin, 1993; Hillhouse *et al.*, 1952). After the mines shut down, the town's economy plateaued and a period of economic stagnation followed with limited employment opportunities for the people who were drawn there from the surrounding countryside followed. That was until a number of local residents began to develop the coal deposits, in an informal capacity to generate incomes for their families. The number of self-proclaimed mine owners increased substantially in the 1990s as job opportunities

grew even more scarce around South Africa and migrant labourers were forced to return to their homes as explained by different mine managers (Bula pers. comm., 2005, 2002; Xegwana pers. comm., 2005, 2002). Today some miners estimate that there are almost one hundred people working seasonally and cyclically on the mines in Indwe. They may not make use of the best mining equipment and procedures, and in fact they are extremely hazardous and potentially harmful, but they have developed a community-wide means of moderating transactions for the benefit of all those involved. Previous discussions have pointed out how the Zama and Siyazama Mine Projects internally regulate safety precautions and decide what mine gets to sell how much coal when its their turn (Dostile pers. comm., 2005, 2002). Although it is difficult for miners to quantify their income, it remains sufficient for them to continue operating as they have been for the past decade.

Fieldwork in Indwe has also indicated that the provision of locally available coal has favoured the emergence of a secondary industry in brick making that also provides employment opportunities to hundreds of area residents. Sometimes entire families will work together and women and children provide much needed sources of labour in the production of bricks to supplement income for area households. These brick making enterprises are also grouped into different organisations that have attempted to standardize production and sales, but there has also been some sign of latent animosity amongst various brick making factions in the community that threatens to undermine their long-term sustainability (Dyantyi pers. comm., 2005; Nelani pers. comm., 2005; Ngaleke pers. comm., 2002; Zakayi pers. comm., 2002). Production techniques are equally primitive amongst the brick makers, who have had to rely on trial and error or acquired experience, which often results in considerable wastage or inferior quality bricks. There is also proof of erosion resulting from both brick makers and coal mining that backs up international evidence that such activities are damaging to the physical environment. Brick makers further lack the business skills required to keep track of cash flows, which means that they too are unable to report on precise income figures. Nevertheless, brick making will likely to continue as an alternative form of livelihood as long there is a need for RDP homes in the area and as long as there is money to be made from doing so.

A final debate in this chapter includes an overview of the current predicament in which the municipality now finds itself with regards to the coal miners and the brick makers. Based on the instructions of the Department of Minerals and Energy and the council of the Department of Environmental Affairs such activities need to be controlled, if not, stopped (George pers. comm., 2005; Mtshali pers. comm., 2005; Landman pers. comm., 2002). This particular locality is now faced with a situation, whereby the municipality is required, yet, is unable and not entirely willing, to relocate all of the local, small-scale businesses to a new, as of yet uncertain, site using unaccounted for local resources. But, even though they are currently operating on increasingly shaky ground, these micro-enterprises will continue to operate nonetheless in much the same fashion as they have over the past ten to fifteen years. As long as the municipality's indecision continues and as long as there is no better proposed solution, these forms of rural livelihoods will continue in much the same fashion as long as there is an even mediocre demand for coal and bricks.

Despite these first impressions, however, Indwe and its small-scale entrepreneurs do present a convincing argument supporting alternative manifestations of largely self-initiated pro-poor development in lower, if not *the* lowest tier of localities. The twenty independent mining entrepreneurs are actually highly organised, and have established an association of coal miners and a governing committee that sets local prices for different grades of coal, safety standards (even though they may be misdirected), and regulates access to markets. Arghiros (1996) has shown this to be the case in a clustering of micro-enterprises, but as is also true in this case, as is pointed out by Scott (2002), that such associations are also prone to infighting and disagreement. Brick making attempts may indeed be exceedingly primitive but they too meet the demand of a local niche market and in some capacity provide income to local residents. It is also a strong, positive example of a case study of a locality where local people, as well as their natural resources, are considered assets and are being harnessed, using existing or locally acquired skills to improve the economic vitality of the area, as suggested by Ruben & Pender (2004), Mathie & Cunningham (2003), and Alkire *et al.*, (2001).

This chapter fulfils objectives three and four of this thesis and brings to a close the analyses and assessments of the selected case studies of Cape Town, Ndlambe, and

Emalahleni. They each, in turn, have provided an examination of different methods of pursuing locality-based development in different localities faced with different circumstances in South Africa. They have included partnership facilitated, municipally supported, community-mediated / driven, or individually practised means of generating either pro-poor or pro-growth (or a combination of both) benefits for host localities on both global and local scales. The ensuing chapter will now turn to a synthesis of these varieties of local development and how they relate and compare to each other in the South African development context.

Chapter Eight: Theoretical Discussions

8.1 Introduction

The need for both pro-growth (market-led) and pro-poor (market-critical) locality-based development remains an ongoing and ever challenging process for all South African localities regardless of the existence of considerable national policy and the devolved mandate for LED that stresses the need for them to proactively raise standards of living and sponsor job creation. The overall developmental goals are clear - poverty alleviation and entrepreneurial stimulation, but other than for the provision of broad existing national guidelines, exactly how municipalities are expected to accomplish this seemingly monumental task is unclear, uncertain, ill-defined, and otherwise unknown. Each locality has been obligated to undertake this duty based on local strengths and weaknesses and to make do with what is locally available, or, if the case may allow, what may be globally accessible and locally attainable. In other words, the need for locality-based development in South Africa is apparent, but how to put in place the right ingredients in the right combination to achieve it, is still open for debate.

This chapter provides a summation of the theories regarding globalisation and localisation as they apply to South Africa and attempts to tie together the three case study chapters. It fulfils this thesis' fifth objective of providing lessons and drawing-out theoretical conclusions based on the analyses of different styles and approaches to locality-based development that take place in urban centres, small towns and rural localities across the country, as exemplified in the previous three chapters.

It first reflects on how global / local debates have become a decisive factor influencing developmental decision-making and how South Africa is a contemporary reflection of global challenges personified at local levels. The chapter will then turn to look at how lessons learned from international experience are apparent in the different examples of Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni. Arguments will show how these three portray widely varying arrays of locality-based development paths pursued by the different municipalities over different scales and under differing conditions. At the same time, they embody many of the accomplishments and pitfalls experienced by localities of similar sizes and similar positions within the global hierarchy of

networked localities found in other countries. In many respects, they represent a microcosm of localities around the world and contain practical illustrations of many of the theoretical discussions introduced in the literature reviews in Chapters Three and Four. As is debated in future subsections linking evidence from the case studies to a summation of international experience, Cape Town is one in South Africa's largest metropolitan areas with a growing number of global ties and several large-scale, pro-growth development projects resembling those found in the global cities literature. Locality-based development in Ndlambe exhibits many of the traits characteristic of (secondary) small town development practices and possesses quite a significant degree of developmental cohesion, complemented by community-based development practices. Emalahleni, on the other hand, is an example of a municipality at the far end of the development scale where local people have become more self-reliant in their attempts to implement uniquely local pro-poor livelihood strategies.

Thus, amongst the key contributions that this thesis seeks to make in the following discussion is to establish the relevance of international models relative to South Africa based on the experiences of locality-based development in the country, and to determine to what degree South African localities can serve as role models for locality-based development in other countries.

8.2 Globalisation and Localisation in South Africa

Research has indicated that the concepts and processes of globalisation and localisation are very much alive in South Africa today as the country becomes increasingly active in world markets and within the global community. It is apparent that South African policy makers and development practitioners have taken cognisance of the advantages and challenges that operating within a global environment may bring to host localities. In response, they have enacted various pieces of legislation that deliberately seek to strengthen the ability of localities to cope within a global economy and society and to perhaps weather the storm that globalisation generally tends to unleash on less connected peripheral localities. This in itself upholds arguments developed by Helvacioglu (2000) and Cabus (2001) that it is necessary to view local realities in relation to global changes and then to plan for them accordingly. Such principles are becoming progressively more enshrined in South Africa, starting from the election of the new national government in 1994 that began

to espouse strategies intended to expose the country's domestic economy to international markets and, in the process, generate a wealth of opportunities back home. GEAR has become the primary national framework put in place to facilitate an ascendancy of neo-liberal values, to endorse macro-economic growth, and to heighten localised global competitiveness and targeted job creation (RSA, 1996a). At the same time however, there appears to be a recognition of the fact that global integration will not provide sufficient answers to the wide-spread poverty that exists throughout the country and will, in all likelihood, continue to contribute to regional disparities should contingency measures not be put into place to safeguard localities from the negative impacts of global processes. Therefore, in a series of parallel moves, national government departments have also enacted a string of strategies that have sought to ensure a proactive role for localities and to provide for micro-level development. Starting with the RDP and continuing through to evolving draft Local Economic Development policies, local stakeholders have been granted the right, the obligation, and the opportunity to tackle development issues that are locally identified, using localised solutions (DPLG, 2002; ANC, 1994). What the previous chapters have essentially demonstrated, is that the processes of globalisation and localisation are becoming more firmly entrenched in both government rhetoric and policy writing, which, in turn, is directly or indirectly filtering down to the lower levels of newly mandated decision making and locality-based development planning.

Chapters Three and Four presented an overview of the critiques made by various authors regarding conceptualisations that the processes of globalisation have blanketed all parts of the world and that localities are caught up in an ever more intricately woven web of global flows. This thesis concludes that, in line with the international evidence, South Africa too has been swept up in the processes of globalisation and localisation and is now within the same global / local nexus which Korff (2003) and Swyngedouw & Kaïka (2003) describe is characterising the modern world. Not only are the municipalities selected for in-depth analysis in this thesis caught up in globally linked transformations, but each and every locality across the country is now either an unwitting or purposeful participant in larger unfolding global processes. In addition, however, while the symbiotic relationship between global process and local strategies discussed by Grant & Short (2002) and Goetz & Clarke (1993) are definitely present in South Africa, the relationship is certainly far from

being equal and the impacts that such global processes have on each locality vary considerably from one context to the next. The competition to ensure site-specific development is now particularly heightened as localities throughout South Africa strive to take advantage of increasingly elusive global flows of people, capital, and commodities. Those that cannot succeed are left out of the global race and are forced to resort to progressively more innovative and locally relevant means of pro-poor development (Bebbington, 2003; Conley, 2002; Killick, 2001).

This thesis has demonstrated that those localities in South Africa that have gained from globalisation are principally the large, well-connected metropolitan areas such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, but conversely, those, which have been left out, are frequently located within economically disenfranchised areas including former homeland communities and declining small farming towns (Nel, 2005b; Rogerson, 2005b, 2000; Jenkins & Wilkinson, 2002; CDE, 1996a; Dewar, 1994). Multiple symbols of glocalisation have been found in Cape Town where it is possible to witness such global expressions as the strengthening of foreign investments, the latest technologies and vanguard fashions, thousands of yearly tourist arrivals, and an addiction to western cultural idols that are reinforced locally, but flaunted globally. Yet while some localities in the country enjoy pro-growth development and profit from their advantageous global positioning, the downside of globalisation's presence is felt elsewhere, including Cape Town's townships and in Ndlambe and Emalahleni, where local residents are obliged to seek alternative pro-poor solutions to local problems that may have been aggravated at other levels. De Campos Guimarães (1998; 22) summarised this seemingly conflicting dualism by noting 'the ongoing process of globalisation of the world economy, at the same time as it creates unprecedented opportunities for certain regions, aggravates the problems of development in peripheral regions and localities.'

As future discussion regarding the three case studies of Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni will show, South African localities are beginning to exhibit comparable manifestations of globalisation and localisation to those that international evidence proposes are taking place in other corners of the world. Cape Town is again portrayed as an example of a South Africa urban locality that has successfully cultivated its global ties to encourage a variety of private sector-led investments. In parallel, the

small towns of Ndlambe and Emalahleni contribute to the notion that pro-poor development can occur in localities that do not have the benefit of strong international linkages.

8.3 Pro-growth, Locality-based Development in Urban Localities

One of the first conclusions that this thesis reaches regarding locality-based development is set within the pro-growth (market-led) global city development paradigm with reference to Cape Town. In the opening sentences of Robinson's (2002) critique of global and world cities, she made the claim that based on the narrow viewpoint of authors such as Friedmann (1986) and Sassen (2002a,b, 1994, 1991), who focus mainly on top-ranking metropolitan areas, many cities around the world are not likely to ever be regarded as world / global cities despite the desires of, and steps taken by local government officials from these same cities. Instead, principally Third World cities have traditionally been looked at as unable to assume important positions within the global space of flows. Dick & Rimmer (1998) similarly question a growing dichotomy between the way cities in the First World and the Third World are portrayed in urban studies research. In parallel, Grant & Nijman (2002) have likewise decried a bias in the globalisation literature and point to a distinct lack of empirical research on cities in less developed countries. They note that Third World cities do play important evolving roles in the 'wider-world political economy' that is not yet fully explored and is therefore lacking in academic debates (Grant & Nijman, 2002; 320). Together, these authors call for an end to this dualism within urban theory and an incorporation of previously marginalized urban localities into the globalisation debate that focuses on issues of international connectivity, their ability to influence global flows, and their capacity to encourage pro-growth development regardless of their ranking within an inappropriate hierarchy of cities (Robinson, 2003, 2002; Grant & Nijman, 2002; Dick & Rimmer, 1998).

The study of Cape Town, for the purpose of this thesis, was an attempt to partially overcome this dearth in research into the prospects of secondary global cities, or at least, globalising cities 'off the map' as referred to by Robinson (2002). It further helps to bridge the gap between higher ranking world cities and those metropolitan areas further down the scale that are nevertheless increasingly global in both action and appearance and are thus worthy of academic recognition. Skeldon's (1997) view

that the most important features of a global city are its international character and its international linkages is a possible starting point from which to identify Cape Town's global city ambitions and characteristics. In fact, one of the ways in which Cape Town is beginning to express its international character and cultivate its international linkages is by demonstrating many of the same properties as global cities, such as the construction of world class facilities and pursuing globally focussed strategies as outlined in the academic literature that are found in other leading cities. In this case, the study of flagship developments in Cape Town in the light of the global city research base is very much a response to pleas to take into account other cities, which, although they may not be international leaders, do demonstrate a certain level of globality (Robinson, 2002). While the City of Johannesburg is the recognised national frontrunner, the major urban regenerative activities taking place within Cape Town's city centre also make it an appropriate candidate to being viewed through a global city lens. This thesis therefore holds that Cape Town's position as a global city results from the proactive and pro-growth development planning undertaken by the various partnerships in which local government agencies, the business sector, and private investors play key roles in aggressively selling the city as a globally competitive metropolitan area.

This thesis has further sought to supplement the existing world / global city research base in South Africa by analysing Cape Town as an additional, original case study of locally relevant macro-economic development strategies framed within the global city paradigm. Therefore, arguments presented in Chapter Four of this thesis have strived to build on world city discourse originally initiated by Rogerson (2005b, 2004b) and the CDE (2002) in South Africa regarding Johannesburg's positioning as a world city. The underlying justification for Johannesburg being included in the roster of world cities rests heavily on the city's position as the nation's leading centre for business activity and private sector investment attraction. According to Rogerson (2005b), Johannesburg is the hub for national corporate headquarters, banking and financial services, creative industries, and large-scale infrastructural development activities and, as such, is the country's foremost site of command, control, and decision-making. The study of Johannesburg as a world city has further focused on its ability to encourage small business development, its influence as a node for transport and logistics, its booming property market, and its competitive business tourism sector

that are all heavily dependent on, and increasingly tied to the city's national economic dominance.

Although the pre-eminence of a city's private sector and the degree of concentration of advanced producer or manufacturing services are important qualifiers for world city status, they are not by any means the sole distinguishing features that make or break prospective pretenders to the world city mantle. Indeed, recent evidence is indicating that additional pro-growth local development strategies based on, for example, the promotion of competitive niche markets, innovative brand promotion, international standards of living, the commodification of urban lifestyles, the development of leisure sectors and recreational facilities, the cosmopolitan nature of a skilled multi-national population, and a city's appeal and subsequent attraction of overseas guests, also go a long way in heralding global city standing (Robinson, 2002; Lee, 2000; Short *et al.*, 2000; Wollen, 1999). It is this collection of additional attributes of pro-growth locality-based development that this thesis believes announces Cape Town's position as a global city. The following arguments will explain in greater detail why.

Chapter Five has shown that private sector interests, which have gained the support of city planners in Cape Town, are deeply concerned with promoting investment-led urban renewal throughout the city. Sources within the Partnership and within the business community have confirmed that the Partnership is taking the lead in regenerative activities in the CBD, which includes the establishment of globally competitive smart precincts and residential areas (Carter pers. comm., 2004; Liebman pers. comm., 2004; Rippon pers. comm., 2004). From the international literature, Hutton (2004) has indicated that such precincts have been useful in stimulating socio-economic change in depressed neighbourhoods within the downtown areas of global cities like Vancouver, San Francisco, and Singapore. Furthermore, the transformation of Cape Town's inner core into a residential area is comparable to Tallon & Bromley's (2004) discussions on inner city living in a number of British urban areas, which have added to their global appeal and generated significant economic spin-offs. Zukin's (1988) concept of loft living in New York has found a home in Cape Town in many of the upmarket bachelor flats being converted from disused office or commercial space and which are being snapped up by mobile professionals looking

for a unique downtown living experience. The ideas put forward by Ley (2003) and Lees (2000) that CBD residential conversions and processes of gentrification are becoming important tools for urban renewal, cultural expressionism, and localised economic growth are now being attempted in Cape Town. Locally, they are coming to be viewed as valuable ways for breathing new life into the CBD area according to multiple informants including Joyce (pers. comm., 2005), Wener (pers. comm., 2005) and Kirk (pers. comm., 2005). Similar to the idea presented by Carmon (1999) that revamped living space and working areas are more likely to attract greater numbers of people, both locals and foreigners alike, to partake in the amenities situated there, both Carter (pers. comm., 2005) and Wolpe (pers. comm., 2004) anticipate that comparable phenomena presently unfolding in Cape Town will become further entrenched in the CBD once more people inhabit the area.

Meanwhile, sources from Cape Town Tourism (Ozinsky pers. comm., 2004) and from the former Destination Marketing Organisation (Walters pers. comm., 2004) have similarly revealed that different varieties of niche tourism have taken-off, as a result of strategic international marketing. Considerable efforts to improve the city's tourist infrastructure and attractions have equally been carried out to maximize growth potential by catering to urban tourism needs. The construction of world-class convention facilities, which are unequalled in the country in terms of design and layout, as well as the promise of unrivalled pre- and post-meeting attractions, have long been recognised by Fenich (1995, 1992) as having raised the international profile of, as well as afforded advantageous development opportunities to many of America's most prominent cities. Moreover, the commodification of cultural activities and the emphasis on major events being regarded as specific development strategies, as discussed by Enright & Newton (2004), Gotham (2002), Fainstein & Gladstone (1999), and Fretter (1993) is commonplace amongst global cities, but has only recently become a prime focus of urban pro-growth locality-based development in and around Cape Town. In this respect, Debord's (1994) 'society of the spectacle' is very much alive, including Burbank et al.'s (2002) insistence on risky, yet well-planned bidding campaigns for mega-events such as the Olympics and Therborn's (2000) theories regarding iconography and the symbolic international recognition that the branding of Table Mountain has given the city.

The additional credentials that have helped reach the conclusion that Cape Town is in fact a global city also stem from the globally focussed strategies being undertaken by the partnerships between local government departments and members of the business community, which have had increasing success in drawing global flows to the city. While the use of growth coalitions does not feature strongly in the South African world city development discourse, this thesis has demonstrated that they have been instrumental in pro-growth locality-based development in Cape Town. These types of partnerships, such as the Partnership working in the inner city, have been influential in highlighting many of the important secondary representations that are helping Cape Town reach the rank of being a global city, such as spearheading the rebirth of a vibrant CBD and encouraging a reawakening in the confidence of potential investors. In many respects, innovative place marketing and many intangible symbols of globalness are responsible for both Cape Town's current international appeal and the growth being enjoyed in select pockets of the city. Its leisure spaces, shopping districts, and round-the-clock entertainment-based lifestyle, as well as an escalating culture of luxury living and mass consumption have fuelled developments in real-estate and hospitality infrastructure, which, in turn, lends themselves to the city's growing popularity. Such advantages are enhanced by the beautiful natural setting, which provide the backdrop for *avant-garde* restoration projects, creative industries, and a flourishing film and fashion sector. These processes further emphasise different aspects, which admittedly are more appealing images than purely economic based incentives, are, nevertheless, instrumental in announcing Cape Town's global city inclinations. Moreover, whereas Rogerson (2000) has acknowledged that Johannesburg has taken a step back from the use of the spectacle as a means of encouraging local economic development, an examination of Cape Town shows that its success rests, in large part, on the spectacularisation of the city. Prestigious international events such as the World Cup or the Volvo Ocean Race, the 'hype' surrounding the establishment of a sophisticated 24-hour entertainment district, the romance of a functional, yet aesthetically pleasing waterfront, artistically designed multi-million Rand flats targeting international buyers, and a convention centre that is marketed, not so much as a building in which to hold meetings, but as an architectural masterpiece situated in a city where a unique experience can be enjoyed, are further indicators that certain stakeholders in Cape Town have learned from the marketable

development strategies of traditional leading global cities and are emulating such plans of action.

An outcome of Cape Town's push for global acknowledgment is the fact that the city itself is now beginning to influence global processes and international trends based on the strength of its own strategies. Amongst others, based on information from interviews with Schreiber (pers. comm., 2005) and with Taylor (pers. comm., 2003), Chapter Five has shown for example that the CTICC is moving up the ranks of top convention facilities and is influencing international conference organisers' choice of destinations. The attractiveness and affordability of apartments in such a vibrant locality are affecting decisions made by foreigners about where to purchase secondary homes. Calculated bidding campaigns are now also influencing where global sporting events are held, and Cape Town's emergent international reputation is starting to change where people go on holiday (CTICC, 2005a; Walters pers. comm., 2004; STATS, 2002b). This phenomenon reinforces the arguments made by Castree (2004), Korff (2003), and Swyngedouw (2003) that globalisation is the outcome of local differentiation and vice versa and thus provides further corroboration of Cape Town's global repute.

In a similar fashion to the significant pro-growth locality-based development projects in the CBD, which are helping consolidate Cape Town's rank as a global city, Chapter Five has also demonstrated that the city has also fallen victim to some of the negative side affects of moving closer to the global city model emphasised in the world / global city literature. Friedmann's (1986) hypothesis, which indicated that world cities are home to divergent interest groups, spatial polarisations, and political confrontations rings true in Cape Town where by 2001, Siswana (pers. comm., 2001) had reported that over three-quarters of the municipal budget was being spent on major projects. Moreover, Cape Town has further become a valid representation of Gugler (2004, 2003) and Mahon & Sahay's (2001) viewpoint that global cities are sites of divergent interests and major contradictions, especially since Carter (pers. comm., 2005) recently questioned the benefits of luxury housing in the CBD if there is insufficient housing in the township areas. It would be fair to assume that such polarisations are amplified in Cape Town where the greater part of its citizens have not benefited from increased global connectivity. While a review of the literature reveals concerns over

the privatisation of public spaces, urban gentrification, and the mismatch between growth sectors and existing skills, they do illustrate the dilemma faced by global cities the world over, as well as the risk involved in adopting many of these same strategies (Audirac, 2003; Jones, 2002; Hill & Kim, 2000; Hall, 1997; Knox, 1996; Simmie, 1990).

To conclude this section, an examination of Cape Town has revealed a new dimension to global city research in secondary urban localities that employ pro-growth locality-based development strategies. Understandable, it is unrealistic to compare Cape Town to the giants of New York, London, and Tokyo or rate it based on similar criteria, but the fact remains that these cities have served as role models for other aspiring global cities. The city is certainly not a centre for global command and control, it is not a world hub for headquarter functions or investment banking, nor is it an international leader in business activity or global management. Nonetheless, after approximately three year of field research and following multiple conversations with various stakeholders, the thesis holds that Cape Town is increasingly global in outlook and it does however express similar auxiliary physical traits that are often associated with globalising economies and globalising lifestyles. The city has witnessed a considerable level of economic and cultural ideological penetration, with a certain degree of ascendancy accorded to neo-liberal values and consumerist behaviours that are permeating the downtown core. While Cape Town may not be a prime basing point for global capital, and its connectivity may not be as keenly developed, its globality is certainly emerging in different formats. There has been a transformation of the city centre with considerable private sector developments in infrastructure, office, hotel, and residential construction. Smart industries are gaining ground in Cape Town at the expense of traditional sectors and the international tourism trade is becoming a major focus for growth. In many ways, it too has become a model of a post-industrial city with a progressively more dichotomised labour force comprised of a growing trans-national elite of skilled professionals taking up employment in Cape Town's expanding tertiary sectors, as well as the masses of under-skilled and unemployed that battle to find work in the cities' declining manufacturing industries.

Bearing these considerations in mind, it is possible to distinguish various hallmarks of locality-based development in a secondary global city in a developing country. The

above arguments and those presented in Chapter Five of this thesis have shown that Cape Town parallels several of the pro-growth developmental theories and practices identified in the international literature that have customarily been associated with or accredited to world / global city expressions and behaviours. This thesis therefore concludes that Cape Town is, in fact, a secondary global city based on several of the associated features of urban locality-based development and manifestations of global connectivity observable particularly within the CBD. These include an evolving proactive partnership between the municipality and the private sector; the attraction of foreign direct investment; the ongoing aggressive branding and place promotion of the city at an international level; the redevelopment of the downtown core into a residential quarter reminiscent of European capitals; the strategic growth of a lucrative tourism sector; the commodification of cultural and sporting events geared towards garnering the world's attention; and the erection of several key world-class infrastructures and facilities. The global city status of Cape Town thus rests largely on the investment-led strategies it undertakes, the image that it is able to project at an international level, and the superior built environment that it has constructed.

These justifications for global city inclusion have further important implications in the study of globally connected urban localities in other developing countries. Research that focuses on issues other than a metropolitan area's macro-economic contributions to global flows such as strategic global planning, lifestyle, tourism efforts, and infrastructural upgrading will surely yield a growing number of at least 'globalising cities' in what may be unlikely places. A study of cities, regardless of where they are situated, will produce different lessons and different examples of why they should be interpreted as globally significant.

8.4 Pro-poor, Locality-based Development in Small Towns

The second research contribution that this thesis makes in the field of locality-based development is derived from the original analyses of two South African small towns. This section will expand on how Chapters Six and Seven's examination of pro-poor locality-based development in Ndlambe and Emalahleni provides powerful counterweights to the pro-growth, globally focussed developments that are occurring throughout Cape Town's CBD. A combined assessment of how international experience relating to small town development is reflected in both Ndlambe and

Emalahleni is followed by a distinctive look at each to consider their unique characteristics and their distinctive contributions to small town development. This research builds from the existing, but limited international literature, on small town development and does confirm Choguill (1989) and Daniel's (1989) conclusions that they are heterogeneous in size and composition. An examination of Ndlambe and Emalahleni Municipalities additionally supplements the South African small town research base previously conducted by Nel (2005b), the Centre for Development and Enterprise (1996b), and Dewar (1994) that have shown that strategies relating to poverty reduction are important considerations in secondary centres.

Fieldwork for this thesis has shown that these two non-city localities are not as internationally connected as Cape Town, they do not have the same capacity to influence the recreation of global processes, nor does either of them possess many expressions of global manifestations. Despite this, as with their larger urban counterparts, however, peripheral localities in South Africa such as Ndlambe and Emalahleni have also been, albeit to varying degrees, swept-up by an evolving international system with Bebbington & Batterbury (2001; 369) emphasising, 'today, some insist that analysts have no choice but to reconceptualise the peasantry in the light of globalisation processes and the emergence of trans-national spaces.' Likewise, de Campos Guimarães (1998) is of the belief that globalisation, and linked policies of structural adjustment and economic liberalisation, have been the source of numerous problems in marginalized localities. Some of the literature (Choguill, 1989; Daniels 1989) has indicated that small towns vary widely in size, composition, and development response across the developing world. This phenomenon is mirrored in South Africa as indicated by the Centre for Development and Enterprise (1996) and Merten (2003a), and is discernible in Ndlambe and Emalahleni, implying that there are no uniform responses for poverty alleviation by localities hard hit by the negative outcomes of globalisation and other internal or externally induced structural constraints. Mackenzie (1992) cautions however, that in particularly impoverished localities, it is difficult to distinguish between development responses that are strategic in nature and which purposefully try to contribute to local socio-economic upliftment and those that are simply coping strategies, a phenomenon that may, in actual fact, be a more likely scenario in Emalahleni.

How local stakeholders within these two localities have subsequently compensated for global realities, and then looked inwardly for pro-poor solutions to local problems that are unique to them, have provided valuable illustrations of several features that traditionally have been associated with small town and rural development as outlined in Chapter Four. Indeed, in parallel with Bebbington's (2001) analysis, South Africa's strategies of economic liberalisation and its policies of developmental decentralisation have become opportunities for disadvantaged areas such as Ndlambe and Emalahleni to devise their own pro-poor responses. The literature now highlights an assortment of attributes and features that should, under optimal conditions, be present or be adopted by localities beyond the urban core in order to embark on territorially specific and locally relevant development planning. If Ndlambe and Emalahleni are taken as localised benchmarks of pro-poor (market-critical) development, South African small towns now appear to be following, willingly or not, international experience, whereby one of the most pressing needs is for them to anticipate change and recreate themselves accordingly. In Ndlambe, interviews with Jordaan (pers. comm., 2004, 2003a) and Balura (pers. comm., 2004) have revealed that the municipality is actively and willingly involved in anticipating change and planning for it. In Emalahleni, discussions with Xegwana (pers. comm., 2005, 2002) and Bula (pers. comm., 2005) show that local residents are often unwillingly compelled to create new avenues for pro-poor development themselves. Likewise, however, in this country there is no special formula for them to adhere to, plan in accordance with, or implement that will allow them to achieve development that benefits its poorest citizens. In the wake of this need to become individually more assertive and more inventive in pursuing locality-based development, as suggested in Chapter Four by Barrett *et al.* (2001), Smith *et al.* (2001), and Start (2001b), diversification is becoming the norm, based on the pursuit of a mixture of livelihoods. This is now evident in remote areas of South Africa and was observed in Ndlambe and Emalahleni. With regards to Ndlambe, in interviews with both Jam Jam (pers. comm., 2004) from Isitena and Dyakela (pers. comm., 2004) from Umsobomvu the ideas of inventiveness and resourcefulness came out quite clearly as playing leading roles in the establishment of their respective community-businesses. These small towns are now home to a greater multiplicity of revenue generating schemes, rural industries, and / or community-based enterprises that are helping alleviate unemployment in the area and improve the qualities of life for numerous local residents.

Key authors in community-based local economic development theory including Helmsing (2001), Rahman (1993), Mackenzie (1992), Mbilinyi (1992), and Stöhr & Taylor (1981) have further stressed the need for indigenously identified and driven, locally planned and managed, bottom-up development principles to be followed. These are processes that are clearly visible in the second and third case studies of this thesis. Pro-poor developments in these localities have also underscored the importance of self-reliance, inclusivity, social capital, community involvement, asset mobilisation and maximisation, and inward oriented activities. Added to this, they are participatory in nature and are driven by passionate and creative people with the assistance of an effective local government, as in the case of Ndlambe. Of the two, the subsistence coal mining and brick making pursuits in Emalahleni most closely represent survivalist strategies, but also reveal the importance of community participation in moderating their industries where entrepreneurs have recognised the value of working together towards common goals of poverty reduction. In Ndlambe, Jordaan (pers. comm., 2004) was quick to point out the keenness of the municipality to remain involved in development projects, while Dyakela (pers. comm., 2004) was likewise eager to retain the mutually beneficial relationship between Umsobomvu and the municipality. This notion of participatory action takes on new levels through the inclusion and proactivity of municipal officials who have been vital in setting-up the right environment in which such businesses as Umsobomvu and Isitena can at least survive, if not thrive. Numerous authors have stressed the need for holistic locality-based development that draws on local dynamics and strong leadership to be used in conjunction with the establishment of small businesses (das Gupta *et al.*, 2004; Binswanger & Aiyar 2003; Rahman, 1993; Stöhr & Taylor, 1981). Ndlambe seems to have achieved this mix, while representatives from both the coal miners and brick makers in Indwe have indicated that the lack of municipal leadership continues to be an ongoing challenge faced by Emalahleni's entrepreneurs (Dyantyi pers. comm., 2005; Bula pers. comm., 2005; Xegwana pers. comm., 2005, 2002; Methlomane pers. comm., 2002). Helmsing (2003; 68-69) provides a powerful theoretical endorsement and a hint at why cameoed small businesses such as in Ndlambe have done so well relative to Emalahleni's informal enterprises when he wrote,

The success of the innovating peasant farmer or small entrepreneur depends also on the presence, effectiveness and efficiency of related and supporting services ... local government is to provide the right mix of local public goods and secondly to facilitate or enable these other actors, communities, enterprises, workers, and NGOs, to make their most productive contribution.

It is clear that these examples embody many of the characteristics that international evidence suggest should be present in order to facilitate sustainable development that is directed to the poor. Residents of these towns are resorting to a greater variety of multiple-income earning ventures including agro-processing, small-scale mining, and brick making in order to survive and match the ideas put forward by Helmsing (2003) that local development needs to be multi-actor, multi-sectored, and multi-level. To this, de Haan & Zoomers (2003) add multi-dimensional. In the case of Ndlambe, it is therefore apparent from the research undertaken that the need to diversify the local economy has hit home for local officials, as traditional, agriculturally based employment cannot be counted on to sustain large numbers of people. Attempts at livelihood diversification, which have been identified by Davis (2003), Smith *et al.* (2001), and Start (2001b) as precursors for renewed opportunities for employment creation in marginalized areas, are evident in the case studies of Umsobomvu and Isitena. The congregation of community identified and local government assisted rural enterprises in small towns is a further hallmark of Wiggins & Proctor's (2001) appeal for proactive economic development. While a multiplicity of income generating activities may not yet be the norm within the greater Ndlambe and Emalahleni municipalities, in Bathurst and in Indwe, however, van der Ploeg's (2000) notion of a pluriactivity of alternative pro-poor ventures is clearly visible and these small towns are very much becoming centres for small industries as suggested that they should by Dewar (1994). It is also becoming increasingly probable that these micro-enterprises will be able to generate secondary opportunities for additional rural industrial developments in related or downstream sectors, as has been the case in some scenarios in other developing countries (Arghiros, 1996). This is corroborated by Jam Jam (pers. comm., 2004) who has plans to start another brick making enterprise in a neighbouring town, while Dyakela (pers. comm., 2004) is similarly looking into generating a marketable product from unused and otherwise discarded pineapple

pulping waste. It is, however, also important to remember that, as pointed out by Daniels (1989), small towns invariably have limited growth potential and the limited number of people who have found employment at Umsobomvu and Isitena in Bathurst or in Indwe's coal mines and brick fields serves as a reminder that development of this kind will be selective and restricted to those who are exceptionally entrepreneurial in their mindset and in their approaches.

On its own, research in Ndlambe has provided an original opportunity to study an approach to pro-poor locality-based development that highlights the role assumed by a local municipality in supporting local development in the area under its jurisdiction. What are unique about development attempts in Ndlambe are the relatively rare successes of Umsobomvu and Isitena. They are two examples of nationally funded development projects identified from within the community, which have survived long after numerous instances of similarly subsidized and initiated employment generating and poverty reducing schemes elsewhere have failed. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, pro-poor locality-based development in Ndlambe has been made possible, in part, due to the enabling environment that the local municipality has created, as alluded to on separate occasions by mayor, Balura (pers. comm., 2004) and unit manager, Jordaan (pers. comm., 2004). This has also been created by placing considerable emphasis on the need to prioritise and target the most under-privileged communities. Research has shown that ordinary residents have been encouraged to come forward with their own development ideas to improve their qualities of living with local officials aiding in the preparation of business proposals before adding their stamps of approval and submitting them for funding support. People-centred initiatives such as Umsobomvu and Isitena have proven the need for, and value of community buy-in and ownership throughout every phase of project development in order to gain popular credibility. The fact that they operate within an open, competitive market environment substantiates the necessity for even socially responsible and pro-poor development projects to take into consideration and to furnish demand-driven outcomes. This in itself is an unusual and interesting characteristic, whereby what is seen in Ndlambe is a move towards a mixture of both pro-poor and pro-growth styles of local development. Umsobomvu and Isitena were established to provide jobs and income for the poor, yet they are doing so within a market system where profitability is the bottom line. Chapter Six indicates that the

situation is remarkably similar, albeit on a much simpler basis, to the concept raised by MacIntyre (2002) of the *Third Option*, which calls for and requires a blend of bottom-up and top-down principles and methodologies in establishing viable development alternatives. She further acknowledges and remarks, however, that achieving such a feat requires extreme skilfulness on the part of local stakeholders and a conscious recognition that:

> *The Third Option, development by local organisations, is not an easy one. It requires knowledge of world trends – and street sense in the local community. It demands idealism and a strong grip on reality, business sense and the ability to see and go beyond the bottom line, knowledge of how the government and large corporations really operate, and strong commitment to strengthening the identity and integrity of communities and their ability to tackle their own problems with their own resources, and to be wrong in their own way rather than right in those of others* (MacIntyre, 2002; 216).

Although those involved in pro-poor locality-based development in Ndlambe may not be entirely up to date with the latest global trends, their actions do convey a sense of their firm grasp of the open market system, that they are tuned into grassroots realities, and that they are willing to experiment with a number of locally relevant solutions to locally relevant problems. The Nomzamo Small Business Hive experiment has not been as successful as Umsobomvu or Isitena, but again it demonstrates the readiness of the municipality to try something new. It has been a learning curve for both development planners and would-be entrepreneurs in Ndlambe who now have first hand experience of what works and what does not regarding the need for marketable products and the location of micro-enterprises. Likewise, the ongoing provision of municipal support to Masiphatisane is a further recognition by municipal officials that a transition to the open market is not always possible but that such pro-poor initiatives should continue to receive assistance nevertheless. Such local action therefore conforms with the notions put across by Binswanger & Aiyar (2003) and Gooneratne & Mbilinyi (1992) that individual places require individual solutions.

To suggest that the community-based initiatives in Ndlambe are replicable in other municipalities is debateable. In many cases, because its successes rely heavily on the specific uniquenesses of that particular locality, it would be difficult to reproduce this pro-poor variant of development elsewhere. What the example of Ndlambe does offer to other municipalities however, is that local officials need to take the first step in providing the right setting in which to cultivate their own unique responses to poverty, which will, in turn, serve as the catalyst for indigenous development potential. In this respect, a further lesson from Ndlambe is the necessity for all local stakeholders to participate in development processes and contribute, in their own capacity, different elements that collectively can be used to improve local standards of living. Therefore, while it is unlikely that other localities will be able to reproduce the individual pro-poor initiatives and achieve the same results, the Ndlambe experience demonstrates that if they follow a similar all-inclusive, holistic approach, adopt a positive mindset, and work within a demand-drive market system, then their chances of obtaining positive outcomes are greatly increased.

To summarise on Ndlambe, this thesis has substantiated a further approach to locality-based development in South Africa personified through the development activities undertaken in Bathurst, which have illustrated and validated an inclusive and participatory method of obtaining committed responses from several levels of government and from within different spheres of local influence. Research in Ndlambe has uncovered an example of small town development that is seldom seen in either South Africa or in other developing countries. Undoubtedly what is visible in the municipality, in terms of the presence of an enabling environment from which pro-poor development can emerge, is a rare occurrence in marginalized localities. As such, it is an approach that can serve as a role model for other small towns striving to pursue comprehensive, locally relevant development planning. The practice of community ownership that has been achieved in Ndlambe and the participatory and all-inclusive nature of the development process there further prove that communities can be involved in their own upliftment. In many respects, therefore, this research indicates that the 'Third Option' of a proactive, capacitated local government that encourages and supports the emergence of endogenous, community based businesses and rural industries, which are capable of working in the open market system, is

needed if small towns are to be able to successfully implement pro-poor development strategies.

The study of Emalahleni acknowledges a second example of pro-poor locality-based development. The provision of assistance to a wool growing cooperative has enhanced livelihoods in Cumakale and the establishment of a dairy processing factory in Dordrecht is anticipated to create numerous job opportunities in Dordrecht, but it is the micro-economy in Indwe, which this research has emphasised that is having the most profound impact on poverty reduction. Further research contributions that this thesis, therefore, makes include the argument that artisanal and small-scale mining and brick making have been positive factors providing means of income generation for several hundred people. Theoretical debates included in Chapter Four indicated that, due to fluctuations in the international mining industry, ASM is on the rise globally with now millions of people residing in poor and marginalized areas seeking to earn a living in the informal mining sector (United Nations, 2003; Hilson, 2002a; Gilman, 1999). While there has been an escalation in the amount of international research into the topic of ASM and its impact on host localities' environment, social fabric, and local economies, with mounting reference to Africa in particular, South Africa has featured only marginally in this expanding field of study (MEPC, 2002; Mutemeri & Petersen, 2002; Scott *et al.*, 1998). A study of Emalahleni thus offers the opportunity to examine small-scale mining in a relatively fresh and under-researched environment, and to determine how such activities contribute to pro-poor locality-based development framed within the globalisation / localisation context. In many respects, the trends identified throughout the course of this research and presented in Chapter Seven again represent a microcosm of the trials and tribulations, as well as the potential opportunities for success enjoyed by those engaged in this sector, as presented in the international literature. The latter prompted Hilson (2002a; 3) to note that they have 'brought both major problems and immeasurable socio-economic benefits to a number of developing countries.'

Evidence supplied by several of the respondents interrogated in Indwe including Bula (pers. comm., 2005), Fotu (pers. comm., 2005), Xegwana (pers. comm., 2002), and Mbelekwana (pers. comm., 2002) specified that many of the small-scale miners and the brick making enterprises that they have spawned, were initially left with no other

choice than to take up employment in the informal mining sector. This followed downsizing, closures, and subsequent retrenchments in numerous of the country's industrial heartlands. In part this is due to the national government's new neo-liberal economic policies of global competitiveness and in part it is due to resource depletion and loss of national and international markets (Xegwana pers. comm., 2002). As an outcome, ASM in Emalahleni has undoubtedly become a reflection of the notion presented by the World Bank (2003), the United Nations (2003, 1996a) and Andrew (2002) that it is an activity undertaken in isolated localities or within economies in transition by the rural poor who have often run out of options. As Chapter Four emphasised, these same micro-entrepreneurs indicate that rural industries are plagued with a number of almost inherent problems, including insufficient access to appropriate equipment, a lack of knowledge regarding proper mining techniques, deplorable working conditions and health standards (Bula pers. comm., 2005, 2002; Dyantyi pers. comm., 2005; Fotu pers. comm., 2005, 2002; Xegwana pers. comm., 2005, 2002; Mbelekwana pers. comm., 2002). Despite these social ills, the favourable aspects, which this thesis has drawn attention to, imply that such activity will remain an important source for poverty reduction for increasingly vulnerable communities such as Indwe.

In line with what has been explained by Andrews-Speed *et al.* (2002), Hilson (2002a, c) McMahon & Davidson (2000), Gilman (1999) and the FAO (1993) elsewhere in other developing countries, artisanal and small-scale mining and the cottage brick making enterprises in Emalahleni can and must be viewed as part of a wider movement that calls attention to alternative livelihoods in small towns and rural localities. They are highly people-centred development activities, they play invaluable roles in the economic empowerment of marginalized peoples, they prove that even disadvantaged communities can become more self-reliant, and show that community participation is a necessary element of pro-poor development. Most importantly, this research has shown that these two industries, despite the fact that they are in the informal economy, are operating illegally, employ rather dubious health and safety standards, and provide employment for only a small portion of the area's many unemployed can form part of a broader picture of local development. They do, provide a face to the statement made by McMahon & Davidson (2000; page unknown), that 'there seemed to be a general consensus that small-scale mining ...

cannot easily serve as a basis for sustainable community and economic development by itself, but can become a valuable component of a diversified livelihood economy.'

This research therefore concludes that community-initiated artisanal and small-scale mining and traditional brick making are valuable tools in the fight against poverty and are likewise important elements in pro-poor locality-based development in Emalahleni. By way of this example, this chapter further concludes that such activities have proven that development in peripheral localities in South Africa require a noteworthy degree of self-sufficiency, individual commitment, and community moderation. It also elucidates on the fact that local government intervention is an important element in local development, but that its absence provides strong incentives for local residents to undertake income-generating schemes of their own. Moreover, despite the shortage of business skills, infrastructure, and capital, these micro-enterprises and the activities undertaken by the micro-entrepreneurs demonstrate that it is possible to survive in a quasi-market environment.

Moreover, the survivalist strategies pursued in Emalahleni are a clear indication of the *status quo* in much of the developing world. Given the persistence of ineffectual local governments or the lack of any other form of development intervention, local residents will simply resort to whatever they can do to make ends meet. They tap into natural resources, use existing skills, and develop community networks in order to help formalise development efforts and extend the benefits to other residents. Thus, Emalahleni has provided contemporary proof that pro-poor locality-based development can be achieved even without outside assistance.

8.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has provided lessons and conclusions by means of assembling a summary of many of the theoretical globalisation and localisation debates presented in Chapters Three and Four first relative to South Africa in general and then to the applied debates put forward in the individual case study chapters. As such, this chapter accomplishes this thesis' fifth objective of presenting novel and extended research contributions regarding locality-based development role models in South Africa.

The initial literature chapters put considerable emphasis on the notion that global processes are permeating much of the world and that it is becoming progressively impossible to escape the creeping western-biased influence that they allegedly herald. Authors including Castree (2004) and Brown *et al.* (2002) are now making claims that there are fewer places out there that have not, in some manner, experienced the impacts of global reshufflings, but Conley (2002) further warns that the impacts are not necessarily advantageous to host localities. This chapter has argued that South Africa has not been immune to higher-level transformations, and that, in all likelihood, many groups within the country have welcomed the opportunity to become involved participants in the construction and reconstruction of global flows. What has been additionally contended is that South Africa embodies many of the wider, locality-based development controversies apparent on an international scale within one country. There is evidence of highly connected global cities where substantial proportions of residents benefit from a myriad of investment opportunities, international standards of living, world class infrastructure, and unparalleled luxury. What was also indicated, however, is that many marginal localities throughout South Africa, even in close proximity to these urban areas, have not had such a positive relationship with globalisation. In the end, South Africa has attempted to alleviate disparities by providing the platform from which to allow metropolitan and particularly well coordinated localities to access international networks. Government departments have also made sure that appropriate legislation likewise exists to make sure that local levels are provided with the incentives needed to look after their own needs and wants.

This chapter also demonstrated how the arguments developed in Chapter Five have helped to establish the background conditions regarding the identification of secondary global cities in developing countries that make use of pro-growth development planning. It has added to the world city research base in South Africa by making the claim that, in addition to recent publications (Rogerson, 2005b, 2004b; CDE, 2002) touting Johannesburg's rise to word city status, Cape Town should also be considered along the same lines. The section made the case that, in conjunction with such obvious traits as economic supremacy and the clustering of financial institutions, Cape Town's auxiliary global manifestations such as the innovative role of growth coalitions, place marketing, conventions and events promotion, tourism

development and other partnership facilitated large-scale projects purported to attract international attention is further proof of the city's global intentions (Ley, 2003; Gotham, 2002; Carmon, 1999; Fenich, 1995; Zukin, 1988). An increasingly polarised citizenry with a multitude of residents being denied the advantages of living and working in such as globally linked city, is a scenario that is played out, according to Audirac (2003) and Friedmann (1986), in numerous other global cities and is an extra additional reason warranting Cape Town's inclusion amongst their midst.

Likewise, this chapter also draws lessons, this time with regards to pro-poor locality-based development in the small towns of Ndlambe and Emalahleni relative to the international literature. Arguments that have been discussed follow the line of reasoning that even these marginal localities are bound together with others around the planet and even if they are not immediately able to influence global flows to the extent that such cities as Cape Town can, nonetheless they are themselves influenced by them. A common theme that emerges throughout Chapter Six and Seven is that such small towns often disproportionately bear the brunt of globalisation in terms of reduced national level support and weak local level institutional capacities (Lanjouw & Lanjouw, 2001; de Campos Guimarães, 1998). In response, similar to what international theoretical evidence is presenting, such under-privileged localities are resorting to a diversified range of pro-poor localised solutions to deal with issues distinct to their areas. This chapter shows that in Ndlambe, rural enterprises have supplied job opportunities to several residents, but what made this situation unique was the nature of how local stakeholders have pulled together to create seldom seen, endogenously identified, nationally funded, municipally supported, and community operated development alternatives, which on top of it all, have successfully operated in a open market system. In Emalahleni, coping strategies originating in artisanal and small-scale mining and brick making that were undertaken as a result of chronic unemployment tell the same story recounted by such authors as Carnegie (2002) and Hilson (2002a) of depressed local economies turning to ASM as a means of poverty reduction. In this case, informal entrepreneurs continue to operate in an environment void of external support, despite the presence of a local government that has, theoretically, been instructed to assist in local economic development activities. What this chapter has effectively demonstrated, based on information present in Chapter Seven, is the ability of residents in small South African localities to become more

individually and collectively self-reliant in their search for alternative pro-poor livelihoods in an ostensibly inhospitable national and global context.

To conclude, this chapter has presented a summation of this thesis' findings related to locality-based development in both urban settings and in small / rural towns. It is apparent from an analysis of primary data collected throughout this research that South African cities, including Cape Town, are becoming more globally focussed and their market-led strategies and cityscapes are beginning to resemble those found in other major international metropolitan centres. In a similar fashion, development activities pursued in Ndlambe and Emalahleni bear strong resemblances to strategies found in other parts of the developing world where the poor and disadvantaged must create their own opportunities. As such, Ndlambe's locality-based development projects operating in a market environment could be viewed as a model for other struggling small towns. The emergence of a coal mining / brick making micro-economy in Emalahleni equally serves as a classic case-in-point of a locality where residents are simply doing whatever it is they can do to survive in the absence of any other options. The following chapter will conclude this thesis and look back on the original aims and objectives to determine the degree to which research has fulfilled the desired interpretation of locality-based development across South Africa that it first set-out to accomplish.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as the conclusion to this research thesis. It provides a summation of the findings and makes final comments regarding the various theories and case studies investigated with a view to determining to what degree the original aims and objectives have been met. One of the primary incentives driving this study was the desire to broaden the locality-based development or LED research base in South Africa, which has been chronicled at length by Nel (2005a,b, 2002, 2001a,b, 1999) and Rogerson (2005a,b, 2004a,b,c, 2002a, 2000, 1996), and which has, in part, paved the way for this thesis' in-depth analysis of further approaches to local development in additional localities. It also attempted to investigate how South African localities compare to theoretical constructs relating to globalisation and localisation and how South African metropolitan areas or small towns can be looked upon as role models for various styles of local development.

This chapter therefore returns to the original aims and objectives set in Chapter One and uses them as starting points from which to present summations of arguments developed in the preceding chapters. The overall aims that this thesis has strived towards includes framing South Africa locality-based development practices within the globalisation / localisation paradigms. Ensuing aims consisted of then identifying, documenting, and assessing trends employed and visible in select case studies. The first objective that was met was the provision of a critical survey of globalisation and localisation debates with the view to providing the context for contemporary locality-based development. This was followed by fulfilling the second objective of providing an analysis of the different manifestations of locality-based development as they appear in the international literature and within South Africa, which included an overview of national LED policy and legislation. The third objective that this chapter fulfilled was an analysis of the three selected case studies of Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni. Individual *précis* of each is included below that draw out important discussions and conclusions reached during an examination of their unique variants of locality-based development. Mixed in with these subsections is the substantiation of the fourth objective of this thesis, which was the identification of the primary beneficiaries of the types of local development featured in each relevant chapter. The

fifth thesis objective of providing an overview of lessons learned and theoretical conclusions reached, based on the analyses of selected case studies, is also overviewed within the summations of each case study. These are followed by a note on future and further research before continuing on to concluding remarks.

9.2 Summations on Globalisation & Localisation

The first objective proposed for this thesis was to conduct a review of relevant literature on a variety of fields relating to globalisation and localisation and the impact that such phenomena are having on locality-based development. The literature review in Chapter Three began by identifying some key definitional challenges regarding the perceived origins of globalisation and global processes. Within the associated literature, globalisation is sometimes explained as having a farther reaching history than is sometimes suggested in several of the more contemporary explanations of recent international change. The first proposes that what is now understood as globalisation has its origins in the first instances of cross-border trade and the migration of people between different localities (Conley, 2002; Hirst & Thompson, 1999). The second insinuates an acceleration of such processes, commencing from the post-industrial crisis afflicting western economies, following the purposefully inflated oil prices in the 1970s (Callaghan, 2002; Tickell & Peck, 1992). The new international division of labour that followed called for an end to former rigid modes of production and a new observance of principles of flexible accumulation and neoliberal economics that heralded a period of intensifying worldwide competition (Jessop, 2002; Tickell & Peck, 1995).

Next, the literature review emphasised a number of expressions of globalisation that now seemingly characterise much of the modern world. The speed at which new technologies have emerged is due, in large part, to international consortia jointly striving to produce revolutionary timesaving tools capable of producing goods more efficiently and more cost-effectively. Information and communications technologies, in addition to improved means of transport and travel have come to distinguish this new global era (Sabelis, 2004; Schaeffer, 2003; Castells, 1999, 1993). Furthermore, such methods of transportation have allowed an increasing number of people in the form of immigrants, refugees, students, and professionals to access different localities around the world with greater ease and regularity (Castle, 2000; Papastergiadis,

2000). The World Tourism Organisation (2005) has explained that tourism has become one of the biggest growth markets as several million tourist arrivals are recorded yearly for both leisure and business purposes. Through television, music, and fashion, authors such as Harrington & Bielby (2002) and Mathews (2000) have shown that a global culture is emerging, based largely on western preferences, although a certain degree of hybridisation is taking place incorporating cultural uniquenesses from other societies (Sinclair & Harrison, 2004). A final expression of global modernity that is covered in this thesis is the dominance of liberalism, which has permeated both economic and political spheres of influence. National governments are voluntarily or are being persuaded to adopt liberal, democratic values of popular participation and likewise open their economies to free market tenants of global competition (Haynes, 2003; Pierson, 2001, Onis & Aysan, 2000).

The pace at which these processes have unfolded have led some pundits to express the opinion, correctly or otherwise, that globalisation is a homogenising phenomenon that is treating all people and places in a similar manner. Chapter Three points to Fukuyama (1992) and O'Brien (1992) who question the relevance of history and / or geography in contemporary society as localities everywhere take on the comparable attributes and functions. Although, not limited to these two authors, such alleged misinterpretations of globalisation have led to a divergence in the literature with a growing number of counter-arguments stressing that global processes are not as totalising as they may appear to be and that such arguments have led to false understandings (Bonnett, 2003; Starr & Adams, 2003; Harvey, 1996). In reality, global critics are now pointing to the fact that international flows are actually spatially concentrated and do not necessarily influence all localities equally or beneficially, and therefore they renew calls to look at individual components of globalisation and their effects on different places (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Conley, 2002; Hirst & Thompson, 1999).

9.3 Summations on Approaches to Locality-based Development

This thesis then looked at the emerging importance accredited to the locality as a key role player in the formation of and resistance to global processes. Arguments that were developed called attention to the fact that rather than being perceived as all-encompassing occurrences, global processes are in fact the product of a number of

linked localities in an increasingly intricate trans-national network. The parallel appearance of a 'glocal' debate in global / local theories has grown to include a duality that claims that the manifestations of globalisation are unavoidably tied to particular territories (Swyngedouw, 2003; Aiyar, 2002; Grant & Short, 2002; Cabus, 2001). Social phenomena such as economic and political decision-making are necessarily place-based and therefore significant attention needs to be accorded to individual places and their function in both producing and harnessing such global flows for the protection and development of local economies (Storper, 1997). In this respect, this thesis has proven that issues of locality-based development have become integral concerns within global paradigms.

In Chapter Four, international evidence discussed several strategies employed by localities around the world in an attempt to mediate the global flows and direct them in such a way to best benefit local residents. Discussions included an examination of locality-based development in urban and small town localities based on the common premise that both are required to exhibit a growing level of proactivity and creativity in the provision of localised responses to global challenges. The world / global city model pioneered by Friedmann (1986) and Sassen (1991) was introduced to illustrate the importance of the concept of high ranking cities that have succeeded in attaining strategic, hierarchical positioning within the global network of localities and have derived significant benefit from the number of control and decision-making functions, as well as pro-growth developments that take place within them. They possess numerous characteristics and attributes that buttress their status as world leaders and are actively able to carve niches out for themselves within a globally competitive environment. By way of Robinson's (2002) petition for a study of urban areas that is wider than the traditional top ranking cities, this thesis then turned to an investigation of what pro-growth strategies and features that may not make them world leaders, nonetheless signal localities' global intentions and connectivity. Among the premier strategies is the use of partnerships and growth coalitions in directing primarily investment-driven developments and economic growth. It has been indicated that these interventions have been successful in spearheading bouts of urban regeneration in a number of cities through means of place promotion, undertaking investment attraction campaigns and infrastructural redevelopments (Hutton, 2004; Carmon, 1999). Many cities are now experiencing refreshed economic vitality with a number

of globally connected industries and tertiary sectors choosing city centres as sites for business expansion. Tourism promotion, residential conversions, the international marketing of cultural and sporting events, and the construction of convention centres have equally been considered throughout this research as valuable tools for economic revitalisation and catalysts for further future major locality-based developments (Gotham, 2002; Andranovich *et al.*, 2001; Gladstone & Fainstein, 2001; Fainstein & Gladstone, 1999; Paddison, 1993; Fenich, 1992; Zukin, 1989). Moreover, they demonstrate just how globally progressive such localities are becoming.

While it has become increasingly possible for a number of larger cities to successfully compete at a global level, this thesis also puts across the position that not all places have been so fortunate. A review of the literature has shown that large portions of the world's population still reside in small towns and rural localities and that a substantial proportion of these numbers are located in developing countries (Satterthwaite & Tacoli, 2003; Wiggins & Proctor, 2001). As of yet, for these people, the processes of globalisation have not been as fruitful and in many places have impacted quite negatively on the local economies of numerous marginalized and already under-privileged communities (Devereux, 2002; Killick, 2001; Mwabu & Thorbecke, 2001; Ashley & Maxwell, 2001). Similar to their urban counterparts, such small towns and their surrounding countrysides are in need of new strategies that will help them cope with locally manifested consequences of national and global realities. Bebbington (2001) summed up the sentiments associated with pro-poor development issues in peripheral areas when he indicated that such localities and their stakeholders must view contemporary changes as opportunities or incentives to pursue different paths towards localised economic well being. As such, Chapter Four explained how concepts such as community driven decision-making and popular participation have become key elements in locality-based development. Multiple alternative livelihood approaches and diversified survivalist strategies have thus been identified as parts of pro-poor locality-based development (Davis, 2003; Haggblade *et al.*, 2002; Start, 2001a,b; Barrett & Reardon, 2000). This thesis further made use of artisanal and small-scale mining and traditional brick making as examples of rural industries that have brought some measure of socio-economic benefit to remote areas where other productive resources are rare, despite several drawbacks that micro-entrepreneurs might face in the process (Jensen & Peppard, 2004; Hilson, 2002a, 2001; McMahon

& Davidson, 2000; United Nations, 1996a; FAO, 1993; Tráore, 1993; Spiropoulos, 1991).

9.3.1 Summations of Locality-based Development in South Africa

Chapter Four also indicated that theories and practices related to locality-based development have become particularly prevalent in South Africa, and that South African development policy makers and practitioners have developed a substantial amount of policy documentation in recent years that feature strategies that underscore a national prioritisation of both global competitiveness and local action. To aid in achieving both objectives, development planners have recognised the need to institute broad policy guidelines to make this transition to both pro-growth macro-economic development and pro-poor socio-economic development easier for localities by decentralising developmental decision-making to sub-regional levels where local municipalities become the prime agents for encouraging business development and investment attraction. Likewise, these strategies have also served to shift the responsibility for employment generation and poverty reduction to local governments, which must come up with their own remedies for local malaises.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme was the first strategy to introduce the idea of people-centred development and bottom-up participation in development processes. It called for local action in the provision of basic needs, the democratisation of service delivery, and nation building (ANC, 1994). The newly devised constitution would later enshrine similar sentiments with distinct obligations laid out for municipalities to follow in the provision and administration of socio-economic services (RSA, 1996b). Chapter Four has likewise explained that the 1998 White Paper on Local Government additionally introduced the concept of developmental local governance as a term to denote local governments' responsibilities in providing developmental leadership, coordinating participatory development planning via their IDPs, and formulating appropriate budgetary measures (RSA, 1998). An ongoing process of fine-tuning evolving LED in the form of successive draft policy documents has ensured that the concepts of locality-based development are enshrined in South African development rhetoric and are topical in the minds of development planners and practitioners (DPLG, 2002). Two final additional LED policy documents are soon expected following the release of the most

recent 2005 document, which will also provide the framework that will further guide socio-economic development, job creation, and equitable service delivery at a local level.

Coming to grips with how these developmental duties, recommendations, and directives apply to each municipality has been challenging for a number of local governments and, as with all South African municipalities, each of the individual case studies featured in this thesis has been forced into a position of increased development responsibilities at a time of local government mergers. Municipal restructuring has brought once independent cities and towns under much larger collective roofs and has required the amalgamation of local offices, the rationalisation of local staff, the standardisation of local by-laws, the reconceptualisation of locally relevant priorities, as well as putting into position locally specific development practices. Whereas evidence from Cape Town has suggested that, for the most part, these changeovers have been smooth or perhaps muted by its size, it appears to have been a lengthier process, but one that is coming right for Ndlambe, but looks to be incomplete in Emalahleni.

9.4 Summations of the Case Studies
The third and fourth objectives that this thesis originally intended to carry out were to determine to what degree the case studies were a reflection of either pro-growth or pro-poor variants of locality-based development and to provide an assessment of their impacts. This thesis has concluded that both approaches are practised in different contexts and within different localities, and, as such, both seem to have become firmly entrenched in the development rubric across South Africa. Many of the key developments in Cape Town are driven by the desire to strengthen the city's international competitiveness and business climate through pro-growth strategies and interventions, while in Ndlambe and Emalahleni, the need to provide jobs and alleviate poverty has been the impetus for pro-poor development activities there. It is also worth mentioning again in this concluding chapter that field research focused predominantly on specific sub-localities within selected localities / municipalities and, within these, on key foci that were chosen to emphasise theories, trends, and practices related to either pro-poor or to pro-growth locality-based development.

9.4.1 Pro-growth, Locality-based Development

Using Cape Town as an example of an urban locality focusing on pro-growth development, research has suggested that within some of the country's larger metropolitan areas, private investment attraction and large-scale infrastructural developments have achieved considerable local government buy-in and are clear reflections of the capitalist, neo-liberal standards that characterise strategies used throughout much of the developed world. The economic 'rebirths' of city centres have been fuelled by major private / public investments in property redevelopments, expansions in IT and globally oriented industries, small business development, and a number of related tertiary sectors. Their global competitiveness is equally based on the beneficial commodification of urban lifestyles, the gentrification of popular streetscapes, and an emerging culture of popular consumerism. They draw on the strengths of local partnerships, creativity, cultural and popular icons, as well as local growth industries to provide the city with a competitive edge on foreign markets, and are designed to attract and harness foreign flows of commodities and peoples. These sectors of the economy have contributed greatly to their gross geographic products and have traditionally favoured big businesses and property owners. Viewed from this angle, Chapter Five has revealed that South Africa is beginning to cultivate a limited number of secondary world / global cities, as is embodied by the experience of the City of Cape Town.

9.4.1.1 The City of Cape Town

This thesis has used the City of Cape Town as an illustration of a pro-growth approach to locality-based development in South Africa. Conclusions have also framed an examination of Cape Town within the global city paradigm of a progressively more internationally focussed urban locality that is assuming characteristics comparable to those of some of the world's leading cities. It has been further argued that Cape Town fits the global city profile, not specifically because of the size or regional dominance of its economy or the number of corporate headquarters that it houses, but rather because of the global outlook and macro-economic strategies pursued by city planners and private interests, as well as on account of the many secondary expressions of global 'city-ness' that are found around the downtown core. What this thesis has indicated that makes pro-growth locality-based development in Cape Town comparable to those of other global cities is not just

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about what it *has*, but what it *has been doing* with its talents, skills, and resources to announce the city's international attractiveness.

Evidence now suggests that Cape Town is beginning to resemble a global city in two different senses. Cape Town's cityscape is starting to *look* like a global city and it is starting to *act* like a global city. Some of the more obvious physical attributes of pro-growth locality-based development and globalisation are now appearing primarily in the CBD including the rise of a café society, pedestrianised malls, convention centres, improved waterfronts, elements of loft-living, revitalised green spaces, the presence of greater numbers of leisure and business tourists, as well as landmark buildings. However, what may be more important, from a globally competitive viewpoint, is how the city acts upon these expressions of globalisation or how local government departments and private investors present Cape Town on the world stage that is the true hallmark of a globalised city. In this case, research concludes that it is not so much the presence of the Partnership that matters so much as it is what it accomplishes; it is not the actual Cape Town International Convention Centre, but the visitors it attracts that are important. Furthermore, although they have been critical in the redirection of the CBD, residential units are not necessarily as noteworthy as the economic and cultural vibrancy created by the variety of peoples of different backgrounds being drawn to and living in the downtown core. Likewise, hosting sporting events may channel substantial amounts of revenue into local coffers, but they also plant *Cape Town* in the minds of millions of spectators and viewers. It is how local stakeholders market these events, lifestyles, and attractions that create the demand and provides the motivation for tourists to choose Cape Town as their overall holiday destination. It has also been argued that Cape Town's physical attributes are simply accessories or incentives to be used in marketing, selling, promoting or otherwise advertising the city's internationality. Such debates also announce the city's comparative global competitiveness and puts Hines' (2003) claim, that contemporary theories relating to localisation require localities to harness global flows, into perspective. It is the pro-growth strategies and policy frameworks put into place by local development planners that demonstrate Cape Town's globally competitive character.

Those who have profited from the variety of locality-based development analysed by this thesis in Cape Town represent a small minority relative to the total population of the city. Chapter Five indicated that the primary beneficiaries of pro-growth developments are private sector investors and the select trans-national elite able to access the amenities that the CBD has to offer, which has compelled Pieterse (2004), Robins (2002), and Turok & Watson (2001) to declare Cape Town a highly unbalanced city. Foreign investors, property developers, real-estate agents, and business owners are benefiting from strengthening property and retail markets; conference organisers are profiting from the construction of the CTICC; and tour operators, high-end retailers, and hotel and restaurant owners have gained from the growing tourism industry. Individuals who have benefited from such major developments include those employed in Cape Town's expanding tertiary sectors or other forms of work in the downtown area and who are therefore able to appreciate and benefit from the changes occurring there. Likewise, the developments are biased towards those who have the money to spend in the city's upmarket shops and eateries, or the physical means of actually getting to the CBD, which Turok (2001) states is cut-off from the rest of the city. Moreover, this research has concluded that among the additional winners of Cape Town's turn toward becoming a global city are the foreign tourists, who are able to enjoy a unique and affordable holiday destination. From a global perspective, the city itself wins due to the budding reputation Cape Town is earning as a centre of growth potential and as a premium vacation spot. It is acquiring an international recognition as an up-and-coming African city worthy of attention.

The beneficiaries are, however, disproportionate to the numbers of Cape Tonians who have not derived any benefit from flagship developments of a global nature. Authors including Christopher (2001), Uduku (1999) and Visser (2002) have indicated that global cities are sites of divergent interests and likewise, this thesis has demonstrated that the average person has not gained from the pro-growth development strategies implemented in the centre of Cape Town. Many communities are physically removed from the area, there is an inadequate public transport system servicing the city centre, and / or many citizens simply cannot afford the services available there or the goods available on offer.

The contributions to locality-based development research that the study of development practices in Cape Town make, which were presented in the previous chapter, included the identification of a secondary global city in the context of a developing country. Cape Town's global city status is seen to be reliant on the contemporary market-led strategies that have recently been implemented throughout the city centre by a partnership of private sector investors and municipal local development agencies. This thesis therefore concludes that the City of Cape Town is a model of pro-growth locality-based development that may, in turn, serve as an example for both identifying additional potential global cities and as a means for secondary urban localities to enhance their local economies along similar pro-growth lines.

9.4.2 Pro-poor, Locality-based Development

Conversely, in fulfilling objectives three and four, this thesis has further revealed that there is evidence to suggest that many South African small towns are resorting in greater numbers to varieties of pro-poor locality-based development. Small towns within the municipalities of Ndlambe and Emalahleni are now beginning to emulate the findings detailed in theoretical debates surrounding localities in various peripheral areas of the world. They too are caught up in global flows and are required to participate in the formal economy, and, although it may not directly advantage them, they are nonetheless indirectly subject to its influences (Rogers & Spokes, 2003; Daniels, 1989). In addition, unlike Cape Town, secondary localities are seldom in a position to influence global trends by cornering substantial percentages of international niche markets or by building world-class infrastructure. Instead, as suggested by Bebbington (2001) and Bebbington & Batterbury (2001), such localities must now perceive the forces of globalisation as incentives to undertake pro-poor development initiatives of their own that reflect their own abilities, skills, and resources. Moreover, instead of being initiated as a means of stimulating wider macro-economic activity or being viewed as long-term investment opportunities by private developers, the immediate motivation behind the establishment of community driven projects has been to address issues of local poverty and job provision for area residents. Under these circumstances, bottom-up endeavours are targeted directly at the disadvantaged sectors of the population. Chapter Six and Seven showed that they allow for a hands-on approach to development that bypasses waiting for big

businesses to provide solutions, often because there are no such businesses in the vicinity or none capable of providing employment to large groups of people. Therefore, in the cases studies of Ndlambe and Emalahleni, pro-poor developmental responsibilities are placed squarely in the hands of local peoples. This thesis has concluded that, in the absence of a strong large business community or proactive local government, impoverished people themselves are creating their own informal economy capable of providing a limited number of job opportunities by opening their own small businesses using locally accessed resources. In Ndlambe, these rural enterprises have a higher degree of formalisation, but those presented in Emalahleni are, in many respects, survivalist strategies based on the subsistence wages earned by labourers and the cyclical nature of the demand for coal and bricks.

Furthermore, the point put across by the World Bank's *Development Report* (2000) and such authors as Alkire *et al.* (2001), Gooneratne & Mbilinyi (1992), and de Soto (1989) that residents of poor areas are better placed to pursue their own development initiatives resonates well in Ndlambe and Emalahleni. In these places, concerned local peoples themselves have identified various development schemes, have been instrumental in putting such strategies into action, have managed them, and have ultimately determined how to best guide the outcomes of their actions to the benefit of not only those directly involved but for the wider community in general. Moreover, these successful examples of diversified rural activities are endowing local residents with much needed business and entrepreneurial experience and are equally supporting Khwaja's (2004) and Mansuri & Rao's (2003) points of view that poor people are also valuable assets and equal partners in community-based development.

9.4.2.1 Ndlambe Municipality

An examination of Ndlambe has been used in this thesis to illustrate a South African locality where municipal officials have shown the ability to embrace change and, together with imaginative community members, are attempting to recreate the economy of the area based on contemporary strengths and weaknesses. Chapter Six has shown that it is a locality where municipal authorities are currently attempting to rationalise and standardise both their conceptual understandings of local economic development and assist in practical applications of pro-poor community driven responses. Ndlambe provides a middle ground between Cape Town and Emalahleni in

that it is not nearly as globally connected as Cape Town, yet it is not entirely as destitute as many of the communities in Emalahleni. This thesis has revealed that many of the development activities in the municipality therefore straddle the formal / informal economy divide where local government officials have assisted some projects to break into the free market system, while others are still largely coping mechanisms. In this case, developments in Ndlambe closely resembles the Third Option proposed by MacIntyre (2002) that calls for a mixed approach to local development or a combined bottom-up and top-down alternative made possible in an appropriately supportive enabling environment. As a result, research has indicated that pro-poor locality-based development has become a favourable mix of community ownership, municipal backing, and realistic market-driven entrepreneurialism concentrated predominantly in the small town of Bathurst. Field studies focused on four development initiatives that have succeeded, to varying degrees, in either providing and / or sustaining jobs in the community, have created business opportunities, or increased standards of living by providing elderly residents in particular with a means of producing their own food crops.

The Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project and the Isitena Brick Making Project were used in this thesis as positive examples of community-businesses that are run and supported by different local stakeholders within the municipality. They are also examples of pro-poor development projects that had previously received national funding but have continued to operate long after the funds have been spent, which is something of a rare occurrence around the country according to some reports (Atkinson & Ingle, 2003; MXA, 2003a). These two examples point to the necessity of creating small-business opportunities that make use of existing resources, skills, and contacts, and that are, importantly, capable of functioning within an open market environment. Again, the *modus operandi* of the two highlights the Third Option where considerable effort and buy-in from the grassroots levels have been complimented by significant facilitation from above by local and national governments that may provide business advice, mentoring, funding alternatives, and / or a number of other *ad hoc* services if and when possible. These examples go to show that it is increasingly impossible for municipalities to work in isolation and that they need to stay tuned to what is happening within their communities and to establish partnerships or collaborative relationships with local residents. Umsobomvu and

Isitena are typical cases of the positive impacts of such partnerships between budding entrepreneurs and municipal officials. Overall, the viability of development projects, such as Umsobomvu and Isitena is partly dependent on their ability to be market-driven. In this case, the local municipality appears to have facilitated these two rural industries' transition into the open market.

The third focal point discussed in this chapter was the Nomzamo small business hive and the difficulties it faced after LED Fund support dried-up. It has conversely demonstrated that one-sided, externally identified, and top-down funded development schemes, which lack the all-important community ownership aspect, will struggle to survive. In the case of Nomzamo, its inconvenient location and insufficient marketing have also contributed to recent weak performances or downright closures of some of the small businesses located there. Chapter Six additionally included debates relating to the contributions made by the Masiphatisane Community Gardening Project to food security in the area. Although, not cost-effective from a purely financial point of view, the municipal provision of commonage, access to a tractor, and a free source of water for irrigation, combined with the activities undertaken by members have resulted in a not insignificant contribution to pro-poor development and is further evidence of the need for municipal / community joint action.

Research has shown that those who have benefited from the pro-poor methods of local development highlighted in the Ndlambe case study are very much the people on the ground. Unlike in Cape Town, this thesis has discussed how development planning is targeted specifically at the poorest sectors of the population. Although those who have gained employment and means of earning incomes at Umsobomvu and Isitena, or have received access to commonage on which to plant crops, are people at the grassroots level, they again represent only a limited selection of the municipality's total needy. The beneficiaries are those who are actively involved in development processes, who have expressed some degree of ingenuity and courage to come forward with potential ideas, or are, at least, those who have some form of contact, such as former mayor Jam Jam, with local government offices. Further, those who have also gained the most are those with a 'can-do' spirit of 'get-up-and-go' and who have been able to acquire some entrepreneurial skills or an understanding of the market system. Notwithstanding the fact that over the long run those involved with

the Nomzamo Small Business Hive may not have been entirely successful, they too have acquired a certain amount of experience with the way that businesses work. Again, although these people and their families represent a small portion of the local population, this thesis has implied that such is the nature of local development everywhere, in that only those who exhibit innovativeness and creative thinking will persevere in a seemingly unsympathetic global and national economic environment. As such, this thesis has also argued that it would not be possible to reproduce the successes of Ndlambe elsewhere if other such localities do not demonstrate significant levels of dynamism and innovativeness. It is not so much a matter of copying what the local entrepreneurs have achieved, as it is the need to emphasise that they will have to follow their own paths to development success by tapping into their own capacities, and by evolving their own unique brand of creative thinking.

In many respects the municipality has also come across as a winner in this case because it is one of the few to possess multiple examples of still functioning national LED Fund projects, due partly to the business insight demonstrated by local officials into the need for focusing municipal resources in the right direction.

Theoretical contributions that have also been reached and presented in Chapter Eight built from an analysis of locality-based development in Ndlambe. These included the recognition of the importance of a mixed, endogenously identified, community driven, municipally supported, and nationally funded approach to pro-poor development that has produced two particularly successful small community-businesses that have been able to compete in the open market. This degree of success and their longevity is seldom witnessed in South Africa and this thesis therefore further concluded that pro-poor (market-critical) locality-based development in Bathurst within Ndlambe should be viewed as a role model for small town development elsewhere.

9.4.2.2 Emalahleni Municipality

Emalahleni Municipality was the third case study site used by this thesis as a means of practically showing an additional applied variety of pro-poor locality-based development apparent in South Africa occurring in another small town setting. It is an example of a locality that has the least number of global connections of the three case studies and while it too is caught up in an expanding global economy / society, local

residents do not have any influence over the reproduction of global flows, nor has Emalahleni benefited from these flows. It is a globally vulnerable locality where inhabitants have had to look inwardly to a variety of alternative livelihoods and coping strategies to provide for basic needs and to earn meagre livings. It is also a municipality that has been shown to have a particularly weak local government that has experienced ongoing institutional problems, as well as financial and personnel shortages. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, this thesis concludes that residents in Emalahleni have demonstrated ingenuity in devising pro-poor survivalist strategies of their own in the face of limited municipal involvement, again demonstrating that even the poorest people in South Africa's weakest municipalities can and do exhibit the willingness, as well as the capacity to think laterally in order to implement a number of income generating projects.

The first two examples of pro-poor locality-based developments discussed in Chapter Seven, namely the cheese factory and the shearing tent, represent incidences of where local officials have recognised the limitations of their resources / abilities and have joined forces with the GTZ to provide some measure of targeted assistance to select localities within the municipality. The Dordrecht Cheese Factory is the largest development project in the cards in Emalahleni at the moment and is projected to stimulate the emerging commercial farming industry and supply neighbouring communities with affordable sources of dairy products in the near future. It demonstrates the potential importance of partnerships and cooperative action in undertaking development schemes, even though construction of the dairy processing facility has yet to commence. The Cumakale Wool Growers Association is the second example of a development initiative that this thesis revealed has received some support made possible with the external aid of the GTZ. The donation of a sheep-shearing tent has allowed for members of the Association to increase the quantity and quality of the wool produced and therefore the profits that they take home at the end of the day. An examination of the woolgrowers has also provided this thesis with another case-in-point of how more disadvantaged municipalities have been able to implement targeted poverty reduction strategies and support community organisations

Principal arguments derived from Emalahleni emphasise an auxiliary form of poverty reducing development strategies that is outlined in this thesis, which stems from the

informal coal mining and brick making activities located in Indwe. These micro-businesses provide an excellent opportunity to look at an example of how residents one impoverished community have diversified its local economy and in the process has supplied a growing number of jobs to other inhabitants. In line with the international literature, which has indicated that a number of marginalized localities in developing countries have turned to artisanal and small-scale mining in the face of limited means of providing incomes, Indwe too embodies many of the theoretical and applied dilemmas faced by informal miners everywhere (Hilson, 2002a, 2001; McMahon & Davidson, 2000; United Nations, 1996a; Tráore, 1993; Spiropoulos, 1991). This thesis has pointed out that coal mining has supplied employment to several dozen people from the community, many of whom had been laid-off due to downsizing in industrial sectors elsewhere in South Africa. Research has further shown that despite health risks and issues of environmental sustainability, the opportunities that small-scale mining provides, in terms of income generating potential, renewed business activity, and numerous multipliers in the brick making industry, have outweighed identified disadvantages. The several brick making enterprises have had an even bigger impact on Indwe with hundreds of seasonal jobs being created in the various stages of brick production. Although there is considerable evidence of high incidences of business turn-over, and similar to the coal miners, a wide-spread dearth in technical know-how and business acumen, the micro-economy offers worthwhile insight into the need for inhabitants of localities in the economic periphery to become more self-sufficient in the provision of their own solutions, no matter how problematic they may be. The fact that the municipality itself has not been forthcoming in supporting these rural industries, beyond the attempt to procure them proper permits, a step which backfired, and now threatens to close them down, also confirms that such pro-poor locality-based activities will continue due to necessity, regardless of illegality.

Chapter Seven has exposed the predicament in which the local government now finds itself. Either it must forcibly cease coal mining and brick making endeavours and thus destroy the livelihoods of hundreds of area residents, or it must turn a blind eye to them and run the risk of further environmental damage and possible cave-ins, but save the local economy for the time being. The possibility of relocating all coal mining and brick making operations to another site, which fieldwork has exposed is itself wrought

with problems, has allowed the municipality to stall for time and appears at least, for the moment, to have preserved the *status quo* for a while longer.

As with Ndlambe, a study of locality-based development in Emalahleni demonstrates that the winners include the poor and the unemployed. Bottom-up and survivalist strategies originally undertaken in Indwe have allowed those involved, particularly in the coal mining and brick making sectors, to provide additional job opportunities to several other residents in the community. They therefore exemplify the notion that entrepreneurs who are willing to take a chance and look to their surroundings, are those who are most likely to make a difference in providing for improved standards of living.

Finally, in fulfilment of this thesis' fifth objective of drawing lessons and contributions, an examination of pro-poor locality-based development in Indwe within Emalahleni has also yielded valuable lessons for local development research. The micro-economy centred on coal mining and brick making, which emerged independently of local government intervention, but which now displays significant community organisation, is exemplary of the need for marginal localities with few outside links to tap into local resources in order to initiate alternative livelihoods. These micro-enterprises thus provide a positive working example of the ability of even some of the poorest people to cater for their own development needs if the circumstances require them to do so.

Based on these summations, it is possible to judge that the original aims and objectives of this thesis have been met. This research framed its analysis of South African locality-based development practice within the context of a globalisation and localisation debate, and has documented key examples of different approaches to locality-based development in different environments. In addition, it has provided a critique and assessment of localised development outcomes. All objectives have likewise been satisfied including first, an extensive literature review covering topics relating to globalisation and localisation theory, and second, an account of manifestations of both global and local processes and how they are articulated in the South African context. The third objective of an analysis of the case studies of the City of Cape Town, Ndlambe Municipality, and Emalahleni Municipality has

revealed that the pro-market versus pro-poor local development debate is common and entrenched in South Africa. The fourth objective of providing a critical assessment of these localities has revealed that globally focussed stakeholders in Cape Town have concentrated significant attention on pro-growth development projects that benefit those who can regularly access the CBD. Pro-poor locality-based development in Ndlambe and Emalahleni focused on the need to embark on alternative livelihoods that support the disadvantaged sectors of society. Furthermore, lessons learned and theoretical contributions regarding locality-based development in South Africa, which formed the basis for the fifth objective, were provided in Chapter Eight.

9.5 Way Forward

The approximately three-year time frame over which this thesis has traced locality-based development in Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni has been a relatively short period of time in which only specific development activities were examined in specific sub-localities within these municipalities / metropolitan area. This research takes cognisance of the fact that the examples of local economic development that were emphasised in each case study form only part of the municipality's broader IDP and LED strategies and that future research therefore needs to take into consideration a broader range of both private sector, market-led investments in employment creation, as well as additional exemplars of socially responsible, community driven developments that originate from grassroots levels within these same municipalities.

Likewise a future study of locality-based development in South Africa should widen the sample area to include a number of additional municipalities to further expand upon the pool of localities from which to draw lessons, to reach conclusions, and to test outcomes through time and across space.

9.6 Concluding Remarks

Conclusions reached by this thesis corroborate and support the view that localities are not obsolete in a period of heightened globalisation, but conversely are now assuming strategic positions within global and local political-economic and geographical contexts. In this case, it is entirely accurate to assert that the locus of economic and political power is being challenged from both supra-national and sub-regional levels. It is this understanding that has given credence to the notion that local role players are

now devising innovative and proactive means of initiating varying styles of locality-based development. Although the desired outcome of improved standards of living is common for both pro-growth and pro-poor local development strategies across urban areas, small towns, and rural communities, each will apply unique solutions to unique problems using unique resources and unique skills.

South Africa has proven to be a fitting context in which to situate an analysis of locality-based development practices within a wider global / local environment. This is on account of the fact that its municipalities and metropolitan areas are confronting similar opportunities and challenges to the ones faced by comparable localities in other countries, from both the developed or the developing worlds. South Africa's position between these two 'worlds' significantly enhances its relevance as a test-bed of ideas and the potential exchange of information and wealth between the First and the Third Worlds. The CBD of the City of Cape Town is clearly an example of an increasingly globally competitive urban locality whose current development strengths lie in its pro-growth investments and international linkages. Bathurst in the Ndlambe Municipality is a representation of an additional locality with a respectable history of mixed top-down and bottom-up development planning that combines elements of both community driven and municipally facilitated interventions that concentrate on poorer communities. Development activities in Indwe in the Emalahleni Municipality provide compelling insight into the ability of the combined effort of individual residents and community networks to spearhead and moderate self-reliant, pro-poor development activities on their own. Collectively, these three case studies demonstrate that localities do matter in an era of contemporary globalisation as places where global flows can be attracted to or deflected from in order to build and to protect local economies and societies and where the processes of marginalization can generate locality specific coping strategies.

Annexe 1: Interview Guide for Municipal Officials of Cape Town, Ndlambe, and Emalahleni

1. What is the municipality's role in locality-based development?
2. What is the municipality's understanding of what local economic development is?
3. How is the municipality promoting locality-based development?
   a. How does the municipality's IDP focus on pro-poor interventions?
   b. Which projects are the municipality undertaking that are specifically focusing on the poorest segments of the population?
   c. In which areas are the unemployed finding jobs?
   d. What types of stand-alone pro-poor initiatives have come out of differing communities on their own?
   e. What NGOs are active in the area that are targeting the poor?
4. How is the municipality promoting pro-economic growth LED?
   a. What kinds of partnerships has the municipality entered into with the private sector?
   b. How are big businesses taking an active role in the economic development of the municipality?
   c. What kinds of other SMEs have sprung up in the municipality recently?
   d. What kinds of support exist for SMEs?
5. How is the municipality trying to improve its global competitiveness?
   a. How is the municipality trying to attract new businesses?
   b. How is the boom in the real estate market affecting the municipal economy?
   c. How is tourism affecting the municipal economy
6. In which ways have local residents become more entrepreneurial in recent years?
   a. Are there any new businesses in the townships?
   b. Are people finding their own jobs
   c. Are they coming together to come up with new ideas?
   d. Are they forming joint ventures?
   e. Are they creating the own sources of income?
   f. Are they using local resources in creative ways to earn an income
7. What future LED plans does the municipality have?

Annexe 2: Interview Guide for the City of Cape Town

General Questions

1. What important changes have you witnessed in Cape Town over the past 10 years?

2. How do you see Cape Town fitting into the global economy?

3. What are Cape Town's assets that are favouring its global competitiveness?

4. How are they being enhanced?

5. What obstacles are preventing Cape Town from being even more globally competitive?

6. How are they being addressed?

7. How is Cape Town's informal economy affecting its global competitiveness?

8. What are your opinions regarding Cape Town's policies of pro-poor development?

9. What more could the municipality be doing to target the poorest segments of the population?

10. What types of projects should be initiated?

Questions to ask of the Cape Town International Convention Centre (CTICC)

1. What makes Cape Town an attractive location for international conventions?

    a. What advantages does it possess over other locations? In RSA? Worldwide?

2. Why was a convention centre established in Cape Town?

    a. Whose idea was it? / How did it come about?

    b. Who were the major investors?

    c. What percentages of investment capital did they each contribute?

3. What role did the municipality play in the process?

    a. What role does it continue to play?

4. How many jobs have been created through the establishment of the CTICC;

    a. Directly? / Indirectly?

5. What kind of feedback are delegates giving;

    a. In relation to the CTICC?

    b. In relation to Cape Town?

6. How are delegates contributing to Cape Town's local economy?

7. How is the CTICC contributing to urban renewal in Cape Town?

    a. What additional changes have become apparent since its construction?

8. How does the CTICC contribute to Cape Town's policy of pro-poor growth?

    a. What impacts is the CTICC having on Cape Town's local economy?

9. How much is the CTICC contributing to Cape Town's GGP?

10. How does the CTICC fit into Cape Town's strategy for increased global competitiveness?

    a. How is the CTICC contributing to Cape Town's global image

11. How is the CTICC marketed locally / globally?

    a. What is the CTICC's link to the Cape Town Convention Bureau?

12. In what way is the CTICC involved with the Cape Town Partnership Programme or Central Improvement District strategy?

13. Have there been any problems or obstacles where key lessons can be drawn since the opening of the CTICC?

14. Have there been any successes or success stories where keys lessons can be drawn since the opening of the CTICC

15. What future plans are there for the CTICC?

Questions to ask of the Cape Town Events Office

1. What makes Cape Town an attractive location for hosting events?

   a. What advantages does it possess over other locations? In RSA? Worldwide?

2. What kinds of events are taking place in Cape Town?

3. What kinds of event facilities are available in Cape Town?

4. Why was a specific Events Office established in Cape Town?

   a. Whose idea was it? / How did it come about?

5. What role did the municipality play in the process?

   a. What role does it continue to play?

   b. How is it linked to the municipality

6. How are Cape Town's events marketed locally / globally?

   a. What is the Office's link to Cape Town Tourism?

7. What impacts are events having on Cape Town's local economy?

8. How does promoting events fit into Cape Town's strategy for increased global competitiveness?

   a. How are these events contributing to Cape Town's global image

9. What kind of feedback are tourists giving;

   a. In relation to the specific events?

   b. In relation to Cape Town?

10. How are these visitors themselves contributing to Cape Town's local economy?

11. What is being done to ensure that tourists, who come to CT for a specific event, stay longer, spend more, or come back again

12. Have there been any problems or obstacles where key lessons can be drawn since Cape Town began promoting events?

13. Have there been any successes or success stories where keys lessons can be drawn since Cape Town began promoting events?

14. What future plans are there for expanding events promotion in Cape Town?

Questions to ask of Residential Conversions

1. Why is Cape Town's CBD now all of a sudden such a hot spot to live in?

    a. What advantages does it possess over other locations in the city?

2. How did the idea of transforming old office towers in the CBD come about?

    a. Whose idea was it?

3. How are potential investors introduced to development properties in the CBD?

4. How is the municipality involved in residential conversions?

5. How is the Cape Town Partnership involved in residential conversions?

    a. How is the Partnership & CID changing perceptions of people looking to live in the CBD?

    b. What more could the municipality / Partnership do to attract even more people to live in the CBD?

6. How are these properties being marketed locally / internationally?

7. What kinds of local people are purchasing these properties?

    a. Are people seeing these as investment opportunities?

8. To what degree are foreigners purchasing these properties?

    a. Percentage-wise

    b. What kinds of people? / From which countries?

    c. Why are they purchasing these properties?

9. What impacts does having people live in the CBD have on Cape Town's local economy?

10. What services are residents demanding / or which businesses are opening to take advantage of increase numbers of urban residents?

11. What kind of feedback are new residents giving about living in the CBD?

12. How does increasing the number of people living in the CBD fit into Cape Town's strategy for improving its global image?

13. Have there been any problems or obstacles where key lessons can be drawn since the residential conversions began?

14. Have there been any successes or success stories where keys lessons can be drawn for future residential conversions?

15. What additional residential conversions are planned for the CBD?

16. In your mind, what does the future of Cape Town's CBD look like?

Questions for the Cape Town Partnership

1. How do you see Cape Town fitting into the whole global economy?
2. In which ways was the establishment of the Partnership an attempt to enhance the competitiveness of Cape Town's economy?
3. In which sectors is the Partnership trying to attract investment?
4. What are Cape Town's assets that are favouring its global competitiveness?
5. How are they being enhanced?
6. What obstacles are preventing Cape Town from being even more globally competitive?
7. How are they being addressed?
8. How does the Partnership contribute to Cape Town's additional policy of pro-poor growth especially with regards to the CBD?
9. What are the Partnership's views regarding the informal economy or the street vendors operating in the CBD?
10. What role does the informal economy or street vendors play in the Partnership?
11. What role do SMMEs play in the Partnership?
12. What is the relationship between the real big players and the smaller shops and street traders?
13. How has the CBD changed over the last 10 years?
14. What is the Partnership's view regarding the expansion of decentralised business cluster such as around Century City, Capricorn Park, and Silver Mine?
15. What is being done to attract these business to / back to the CBD area?
16. Which businesses, which previously left Cape Town's CBD, are coming back?
17. What has been the general response from the CBD business community since the Partnership was established?
18. Which businesses in the downtown area are key leaders in the Partnership?
19. What incentives are there for businesses to join the partnership?
20. Which businesses are not members but which should be attracted into the Partnership? Why?
21. How does the Central Improvement District fit into the Partnership's strategy?
22. What other projects have been initiated by the Partnership?
23. How have existing projects evolved since they have been implemented?
24. Have there been any successes or success stories where keys lessons can be drawn since the opening of the CTICC?

25. Have there been any problems or obstacles where key lessons can be drawn since the opening of the CTICC?

26. What are the long-term goals for the Partnership? / Are there any new planned projects?

27. What more could the Partnership, the municipality, the provincial / national government or the private sector be doing to contribute to global competitiveness?

28. What more could the Partnership, the municipality, the provincial / national government or the private sector be doing to contribute more to pro-poor growth?

Questions for the Cape Town Central Improvement District

1. How do you see Cape Town fitting into the whole global economy?
2. In which ways was the establishment of the CID an attempt to enhance the global competitiveness of Cape Town's economy?
3. What are CID assets that will help its revival?
4. How are they being enhanced?
5. What obstacles are preventing the CID from attaining its goals?
6. How are they being addressed?
7. How is the CID addressing issues of pro-poor development in the city centre?
8. What are the CID's views regarding the informal economy or the street vendors operating in the city centre?
9. What role does the informal economy or street vendors play in the CID?
10. What role do SMMEs play in the CID?
11. What is the relationship between the real big players and the smaller shops and street traders?
12. How has the city centre changed over the last 10 years?
13. What has been the general response from the business community since the CID was established?
14. Which businesses in the downtown area are key leaders in the CID?
15. What incentives are there for businesses wishing to become involved?
16. Which businesses are not involved in the CID but which should be encouraged to? Why?
17. What kind of people is the CID trying to attract to the city centre?
18. What are some of the major projects that have been initiated by the CID?
19. Have there been any successes or success stories where keys lessons can be drawn since the opening of the CTICC?
20. Have there been any problems or obstacles where key lessons can be drawn since the opening of the CTICC?
21. What are the long-term goals for the CID? / Are there any new planned projects?
22. What more could the CID, the municipality, the provincial / national government or the private sector be doing to contribute to global competitiveness?
23. What more could the CID, the municipality, the provincial / national government or the private sector be doing to contribute more to pro-poor growth?

Questions for the Joint Marketing Initiative / Destination Marketing Organisation

1. Why was there a need to establish a Joint Marketing Initiative / Destination Marketing Organisation?

2. Who were the key players in the establishment of the JMI / DMO?

3. How is the JMI / DMO contributing towards Cape Town's policy of global competitiveness?

4. Who are the current participants within the JMI / DMO?

5. What are the key target sectors

6. What kind of investment in the JMI / DMO trying to attract?

7. How is this accomplished?

8. What kind of response has there been since the establishment of the JMI / DMO?

9. How there been any noteworthy or flagship investments since the establishment of the JMI / DMO?

10. What kinds of employment opportunities / jobs are being created through this investment?

11. How many jobs are being produced?

12. In which sectors are they being produced?

13. What kind of impact are these investments having on the poor?

14. Is there any form of pro-poor specific investment being attracted?

15. What more could JMI / DMO be doing to ensure that the investment it is trying to attract targets specifically the poorest segments of the population?

16. How does what you do here contribute to Cape Town's policy of pro-poor growth?

17. What advantages does Cape Town possess that will contribute to investment attraction?

18. How can they be enhanced?

19. What disadvantages does Cape Town possess that are preventing higher levels of investment or are changing investors' minds regarding the area?

20. Which areas does the province primarily focus on?

21. Which areas does the municipality predominantly highlight?

22. What constraints are preventing more pro-poor economic development of Cape Town?

23. In your opinion what are the most pressing pro-poor issues concerning Cape Town residents?

24. It what ways is the highly visible informal economy in Cape Town affecting investment?

25. What kinds of businesses are relocating to Cape Town or opening branch plants or offices?

26. How are they affecting existing businesses?

27. What are the long-term goals for the JMI / DMO?

28. What more could the Partnership, the municipality, the provincial / national government or the private sector be doing to contribute to global competitiveness?

29. What more could the Partnership, the municipality, the provincial / national government or the private sector be doing to contribute more to pro-poor growth?

Annexe 3: Interview Guide for Ndlambe Municipality

Questions to ask Umsobomvu Pineapple Pulping Project and the Isitena Brick Making Project

1. How long has Umsobomvu / Isitena been here?
2. How did it come about? Why was it started?
3. What was on the property before Umsobomvu / Isitena?
4. How much did the property cost?
5. What is the rest of the property used for?
6. How many people work here?
   a. In the office?
   b. On the shop floor?
   c. How many women?
   d. How many men?
7. Do they get paid
   a. A weekly salary?
   b. Piecemeal?
8. How much do you pay the employees?
   a. In the office?
   b. On the shop floor?
9. Where are the input purchased from?
   a. How much do you pay for inputs?
10. What roles does the local municipality play in ...
    a. Paying salaries?
    b. Paying utilities?
    c. Paying rates / taxes?
    d. Paying for transport?
    e. Paying for management?
    f. Paying for marketing / advertising?
11. Who is buying your products?
    a. How much does it sell for?
12. What new markets have become available?
13. On average, what is Umsobomvu / Isitena' monthly expenditures?
14. On average, what is Umsobomvu / Isitena's monthly income?

15. Has income been increasing or decreasing since the operation started?

16. What problems is Umsobomvu / Isitena currently facing?

    a.   Regarding employees?

    b.   Regarding transportation?

    c.   Regarding markets?

    d.   Regarding income generation?

17. What are the future plans for Umsobomvu / Isitena?

18. What more could the municipality be doing to make Umsobomvu / Isitena more successful?

Questions for the Masiphatisane Community Gardens

1. How long has the project been here?

2. Where did you get the land?

3. What was here before?

4. How many people work here?

5. Why these people?

6. How were they selected?

7. How many men? How many women?

8. Why are there few young people?

9. What is the main reason they are here?

   a. To earn an income

   b. To supply food for their families

   c. To supply food for the community

10. What assistance do you get from the municipality

    a. Did they buy the land?

    b. Do they pay the rates / taxes?

    c. Do they pay for the seeds?

    d. Do they pay for the tractors?

    e. Do they pay for the water?

11. How much do you pay for ...

    a. Rent?

    b. Water?

    c. Seeds?

    d. Fertilisers?

    e. Use of the tractor?

12. What percentage of the produce goes

    a. For sale?

    b. To take home?

    c. To give away?

13. Where are you giving the produce away to?

14. What more would you like the municipality to do to alleviate poverty?

15. What more would you like the municipality to do to create jobs?

16. What problems are you facing here?

Annexe 4: Interview Guide for Emalahleni Municipality

Question for the Indwe Coal Miners

History

1. What is the history of coal mining in the community?
2. When did the first independent coal miners begin to emerge?
3. Where were they previously employed?
4. Why did they start mining coal?

Contemporary Issues

1. Who were the main people involved in starting a coalminers association?
2. Why is it that they decided that an association would be beneficial?
3. Who did they approach to start up this association?
4. What were the initial goals of the people starting up the association?
5. Have these goals changed in any way?
6. What are the priority goals of the association?
7. Were there many people interested in joining at first? How many?
8. What made people want to eventually join the association?
9. What did they perceive as benefits for joining the association?
10. Are women allowed to join the association?
11. Are all the miners members of the association?
12. Why are not all miners members of the association?
13. What is preventing all miners from joining of the association?

Organisation, Representation and Finances

1. When we were here last we were told that there was no membership fee, has that changed?
2. If yes, how was that decided upon?
3. Can all members afford this fee?
4. Would there no be more residents wanting to join if the membership fee was lower?
5. What is this fee used for?
6. Who manages the cooperative's funds?
7. Is there a bank account somewhere where this money is stored?

8. Who decides on what the money will be used for?

9. Is there still a committee that overseas the organisation of the cooperative?

10. How often does it meet?

11. Where is the meeting held?

12. How is it decided who will sit on the committee?

13. Are there many women on the committee?

14. Is there a good working relationship between members of the committee?

15. How are decisions reached by?

16. How is the body a representative one?

17. What is the input of the community on the body?

18. What constraints does the association have?

19. What are the future plans of the association?

20. Has the committee tried to gain help / support / advise from outside sources?

21. Since our last visit, what kind of new topics have been discussed at committee meetings?

22. What problems has the committee recently been able to resolve?

23. What problems is the committee still faced with?

24. What is the nature of the relationship between individual coal miners?

    a. Is it competitive or cooperative?

    b. Do they share information on skills?

    c. Etc ...?

Transportation and Markets

1. When we were here last the major markets for the coal were Umtata, Cala, Cofimbvaba, and Dordrecht, have there been any new buyers?

2. What is the primary use of the coal that they buy?

3. Is transportation still a problem?

4. How much does the transportation cost?

5. What changes have occurred in transport since?

6. What have you been doing to overcome this problem?

Output / Sales

1. How much coal can the average coal miner produce in a day?

2. How much do you sell the coal for?

3. How much profit is made from the sale of coal?

4. What is the profit spent on?

    a. Household consumption

    b. Buying new tools etc...

5. How much does each employees earn mining?

6. Is he paid per hour or by quantity produced?

Skills Training

1. Where did they get the skills needed to mine coal?

2. What kind of training did they receive?

3. Who provided the training?

4. What additional training is needed by the coal miners?

5. Is there also a need for business training?

General Concluding Questions

1. What would you most like to conclude in the next year?

2. What is your greatest need?

3. What is your current biggest challenge?

4. What lessons have you learnt that other such organisations may learn from?

Question for Brick Makers

Background Information

1. What is the history of brick making in the region?
2. When did the first independent brick makers first start to appear in Indwe?
3. Where did these people originally get the skills needed to make bricks?
4. Has there been much in the way of new techniques for brick making developed over the years?
   a. What improvements have there been?
   b. What kinds of increases in technology?
   c. What kinds of increases in skills?
   d. When was the use of charcoal first used in brick making?
5. How many brick-making sites are there?
6. How many people work at each brick making site?
7. How many people in total are employed in the brick making industry in and around Indwe?
8. How much income in generated from an average brick making site?
9. When was the brick makers' cooperative / organisation / association started?
10. Why was there a needed for a cooperative?
11. What caused it to develop?
12. Who started the project?
13. What were the major reasons for starting a cooperative?
14. What was needed to start a cooperative?
15. How many people originally joined the cooperative?
16. Why did /have other brick makers joined the cooperative?
17. What are the benefits of creating/ joining the cooperative?
18. Is the a membership fee? How much?
19. Where do the funds from the membership fees go?
20. What kind of organisational body oversees the cooperative?
21. How are members of the body selected?
22. How is the body a representative one?
23. What is the input of the community on the body?
24. How can the community influence the body?
25. What constraints does the body have?

26. What are the future plans of the body?

27. Who is buying brick made locally in Indwe?

28. How was that contact initially made?

29. What was their response to the quality of bricks produced?

30. What were their recommendations if they were to buy more bricks from Indwe?

31. Where have you sourced you markets?

32. How have you advertised your bricks?

33. How far away are the bricks going?

34. What has been the response from formal brick making companies?

      i.   Have you had any contact from them?

      ii.   Has is been positive / negative?

35. What is the nature of the relationship between individual brick makers?

36. How is the local municipality involved in the local brick making industry?

37. Do they provide financial support?

      i.   On what basis?

      ii.   How much?

38. Do they provide infrastructural support?

      i.   What kind?

39. Do they provide business advice?

      i.   Who are the service providers?

40. Do they buy bricks for local construction projects?

      i.   Which projects?

      ii.   Are the happy with the quality of the bricks produced?

41. What recommendations has the municipality made?

42. What has the municipality done to facilitate access and transportation for the brick makers?

43. Is the municipality regulating the brick making industry at all?

44. Are the bricks tested in East London for quality and durability?

45. What visions in terms of brick making does the body have?

46. What are your reflections on what the body has achieved so far?

47. What disappointments have there been?

48. What major achievements have happened?

49. What improvements would the cooperative like to see in the local brick making industry?

50. What kind of help from outside sources would the cooperative like?

51. What is the number one priority of the cooperative?

      i.   How is it try to meet its goals?

52. How have your goals changed?

53. What new goals have been added?

54. Why have some old ones been removed?

55. What would the cooperative like to be doing in the future.

56. Which NGO's have previously worked with the brick makers?

57. What have they delivered?

58. What would you like them to deliver?

59. Why is there a need for improvement in the brick making industry?

60. Who came up with the idea of making bricks?

61. Was there a large demand for bricks in the area?

62. Who gave the initial expertise on how to make bricks?

63. Is the current way of making bricks the result of experiments?

64. Has the expertise been handed down from generation to generation?

65. How are the children involved in the process?

66. Are you bricks tested in East London for quality and durability

67. Are their any outside sources helping this coop?

68. What has been the response from formal brick makers in the region to your endeavours?

69. Have they been supportive of your activities?

70. Do they consider them as threats?

71. Have they offered any advise?

72. What you coal dust in brick making?

73. What plans do the brick makers have?

74. Have any sought expert advise? –Technical and Business

75. What would they like to be doing?

76. How are they working towards this plan?

77. Where are their main markets?

78. How do they determine what quantity to produce?

79. What is the nature of their relationship with the local business community?

80. What is the nature of their relationship with the coal miners?

      i.   Are they family members?

      ii.   Are there tensions between the two?

      iii.   Is it a cooperative undertaking?

81. What improvements do you see as necessary?

82. How are you taking the impact of brick making on the environment into consideration?

Annexe 5: 30 Guaranteed Services in Cape Town's Central City

Activity	Purpose
1. Street sweeping	To ensure streets are swept in the central city
2. Removing refuse from bins	To ensure that refuse is removed from bins in the central city
3. Hosing of streets and pavements	To ensure that certain streets and problem areas are hosed in accordance with the cleansing schedule set out above
4. Removal of street traders waste	To ensure that general street traders' waste is removed. Traders are bound to remove all waste, packaging material, etc. Used in connection with their business
5. Illegal dumping	To ensure that all illegal dumped material is removed from council owned land
6. Litter bin provision	To ensure that litter bins are provided in central city
7. To provide protection services in the central city	To provide a response unit for the cctv surveillance cameras (eagle eye).
8. Cleaning storm water and sewer blockages	To ensure that storm water and sewer blockages are cleared when they occur
9. Maintain roads and footways	To ensure day to day maintenance on roads and footways
10. Erect and maintain street name signs and directional signs	To ensure that street names signs and directional signs are erected and maintained
11. Replacing missing and broken drain covers	To ensure that missing and broken drains covers are replaced
12. Gully cleaning (done by contract)	To ensure that all gullies in the city are cleaned to reduce flooding risk
13. Removing graffiti, illegal bills and expired posters	To ensure that graffiti, illegal bills and expired posters are removed from council buildings / roads / bridges (property of all descriptions belonging to council)
14. Mowing	To ensure that grass is cut in parks, roads verges and council land
15. Spraying herbicides	To ensure that herbicides are sprayed on sidewalks, roadsides and landscaped areas
16. Irrigation	To ensure that grass areas, trees, shrubs and annual are watered regularly

17. Pruning	To ensure that pruning of trees and shrubs are done on a regular basis
18. General cleaning and debris removal	To ensure that horticultural layouts and cleaned
19. Planting of horticultural material	To ensure planting and maintenance of trees, annuals and shrubs
20. Fertilising and growth enhancement	To ensure the fertilizing of all landscape areas
21. Irrigation and watering systems	To ensure repairs to the irrigation and watering system
22. Tree maintenance	To ensure staking of street trees and cleaning of tree basins
23. Painting of poles and street furniture	To ensure that poles and street furniture area painted
24. Power restorations	To ensure that power is resorted speedily
25. Trench reinstatement	To ensure that trenches dug by various service departments are reinstated
26. Maintenance of railings and guardrails	To ensure that railings and guardrails are maintained
27. Repair traffic lights	To ensure that traffic lights are repaired
28. Festive lights in Adderley Str.	To ensure that festive lights in Adderley street are operational
29. Table mountain lights	To ensure that Table Mountain's lights are operational
30. Saps - community patrol officers	To provide visible policing through the provision of community patrol officers to ensure a safer environment and to assist other law enforcement agencies. To enforce compliance with all by-laws relating particularly to: ▪ Illegal parking ▪ Unauthorized street trading ▪ Illegal dumping ▪ Cleansing

Source: Central Improvement District, 2004b

Annexe 6: Priority Areas for the Emalahleni Municipality

1. Lack of integration and inadequate human resources capacity
2. Shortage of operational support
3. Division of powers and functions
4. Lack of disaster management
5. Lack of unified by-laws
6. Lack of institutional policies
7. Limited revenue base and poor resource collection
8. Inadequate management practices
9. Inadequate health and welfare facilities
10. Overcrowded schools
11. Inadequate social and sport facilities
12. Insufficient housing
13. Insufficient commonage
14. Inadequate sites for cemeteries
15. High rates of crime
16. High rates of unemployment
17. Need to develop tourist potential
18. Poor physical infrastructure
19. Large areas not serviced with electricity
20. Large areas not serviced with safe running water
21. Larges areas without formal sanitation services
22. Widespread soil erosion
23. Insufficient waste collection
24. Insufficient public transport services

Emalahleni, 2002; 35-39

Annexe 7: Development Projects for Emalahleni

1. Capacity building programmes
2. Operational support tools
3. Division of powers and functions programmes
4. Disaster management planning
5. By-law development
6. Institutional policy development
7. Revenue management programmes
8. Financial reform programmes
9. Facilitation of building clinics
10. Facilitation of building a hospice
11. Establishment of welfare offices
12. Facilitation of building and renovating schools
13. Building multi-purpose community halls
14. Building of sports facilities
15. Perform a housing needs survey
16. Housing delivery planning
17. Develop a land reform and settlement plan
18. Establish a cemeteries plan
19. Establishment of a police forum
20. Establishment of a LED unit
21. Supporting of LED projects
22. Investigation of natural resources
23. Building sheep shearing shed
24. Focus on wool production
25. Development of a local tourism organisation
26. Create a public transport record
27. Develop an integrated transport plan
28. Develop a public transport plan
29. Focus on road, bridges, and fencing rehabilitation
30. Electricity projects
31. Water sector planning
32. Sanitation projects

33. Soil Erosion projects

34. Telecommunications projects

35. Solid waste management

36. Construction of taxi ranks and the rehabilitation of existing airfields

Source: Emalahleni, 2002

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