# THE LOGIC OF INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS: THE CASE OF KWADUKUZA

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#### ABSTRACT

In response to South Africa's idiosyncratic past, integrated development planning has emerged as a policy and practical instrument for reconstruction and development of a new society. This form of planning seeks to weave the different cut pieces of the fragmented past through a common tread resulting in a rich tapestry of human society.

This complex process is not without conflict, tension, uncertainties, ambiguities and confusion. This dissertation seeks to explore the evolution, logic and character of this planning model. Such an exploration will help unpack the confluence of forces that gave rise to this planning as well as how it unfolds in contemporary times.

The role of key players within the context of integrated development planning, namely officials and councillors, will be examined in an effort to come to terms with how the manifestations of power relations between these actors help bring colour to this process.

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

We, the people of South Africa
Recognise the injustices of the past
Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;
Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and
Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it,
united in our diversity.

Preamble to the new Constitution Act (1996)

#### 1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

South Africa's Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) gives primacy to local government as the vehicle for the reconstruction and development of the vision of a new society. It mandates the municipalities to have a developmental focus in the areas of their jurisdiction as opposed to sheer provision of services. The White Paper (1998) on Local Government further emphasises the significance of this developmental approach.

The Local Government Transitional Second Amendment Act (Act 97 of 1996) makes provision for the formulation of integrated development plans as a policy instrument for the reconstruction and development of the socioeconomic and spatial fabric of South African society. In the words of Friedman (1991 as quoted in Healey, 1992 p145), integrated development planning "centres on the challenge of finding ways in which citizens, through acting together, can manage their collective concerns, with respect to the sharing of space and time".

The Local Government Second Amendment Act (Act of 1996) is in response to concerns about the shortcomings of the Local Government Transitional Act (Act of 1994). These are, inter alia:-

- Problems relating to powers, functions and relationships between the various tiers;
- Problems relating finances, services and how local diversity is to be accommodated
- Lack of a coherent and well thought out coherent strategy

(Khan 1995, p39)

Integrated development planning (IDP) is presented as a response to these concerns. Whether the IDP is indeed the necessary and sufficient planning framework to address these concerns is the subject of investigation in this dissertation.

Suffice is to say that over the past few years, integrated development planning has catapulted into prominence among development practitioners in a significant way. Healey (1995) argues that since the early 90's, there has been a renewed interest in strategic spatial planning in Europe. This has led, she insists, to debates about management by "performance criteria, partnerships or argumentation" (p264).

At a local level, integrated development planning entails bringing together various stakeholders like officials, councillors, and members of different communities, development facilitators and consultants

around the table for the sole purpose of planning for the desired future. Integrated development planning is about conflict reconciliation. It is a departure from the past in that planning was expert driven, with the communities called in at a later stage to ratify the plans. Planning for communities thus becomes planning with communities.

Integrated development planning also involves sectoral co-ordination among different development functionaries in the local government. It provides the forum among different line departments brainstorm planning view to collaborating proposals with the developmental initiatives, thereby avoiding duplication and disjointed planning. Within the context of scarce resources and subsequent financial austerity, such coordination ensures economies of scale and greater development impact. It is for this reason that in certain quarters, this planning model is regarded as a development breakthrough.

There is a story going round in the township buzz that relates to the road department from the provincial government covering the dirt road in the area with tarmac. As the community was planning to celebrate, came along the water department to dig trenches across the new road surface SO as layout infrastructure. No sooner had this happened, came along the electricity department from local government to install cables along the road reserve. Not wanting to be left behind, Telkom, the telecommunication parastatal appeared on the scene, and replayed the process of digging and filling up. Clearly, this

duplication process not only imposes huge financial costs, but also causes unnecessary inconvenience on all parties concerned.

philosophical level, integrated development Αt planning is regarded as a conceptual framework that seeks to provide the basis for the new physical and socio-economic landscape to reflect changing political circumstances in South Africa. At a practical level, it provides the repertoire for direct intervention to mitigate some of the problems associated with previous This involves the extension of housing, planning. services and basic infrastructure to areas of past neglect. The goal of integrated development planning is therefore to overcome the physical and spatial effects of past inequalities. Thus apart from the process being a legal requirement in South Africa, it is seen by other social actors as a useful management tool for the social transformation process.

Underpinning integrated development planning are the principles of environmental quality, participation, equity, sustainability and efficiency as provided in the Development Facilitation Act (Act 67 of 1995). This entails, borrowing the words of Chambers (1997), the promotion of the 4 D's, namely, decentralisation, democracy, diversity and dynamism.

Through decentralisation, power is devolved to the lowest possible level, taking into account the notions of capacity and responsibility. Democracy ensures maximum participation of the diverse people affected by

developmental action. This scenario, is undoubtedly, a recipe for a new dynamism in local government.

Communities within local government are, however, not homogenous as there are many interests groups pursuing different agendas. It can be argued that integrated development planning has many inherent contradictions which make the process complex. For instance, the interests of poor communities may clash with the interests of affluent communities. Similarly the interests of the young and old, economically active and unemployed, conservatives and liberals cannot be easily reconciled.

In the local government sphere, the law makes provision for power to be devolved to the local community representatives, who, in collaboration with the professional beaurocrats and other stakeholders, have to devise plans that respond to the development needs of their communities (Local Government Second Amendment Act 97 of 1996). This calls for the institutional infrastructure that will bring urgency and direction to the development process.

This dissertation is done at a time when the notion of integrated development planning is gaining currency among development practitioners from different disciples as well as ordinary members of the society. Since this process started some two years ago, the nature of the institutional restructuring in response to the new planning paradigm has not been explored. As the process unfolds, it becomes pertinent to explore

this model with the view to drawing insights that can be fed back into the process.

This dissertation seeks to explore the institutional framework that determines the form, nature and the pace of integrated development planning.

The primary focus is the relationship between the officials who are accountable to their professions and the employer, and the councillors who are accountable their electorate. Α study was conducted Widdicombe researchers (1986 as quoted in Stoker 1988) in Britain on officer-councillor interaction. It was discovered that the nature of this social relation leads to a rise in conflict, as councillors become more assertive. It was thus felt appropriate to conduct a similar study, in the light of integrated development planning in South Africa.

This dissertation hopes to achieve the following objectives:

- turn the concept of integrated development planning inside out so as gain insight into its origin, logic and character
- critically examine the relationship between the officials and the councillors so to arrive at an understanding of its subtleties, nuances and dynamics
- explore how the power relations between the officials and the councillors are manifested in the integrated development process

#### 1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

As it shall be demonstrated, integrated development planning means different things to different people. To some officials, it is just another management tool at their disposal to help control development. To other officials, it is a powerful paradigm, which signifies a new way of life. To some councillors, it is a way of ensuring that developmental benefits are spread to their political constituencies. Yet to others, it is an opportunity to make a better life for all the communities, irrespective of political and geographic affiliations.

There are certainly some truths in all these perspectives. It becomes necessary to explore these perspectives within context of social relations between various key actors and how they impact on the understanding and operational dynamics of integrated development plans.

Underpinning the integrated development planning process is institutional restructuring. Through an effective institutional framework, it is hoped that this delicate process can unfold with minimum interference, thereby sustaining and increasing the momentum towards mutually acceptable development programmes.

Integrated development planning is premised on the building of sustainable institutional relationships between the democratically elected councillors and officials. In the quest to reconstruct and develop the

South African society in response to her idiosycrantic past, integrated development planning is often presented as an unproblematic model that has to succeed at all cost. Like a team that has to win at any cost, this puts pressure on officials and councillors to win the game as opposed to playing the game.

In addition, various other publics can stake an interest in this integrated planning process. These include organised labour, the unemployed, community forums, business community, parastatals and others. Integrated development planning takes place within the context of this collaborative action.

However, collaborative action brings forth increasing complexity and diversity into the politically charged planning environment. The involvement of key players with different worldviews, life experience, political affiliation and value system increases the scope for conflict and tension. The social relations between the officials and the councillors can be described as at best, uneasy, and at worst, decisively hostile. The social relations within the context of development planning are the subject of the dissertation.

It becomes necessary to unpack the forces that give rise to uneasy relations with the view to gaining insights into the dynamics of interactive planning. It would seem that the technical process underpinning the IDP may not necessarily be appropriate to the particular context of a place like KwaDukuza. It is hoped that the theories of communicative rationality might assist in conceptualizing a more appropriate

process. This hypothesis will be subjected to empirical investigation

#### 1.3 HYPOTHESIS

There is a weak chain in the integrated development process. Integrated development planning is, in its present form, unworkable as, the technical nature of the process alienates the very people it seeks to embrace. The process must be reformulated in a manner that takes into account the contextual specificity of diverse stakeholders and complex power relations.

#### 1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

How do power relations between councillors and officials manifest themselves in the integrated development planning process and how does this frustrate the new planning model?

There are several related sub-questions, which are listed as follows:

- What is the process of integrated development planning as conceived by the post apartheid government?
- What are the evolution and the logic of integrated development planning?
- How is this process translated in KwaDukuza?
- What is the nature of the weak chain in the integrated development process?
- What is the perception of officials and councillors about integrated development planning?

- What kind of support mechanisms are put in place to help both officials and councillors function efficiently and effectively?
- How can communicative rationality offer a more meaningful planning process?

#### 1.5 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1 sets the tone for the dissertation. In particular, it provides the research question that will help focus this work. Sub questions will emerge that will help further clarify the research problem. A section on definition of concepts will provide working definitions of major concepts that are integral to this piece of work. This chapter will end with an indication of the methodology that will be employed in an effort to make sense of the research problem

Chapter 2 provides the conceptual framework in which this work will be located. Critical theory as proposed by Habermas will be presented as the framework within which this exploratory work will be located. Healey's collaborative planning(1997), as informed by Habermas and Giddens, also provides an analytical framework within which this study will be located.

The origin, logic and form of the integrated development planning will be examined in Chapter 3. This section will proceeded by a historical exposition of the dynamic legislative framework within planning emerged. Drawing on the international environment, an effort will be show parallels between integrated development planning and strategic planning. contributions of both South African urbanists and the

progressive movement with regard to giving shape and content to integrated development planning will then be explored. This chapter will end with an illustration of a typical integrated development implementation plan.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of the study area, with particular reference to its economic history and current status. A detailed data analysis will be undertaken in Chapter 5. This section will be divided into general findings, specific findings and intergroup comparison. This will provide the basis for testing the hypothesis of this study. The general conclusion and subsequent recommendations as the result of empirical investigation will then be made in Chapter 6.

#### 1.6 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Concepts used in literature are subject to a variety of interpretations. It is for this reason that a glossary of terms is provided to indicate how key concepts will be used in this dissertation.

INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING: This is a process through which a municipality establishes its vision for the future and designs a development plan towards the attainment of that vision. It entails the following steps:-

- ⇒ assess the current situation
- ⇒ prioritise the needs of the communities
- ⇒ set goals to meet these needs

- ⇒ devise strategies to meet these needs
- ⇒ develop and implement projects and programmes
- ⇒ budget effectively with limited resources
- ⇒ set targets so that performance can be measured
- ⇒ regularly monitor the development programme

  (DCD Integrated Development Planning for Local Authorities 1997)

#### INSTRUMENTAL RATIONALITY

This refers to what Habermas (1971) calls purposefulrational action governed by technical rules based on empirical knowledge. Its goal is effective control of reality. From a planning point of view, it assumes that planners can make an honest, objective appraisal of the needs of society and arrive at an expert opinion on how best to meet the needs of society.

#### COMMUNICATIVE RATIONALITY

According to Habermas (1987), communicative rationality refers to a process whereby "participants pursue their the basis of co-operatively on а definition of the situation" (Habermas, 1987 126). This presupposes an acknowledgement on the part of the players of their mutual dependence in the definition solutions of the problems afflicting Communication action rejects the notion of knowledge being the sole preserve of the expert, but argues that knowledge is socially constructed (Innes, 1995).

#### EMANCIPATORY RATIONALITY

The goal of critical theory is emancipatory rationality. This refers to a process whereby false consciousness is shed and replaced by a genuine awareness of the critical knowledge that is designed to get past the socially embedded power relations in a society (Innes 1995). Emancipatory rationality is thus a new paradigm, which entails a reassessment of our common assumptions regarding knowledge.

#### POWER RELATIONS

Power relations refer to the continuum between power and dependency in social relations. It is contextually determined as a person continually moves along the continuum. This movement is determined by configuration of knowledge, age, social class, experience, culture and will power. Planners, instance, by virtue of their professed knowledge, tend to operate more on the power side of the continuum while members of the community are expected to operate more on the dependency side of the continuum.

#### 1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The exploratory nature of the research study lends itself to a qualitative approach. An exploratory study often leads to insight and comprehension rather than collection of replicable data. Hence this study relies a lot on in-depth interviews, analysis of case study and use of informants.

To do justice to the manifestations of power relations between officials and councilors, one cannot claim value-free judgement. The author acknowledges the personal biases that will impact on this exploratory study, but an effort will be made not to allow such preconceptions and biases to cloud the final conclusion.

A five-phase approach was employed gain insights into the research problem. These are:

Phase1: Secondary Search

Phase2: Participant Observation

Phase3: Primary Search
Phase4: Data Analysis

Phase5: Write up and Presentation

Secondary search involves a painstaking perusal of theoretical material to form the basis of this study. This includes books, journals, newspaper articles and different statutes. This phase was then followed by participant observation. This entailed plunging directly into the real life setting involving the key players in the research process. A strategic planning workshop involving key officials and councilors was attended in an effort to gain a first hand account of the nuances and dynamics in their daily interaction.

The third phase involved in depth interviews with 16 key respondents. These include top academics, councillors, development practitioners as well as high ranking officials from KwaDukuza council. The purpose of the interview was to understand the respondents'

construction of reality. The approach used during the interview was to outline topics and issues in advance so as to provide the framework for the interview. The interviews lasted between forty-five (45) minutes and (1) one hour.

The fourth phase entailed coding and data analysis. The complex nature of qualitative information necessitated a thematic analysis. This involves systematically slotting responses into categories or themes. Different responses to the common theme were then assessed and compared on a constructed table. Similarities and differences were systematically recorded.

Write up and presentation constituted the last phase. An effort was made to capture the essence of the manifestations of power relations between the key players within the context of integrated development planning.

#### 1.8 RATIONALE FOR KWADUKUZA CASE STUDY

In 1996, Stanger/KwaDukuza, as was then called, was selected as one of the pilot projects for the implementation of the IDP process in KwaZulu Natal. One of the reasons for this decision is that the small size of the council makes it amenable to critical study.

Secondly, KwaDukuza is a microcosm of the broad South African society in the sense that it has both an urban and rural character. Its urban nucleus has the infrastructure that is comparable with the best in the country. It is neither a significantly large nor a

hopelessly small town, thus making it manageable from the research point of view.

Thirdly, historically, KwaDukuza has a special place in the hearts of many KwaZulu Natal citizens as it was founded by the Great Zulu Monarch, King Shaka, South Africa's yet to be acknowledged social planner. It is also the site where the legendary King is buried. The researcher's own family tree has its roots in KwaDukuza.

Fourthly, the nature of political representation in KwaDukuza parallels, to a great extent, the national scenario. Almost all the major political parties are represented, making it an ideal case study. KwaDukuza is thus a barometer to test out the manifestations of collaborative planning in South Africa.

#### 1.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The limitations of this exploratory study lie both with the chosen methodology and the availability of officials and councillors. It must also be added that the researcher learnt invaluable lessons through the entire research process. Though timeous and laborious procedures were used initially, but with growing experience and confidence, more efficient and effective methods were used.

The chosen qualitative approach has its limitations in the domain of social research. Firstly, semi-structured interviews are open to potential sources of bias and subjectivity. Secondly, the reliability of the data from the interview depends on the researcher, the subject, the instruments used and the research context.

Thirdly, qualitative research methods involve a small number of respondents and thus cannot be projected without qualification to the entire population. The results of the research study should, therefore, be treated with circumspection.

Fourthly, the minutes of council meetings for 1996 studied as part of the research strategy to unearth sources of conflict between the officials and the councillors did not yield the desired information. This is because only resolutions are recorded in the minutes as opposed to the debates during proceedings. Therefore minutes are only useful as starting points to get the glimpse of issues presented for debates.

One can also add that securing interviews with key players who have hectic schedules proved nightmarish at times. A number of interviews had to be rescheduled to accommodate the crises that had arisen. However, one is naturally grateful for the privilege to interact with the 'top guns' within the municipality.

#### 2.0. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A problem well stated is a problem half solved Charles F. Kettering

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

The conception and formulation of integrated development planning reflect a particular theoretical ontology and epistemology. When one takes a critical look at the integrated development planning process, one is immediately struck by its professed attempts to finding a planning solution to the socio-economic challenges in South Africa. It can be argued that this reflects a tendency towards instrumental rationality on the part of the architects of this form of planning.

The neat, procedural recipe guiding the formulation and implementation of integrated developmental planning is reminiscent of the one dimensional, rational comprehensive planning model of the modernist paradigm. This is evident in the User-friendly Guide for Local Authorities (1997) which breaks integrated planning into identifiable steps. These are, as indicated in Figure 1 as:

- Information gathering
- Assessment and prioritisation of needs
- Setting of goals
- Devising of strategies
- · Financial planning and action planning

- Implementation
- Monitoring

This planning model has always enjoyed prominence in planning practice. In terms of integrated development planning, a vision and goals are created. A development perspective is then taken followed by the formulation of strategies designed to achieve the predetermined goals. Performance criteria, which link outcomes to the goals, are then designed as an integral part of the feedback system.

This form of planning seeks to help officials, councillors and members of the public to engage directly with each other in an effort to find a solution to the problems that communities experience. This clearly puts officials in an unprecedented position of having to plan with communities as opposed to planning for the communities, as it was the norm for a long time. This scenario poses questions about the nature of power relations between the social actors locked in this planning process.

To understand the dynamics of this planning process, it becomes necessary to locate integrated development planning within an appropriate theoretical framework. The objective of this exercise is to help take a critical stance with regard to integrated development planning. This will help gain insight into the logic of this form of planning by subjecting it to empirical scrutiny.

Habermasian's critical theory is the best candidate for this exercise. According to Habermas (1984), traditional instrumental rationality tends to mystify issues by dressing them in a technical language. Planners, as a result, are not honest in their daily interactions with the communities. Communicative rationality as espoused by Habermas (1984) heralded a paradigm shift in social thought.

Habermasian's critical theory signals a response to the notions scientific rationality that prevailed since the beginning of the twentieth century. Notwithstanding the significant inventions as a result of human reason, modernism has been under increasing attack in the 70's from the diverse forces of post modernism. Critical theory offers a new route to the Enlightenment project by Shifting the perspective "from an individualised, subject-object conception of reason, to reasoning formed within inter-subjective communication" (Healey, 1992, p150).

Habermas argues for a much broader understanding of reason than sheer logic and scientific empiricism to accommodate the systems of meaning (Healey, 1992). A number of planning theoreticians and practitioners have been profoundly influenced by Habermas. Healey (1989) has come up with the notions of communicative planning and recently collaborative planning (1997). Forester has continually teased the role of planning 'in the face of power' (1982). All these concepts suggest a multi dimensional dialogue between planners and the members of communities on the basis of shared experiences.

#### 2.1 UNPACKING CRITICAL THEORY

According to Geuss (1981) this theory rests on the following fundamental theses. These are:

- "(a) Critical theories have a special standing as quides for human action in that:
- they are aimed at producing enlightenment in the agents who hold them i.e. at enabling those interests to determine what their true interests are;
- they are inherently emancipatory i.e. they free agents from a kind of coercion, which is at least partly self-imposed, from self-frustration of conscious human action.
- (b) critical theories have cognitive content, they are a form of knowledge.
- (c) critical theories differ epistemological in essential ways from theories in the natural sciences.

Theories in the natural sciences are objectifying; critical theories are reflective" (Geuss, 1981 p2).

Geuss (1981) thus defines critical theory as a reflective theory, which gives agents a kind of knowledge inherently productive of enlightenment and emancipation. Critical theory is a reaction to the positivism of the empirical sciences. Proponents of critical theory argue that positivist theories are a

denial of reflection and as such cannot fully grasp the complexities of human science.

McDonald (1986) sums up the main features of critical theory as:

- (a) The need to produce from nature what is necessary for survival, by manipulating and control of objects or tools (constituting technical knowledge)
- (b) The need to co-operate and communicate with other members of society, in order to reproduce the basis of existence (constituting practical knowledge)
- (c) The need to reflect, reason and act rationally, so as to be autonomous and responsible (constituting emancipatory knowledge)

These three interests are all expressed in three types of social organisation i.e. work, language/interaction and power.

Thus three types of science emanate from these knowledge-constitutive interests. These are:

- \* empirical-analytical (based on instrumental/technical action)
- \* historical-hermeneutical (based on language and communicative action)
- \* critical (based on emancipatory action)

On the other hand, instrumental rationality is a normative strategy. This can be outlined as follows:

- The planner begins with the identification of the problem requiring some action of some sort. The planner's chief task is to define the problem operationally by breaking it down to its constituent parts.
- The planner then considers several alternative actions that might be taken to deal with the problem within the political constraints. This step is informed by consideration of the resources that the planner has her/his disposal. This includes funding, staff, expertise and equipment, and time.
- The planner then on the basis of scientific reasoning chooses an appropriate course of action, which s/he follows through.
- The planner then designs and implements the decision
- S/he evaluates the appropriateness of the chosen action and changes can be made.
- Based on feedback from client group concerning the extent to which the course of action is consistent with its goals, the planner makes a decision to continue, modify, terminate or institutionalise the course of action (Brooks in Mandelbaum et at 1996).

Critical theory thus attempts to make up for the apparent shortcomings of instrumental rationality by adding an emancipatory feature. This helps demystify issues, thereby laying them bare for scrutiny.

A critical look at the integrated development process will reveal that it is essentially a technical tool kit to be used in an increasingly political environment. It is essentially a political imposition from above, which comes with a neatly packaged recipe for implementation. In its present form, the integrated development planning assumes that planners, by virtue of their professional expertise, will be able to prepare a viable solution to an intrinsically political problem.

Planners, as a result of their professional expertise, feel that the problem is indeed within their area of professional competence. This corresponds with Habermas' first building block of critical theory, i.e. technical rationality.

However, as planners begin to engage with the political dynamics of integrate development planning, they increasingly come into contact with a myriad of interest groupings. They have to forge links with other officials, political representatives, community organisations and other development practitioners in an effort to lend credibility to their scientifically reasoned programmes. The nature of these links will be examined in detail in Chapter 4.

The need to co-operate and communicate with other members and civil society resonates with Habermas' second building block, i.e. communicative action.

Technical rationality without communicative and emancipatory rationality, according to Habermas, leads to maintenance of the existing systems. Instrumental

rationality is supposedly politically neutral, carrying out technically appropriate means to a given and unarquable end (Habermas 1971).

Instrumental rationality mystifies and disguises values under the pretext of technical necessity. Critical theory helps demystify issues, thereby directing attention towards those features of society that can be altered (Habermas 1971).

Critical theory is widely regarded as a philosophical paradigm. It marked the era of critical consciousness among different practitioners in different disciplines. For planners, it meant a reformulation of planning values and recognition of the social setting in which planning takes place.

Critical theory differs from classical Marxism in that critical theorists do not see the determining base of social formation exclusively in economic terms, but also in terms of those features more usually attributed to the superstructure, such as ideology (Habermas, 1971).

Through a critique of ideologue, for instance, mechanisms by which oppressive structural features of society are mystified and depoliticised are laid bare, thus facilitating the means for transcending them. Through critical self-reflection, "false consciousness" is exposed and replaced by a higher level of consciousness (Thompson/Held 1982).

Unlike Marx who sees society as at the mercy of the economic productive relations, Habermas gives primacy to the world of ideas. Ideas, constructed at a higher level of consciousness, are at the heart of social transformation. Habermas (1970) insists that technical rationality is essentially system maintaining in that it does not lead to fundamental transformation of society. He argues that it is one dimensional in the sense that it does lead to inter-subjective dialogue (Honneth, 1991).

Only emancipatory rationality, Habermas (1970) maintains, through critical self-reflection, can help people transcend the current inhibitions in society. Thus, integrated development planning, in its present form, cannot be expected to lead to fundamental changes in the distribution of power in civil society.

#### 2.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING

The very nature of the integrated development planning involves a number of stakeholders who are, at least theoretically, equally related in the process.

Some stakeholders, in view of exposure from the past processes are fairly comfortable with both the procedural and substantive issues. However, to some stakeholders, this is a fairly unfamiliar terrain. Planners are at the fulcrum of this unfolding process. Thus the integrated planning has the ingredients for an explosive and a politically charged process.

This intellectual wave has been building up in the planning theory field since 1970. It is labelled in literature as argumentative, communicative, interpretative or collaborative planning theory. According to Healey (1997), it has many strands, but the key principles are as follows:

- a recognition that all forms of knowledge are socially constructed: and that the knowledge of science and the techniques of experts are not as different from practical reasoning as the instrumental rationalists had claimed
- a recognition that development and communication of knowledge and reasoning take many forms, from rational systematic analysis, to storytelling, and expressive statements in words, pictures or sound
- a recognition that, in contemporary life, people have diverse interests and expectations, and that relations of power have the potential to oppress and dominate not merely through the distribution of material resources, but through the fine-grain of taken-for-granted assumptions and practices
- a realisation that public policies which are concerned with managing co-existence in shared spaces which seek to be efficient, effective and accountable to all those with a stake in a place need to draw upon, and spread ownership of , the above range of knowledge and reasoning
- a realisation that this leads away from competitive interest bargaining towards collaborative consensusbuilding
- a realisation that, in this way, planning work is both embedded in its context of social relations

through its day to day practices; and has the capacity to challenge and change these relations through the approach to these practises (Healey, 1997 p29-30).

On the basis of these principles, Healey identifies five key tasks that underpin collaborative planning. These are:

- 1. identifying and bringing together stakeholders
- 2. designing and using arenas for communication and collaboration
- trying and using different routines and styles of communication
- 4. making discourses of policy
- 5. maintaining consensus (Rydin, 1998).

The last task of maintaining consensus is at the heart collaborative planning. The author argues that communication is the vital tool in the planner's repertoire. Communication helps build a common vision, sharing knowledge, developing in joint solutions and engaging in social learning (Rydin, 1998). Healey is under no illusion that conflicts between interests and the multiplicity of different identities that co exist in contemporary society, but she harbours hope through collaborative planning, consensus can eventually be forged between diverse groupings (Rydin, Integrated development planning is an attempt forging linkages and consensus among diverse groupings in South Africa. These groupings involve various racial groups, the affluent and the less affluent, men and women, the young and the old, lay participants and the

experts, the illiterate and the highly educated, politicians and officials.

Two key writers whose ideas have contributed to this theoretical development inform Healey's collaborative planning theory. Habermas provides the main intellectual impetus for planning through debate as Habermas (1970) argues for interactive collective reasoning carried out in the medium of language.

Another writer who has profoundly influenced Healey is Giddens with his structuration theory. The basic tenets of structuration theory is that people are the product of structuring forces that surround them in as much as people, if sufficiently aware of the structuring constraints, have the power shape these structural forces. Changing the rules, changing the flow resources can do these and most significantly, changing the way we think about things. According to Healey (1997) as quoted in Rydin (1998), conscious reflexivity on our assumptions, on our modes of thinking, on our cultural referents, carries transformative power.

#### 2.4 THE LIMITS OF COLLABORATIVE PLANNING

Healey's collaborative planning is widely acknowledged as the contemporary face of planning theory and rightly lauded for its attempt to develop a new normative approach to planning practice following the multifaceted critiques of planning in the 1970's and 1980's.

It offers an attempt to provide some theoretical anchorage in the face of serious challenges against the modernist project by powerful post modernist forces.

However, like any theoretical approach, it is open to critical engagement. Drawing on inputs from several writers, Rydin (1998) puts forwards four points of critical engagements.

Firstly, collaborative planning is premised on the notion that language makes the difference. The way in which communication occurs, proponents of collaborative planning would argue, affects outcomes. Drawing on Foucault's work, it can be argued that power relations between different actors in society determine the nature of the language discourse used in planning. In other words, certain groups to promote their interests can manipulate the very language of planning through subtle means. There is a recognition that powerful groups have a way to shout the loudest, thus ensuring that they always win in the battle of the voices.

The second point of critical engagement rests on the assumption that consensus will always result out of conflict. Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (in Rydin 1998) take up this issue in their critique of Habermasian's collaborative planning. Practical studies have consistently shown that in spite of good faith of participants in a collaborative dialogue, it often proves difficult to meld differences between social actors in to a common commitment to a policy goal. The present study provides clear evidence that achieving consensus is but a pipe dream in many instances. The

Habermasian position that that consensus is inherent in a communicative act does not carry much water in many instances. In fact, a study by Ingram (1996) in Rydan (1998), demonstrates that in some cases, dissent might be desirable in forging a common identity within the local community. Thus communication is necessary, but not a sufficient condition for consensus.

The third point of critique relates to collective action. This refers to the desire to include all and sundry at all cost. Some groups, by choice, may elect not to be politically active. Some theorists argue for the need for safeguards for those for those who choose to be empowered differently than through conventional political engagement.

The last point of critical engagement relates to the role of professions in the policy process, a point which Allmendiger and Tewdwr-Jones (in Rydin 1998) up strongly as well. The justification for professional involvement rests on two grounds. Firstly, the professional brings advice and expertise to the policy process. This ensures that other groups can make informed decision on the policy process. Professional expertise, according to collaborative planning, is a mess for empowerment. Secondly, the professional can be a guiding light for public interest policy goals like sustainability in the event when the community decides on a path deemed as undesirable. In other words, the community can be persuaded by the expert towards accepting a publicly desirable choice of action.

This issue raises serious questions about the integrity of such omniscient professionals. According to Dunleavy (1991) in Rydin (1998) the public choice approach has pointed out how state bureaucrats, which many professionals are, may skew public policy in pursuit of their interests as measured by budgets and status. Among several questions that Rydin (1998) raises about the 'expert' argument are:

- What are the interests of professionals as a group that may constrain any programme for reform?
- Why should professionals give up their control or at least influence over decision-making?
- Why should professionals be genuinely interested in the empowerment of other groups, and risk their power over such groups?

#### 2.5 PLANNING AND POWER

Informed by Habermas's critical theory, Forester (1993) argues that planning is inherently political and communicative. He proposes a critical theory of planning, which is:

- grounded on an empirical analysis of what planners do intentionally and unintentionally
- sensitive to the practical situations which planners face and seek to interpret and understand
- discriminatingly critical of the extent to which planners counter or perpetuate unnecessary political distortions of problem formulations, analysis of options or broader planning agendas (Forester 1993 pl6.

It follows that planning practice should be seen as more of communicative action. As a form of communicative action, planners actions shape others' expectations, beliefs, hopes and understandings, even though, according to Forester (1993), planners don't strictly control any of these outcomes.

Critical theory of planning will make planners in their role 'progressive' as producers disseminators of information in the context of social and political relations (Forester 1982). Information, which is the source of power, is collected, processed and spread in such a way that involvement's are developed and participation is shaped, relationships and networks are built and altered, affected interested persons are selectively included excluded. In this way, political engagement is likewise encouraged for some and thwarted for some (Forester 1993).

Both Healey (1989,1997) and Forester (1984,1993) seem to concur with Friedmann (1969) when he suggested that:

In action-planning...the planner moves to the foreground as a person and autonomous agent. His success will in large measure depend on his skill in managing interpersonal relations (Friedmann, 1969 in Bolan, 1971)

#### 2.6 CRITIQUE OF CRITICAL THEORY

Understandably, some critiques of critical come from the neo-Marxist camp as well as other social theorists. Habermas gives ideas primacy as he firmly believes that social change must emanate from human consciousness (1971). Firstly, Habermas assumes that ideas equally distributed in society and everybody has access to the world of ideas. Nothing could be further from distribution of the truth. The reason, precondition for engaging in communicative dialogue, is largely socially determined. This is particularly true in South Africa where different life experiences for different racial groups lead to uneven distribution of a reasoning capacity.

Secondly, Neo-Marxists doubt the possibility of the human mind to challenge the deep-seated class relations in society. They, in fact, give primacy to the powerful economic determinants in society. The debate between the Marxists and critical theorists is well documented in literature.

Thirdly one takes issue with Habermas's obsession with language. He argues for the power of language to maintain or challenge the existing power relations. However, he seems to neglect the internal and external constraints that are at work to ensure the retention of the status quo. For instance, there is an element of social passivity that ensures the systems maintenance on the part of the general public. There could be external constraints like fear of victimisation or punishment that can perpetuate the existing scenario.

Fourthly, Habermas assumes that through planning debate, consensus will finally be reached. reality seems to point in the opposite direction as consensus is seldom achieved. In the public forum meeting that the author attended in July 1997, there was evidence of dissensus between what planners thought was appropriate and what communities wanted. In fact, it is not uncommon for communities within the planning area to disagree, sometimes violently, about what is appropriate in the area. Habermas's notion communicative rationality, in another context, may simplify this reality. Thus Healey (1992) concludes that while Habermas presupposes that consensual positions will be achieved, "contemporary social relations reveal deep cleavages of class, race, gender and culture, which can only be resolved through power struggle between conflicting forces" (p151).

Thus while critical theory is ideal, it may not be appropriate in all contexts. It can serve to put planners in the horns of the dilemma whereby they have to choose between the demands of their profession and the promotion of emancipatory rationality, as proposed by Habermas.

## 3.0 THE LOGIC OF INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

"The Old Order Changeth Yielding Place to new; And, God fulfils Himself in many ways Lest one custom Should corrupt the world..."

Alfred Tennyson

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter intends to unpack the evolution and rationale behind integrated development planning by using an historical perspective. This new planning approach is the outcome of the political settlement that culminated in the formation of a new constitution for South Africa in 1994. An exposition of integrated development planning will not be complete and meaningful without an appreciation of the historical trajectory into the forces that acted in concert to shape the current reality.

It is for this reason that a brief political background will be provided to set the context for integrated development planning. This will, however, not be a cold narrative of historical events, but rather a synthesis of important themes that moulded and shaped the present reality.

This section will be followed by an analysis of trends in the international environment, which are believed to have had an impact on the planning discourse in South Africa. The contribution of strategic planning imported from the private sector will also be explored. The

planning environment in some few countries will also be investigated in an effort to draw parallels between the planning processes. Thereafter, the role of South African Urbanists, notably Dewar, will then be examined in an effort to extract elements which provided the ingredients for integrated development planning.

Lastly, the role of progressive planners from the academic left and non-government organisations will also be investigated. With the political tide changing, there is evidence to suggest that development practitioners could not watch from the sidelines, but had to provide alternatives for the then status quo.

This section will be completed by a brief look into the present planning paradigm as encapsulated in integrated development planning.

#### 3.2 THE NATIONAL POLITICAL CONTEXT

This section will be divided into five historical epochs. This is done for the purposes of simplicity and in no way is it suggested that the evolution of integrated development follows a unilinear process that fits neatly into historical epochs.

#### These are:

- Pre 1948
- Post 1948
- The turbulent 70's
- The reformist 80's
- The transformative 90's

#### 3.2.1 LAUNCHING SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT:

#### THE PRE 1948 PERIOD

From the moment White settlers landed on the shores of Southern Africa in April 1652, there was an uneasy relation between the settler community on the one hand and the indigenous peoples on the other hand. This does not suggest that the indigenous peoples were a homogenous grouping as constant wars for territorial domination attest to uneasy relations even between them. However, the battle for territorial domination took a different dimension.

An analysis of the South African legal system reveals an attempt by those in power to create a society that is strongly divided along racial lines. The Union of South Africa of 1910 amalgamated the provinces of Transvaal, Natal, Orange Free State and the Cape Colony to form the republic of South Africa under the jurisdiction of the Whites only Parliament (Wagner 1992).

The Land Act of 1913 provides for the establishment of a spatial framework in terms of which 87% of the land surface will be allocated to the White community and the remaining 13% for the exclusive use of the Black communities (Horowitz, 1991). The Land Act was an important legal instrument that drove Africans out of the agrarian economy to work in the mining sector. This signalled the consolidation of the gold-based capital accumulation process in South Africa. This act also signalled the beginning of the de jure racial character of the spatial framework.

Spatial planning had to operate within the context of this national legislation in a mutually reinforcing way. Various provincial ordinances, in line with the constitution, made provision national formulation of town planning schemes in White, Indian areas, while creating residential Coloured dormitories in African areas with weak or no economic base. This resulted in the dual economy characterised by, on one hand, centres of economic activity and affluence and islands of poverty and underpriviledge, on the other hand. This dual economy was reflected in the spatial framework. The racially determined spatial framework and the dual economy mutually reinforced each other.

Even at local government level, in line with trends in the colonial motherland, planning schemes were imported 'lock, stock and barrel' from Britain and United States without any adaptations to local conditions. There was to be separation of land uses and monofunctionalism characterised the urban fabric.

Racial and land use separation was cleverly sustained by means of buffers like freeways, cemeteries, railway lines, open space system and topographical features. This spatial configuration model was sustained at the institutional level by a myriad of institutional systems that did not 'talk to each other'. South African cities were clearly on the march to racial, land use and institutional fragmentation.

It was becoming apparent that "the city is inseparably bound with the social formation of the society in which

it is embedded. The economic system underpinned by and integrated with political and ideological forces, not only articulates functional relationships between groups in society but serves also as the source of space forming process within cities". (Harvey, 1973 in Davies, 1981: p10)

## 3.2.2 CONSOLIDATING SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT: THE POST 1948 PERIOD

The ascendancy to power of the Nationalist Party government signalled the deepening of separate development with its attendant racial, land use and institutional fragmentation. A barrage of legislation was passed to maintain the racial character of the South African society. The Group Areas Act of 1950 was designed to further entrench racially segregated localities. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 provided for the segregation of public facilities (Horowitz, 1991).

Town planning duly responded by the promotion of physical planning that was informed by this legal framework. The dual economy and the resultant spatial configuration reinforced each other in a vicious cycle. The concept of the Apartheid City took shape, as poor people were located on the urban periphery while the affluent enjoyed prime location in pristine land close to the city.

The notion of land use separation was maintained at local government level. New institutional mechanisms were further designed to sustain the spatial arrangement. These included the Bantu Authorities Act

of 1968 and Homeland Consolidation Act. For a while, the apartheid city model looked like it will stand the test of time. The high economic growth registered in the 1960's meant that the state had enough resources to impose its ideology on the spatial framework.

#### 3.2.3 SIGNS OF INSTABILITY: THE TURBULENT 70's

The slow down in the economy and serious opposition to the repressive laws provided the impetus for sustained efforts to challenge the status quo. There was a growing need for a new political and socio-economic dispensation in South Africa. The Soweto uprising of 1976 brought home the urgency to revisit the constitutional framework. Some international companies pulled out of the country, precipitating an economic crisis.

This period corresponds with the consolidation of the homeland policy designed to deflect the political aspirations of the African people in the urban areas. The resultant spatial pattern was that of fragmentation of races, land uses and institutional systems.

Institutionally, Community Councils Act, 1977 (Act 125 of 1977) was passed in order to quell unrest in the African townships. However, in the absence of a viable economic base, the new institutions could not raise sufficient revenue to provide adequate services and facilities without raising rentals. The rent issue proved to be their ultimate downfall. However, this Act is significant in that it recognised, for the first time, the permanence of Africans in the urban areas.

## 3.2.4 SOME CONSTITUTIONAL ADJUSTMENTS: THE REFORMIST 80's

Attempts to reform separate development involved consolidation of the homeland system, accommodation of Indians and Coloured in the tricameral parliament and passing of Black Local Authorities Act, 1982 (Act 110 of 1982). This was an attempt to rationalise the fragmented system and getting out of the political impasse. Government planners were more concerned with making political adjustments to reconstitute separate development than about fundamental social and spatial restructuring (Ismail, et al 1997).

It was becoming increasingly clear that the notion of separate development in the form that was conceived by the Nationalist Government was becoming increasingly unsustainable and unpopular. Both Houses ofRepresentatives and Delegates made serious attempts to improve the quality of life among Coloureds and Indians respectively. There were successes particularly in housing and education and some notable failures in the areas of community participation and political legitimacy.

However, the political and economic aspirations of a larger section of the population could not be wished away. The various institutional mechanisms to prop up the fragmented spatial pattern were proving inherently inadequate. Economic necessity and sustained political pressure forced the political parties to a negotiating table.

## 3.2.5 TOWARDS INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING: THE TRANSFORMATIVE 90's

The Local Government Transition Act, 1993 (Act 209 of 1993) was the outcome of negotiations from all key players during the CODESA talks in Kempton Park. This legislation sets out to create a framework for the orderly transition of local government in South Africa to full democracy. The Act maps out three phases of transition, namely:

- The pre-interim phase, which prescribes the establishment of local forums to negotiate the appointment of temporal Councils to govern until municipal elections.
- The interim phase, beginning with municipal elections and lasting until a new local government system has been designed and legislated upon
- The final stage, when a new local government system will be established (White Paper on Local Government, 1998).

This process led to the national election on 27 April 1994, a watershed in the history of South Africa. The passing of the new Constitution in May 1994 poses many challenges to the emerging democracy. One of the many challenges was the form and character of planning at local government level. Integrated development planning is mooted in the Local Government Transitional Second Amendment Act of 1996 as the means to pierce together, from the loose cut pieces of the disjointed past, the new social fabric of a new nation.

Integrated development planning is the culmination of a long-winded process to help bring about spatial, racial and institutional integration as well as promotion of mixed land use. The authors of this piece of legislation hope to bring forth a spatial configuration model which will be characterised by vibrancy, diversity, choice, optimal access to opportunities, efficiency, local character and social justice.

#### 3.3 INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

#### 3.3.1 THE BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT

The discourse in integrated development planning is replete with concepts, procedures and tools that are associated with strategic planning in the business environment. Drawing on Olsen and Eadie (1982 p 4), Bryson (1988) defines strategic planning as "a disciplined effort to produce fundamental decisions and actions that shape and guide what an organisation or other entity is, what it does and why it does it" (p 5).

Bryson (1988) further clarifies that strategic planning requires broadscale information gathering, an exploration of alternatives and an emphasis on the future implications of present decisions. It also can facilitate communication and participation, accommodate divergent interests and values, fosters orderly decision making and successful implementation (Bryson, 1988).

Bryson (1988) moots the following eight-step procedure as a model strategic planning process:

- initiating and agreeing on a strategic planning process
- 2. identifying organisational mandates
- 3. clarifying organisational mission and values
- 4. assessing the external environment: opportunities and threats
- 5. assessing the internal environment: strengths and weaknesses
- 6. identifying the strategic issues facing the organisation
- 7. formulating strategies to manage the issues
- 8. establishing an effective vision for the future

There are notable similarities and differences between the strategic planning framework as articulated by Bryson (1988) and the current integrated development planning in South Africa. There is common concern about establishing a vision, assessing the internal and the external environment, identifying strategic issues and formulating strategies.

It is however, noteworthy, that in Bryson's (1988) model, visioning is at the end of the strategic formulation process while with regard to IDP formulation, it marks the beginning of the planning process. Also the absence of performance indicators and monitoring mechanisms make the two models distinctive.

While strategic planning can be traced to the private sector, many of the basic principles of strategy have been distilled from warfare (Henderson, 1984).

underlying concepts of strategy The involve the allocation and concentration of resources, the need for communication and mobility, the element of surprise and the advantage of defence (Henderson, 1984). However, while in the military, the objective is the complete elimination of the enemy, the ultimate objective in business is access to and control of requisite resources. This includes money, supplies, resource and markets.

Certainly in non-profit organisations including government, the basic objective is human development. Thus strategic planning has been successfully used by different organisations to serve their different interests.

One of the key concepts in the formulation of integrated development planning drawn from strategic planning is the SWOT analysis. This refers to the systematic assessment of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the organisation (Bryson, 1988).

This concept evolved as part of a Harvard Policy Model taught at the Harvard Business School since the 1920's (Christensen et al 1983). According to the Harvard model, the main purpose of SWOT analysis is to help the firm develop the best fit between itself and its environment. Strategy is the direct result of analysing

the internal strengths and weaknesses of the company and by identifying the external opportunities and threats in the environment. The specific advice of the model is to build on the strengths, address weaknesses, identify opportunities and eliminate possible threats (Bryson, 1988).

According to the White Paper, integrated development planning is different from comprehensive or master planning. According to Ansoff (1984) comprehensive planning preceded strategic planning by some 10 years. Strategic planning emerged in the 1950's as a response to the turbulence and complexity of the business environment. Market saturation, technological political upheaval obsolescence, and increasing consumerism (Ansoff, 1984) triggered this state of affairs.

Bryson (1988) argues that strategic planning differs from comprehensive planning in four significant ways. Firstly, while both focus on an organisation and what it should do to improve its performance, strategic planning relies more on identifying and resolving issues.

Comprehensive planning, on the other hand, focuses more on specifying goals and objectives and translating them into current budgets and work programmes. Strategic planning, he asserts, is more suited for politicised circumstances, as identifying and resolving issues does not presume an all-encompassing consensus on organisational purposes and actions.

Secondly, strategic planning emphasises assessment of the internal and external environment far more than comprehensive planning does. Comprehensive planning often assumes that the current trends will continue into the future, while strategic planning expects new trends, discontinuities and a variety of surprises (Ansoff. 1980 in Bryson, 1988). Thus strategic planning, Bryson (1998) maintains, could call for a qualitative shift in direction and might include a broader range of contingency plans.

Thirdly, strategic planning involves construction of a bold, ideal vision of the future and how it can be achieved. Comprehensive planning involve a linear extrapolation of the present in order to arrive at a certain uncontested future.

Lastly, strategic planning is much more action oriented than comprehensive planning. Strategic planners usually consider a range of possible futures and focus on the implications of present decisions and actions in relation to that range.

Comprehensive planners, on the other hand, operate on the basis of the mostly likely future, of course, assuming that the present trends will continue unchallenged (Bryson, 1988).

Ansoff (1988) concludes that strategic planning is a multifaceted, complex and time consuming process. Integrated development planning is often described in similar terms. In practice, integrated development planning exhibits, in varying forms, both elements of

comprehensive planning. While strategic thinking pervades integrated development planning, the linking of IDP to budgets and specific programmes shows comprehensive planning tendencies.

There is substantial evidence to suggest that the relative merits and demerits of both strategic and comprehensive planning were at the back of the minds of the authors of integrated development planning as they sought to construct a planning system that best respond to South Africa's idiosyncratic environment.

#### 3.3.2 THE PLANNING ENVIRONMENT

According to Harrison (1998) an Internet search reveal that some countries embrace the term 'integrated development' in their development programmes. There is evidence of 'long range integrated development Britain; 'integrated development planning' in Australia; assessment' in 'integrated regional development' in Brazil and even 'integrated development plans' for Tibetan Refugee Camps (Harrison, 1998)

The concept of 'integrated planning and performance monitoring' has gained currency in New Zealand. In Europe, there is much talk of European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) which emphasises the need-integrated policy integrated development strategies and horizontal and vertical co-ordination (Davies, 1998 in Harrison, 1998)

#### 3.4 THE SOUTH AFRICAN URBANISTS

One of the persistent forces calling for the reconfiguration of spatial layout in South Africa can be attributed to the Cape Town based academics. Dewar and Uytenbogaardt (1991) stand out as the chief exponents of this social force.

While progressive planners opposed spatial separation on ethical grounds, South African urbanists tend to advance technical arguments against land use and racial separation. They argue that the separation based urban system result in a coarse urban fabric that does not take full advantage of agglomeration.

Not withstanding its vociferous critics, this social movement called for an 'integrated urban systems'. In their seminal work, aptly titled 'South African Cities: A Manifesto for Change', Dewar and Uytenbogaardt(1991) argue that urban management principles should be informed by four sets of fundamental needs. These needs are the raison d'être of cities.

Firstly, people come to cities in order to experience the economic, social, cultural and recreation opportunities and facilities, which can be generated through the physical agglomeration of large numbers of people. The ability of the urban system to generate these opportunities is not the function of its demographic size but rather the way in which it is structured and made.

People should, through efficient spatial arrangement, be allowed freedom to find opportunities to express their own ingenuity and creativity (Dewar & Uytenboquardt 1991).

Secondly, such opportunities would be meaningless if sufficient thought is not put towards maximising access to these very opportunities and facilities that result from agglomeration. All urban inhabitants, irrespective of status and race, should enjoy relative ease and equity with regard to urban opportunities. Thus new "urban policy should be directed towards breaking down the economic, political, regulatory, attitudinal and other barriers which prevent people from fully entering, and participating within, the mainstream of urban life" (Dewar & Uytenbogaardt et al 1991 p 17).

Thirdly, there is a need for social contact and interaction. Urban management strategies, Dewar et al (1991) posit, should focus on the collective activities of urban life and the need to adequately accommodate them.

Lastly, the integrated urban system should be so designed as to make allowances for individual needs. These include physical, social, psychological and sensory or aesthetic needs (Dewar & Uytenbogaardt 1991). In other words, the integrated urban system should respond to the individual as both as a separate individual and as a social being.

From the preceding discussion, there is evidence to suggest that integrated development planning is a

policy instrument designed to promote the "integrated urban system" as envisioned by these prominent authors. It is noteworthy that this seminal work emerged at the time when the apartheid city was gradually disintegrating and there was a growing need for policy direction on spatial restructuring.

The heightened political turmoil and the economic woes of the 1980's proved formidable for the state driven reformist agenda. The writing was on the wall for the terminally ill apartheid system. This state of affairs provided an impetus for the search for an alternative paradigm to provide the basis for the reconstruction and development of the new South African society.

#### 3.5 PROGRESSIVE PLANNING MOVEMENT

In an attempt to jump ahead of the imminent political tide and possibly mediate it, various social forces mobilised resources for the formulation of alternatives to the disintegrating separate development system. These included the non governmental like the Urban Sector institutions Network organisations like Planact in the Gauteng and Northern Province, Built Environment Support Group (BESG) KwaZulu Natal and Development Action Group (DAG) Cape Town (personal communication, Ntsehla/Marumo).

The Prominent English-speaking universities also joined in the fray by providing physical and institutional infrastructure for these emerging organisations. The civic movement representing residents from various townships emerged as another powerful player in the

politics of the day. This culminated in the formation of the South African National Civic Association, led by Moses Mayekiso, in the early 90's.

The stage was now set for the new paradigm to take South Africa forward into the coming millennium. The Centre for Development Studies (CDS) in the Western Cape proved to be catalyst for bringing together important players to give character and form to the emerging paradigm. The CDS organised the December 1988 Harare Workshop on Planning in order to bring on board the then banned African National Congress (ANC). This followed by the October 1990 National up Consultative Workshop on Local Government and Planning after the unbanning of the ANC (personal communication, Alan Mabin).

In these conferences, the idea of changing the mode of the struggle from confrontational agenda into policy alternatives was hatched. This led to the setting up of the Local Government and Planning Research Programme (Logopop) in 1991 with initial funding from Canada's IDRC. The key players in this phase were Thozamile Botha and Dr Chrispian Olver (Harrison, 1998).

Logopop, later renamed Inlogov was influential in the shaping developmental policies of the post-apartheid government. This was largely achieved through its role in the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF), the local government counterpart to the national constitutional negotiations at Kempton Park (Harrison, 1998).

Another parallel structure named the National Housing Forum (NHF) was also formed in 1992. Although this body was formed in response to the township hostel related crisis. The NHF soon widened its focus to encompass such matters as 'Land Development' and 'Restructuring the Built Environment'. This body was instrumental in shaping thinking around spatial reconstruction of the apartheid city (personal communication, Alan Mabin).

Many players at this point, including progressive NGOs, left leaning academics, representatives of the NHF, the civic movement and politicians were labouring to help give birth to an alternative planning and development framework for South Africa.

# 3.6 TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK

As the 1994 elections loomed closer, there was an urgent need to develop a legislative programme to help usher the new era. A series of meetings were held under the auspices of Inlogov to map out possible legislation for land development and planning.

Dr Olver brought together progressive NGOs, academics and representatives of the NHF, including influential Jill Strelitz form Urban Foundation, to discuss possible legislation. This process culminated in the formulation of South Africa's first post-apartheid planning legislation, the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) of 1995. (personal communication, Alan Mabin)

The DFA of 1995 makes provision for:

- uniform planning and development principles
- establishment of a national development and planning commission
- establishment of provincial development tribunals
- preparation of land development objectives local authorities. These would be submitted to the provincial ministry for approval.
- establishment of developmental committees
- promotion of public participation
- review of town planning schemes
- speedy release of land for development (Development Facilitation Act 1995)

The Government of National Unity's other major policy salvo was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) White Paper of 1994 released by the RDP directorate under the auspices of the Minister without Portfolio, Jay Naidoo. The RDP White Paper (1994) differed significantly from the original base document, which served as the ANC election manifesto. (Aldezadeh/Padayachee 1994)

The White Paper (1994) called for a "bottom-up approach of planning and an effective strategic and business planning process" (Section 6.1). It also warned against the danger of "inflexible long term plans" and rather suggested a "medium term framework to guide annual planning and budgetary processes" (Section 6.1) (Harrison, 1998).

It was however, realised that the DFA of 1995 was the necessary, but not sufficient mechanism for integrated development planning. It was argued that a second act would have to be put in place to provide for a comprehensive system of developmental planning. This act, it was reasoned, would address the crucial intersectoral and institutional co-ordination issues (Harrison, 1998).

An inter-departmental planning committee, the Forum for Effective Planning and Development (FEDP) was set up by the RDP office with the express purpose of promotion of institutional integration. The notion of integrated development planning was increasingly gaining currency in the RDP office and FEDP meetings (Harrison, 1998).

This is evidenced by the following definition of 'development planning' unearthed by Harrison (1998) from the FEDP minutes:

" a process to integrate economic, social, institutional and financial dimensions in order to support the optimal allocation of scarce resources between sectors and geographic areas and across population in a manner that provides sustainable growth, equity and empowerment of the poor and the marginalised"

Integrated planning was largely seen in the macro context with emphasis of co-ordination of various spheres of government and different departments. Of course, this must be understood within the context of

fragmented institutional arrangement inherited from the apartheid era (Harrison, 1998). This thinking was soon to be transported to local government where it was to take a different dimension.

However, the pace and form of institutional integration was not to the same degree as was envisaged by the RDP office. This led to serious tensions between the RDP office and other departments. The RDP office then mooted the notion of Integrated Development Framework (IDF). This is a non-statutory local plan to provide a framework for projects funded through its Urban Renewal Programme in marginalised areas. The IDF was applied in the KwaZulu Natal province, while Land Development Objectives were prepared in other provinces. This arrangement flies in the face of institutional coordination as envisaged by the RDP office.

This was a telling sign of resentment by some provinces of undue interference by the RDP office.

In a move that shook the nation, President Mandela announced in April 1996 a cabinet reshuffle and the closure of the RDP office. The notion of integrated planning system at national level was, as a result, thrown out with the water. The closure of the RDP office is regarded by prominent policy analysts as symptomatic of the continuing ideological slide of the ruling ANC party towards neo liberalism (Aldezadeh and Padayachee 1994; Michie and Padayachee 1997). This ideological shift is behind the uneasy relationship between the ANC and its tripartite partners, Cosatu and South African Community Party (SACP).

Key players attached to the RDP office then moved to the Department of Constitutional Development (DCD). These were Dr Crispian Olver and Dr Laurine Platzky. The DCD provided them with the environment within which to pursue their concerns about integrated planning. The Deputy Director-General at the time was Andrew Boraine, a former UDF activist and key figure in the previous local government negotiations.

The two officials from the RDP office arrived at DCD at the time when the department was preparing an amendment to the Local Government Transitional Act. With the full support of Boraine, Olver and Platzky successfully incorporated integrated development planning into the amended provisions of the Act (Harrison, 1998). After a protracted gestation period, this marked the induced birth of integrated development planning (IDP).

In terms of the Local Government Transition Second Amendment Act, 1996 (No 97 of 1996), the IDP is defined as:

"a plan aimed at the integrated development and management of the area of jurisdiction of the municipality concerned in terms of its powers and duties, and which has been compiled having regard to the general principles contained in Chapter 1 of the Development Facilitation Act, 1995 (Act No. 67 of 1995) and, where applicable, having regard to the subject matter of a land development objective contemplated in Chapter 4 of that Act (Section 10B of the Local Government Transition Act, Second Amendment Act, No. 97 of 1996)".

This rather legal definition indicates that some serious thoughts need to be invested in an effort to provide a user-friendly definition with which a person in the street can identify. Perhaps, as it will be shown in the next chapter, this is the reason why integrated development planning means different things to different people.

Preparation of the IDP is now a statutory requirement in all provinces, including KwaZulu and Western Cape, which previously resisted attempts to tow the national line.

#### 3.7 A TYPICAL IDP IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

The following table is a simplification of a typical set of steps to implement an IDP. The key stages of planning are highlighted as well as who is responsible for them. This information is adapted from the user-friendly guide to integrated development planning for local authorities (DCD, 1998).

Table 1 : IDP Implementation Plan

Step	Task Description	Primary Responsibility
1	Assessment of current reality  Workshop to brainstorm full list of strength, weaknesses, opportunities, threats  Prioritise and rank issues	Mayor, Councillors, Officials
2	<ul> <li>Vision</li> <li>Identification of vision statements based on the key issues identified above</li> <li>Workshopping to establish a common and unified draft vision statement</li> <li>Obtain broad public support and consensus to finalise the vision statement</li> </ul>	Councillors, Officials, Consultants residents and stakeholders
3.	Goals  • Formulation of goals for the municipality  • Prioritise and rank goals	Mayor, Councillors
4	Situational Analysis  Data Collection  Data Assessment  Identification of key findings  Identification of key issues	Officials and Consultants
5	Integrated Framework for Development  Identification of draft development strategies, including a spatial development framework  Formulation of integrated development framework  Review of draft integrated framework for compliance with the	Councillors, Officials and Consultants
	<ul> <li>regulatory requirements</li> <li>Finalisation of draft integrated framework for public review and comment</li> <li>Obtaining broad public support and consensus</li> </ul>	Councillors  Councillors, Officials in consultation with residents and stakeholders
6	Development Strategies • Formulate detailed strategies for each sector/department	Heads of Departments, Officials
7	<ul> <li>Implementation-Institutional Plan of Action</li> <li>Establish action plan for municipality as a whole and for each department</li> <li>Evaluate existing institutional strengths and weaknesses</li> <li>Establish a strategy for resolving institutional weaknesses through public sector or private sector</li> </ul>	CEO, officials

	inputs	
8	Implementation- Financial Plan of Action  • Evaluate existing financial resources  • Evaluate financial impact of IDP, review capital costs and develop a phasing plan  • Formulate an affordable and budgetary strategy for implementation of IDP	Town/City Treasurer, Officials
9	Monitoring, Evaluation & Revision  • Establish performance indicators or targets for municipal strategies  • Establish performance indicators or targets for financial and institutional strategies  • Establish monitoring programme within a specific time structure  • Implement, evaluate monitoring programme  • Formulate proposed revisions to IDP's, LDO's financial & institutional strategies for public review  • Continue process on an iterative basis	Councillors, CEO ,Officials & Consultants
10	Submission of LDO's (or equivalent) for provincial approval  Compilation of LDO's based on approved vision, development framework, strategies etc  Submission to Provincial MEC for approval  Approval of LDO's	Councillors, Officials in consultation with residents and stakeholders Mayor and CEO

#### 3.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The evolution of integrated development planning is not a unilinear process, but rather a complex, multifaceted process that responds to the South Africa's idiosyncratic history. The gestation period was protracted and multi-pronged involving an array of players. These include the communities, politicians, academics, progressive movements and policy makers.

Integrated development planning is not the outcome of deliberations within the dominant group, but the confluence of many forces operating at both national and local government levels. marginalised groupings struggled to keep the momentum integration into the political and economic mainstream, key players brought their technical expertise to bear on the process.

Thus IDP is the product of both the political rationality and the instrumental rationality. Sometimes these two rationalities sit uneasily next to the other as each tries to outdo the other, as it shall be demonstrated in the next chapter.

### 4.0 CASE STUDY: STANGER/KWADUKUZA

Angeke nilibuse, liyobuswa yizinyoni
"You shall not rule, only the birds will rule"

King Shaka

#### 4.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The story of KwaDukuza dates back to the decision by King Shaka in July 1825 to establish a royal settlement in this wooden place. KwaDukuza is a Zulu word for 'a place of wandering', apparently in reference to the dense bushes in the area (Stanger Museum notes).

The rationale for the founding of this settlement was, it is believed, to facilitate contact between King Shaka, the white traders and missionaries. When King Shaka was assassinated on the 22nd September 1828, the royal palace relocated to the present day Gingindlovu (ibid).

The town of Stanger, as KwaDukuza is formerly known, was established on the old royal settlement. It was named after William Stanger, a Surveyor-General of Natal province. Stanger Village was made township in 1920 and subsequent borough status in 1949 (ibid).

In 1840 an American Missionary, Reverend Aldin Grout and his wife Challote established a mission station and a school at Groutville, outside Stanger.

Government and some large planters, pleased with their performance on the plantations, offered free land gifts to those who agreed to remain. The Indians chose to stay rather than go back to India (ibid).

Later, some Indians came across from India as farmers, traders and shopkeepers. It was barely ten years after the town of Stranger was laid out that the first property transaction took place between a European and an Indian. A plot of land at the corner of Rood (now Mahatma Gandhi) and Lindley (now Chief Albert Luthuli) Streets was sold by a Mr Warren to Mr Rampul. This transaction marked the beginning of a wave of Indian growth in Stanger. Mr M.M. Seedat followed by Mr M.C. Patel pioneered the Indian trading movement in 1890 (ibid).

Today, the Stanger central business district has a vibrant bazaar character largely indicative of its rich historical heritage. The Indian community has made a significant contribution in providing a revenue base for the KwaDukuza Council.

The KwaDukuza Ratepayers Association, a predominantly Indian interest grouping, draws its clout from this reality in an effort to make the present council more "financially accountable" (KwaDukuza Times, 20 November 1998)

#### 4.2 THE STUDY AREA

indicated in Figure 2, KwaDukuza is situated approximately 74 kilometres north of Durban. The area straddles both sides of the N2 freeway between Durban and Richards Bay. The former 'statutory areas' include Blythdale Beach situated on the east of the freeway, the central business district, Stanger Manors on the north of the town. The former 'non statutory' areas include Groutville the south and on Shakaville/Lindelani on the north east of town.

Addressing the statutory/non-statutory dichotomy is the crux of integrated development planning as efforts are underway to bring these two areas into a state of parity. Parity should be understood both in terms of the level of infrastructure and services as well as integration of all areas into the economic mainstream.

The tension between the two areas is manifested in the relationships between elected representatives from these areas. On one hand, there is the need to maintain the existing levels of infrastructure provision and economic rejuvenation in the former statutory areas. On the other hand, there is a need to bring the service levels on the same footing in the entire local transitional area and strengthening the economic base of the former non-statutory areas.

It is not suggested that these tasks are mutually exclusive. However, with limited human and financial resources, the successful resolution of these tensions will require ingenious solutions. Resourceful

leadership will underpin such solutions with a strategic focus on institutional relationships.

#### 4.2.1 THE INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING PROCESS

The story of IDP in KwaDukuza dates back to the decision by the then Department of Development Aid (DDA) to commission VARA, a firm of Town Planning Consultants, to prepare a structural plan for the Groutvile Missionary Reserve. It was hoped that the structure plan would unlock the full development potential of this dormitory settlement, largely seen in isolation from its regional setting.

The plan was completed in 1989 and subsequently updated in 1990 and 1993. This plan was however never allowed to the light of the day as it was vehemently rejected by the increasingly politicised Groutville community. Communities challenged the perceived top down approach used in the planning exercise and demanded greater consultation on matters affecting them. This was at the time when the political temperature was at the all time high as negotiations were underway to give birth to a new political dispensation.

The rejection of the structure plan became the rallying point behind the formation of the Groutville Community Development Forum (GCDF). This body was a mixture of conflicting interest groupings brought together by their common rejection of the Groutville structure plan (Personal communication with Sdu Gumede). The GCDF became increasingly vocal about demands for a proper plan for this area, with community participation as its

main ingredient. It appears that the national constitutional talks were a major impetus for such demands.

In 1994, the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Administration Integrated Planning Services (IPS) appointed initiate a planning strategy for the Greater Groutville Mission Reserve Area. However, with the formation of KwaDukuza Transitional Local Council (TLC) in 1995 and subsequent new demarcation parameters, it was considered appropriate to revisit IPS's terms of reference. The planning scope was extended to include the preparation of an integrated development framework plan(IDF) for Groutville, Shakaville (predominantly African), Stanger (predominantly Indian) and Blysthedale Beach (predominantly White). For the first time in history, the former statutory areas and the former nonstatutory areas were to be planned as an integrated whole.

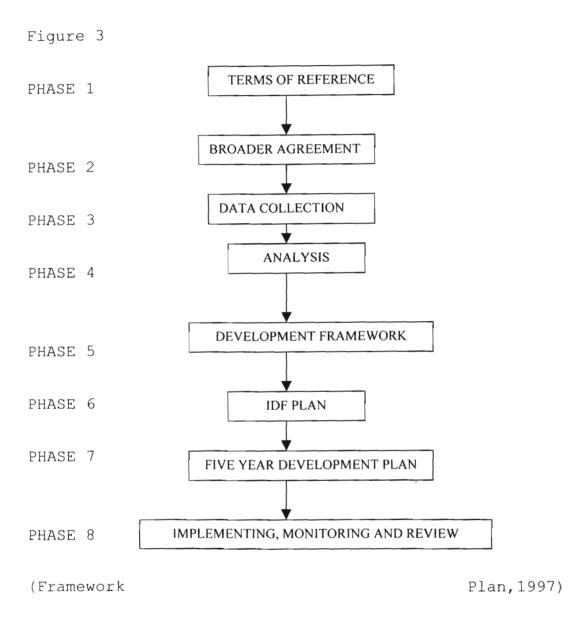
With the failure of the Groutville structure plan still fresh on the minds of the planners, the IPS took a position to rope in all significant stakeholders in the preparation of the new framework plan for KwaDukuza These included key officials within the local authorities, councillors, provincial authorities, nongovernmental organisations and the wider communities. An additional feature of the IDF plan was the capacity and community training exercise running parallel with the planning process. This was done realisation of the partly in major development differentials among key players and also to ensure the overall sustainability of the plan.

Towards the end of 1995, the KwaDukuza TLC was identified as the beneficiary of the Urban Renewal Programme (URP). A grant of R500 000 from the KwaZulu Natal province was received with the view to formulating a detailed framework plan for the TLC. The goals of the framework plan can be summed up as:

- promote reunification of the city
- release land close to core city areas for development
- integrate previously segregated areas
- enable access to infrastructure
- promote an efficient urban economy
- facilitate integration of land-use functions
- encourage integration and democracy of local authority structures and
- promote integrated sustainable development (IDF plan 1997 p3).

Integrated Planning Services, a development consultancy based in Pietermaritzburg, was tasked with the production of the framework plan for the TLC. This framework plan does not have legal status, but it is a precursor to the final plan, which shall have legal force.

This framework involves eight phases. These are illustrated in Figure 3 as follows



The Local Government Transitional Second Amendment 1996 (Act 220 of 1996) makes provision of the preparation of IDP's. It is expected that the framework plan will provide the foundation stone for the proposed IDP.

This process, however, did not proceed as neatly laid out as it is portrayed in the IDF document. There have been tensions and serious conflicts, which have threatened to derail the integrated development framework, a precursor to integrated development planning.

The municipal elections in 1996 signalled the coming on board of councillors from both former statutory and former non-statutory areas. The character of KwaDukuza TLC changed and new relationships had to be forged. The power pendulum began to swing in a different direction. The 1996/97 budget provided the arena in which power dynamics played themselves out.

As in terms of statutory requirement, officials prepares the budget that embodied the development plans of the new KwaDukuza TLC in financial terms. The process involved heads of departments making estimates for the ensuing financial year, taking into account the new challenges and demands exerted on the TLC.

However, the budget was flatly rejected by the councillors. On enquiring the motive behind such cold rejection, councillors felt that they were not adequately consulted about the budgetary process. For councillors, it appears that adequate consultation

involves more than ratifying the already prepared budget.

Councillors interviewed indicated that they want to be involved in the budgetary allocation process from the input stage throughout the entire process. In the words of one councillor, they do not want to be mere 'rubber stamps'.

Secondly, the councillors felt that the budget did not reflect the development imperatives of the council. Councillors from the former non statutory areas, felt that the budget should reflect the priorities of the council to address the huge development backlogs as the direct result of past neglect.

The budget crisis was finally resolved by the provincial government with compromises from both sides. It is noteworthy that the budget crisis took place at the time when the relationship between the officials and the new councillors was at an early development stage. In other words, they were still getting to know each other.

In an attempt to avoid a repetition of the budget crisis, certain mechanisms have been put in place to ensure smooth running of the council. Integrated management system was mooted as a means to provide a good flow of communication between top officials. It a device to provide the early warning system for the council.

Furthermore, the notion of strategic planning workshop involving top officials, councillors and unions is thought be mechanism to pool together key players in an effort to provide the sound basis for the budget. The first post budget crisis strategic planning took place in August 1998.

As a result of the strategic workshop, a task team led by the Deputy Chief Executive Officer was formed to spearhead local economic development.

#### 4.2.2 INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

There have been far reaching changes in the institutional arrangement as both Figures 4 and 5 illustrate. The old structure is characterised by the traditional division of municipal line functions, with service delivery as the principal goal. As demonstrated in Figure 4, this is a rigidly hierarchical structure characterised by vertical communication from the EXCO down to departmental committees.

Institutional restructuring was one of the critical issues that the new council placed on the agenda. It has been the concern of some councillors that the previous institutional arrangement, both in terms of structure and personnel, does not promote the ideals of reconstruction and development. Therefore, a campaign was launched by some newly elected councillors to create new positions to be filled by incumbents considered sympathetic to the goals of reconstruction and development.

The current arrangement differs in two main respects. Firstly, the creation of the Deputy CEO' office is to ensure that the municipality plays meaningfully its development role. The Deputy CEO is tasked with, among other things, local economic development, strategic planning and community development.

Secondly, the establishment of an integrated management system (IMS) is a significant innovation. It appears from Figure 5 that communication radiates around IMS. Communication lines have been contracted and tend to flow outwards horizontally than downwards as it was the case previously. This indicates a particular response on the part of the council to meet the challenges of integrated development planning.

The Chief Executive Officer or the Town Clerk is the chief accounting officer. A Deputy CEO post subsequently filled in January 1998. Other created or reconstituted posts involve the Housing/Masakhane/RDP officer and Chief Human Resources Manager and Urbanisation and Economic Development Manager. There are eight heads of departments. These are:

- Borough Electrical & Mechanical services
- Borough Engineer (Technical services)
- Town Treasurer(Revenue & Expenditure)
- Urbanisation & Economic Development
- Borough Secretariat
- · RDP and Housing
- Human Resources

#### • Health Services

It is interesting to note that the scope of town planning has been increased to include urbanisation and local economic development. This is in line with the international and national trend towards blurring of professional boundaries between various disciplines.

The local government election in July 1996 saw the election of 26 councillors in terms of Local Councillors Act 1974. 15 councillors were directly elected, while 10 councillors are nominated from the proportional representation list.

# 4.2.3 OFFICIAL-COUNCILLOR RELATIONS

It is an open secret that relations between councillors and officials are characterised by tension and conflict. One can draw insights from Ismail's et al (1997) analysis of councillor-official to get the big picture. According to Ismail et al (1997), there are four main sources of conflict.

Firstly, councillor-official conflict arises out of the formal and rigid division of labour between these two key players. Official prescriptions place councillors in policy-making roles and officials in policy implementation roles. This councillor-official dichotomy can often lead to departmentalism and false perceptions of one group encroaching on the sphere of the other. In practice, Ismail et al (1997) argue, councillors and officials mingle and tread similar

paths as they are both involved in various stages of the policy making process.

Secondly, there is a poor communication flow between councillors and officials. This situation inevitably leads to many misconceptions between them, creating the feeling of 'us and them'. This point is particularly valid in KwaDukuza as the integrated management system calculated to improve the flow of communication tends to exclude the councillors, the co-partners in the integrated development process.

Thirdly, Ismail et al (1997) maintain that the poor calibre some councillors is a source of irritation to officials who often regard them as illiterate, seminumerate and uninformed. Similarly, some officials are councillors as regarded by some arrogant, self misguided and plainly racist. This point certainly does not hold water in KwaDukuza as councillors are mostly drawn from the professional ranks and are certainly, according to one top ranking official, not 'pushovers'. There is no doubt that KwaDukuza councillors, as it will be demonstrated, are an asset to the KwaDukuza TLC.

Lastly, another source of conflict relates to the orientation of the councillors as elected politicians and the officials as appointed technocrats. Ismail et al (1997) argue that the psychodramatic world of politicians tends to be emotive, value laden and geared towards 'quick' results. This is done ostensibly to impress the electorate during their tenure of office. In contrast, officials tend to be obsessed with the

technical details about how to use scarce resources to achieve predetermined ends.

This techno-dramatic approach by officials is often construed by councillors as obstructionist and leads to excessive red tape. This is understandably as councillors have limited tenure and their political survival is largely contingent on delivery of development tangibles.

Drawing on Ismail's et al (1997) theoretical arguments, one can sense some degree of desperation, especially on the part of councillors from former non- statutory for the development tempo to increase. Ironically, some councillors from affluent areas have expressed reservation about the fast pace of development. Thus the stage is set for conflict of interests.

# 4.2.4 INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Integrated management system (IMS) arose out of the need to promote inter departmental co-ordination among heads of departments, in line with integrated development planning. According to Jogie Naidoo, the borough engineer, (personal communication) IMS ensures that departmental programmes and projects are put to a forum for debate by all departmental heads before they are put to the council.

The rationale behind this system is to ensure organisational efficiency within the context of integrated development planning. It would appear that IMS provides the platform to 'inform left hand what the right hand is doing'.

The rationale behind the establishment of the IMS is to ensure that following outcomes are accomplished:

- formulation of projects arising from the IDF plan
- establishment of business plans for all projects in the TLC
- strategic review of these projects in terms of the IDF plan
- formulation of 5 year development programmes for the TLC
- submission of funding proposals to the RDP office (IDF plan 1997 p38).

Meetings of the IMS are held at least once a month. These are convened by the Deputy CEO, who is also the secretariat of the IMS.

IMS is normally associated with the information technology (IT) industry where the goal is to improve operational efficiency. Incorporation of IMS into the operational structure of the TLC is yet another evidence of importing business concepts and ideas by public sector so to ensure both organisational efficiency and effectiveness.

### 4.2.5 WARD COMMITTEES

At the grassroots level, 14 ward committees spread throughout the TLC as indicated in Figure 6 have been formed. These are voluntary organisations, which seek to lobby at council level for development efforts to be concentrated in the respective communities. In the more developed areas, ward committees function as ratepayers' associations, which are more concerned with maintenance of service standards. Affordable, good value for money service is the 'war cry' of these associations.

In the former non-statutory areas, the underlying rationale for these committees is to facilitate the implementation of integrated development planning. These committees are more concerned with the delivery of affordable services in the less affluent areas. Membership to ward committees is drawn from members of local communities who work closely with elected representatives who act as ex official members. Ward committees have between 10 to 14 elected members.

Ward committees' members from all areas form the 5 member KwaDukuza Steering Committee which interface directly with the council. The ward committee system reflects the growing assertiveness on the part of all communities who want to take charge of their lives.

Some of the problems associated with this system is that lack of financial incentives tends to demotivate some members. Work commitments on the part of members may slow down the development momentum as a quorum is not easily established in ward committee meetings. At

times conflict about the nature of development programmes may stall progress (personal communication with Sihle Phakathi).

#### 4.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter provides a historical background of the KwaDukuza Transitional Local Council. Since its founding by the legendary King Shaka, KwaDukuza was to occupy an important place in the history of KwaZulu Natal. A missionary reserve was established to act as a new home for African Christian converts. The large sugar conglomerate, Huletts Group, has its beginnings in KwaDukuza. KwaDukuza also provided the economic base for the entrepreneurial spirit of the Indian people. KwaDukuza is indeed the melting pot of diverse local cultures and traditions.

The fragmented approach employed in the formulation of the Groutville Structure Plan provided the impetus for calls for participatory forms of planning. The constitutional change in 1994 led to the establishment of KwaDukuza TLC with jurisdiction extending to the former non-statutory areas of Groutville and Shakaville.

Institutional restructuring was next on the agenda as a new institutional arrangement that is sensitive to the needs of reconstruction and development was designed. This institutional change is the source of friction and tension between councillors and officials, a subject to which we shall turn in the next chapter.

In conclusion, one can draw from work by Bennington and Hartley (1994, p7-8) on the challenges facing democratic non-racial local authorities in South Africa. These are:

- (i) how to democratise local government to ensure that it would be non racial and legitimately representative of al people;
- (ii) how to engender an adequately solid political alliance between the numerous competing (and sometimes conflicting interests) at local, regional and central levels;
- (iii) how to develop new structures in local government which would manage and deliver services to communities disadvantaged by apartheid and also contribute to urban reconstruction and development; and
- (iv) how to restructure the workforce through training and retraining existing employees, and affirmative action recruitment, to ensure that there is racial and gender balance.

To these challenges, one can add:-

- (v) how to effectively manage conflict inherent in organisational change;
- (vi) how to accommodate additional responsibilities
   with a limited budget; (how to do more with
   less)
- (vii) How to increase revenue and expand the tax base of local authorities.

# 5.0 RESEARCH FINDINGS

"We have before us not only an opportunity but a historic duty. It is in our hands to join our strength taking sustenance from our diversity, honouring our rich and varied traditions and culture but acting together for the protection and benefit of us all"

Nkwame Nkrumah (22/03/1965)

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter sought to capture the institutional make up of KwaDukuza TLC. Within this institutional structure, various forces interact to give shape to this structure. This chapter seeks to unravel these forces in an effort to explore the manifestations of power relations between councillors and the officials.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section entails general findings while specific findings related to specific questions will constitute the second section. Lastly, the inter-group comparison between the responses of the councillors and the officials will ensue. This comparative analysis will provide the platform to test out the hypothesis.

# 5.2 GENERAL FINDINGS

It became clear that the integrated development planning process provides the context and the platform for the official and councillors to engage in vigorous debate about how best to realise the vision for

kwaDukuza. The process provides an opportunity for collective bargaining. Firstly, one glaring finding is that councillors and officials are not homogenous groupings. While this study sought to examine power relations between the officials and the councillors, it was found that there was more power tensions within the officials and within councillors than between the two groupings.

This within-group power tension is significant in two ways. On one hand these group tensions have the potential to undermine the integrated development planning. Also, with high-tension levels within the council, integrated development planning could be seen as an opportunity for political goal scoring, rather than an opportunity to help realise the common vision for KwaDukuza.

There is evidence that suggests that the council does not act in a synergy. The strategic planning workshop held during the study period provided a clue to the dynamics of the power relationships among different actors within the council. Some councillors snubbed the workshop on grounds that they were not 'properly consulted'.

Secondly, there is concern about the way the IDP is conceived in certain quarters. There appears to be an 'us and them' syndrome between councillors from affluent areas and those from less affluent areas. This evidenced by the IDP being regarded as a

mechanism to target 'poor people' only at the expense of the affluent.

Councillors from affluent areas hold the view that the IDP-inspired budget is but a 'Robin Hood budget'. This remark emanates from the concern about the perceived deteriorating of the council finances. This issue has sparked protest action from the Ratepayers Association, largely an interest group from relatively well off areas.

Thirdly, The integrated management system, the flagship of KwaDukuza TLC, which seeks to induce business ethos into the organisational system and promote horizontal communication among departments in order to achieve economies of scale, has not yielded the expected results. Some officials have bypassed it and taken issues directly to the full council for debate. This might indicate either lack of faith or awareness of the IMS and its potential. This disturbing as the very essence of IMS is to encourage the smooth flow of communication and certainly not to impose barriers to communication.

On a positive side, there are some interesting observations. Firstly, some degree of political will to transform the council into a 'model for KwaZulu Natal' is evident in the council. KwaDukuza is the first local authority probably in the entire country to officially change its name from the colonial

Personal communication with Gavin Wessels

'Stanger' into a name that truly reflects its cultural heritage. Serious thought need to be given on how to translate this political will into political action in a manner that brings all key players and political parties on board.

It is also the first council in KwaZulu Natal to officially change the names of some streets in the central business district. New names include King Shaka, Chief Albert Luthuli and Mahatma Gandhi.

However, not withstanding the funfair of symbolic gestures, it is noteworthy that for someone KwaDukuza, these changes have not outside communicated sufficiently to those outside the local authority. This is evidenced by lack of proper signage on all access routes signalling 'KwaDukuza' and not 'Stanger'. The name 'Stanger' is still exclusively imprinted not only on the signboards, but also in the collective minds of many South Africans. The mention of KwaDukuza still raises eyebrows among many. The immediate challenge facing the KwaDukuza TLC is how to convey the spirit of the time that 'KwaDukuza has indeed come of age'. Surely, in the name of integrated development planning, linkages could be established with the provincial Department of Transport to turn this dream into reality, without digging into the coffers of the TLC. As things stand, KwaDukuza is yet to come of age.

Secondly, KwaDukuza councillors donated their entire salary increment to the special 'Masakhane fund'. This

symbolic gesture has gone a long way towards fostering goodwill among councillors themselves and between the councillors and the different constituencies. Efforts should be made to build on this unprecedented action so that a solid foundation is laid for integrated development planning.

Thirdly, there has been a serious attempt to balance the racial composition of the officials. Since January 1998, about six appointments have been top officials. These include the Deputy Chief Executive Officer, Human Resource Manager, Chief of Health services, Assistant Borough Engineer and RDP/Housing Manager. Almost all the new incumbents are Africans.

Notwithstanding serious opposition to this development from other interest groups like the KwaDukuza Ratepayers Association, this bold step will go a long way towards normalising relations in the council.

# 5.3 SPECIFIC FINDINGS

### 5.3 1 PERCEPTION OF IDP

The following perceptions of the IDP process were recorded:

life: way of This view is shared by the progressive forces within the council. Some officials see IDP as a paradigm shift that should pervade all aspect of life in KwaDukuza. These forces usually go an extra mile to instil the new developmental spirit within KwaDukuza TLC.

- interdepartmental co-ordination: Some officials view IDP as a mechanism for interdepartmental co-ordination. These officials argue that 'the right hand should know what the left hand is doing'. They do not see IDP as a fundamental paradigm shift, but simply a tool to enhance interdepartmental communication.
- racial integration: This view is largely held by councillors from less affluent areas. Racial integration is used in a symbolic sense to indicate service parity between former statutory and nonstatutory areas.
- spatial integration: Some officials and councillors view IDP as a mechanism for spatial restructuring in order to create one city. The opening line of the KwaDukuza vision, namely, 'moving together in harmony' is evidence of the desire to see spatial integration in the TLC.
- management tool: This view is largely held by officials in the TLC. The IDP is seen as a strategic tool at the disposal of the top management to deal with political uncertainties. It helps the management jump ahead of the political tide, thereby mediating the pace and character of development in the area.

- **old wine in new bottle:** This view is also held by some officials who see the IDP as a way of blindfolding the poor into believing in the new paradise. Without addressing the fundamental economic structural relations, these officials hold, the poor will remain poor while the rich will continue to extract surplus labour from the poor.
- way of engaging the poor in the development process: This view is largely held by councillors who view IDP as a way of bringing the poor on board into the economic life of the town. IDP in this context is seen as the institutional foundation for local economic development.
- an imposition from above: This view is held by some officials who argue that the IDP was imposed on local government by the national government without adequate research on level of preparedness on the part of the TLC to implement it. These officials are more concerned with the institutional and financial capacity of the TLC to meet the unreasonable expectations of the poor communities as the result of the IDP.
- nothing new: Officials who hold this view maintain that the concepts behind the IDP have been used before and have been just reinvented. Therefore the IDP is nothing to be excited about.

This myriad of perceptions reflects on one hand the multi-facetedness of integrated development process. On the other hand, one can read lack of common understanding about the process at hand. This can be attributed to the main actor's different backgrounds and worldview.

The different perceptions underscore the weightings respondents assign to different aspects of the development process. While most officials regard IDP as a management process, most councillors see it as an opportunity to achieve spatial, class and racial integration.

Notwithstanding the diverse perceptions of IDP, it is noteworthy that there is a common vision about the development outcome of integrated planning. revealed in the strategic planning workshop, there is the nature of society that consensus about direct emerge as а consequence of integrated development planning.

This finding is in line with Healey's (1997) collaborative planning in the sense that out of a myriad of perceptions about integrated development planning, planners have achieved consensus about the outcome of this model of planning.

# 5.3.2 LEVEL OF PREPAREDNESS

There was no uniformity with regard to the ability of the present council to rise to the challenge of integrated development planning.

A significant number of officials expressed satisfaction about their readiness to mobilise resources for the general welfare of the inhabitants of the TLC. For these officials, IDP is 'nothing terribly new'. In fact, officials argue that the council has experimented with bottom up approaches with significant successes for some time. Some councillors share this view.

However, some officials and a significant number of councillors have misgivings about the readiness of the council to 'rise to the occasion'. They cite serious capacity constraints as the main barrier to progress. There is also concern about the financial position of the council. This 'financial position' issue has received an inordinate amount of attention by the local media and, if unchecked, has the potential to derail the development process.

#### 5.3.3 POVERTY ALLEVIATION FOCUS

There seems to be consensus of opinion among both councillors and officials about the deliberate bias of integrated development planning to the needs of the poor. On probing about specific programmes to address the needs of the poor, infrastructural development

especially water provision in non-statutory areas was cited as the catalyst for local economic development.

However, this poverty alleviation focus was cause for concern among some councillors. They cited the lack of ability amongst the poor to pay for services as a 'timebomb waiting to explode'. There was serious concern about the long-term sustainability of these programmes for the poor as 'these people from non-statutory areas are not used to paying for what they get'<sup>1</sup>.

### 5.3.4 THE BUDGET

There was a general agreement that integrated development planning imposes enormous pressure on the budget. This scenario leads to attempts to supplement local revenue with outside finance. Funds have been sourced from the Regional Economic Forum as well as national and provincial ministries for various developmental initiatives.

Squabbling over procedural issues marred the first IDP budgetary allocation process. This resulted in the budget being taken to the provincial ministry for approval. However, subsequent budgets were approved without the need for provincial intervention. This marked a new chapter in the relationships between the officials and the councillors.

Personal communication with a councillor.

# 5.3.5 THE INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

There is an IMS session at least once a month. As explained previously, this session consists of heads of departments responsible for the main portfolios. There appears to be lack of common understanding about the merit of IMS.

Some officials claim not to have been in the council long enough to understand the mechanics of the system. There is evidence of some officials disregarding the IMS by introducing departmental programmes at a full council meeting without prior discussion at an IMS session.

This could signify a breakdown of communication along line of command or a serious relationship problem within the body of officials. This is an area that warrants attention by senior officials in the council.

The Habermasian (1970) argument that consensus is inherent in a communicative act seems to be standing on shaky ground as the IMS could be a source of conflict if not all participants subscribe to it, as the study indicates.

# 5.3.6 STAKEHOLDER RELATIONSHIPS<sup>2</sup>

All respondents indicated that there is a working council various relationship between the and institutions around it. However, councillors seem to value these relationships more than the officials do. the earlier concurs with finding average, look to these outside councillors, on rise structures to help the council to expectations of integrated development planning.

# 5.3.7 MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES<sup>3</sup>

Almost all respondents indicated either lack of quality management development programmes or non-attendance of management development programmes.

Reasons cited include:

#### lack of interest

Most councillors interviewed cite lack of interest in the management development programmes currently on offer as they feel that these programmes are not tailored to meet their specific concerns. feel councillors that attending the management development programmes is 'sometimes' a waste valuable time. Interestingly, most officials cite time constraints as the main reason for non-attendance to management programmes currently on offer. However, it appears that for seasoned officials, over-familiarity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This refers to the relationship between the council and outside bodies like Ilembe Regional Council, provincial and national ministries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>This refers to capacity building programmes on the part of both the

with the management programmes serves as a disincentive to attend.

# • too many programmes to chose from

Some councillors indicated that there are so many programmes 'out there' that they often wonder which one to attend. This lack of information often leads to indecision and anxiety manifested in non-attendance of management development programmes.

# · lack of incentives to attend these programmes

Lack of incentives was an issue that was raised by some councillors and some officials. Most management development programmes, respondents argue, are held in the main centres that are far from KwaDukuza, like Johannesburg, Pretoria and Durban. This distance issue causes great inconvenience for which councillors and officials feel they are not adequately rewarded.

# lack of time

Most officials and some councillors indicated that the nature of their workload and a punishing schedule often militates against attendance of management programmes. Most councillors have work commitments as a result of professional and business practices. Attending normal council meetings is a 'tall order' on its own. Attending optional management development programmes is simply a 'luxury' they cannot afford.

officials and the councillors

# • transport problems

Some few councillors mentioned that not only does attending management development impose transport problems, but there financial implications. Even when transport cost is subsidised by the council, the present financial position of the council is such that it has to cut down on 'avoidable expenditure'

# • lack of information

Sometimes, some few councillors allege, the information about management programmes does not reach of to them. They suspect that officials 'hoard' information in an effort to keep them 'uninformed' and 'easily manipulable'.

# • financial constraint

As it has been alluded to, some officials feel that the council cannot, in the long run, be expected to carry the financial cost of management development programmes. It can be concluded that in the light of financial constraint, management development programmes are not placed high on the council's agenda. While there is evidence of occasional internal management development programmes like the strategic planning workshop, there are no standard principles regarding attendance or non-attendance. The onus seems to be upon each individual official or councillor to attend any development programme that he/she deems valuable.

While there is evidence of occasional management building programmes like the annual strategic planning workshop, there are no standard principles regarding attendance or non attendance. The onus seems to be upon each individual official or councillor to attend any development programme that is deemed valuable.

#### 5.3.8 LEVEL OF TRUST IN LEADERSHIP

While officials have, by and large, faith in the leadership of the council, there are sharp divisions by councillors along party political lines about the integrity of the leadership. Some councillors feel strongly about 'hogging of leadership positions in the council by just one political party'. Accusations of 'inexperienced' leadership abound.

The appointment of exclusive African top officials is a source of great anxiety among some councillors and the present staff. There are accusations of procedures not being followed in making some of these appointments. Whether this is a case of 'sour grapes' or genuine complaint is a subject for debate.

It appears that there is lack of trust in the leadership. This issue has been sensationalised by the local press, which appears to have valuable 'contacts' from within the council.

It appears the council is strongly divided along party political lines. Whether councillors pursue the community agenda or the political agenda or both is indeed the subject for debate.

# 5.3.9 CRITIQUE OF IDP

While on the whole there is faith in the integrated development process, some serious reservations are noted. There is concern about lack of preparedness of the council, a point that has been already alluded to.

There is also concern about the time consuming nature of the process. Some officials raised concern about different interest groups within the communities who will never agree on anything. There are several, they allege 'underlying dynamics' which affect decision-making.

There is also some concern among councillors that some officials deliberately 'hoard information in an effort to dictate the pace of transformation'.

# 5.4 INTERGROUP RELATIONS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

# 5.4.1 COMMUNICATION SYSTEM

1. The most glaring inter-group differential between the council and the official is the nature of communication protocol. Officials have harnessed the integrated management system to help ensure horizontal communication between them. This has helped smooth relationships between them. Officials are more likely to be on the same wavelength about issues in the council than the councillors are.

The councillors, on the other hand, are not guided by any communication protocol or system other than 'common understanding'. There is no binding agreement to brainstorm issues, outside party political caucus. As a result, communication and subsequent relationships are strained between political parties in the council. "Common understanding' on its own cannot guarantee the smooth flow of communication. Detrimental political goal scoring is, at times, the norm.

While there is evidence of tension between the two groups of respondents, intro-group tension between councillors takes a political dimension while intra-group tension among officials is usually around procedural issues.

# 5.4.2. POWER RELATIONS

Both councillors and officials seem to be conscious of the amount of power both wield in order to make a success of integrated development planning. What emerges from the survey is a subtle power play between the two groups of respondents. Officials tend to determine the pace of development while councillors determine the character that development should take.

Given that officials have expertise and experience in areas such as development financing, budget allocation, business proposals, it is not surprising that they determine, to a large extent, how integrated development planning unfolds within the TLC.

Councillors, on the other hand, are not passive passengers in the IDP journey. They are quite vociferous about what the agenda of IDP should be. While there is evidence that power is not equitably distributed among the two groups of respondents, the growing assertiveness of councillors as they gain experience in development practice will help bring balance into the development equation.

#### 5.4.3.LEVEL OF PREPAREDNESS

One of the notable differentials between the responses of the two parties is the their perception of the level of preparedness of the TLC to rise to the expectations of IDP.

Officials are adamant that in spite of technical and human resource constraints, the TLC has the internal resources to respond positively to integrated development planning. One official clearly stated that the TLC was ready before 'IDP became fashionable'.

This contrasts sharply with the perceptions of most councillors. Councillors are extremely concerned about the lack of technical skills, human resources.

finances and visionary leadership to drive the process forward.

According to Stoker (1988) officials are driven by the locality paradigm in terms of which they are more predisposed towards protecting the image of the council. On the other hand, councillors' reservations about the ability of the council to rise to the challenges of integrated development planning could indicate their appreciation of the enormity of the developmental challenges. This reservation could also be partly attributed to the breakdown of relationships among councillors themselves as well as lack of faith in some officials.

Optimism on the part of the officials could be attributed to a vote of confidence on the systems currently in place to facilitate implementation of IDP programmes as well their sober understanding of development constraints.

# 5.4.4 CONFLICT RESOLUTION SKILLS

It became clear through participant observation that the officials and councillors had different ways of managing conflict inherent in human relationships. Officials have devised a system in terms of which internal conflict is kept within the bounds of the council. The IMS is a management strategy to deal with conflict.

As has been mentioned previously, there is no equivalent system on the part of the councillors. This has the potential to strain relationships and negatively affect the integrated development planning.

Table 2: Summary of inter-group responses

Theme	Councillors	Officials
1.Perception of IDP	spatial & racial integration	management tool
2.Levelof Preparedness	low	High
3.Poverty Alleviation Focus	high	High
4.Budget	not enough	make do with what we have
5.IMS	non existent	Existent
6.Stakeholder relationships	positive	Positive
7.Management	few, ad hoc	ad hoc
Development Programmes		
8. Level of trust in leadership	none	Low
9. Critique of IDP	none	nothing significant

# 6.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"There is a tide in the affairs of men Which when taken at the highest Leads on to fortune, Omitted All the voyages of their lives Is bound in miseries"

William Shakespeare

# 6.1 GENERAL CONCLUSION

The preceding exposition on the evolution and logic of integrated development planning reveals a planning process deeply muddled into the politics of the day. In the pre-1948 era, planning became an instrument for the spatial configuration of the South African socioeconomic environment. It was in the post-1948 era when the planning was systematically and comprehensively used to spatially fragment the socio-economic environment along racial lines. The fragmented system of institutional arrangement and spatial planning was the outcome of this particular planning paradigm.

However, economic forces largely undermined this spatial arrangement. The reliance of the economy on black cheap labour resulted in an influx of people from the unproductive reserve areas into the burgeoning urban centres. This fragmented system, at least in the form that apartheid architect envisaged, became increasingly unsustainable.

The declining economic growth, and increasing unemployment further exacerbated this volatile situation. The June 16 revolt in 1976 forced the authors of this fragmented system to go back to the

drawing room. What emerged was another round of legislation calculated to appease the dissatisfied black populace and restore confidence in the economy. This culminated in the formation of the new constitution and tricameral parliamentary system in 1983. The signalled the beginning of the reformist agenda.

The reformist agenda could not stem the loss of confidence in the economy as some investors pulled out of the country. Another round of political instability made some areas completely ungovernable.

It became apparent that a new constitutional and planning solution had to be formulated in an effort to bring about peace, security and progress in the country. Constitutional talks during the transitional period signalled took the form of a series of negotiations and compromises. Integrated development planning is the direct result of this protracted process.

While the gestation of integrated development process was protracted and traumatic, the birth was sudden and abrupt. This unpreparedness has led, at a macro level, to the unceremonious dissolution of the original government of national unity.

At a micro or municipal level, while the concept of government of national unity is still theoretically intact, there is glaring evidence of cracks on the wall. Departmental heads and other officials, accustomed to the top-down approach to planning, had,

for the first time, interface with councillors and other ordinary members of the public. Councillors, unfamiliar with the intricacies of planning, had to learn the trade quickly. A new form of tension was in the offing.

This dissertation attempted to uncover the sources of this new tension. It sought to prove the validity of the hypothesis that the integrated development planning, in its present form, fails to understand the different forms of rationalities that characterise the process.

Using Habermasian (1970) critical theory and Healey's (1997) collaborative planning as an analytical framework and KwaDukuza TLC as the case study, it becomes apparent that there is obvious tension between the two rationalities as espoused by officials and councillors.

However, it became even more apparent that the tension is not only manifested in the uneasy relations between the officials and the councillors, but even more so in the relationships between the councillors themselves. Tension between officials tends to take subtle forms as indicated by the reluctance of some officials to operate within the integrated management system.

The Habermasian critical theory (1970) and Healey's (1997) collaborative planning provide the essential starting point in uncovering the subtle forces that shape the formulation of integrated development planning in the KwaDukuza TLC . Healey would

that provides the framework, which IDP contend influences how different actors operate. At the same time, she would argue, these actors are not at the the constraining forces provided by mercv of IDP process structure. Different actors within the constitute the structural forces. They can, by changing the rules of the game or by changing the flows of resources or by changing the their frame of mind, shape the structural forces. This study provides evidence of poor people mobilising resources so as make a positive difference in the quality of their lives. There is also evidence of affluent communities mobilising resources to maintain the quality of life to which they have grown accustomed to over the years.

The tension between different actors is a reflection of on going attempts to shape these structural forces. While, ideally, consensus should be the direct outcome of these struggles as espoused by Healey's(1997) collaborative planing, the practical reality is that dissent is often the outcome. The win-win scenario of collaborative planning often fails to materialise. Thus the hypothesis that collaborative planning might offer a better alternative cannot be accepted without some qualification.

Firstly, this is because, as Allmindinger and Tewdwr-Jones (in Rydin 1998) would argue, communication does not equal consensus. Collaborative planning may discount deep-rooted differences between social actors in the IDP process. For example, the interests of informal traders and formal businesses may be so polarised that achieving consensus is an exercise in

futility. Perhaps, rather than promoting consensus as a policy goal, mutual tolerance should be the policy goal.

Secondly, the public interest argument offered planners and other council officials is often accepted without critical examination. One is inclined to concur with the result of the study by Dunleavy (1991) power over budgets and status are considerations for professionals to act in 'public interest' Tn other words, professionals' private interests are an important factor, albeit not publicly trumpeted, in the development equation.

Thirdly, planning discourse is often couched in language that makes it difficult for the less affluent to identify with. For instance, within the realms of integrated development planning, concepts like 'IDP', 'services', 'vested interests', 'development perspective' are difficult to articulate in indigenous language. These concepts, as the study shows, are differently, interpreted resulting in different perceptions about the same process. Even native English assign different interpretations speakers planning concepts, depending on their educational qualification, political affiliation, socialisation and worldview. No wonder that integrated development planing means different things to different people.

Fourthly, in our market led economy (Stoker 1988), the economic structure does influence the resource allocation process. Affluent communities have a way to shout the loudest. Alternatively they can easily act in

a manner that can frustrate integrated development planning. Not wanting to be located close to poor communities, affluent communities, through private developers, can establish their own localities in a manner that suit their desires irrespective of integrated development planning.

### 6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

# 6.2.1. Communication System

One of the areas needing critical attention is how to engender a communication system that promotes transparency, trust and subsequently good governance. The integrated management system is an attempt to do justice. However, it is unfortunate that this system or any other system does not underpin the relations among councillors.

Thus a communication system that will support the relations among councillors from across the spectrum is overdue. Such a system will ensure that the interests of the broader community override that of the political parties. Such a broader community ethos underpinned by an appropriate communication system will go a long way towards restoring the broken relationships and ensuring good governance.

This calls for a new mindset on the part of both councillors and officials. While it is accepted that this will not be an easy process, the long-term benefit of investing in a sound communication system outweigh the initial difficulty.

# 6.2.2. An IDP institute

At a macro level, an establishment of an IDP institute is recommended. This government agency will provide research, support, lobbying and counselling on integrated development planning. This 'think tank' will give strategic direction to the IDP process and help local authorities rise above current constraints.

Such a body could be part of the recently established South African Local Government Association. Provincial offices could be established in different provinces so as to emphasise the local dimension.

# 6.2.3. Change Management Strategies

The above study clearly demonstrate the futility of pursuing organisational restructuring without a commensurate change management strategy. It is clear that organisation change threaten comfort zones of many councillors and officials. This often leads, at best, to resistance to change or at worst, change for the sake of it, without any sense if direction as to where the organisation is going.

In this regard, services of an outside consultancy could be utilised in the effort to help the council confront its problems. The personnel department within the council is better positioned to take the lead in this process.

# 6.2.4. Strategic Dialogue

Officials, councillors and labour should continue to be engaged in strategic dialogue to help ease relationships. Regular strategic meetings in which all-important stakeholders participate should be a regular feature in the TLC. This will establish common ground and working relationship necessary for the sustenance of integrated development planning.

It therefore follows that integrated development planning is necessary, but not sufficient to transform and reconstruct South African society.

### 6.2.5 The IDP Consultative Forum

It is noteworthy that while the IDP seeks to foster a common identity among the KwaDukuza citizenry, there are no opportunities for these communities to come together to discuss matters of common interests. Communities still operate in isolation of each other and as a result, there is suspicion among them.

What needs to be looked into is a forum involving community-based organisations (CBO) which meet on a regular basis to trash out common problems. While it is accepted that there is some degree of animosity among different communities as evidenced by relations between councillors, no effort should be spared to build bridges between communities. An IDP consultative forum might be a useful start.

# 6.2.4 Soft Technology

One wishes to concur with Stoker (1988) when he emphasises the importance of "soft technology" as opposed to "hard technology". By soft technology, Stoker (1988) raises the point that we tend to equate development with tangibles like roads, housing and infrastructure. Nothing could be further from the truth as intangibles like training, critical awakening or consciousness, self-reliance are equally important in the development process.

Soft technology helps communities achieve total emancipation as evinced in critical theory. This will help overcome the sense of ignorance, powerlessness and a victimhood mentality. True development is not about provision of tangibles, but is about helping communities discover who they are in the great scheme of things.

Integrated development planning affords the opportunity re-examine and question our perception development and the way we do things. It is certainly not the panacea for the socio-economic ills from which South Africa suffers. However, it is a useful point of departure towards achieving the ideals reconstruction and development. The KwaDukuza experience helps us realize the danger of being over optimistic about this process. Indeed, integrated development is necessary, but not sufficient, to usher this country with its unique history into the new era.

### 6.3 OTHER CHALLENGES FOR KWADUKUZA

The present limited economic base of KwaDukuza is cause for concern. It is thus important that integrated development planning should ultimately lead to a well thought out local development programme help give meaning to this process. It is pleasing to note that some spadework is being done in this regard. However this process should gain enough momentum to help realise the ideal KwaDukuza vision. The potential of KwaDukuza as major cultural tourist centre needs further exploration.

There should be a deliberate attempt to bring members of the African community to assume a new role in the local economy as producers and distributors of goods and services, as opposed to mere consumers of services. Their continued lack of economic voice makes a mockery of the democratic process.

# 6.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The study conducted aimed at exploring the institutional relationships between councillors and officials within the context of integrated development planning. The essence is to gain deep insights into the phenomenon through interviews with a survey of people who are at the coalface of institutional restructuring within the local government sphere.

The qualitative data collected does not provide clear, absolute answers, but rather suggests developing trends within the domain of interest. Issues that have been

raised during the research process that warrant further investigations include:

- Integrated Development Planning and Traditional Structures.
- Integrated Development Planning. 'Old wine in new bottle' or a fundamental paradigm shift?
- The critique of integrated development planning
- The economic dynamics and limits to integrated development planning

# Glossary of Acronyms

TLC

ANC African National Congress BESG Built Environment Support group CBO Community Based Organisation CDC Centre for Development Studies DAG Development Action Group DCD Department of Constitutional Development DFA Development Facilitation Act FEDP Forum for Effective Planning and Development GCDF Groutville Community Development Forum IDF Integrated Development Framework IMS Integrated Management System IDP Integrated Development Plan LDO Land Development Objectives LGNF Local Government Negotiating Forum LOGOPOP Local Government & Planning Research Programme NHF National Housing Forum NGO Non Government Organisation RDP Reconstruction and Development Programme SACP South African Communist Party SWOT Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats

Transitional Local Authority

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# 7.1 APPENDICES

# 7.1.1 List of Interviewees

1. Steve BarrisfordChief Director, Land Affairs
2. Brian MarrianDirector, Dept of
Constitutional Development
3. Prof. Alan MbabaneWits
4. Rebotile TshehlaPlanact
5. Jabu MarumoPlanact
6. Helena JacobsChief Town Planner
7. Brian BurnsChief Executive Officer
8. Mduduzi ZunguDeputy CEO
9. Jogie Naidoo
10.Mawethu MawezaRDP & Housing Officer
11.Siyanda MhlongoMayor(now Councillor)
12.Yunus MoolaDeputy Mayor(now Councillor)
13.Sdu GumedeCouncillor (now Mayor)
14.P.R. MoodleyCouncillor
15.Gavin WesselsCouncillor
16.Sihle PhakathiCommunity Development
Facilitator

# 7.1.2

# QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE COUNCILLORS

# (A ZULU VERSION WILL ALSO BE PREPARED)

- 1. What are your general impressions of integrated development planning?
- 2. What is your assessment of the level of preparedness for the council to meet the challenges of IDP?
- 3. When you were called to make comments on the plan, what input did you make?
- 4. Do you think your comments were taken into account?
- 5. In what way does IDP address the specific concerns of your constituency?
- 6. In what way does IDP fail to address the specific concerns of your constituency?
- 7. Tell me about your involvement in budget allocation process?
- 8. To what extent is it a worthwhile exercise?
- 9. How could your role in the budgeting process be enhanced and made more effective?
- 10. Tell me about the integrated management system as it appears in the IDF plan?
- 11. To what extent can it sustain the IDP?
- 12. How would you describe the relationship between yourself and the local officials?
- 13. How can it be improved?
- 14. Have you ever felt ignored in the IDP consultation process. Elaborate?
- 15. What is your ideal vision for KwaDukuza?
- 16. To what extent do you think that the IDP is the appropriate vehicle to propel KwaDukuza into the desired future?

- 17. What aspects of the plan would you change? WHY?
- 18. Have you participated in a formal capacity building programme?
- 19. To what extent was it useful?
- 20. What kind(s) of expertise would you like to build in the near future to make the IDP process work?
- 21. How will such expertise help make the IDP work?
- 22. What kind(s) of expertise do you think council officials need to build in an effort to make the IDP work?
- 23. How will such expertise facilitate the IDP process?
- 24. How would you sum up your specific concerns of the IDP process?
- 25. How would you describe the relationship between the councillors and
- the Ilembe Regional Council
- the provincial government
- the national government

# **OUESTIONNAIRE FOR OFFICIALS**

- 1. What are your general impressions of integrated development planning?
- 2. What is your assessment of the level of preparedness for the council to meet the challenges of IDP?
- 3. In your opinion, what can be done to sensitise the council to the needs of IDP?
- 4. In what way does IDP address the specific concerns of the poor?
- 5. In what way does it fail to address the specific concerns of the poor?
- 6. Tell me about your involvement in budgetary allocation process?
- 7. To what extent was it a worthwhile exercise?
- 8. How could your role as an official be enhanced and made more effective so as to enable the IDP to work?
- 9. Tell me about the integrated management system?
- 10. How would you describe the relationship between yourself and the local councillors?
- 11. How can it be improved?
- 12. How would you describe the relationship between yourself and
- the Ilembe regional council?
- the provincial government?
- the national government?
- 13. What is your ideal vision for KwaDukuza?
- 14. To what extent do you think that the IDP is the appropriate vehicle to propel KwaDukuza into the desired future? Elaborate.
- 15. What aspects of the plan would you change or are not adequately addressed?

  WHY?

- 16. Have you participated in a formal capacity building programme to improve your understanding of the specific concerns of councillors? Explain.
- 17. To what extent was it useful?
- 18. What kind(s) of expertise would you, as council officials like to build in the near future to help make the IDP work?
- 19. How will such expertise help the IDP work?
- 20. What kind(s) of expertise do you think local councillors officials need to build in an effort to make the IDP work?
- 21. How will such expertise facilitate the IDP process?

# 7.1.4

# OUESTIONNAIRE FOR CONSULTANTS

- 1. What is your understanding of IDP?
- 2. How is the IDP prepared?
- 3.To what extent are councillors/officials prepared for the challenges of IDP?
- 4. What input(s) from the councillors were incorporated into integrated development planning?
- 5. What input(s) from officials were incorporated in the IDP?
- 6. What kind of practical problems did you anticipate in the implementation of the plan?
- 7. How did you envisage those problems to be addressed?
- 8. In what way does the plan address the specific concerns of the poor?
- 9. What is the thinking behind the integrated management system?
- 10. How would you describe the relationship between officials and local councillors?
- 11. What factors could possibly threaten this relationship?
- 12. What factors could help this relationship grow?
- 13. To what extent do you think that the IDP is the appropriate vehicle to propel KwaDukuza into the desired future? Elaborate.
- 14. What kind(s) of expertise do you think council officials need to build to make the IDP work?
- 15. How will such expertise facilitate IDP process?
- 16. What kind(s) of expertise do you think local councillors officials need to build to make the IDP work?
- 17. How will such expertise facilitate the IDP process?
- 18. How will the success of the IDP be measured?

- 19. What are the limits of the IDP?
- 20. Any additional comment/concerns about the IDP

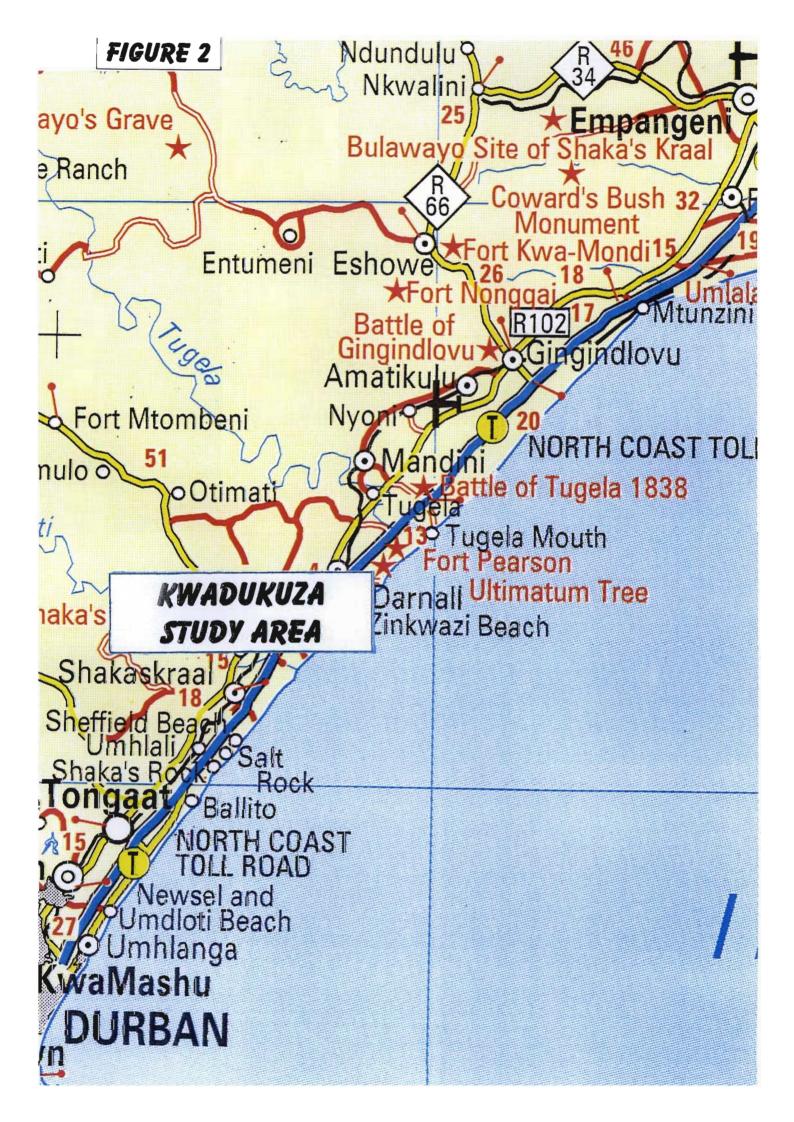
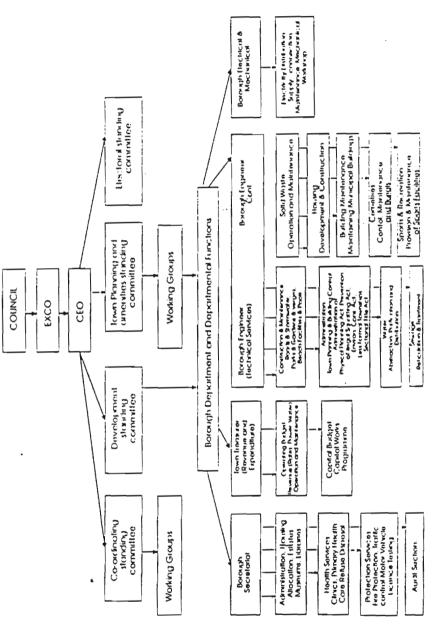




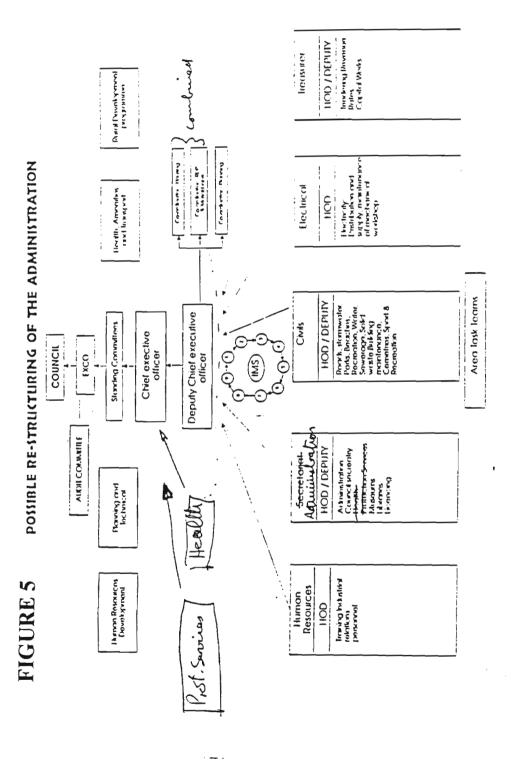
FIGURE 4 CURRENT TLC STRUCTURES AND FUNCTIONS (SEPTEMBER 1996)





KWADUKUZA INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK PLAN





# KWADLIKITA INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK PLAN



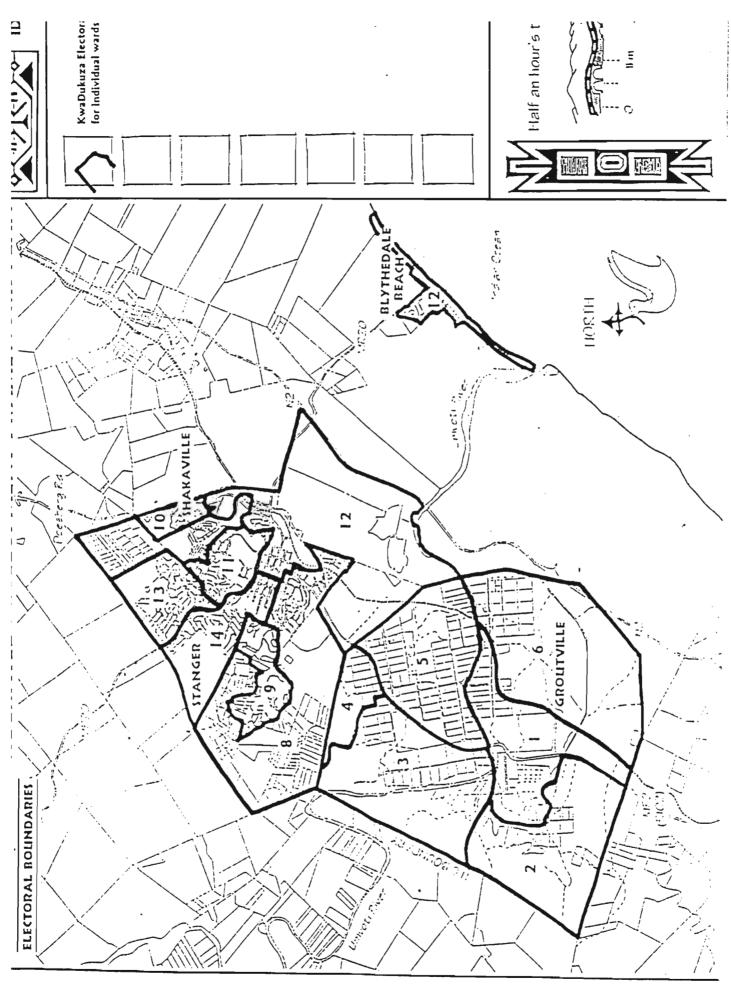


FIGURE 6