INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Strategies, Planning and Assessment Programme

Environmental Planning Issues No. 22, December 2000

Rural Planning in South Africa: A Case Study

By

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A Report to the UK Department for International Development
(Research contract: R72510

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ISBN: 1 899825 75 4

NOTE

This manuscript was completed in November 1999. It has not been possible to include any updates to the text to reflect any changes that might have occurred in terms of legislation, institutional arrangements and key issues.

RURAL PLANNING REPORTS

This report is one of a suite of four prepared for a study of rural planning experience globally, and published by IIED in its Environmental Planning Issues series:

Botchie G. (2000) *Rural District Planning in Ghana: A Case Study*. Environmental Planning Issues No. 21,
International Institute for Environment and Development, London

Dalal-Clayton, D.B., Dent D.L. and Dubois O. (1999): *Rural Planning in the Developing World with a Special Focus on Natural Resources: Lessons Learned and Potential Contributions to Sustainable Livelihoods: An Overview*. Report to UK Department for International Development. Environmental Planning Issues No.20, IIED, London

Khanya-mrc (2000) *Rural planning in South Africa*: A case study. A report prepared by Khanya – managing rural change, Bloemfontein. Environmental Planning Issues No. 22, International Institute for Environment and Development, London

PlanAfric (2000) *Rural planning in Zimbabwe: A case study*. A report prepared by PlanAfric, Bulawayo. Environmental Planning Issues No. 23, International Institute for Environment and Development, London

CONTENTS

Tables

Figures

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
BLA	Black Local Authorities
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CSIR	Centre for Science and Industrial Research
DC	District Council
DCD	Department of Constitutional Development
DCP	Development and Planning Commission
DFA	Development Facilitation Act
DoA	Department of Agriculture
DFID	Department of International Development
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
FS	Free State
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy
GIS	Geographic Information System
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit
IIED	International Institute for the Environment and Development
IDP	Integrated Development Planning
LDO	Land Development Objectives
LED	Local Economic Development
LGTA	Local Government Transitional Act
MDC	Maputo Development Corridor
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
NAFU	National African Farmers' Union
NGOs	Non-government Organisations
NHS	National Health System
NP	National Party
PTO	Permission to Occupy
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSCs	Regional Services Councils
SAAU	South African Agricultural Union
SDIs	Spatial Development Initiatives
SMME's	Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprises
SL	Sustainable livelihoods
SRL	Sustainable Rural Livelihoods
TLC	Transitional Local Council
TRC	Transitional Rural Council

RURAL PLANNING IN SOUTH AFRICA

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The aim of this country study is to provide a detailed review and critical analysis of rural planning in South Africa, covering past and current systems and practices, methodological approaches and institutional frameworks. The Free State province was selected as the focal point of the study, looking at provincial and local government. The sustainable livelihood approach has been used as a framework of analysis. This approach focuses on the assets of people, vulnerabilities under which they live and the institutional structures and processes that influence them. People decide on their own outcomes and strategies to cope with their lives.

One problem is that the concept of 'rural' has many different interpretations in South Africa, which leads to confusion between planners, policy makers and implementers.

South African context

The institutional framework prior to 1994 was fragmented with unequal allocation of resources, strict control and policing to enforce legislation, all to favour the whites in a heavily segregated society. A three-tier system of government was installed after 1994 in support of a democratic society where people have equal rights.

The Constitution of 1996 and the Reconstruction and Development Programme embedded democracy, sustainable development and improved quality of life for all South Africans. The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) programme was adopted as the macro-economic framework, while the Development Facilitation Act of 1995 and the White Paper on Local Government of 1997 provided the guidelines to ensure integrated development planning and delivery at local government level.

Development planning

The Directorate of Land Development Facilitation in the Department of Land Affairs is responsible for guiding the implementation of the Development Facilitation Act (DFA). The DFA consists of a number of different elements for which the responsibility is shared between all three spheres of government. The most important element is the setting of Land Development Objectives (LDOs) which provide a negotiated five-year development plan for all local authorities and District Councils.

The Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) (209 of 1993) as amended (97 of 1996) compels municipalities to develop negotiated Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) for their respective areas of authority. The Departments of Constitutional Development and Land Affairs have established that local and rural governments and district councils will develop separate integrated developmental plans, following one common process that meets both the requirements of the Development Facilitation Act or DFA (67 of 1995) and the LGTA.

Land Development Objectives (LDOs) are short- and medium-term negotiated development plans which will allow a municipal area to achieve a 25-year vision, and these plans must be revisited every year. The process

includes:

- Visioning and identifying of priority areas
- Development framework and status quo
- Development objectives, strategies and plans

Integrated development planning is focussed within the municipality as an organisation. It consists of three elements:

- Restructuring of the organisation to deliver the LDOs
- Transformation of the budget to achieve the LDOs
- A communication plan between the council, municipality and residents.

The performance of the municipality will be monitored and evaluated against the objectives set in the LDO.

The Free State government has developed the provincial *Development Planning Framework 1998/99* as the lead document for reconstruction, growth and development. The framework must initiate the process of co-ordinated development planning leading to continued social and economic upliftment of the citizens of the Free State. In addition an Integrated Rural Development Framework has been developed, and a Poverty Eradication Strategy is being finalised.

The District Council (DC) consists of representatives from all the Transitional Rural Councils (TRCs) and Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) in its area. District Councils' main income is from levies paid by businesses, but also from interest from investments, a fuel levy and various subsidies from Eskom and government departments. The function of the DC is developing and expanding according to needs that keep on developing in the different areas. The role of the DCs is currently expanding and all funds for rural infrastructure will probably be consolidated in District Councils in future.

The Local Government White Paper established the characteristics of developmental local government: TRCs' areas of jurisdiction are outside towns and cities. They are dependent on the DCs for finances and administrative support. On the whole they are weak. TLCs' areas of jurisdiction are the towns and cities. They have a tax base and provide services to residents. Many TLCs struggle to survive financially but also to be accepted by their constituencies. Users of services either do not want to pay or cannot pay. The TLCs often do not have the political will to enforce payment.

All local government institutions must set LDOs and integrated development plans (IDPs) for their areas of jurisdiction. The process is new and all role players are inexperienced in moving to a normative-based planning approach after functioning for years in a control-orientated planning paradigm. There are nearly no NGOs left in the Free State to support the process. In general, it is town planning consultants that are driving the LDO planning process and this makes the move to the new approach very difficult.

Another approach to planning is that of Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs). These are short-term investment strategies that aims to unlock inherent economic potential in specific locations.

Spatial planning

At present, spatial planning has no departmental home. The Department of Land Affairs plays a central role at this stage around spatial planning issues, like maintaining mapping and survey systems. At provincial level, the Directorate of Spatial Planning is responsible for control. The spatial planning processes are complex, expensive, time-consuming and strictly controlled. The Green Paper on Development and Planning proposes a

new normative-based approach that will transform the spatial planning field substantially. The principles of the Development Facilitation Act provide the framework for the new approach.

Sectoral planning

Planning in sectoral government departments for service delivery can be divided into three types:

- National departments make the policies and plans in collaboration with the relevant provincial departments which implement the plans after consultation with decentralised structures e.g. Departments of Education, Welfare and Health. The inputs from the clients may be made on policy level, but no input is usually made at the planning level.

- In areas of shared competence, national departments make policies and develop programmes, but the relevant provincial departments can choose to make use of the programmes, as long as services are within the national policy framework, e.g. Departments of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs. For example the Free State Department of Agriculture has identified their clients and listened to the needs of their clients before they developed programmes. On the other hand, the Department of Environmental Affairs is guided by national policies but 'nature' is still considered as their client. Therefore, in the case of provincial and national departments, little planning with the people of the Free State really takes place.

- National departments with provincial offices develop policies and programmes nationally which are implemented by provincial offices. These programmes can be influenced by the clients, but changes will be planned by the national departments in consultation with the provincial offices. Examples are the Departments of Land Affairs and Water Affairs and Forestry.

Legally-prescribed sectoral planning systems are water services plans, land transport plans, environmental implementation plans, environmental management plans and water catchment management plans. These sectoral planning systems can jeopardise the integrated development planning efforts in favour of separate plans controlled by separate institutions.

Rural planning in practice – case studies

Planning regulations applied during the apartheid era led to racially-divided towns with the African townships usually hidden out of sight behind some barrier. The difference between the 'towns' is striking and will take a long time to eradicate. The small rural town of Wepener illustrates how difficult it is to use the Development Facilitation Act principles as guidelines in spatial planning. The relationships between elected leaders and the residents are strained due to lack of experience, high expectations and conflicts amongst leaders. The Stutterheim case study illustrates that local economic development planning is not easy to implement, despite previous brave attempts. Service provision still favours the handful of whites while the outlying villages are neglected. Parys in the northern Free State is a town of more than 70 000 residents, servicing the surrounding areas up to 30 km around the town. Providing residential erven[1] is a major challenge because of a lack of funds and the slow expensive process required to do so.

The jurisdiction area of the Maluti Transitional Council is large and stretched out, making it impossible for elected leaders without transport to support their constituencies. The administrative base of the TRC is outside the boundaries of the TRC area. The TRC have very little funding and no staff. The area will be far better managed when broken up into smaller pieces and amalgamated with nearby towns.

[1] Erven: A piece of land registered for residence with an individual title attached to it - often no more than a site with a shack or house on it.

The Maputo Development Corridor has achieved most of its objectives in an impressive way. However, the surrounding rural communities have little prospect of benefiting from this scheme because most of the jobs and opportunities land in the hands of the rich and educated.

Cross-cutting planning issues

Eleven cross-cutting issues have been identified.

- *Strategic approaches* are starting at local level with the planning of land development objectives (LDOs) – however there are many weaknesses still with the system
- *Partnership approaches* are weak, and in practice planning still tends to be government focused
- *Rural-urban links* are very real, but hardly recognised by the planning system at local level, where rural authorities and small urban authorities are planning separately. Amalgamation of local governments may help resolve this, where larger authorities are likely to include the rural areas between them
- *Participation* in planning has been entrenched with the DFA/LDO planning process, and is also recognised in departmental attempts to establish local forums. However both of these are weak, and need strengthening
- *The myth of community* – the community is composed of diverse groups, which the SRL approach recognises – planning does not take sufficient account of this
- *Linkages between spheres of government* – there are linkages between provincial and local government, although these are not strong enough at local level.
- *Role of donors* - some donors are active in the provincial governments, either working with individual departments or sometimes with planning functions. Both GTZ and DFID have programmes relating to planning, GTZ with a District Development Planning support programme, and DFID with local government. USAID also has a municipality support programme.
- *Institutional sustainability of systems and practices* – the LDO process is getting well-established. It is not

Recommendations for sustainable livelihood-based planning

Planning around people

The advent of legitimate local government provides the opportunity for community-based planning systems. There is significant work to be done to clarify their role and strengthen their capacity. The LDO process provides an opportunity to integrate planning for poverty eradication into local plans. However there is still a need to link local government with the people, through local, perhaps ward, planning, communication mechanisms, and the use of locally accountable forums for sectoral departments.

Changing institutional processes at national and provincial level

There is a need for national government to take a more strategic role, decentralising with budget what it can, and providing ultimate control functions. Provincial government also needs to decentralise functions to local government where possible, and should investigate deconcentration to field units at local authority level, particularly as new larger amalgamated authorities emerge. Provincial government needs to support planning and capacity-building at local level, and provide appropriate guidance and technical support.

Mainstreaming the environment and holistic approaches

The SRL approach explicitly incorporates the environment as covering all natural resources. Planners have to understand the role natural resources play in people's lives.

Trade-offs between short-term and long-term impacts

There is considerable pressure for provision of bulk infrastructure. Care must be taken that this is sustainable, in terms of availability of resources, such as water, and ability to pay.

PART 1

INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the study

The aim of this country study is to provide a detailed review and critical analysis of rural planning in South Africa, covering past and current systems and practices, methodological approaches and institutional frameworks. The Free State province has been selected as the focal point of the study. This study is one of three other country studies of rural planning in Africa being undertaken for the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED); the others being Zimbabwe (PlanAfric 2000) and Ghana (Botchie 2000). All three country case studies are intended as stand-alone pieces of work but at the same time will form part of the wider work contributing to the United Kingdom's Department of International Development (DFID) Sustainable Rural Livelihoods (SRL) Theme. The purpose of the country studies is to 'draw lessons and principles from experience and practice.'

The broader study on rural planning is being undertaken by IIED for DFID and seeks to 'undertake research to identify the key principles of strategic and partnership approaches to planning the development of rural areas from a sustainable livelihoods perspective' (Dalal-Clayton *et al.* 2000).

1.2 Methodology

A literature review of current approaches to development, spatial and sectoral planning in South Africa was undertaken. An overview of donor activities was prepared through visits to international donors and through scanning of reports to the Free State provincial government. Officials from most of the government departments in the Free State were interviewed to establish the planning approaches and services to rural areas. Case studies that represented small- and medium-sized towns, a Bantustan area and a commercial farming area were researched to identify cross-cutting issues.

The report is structured into four parts. Part One gives background on the study and clarifies key concepts within the South African context. Part Two focuses on evolving practices, systems and methodologies in the areas of development, spatial and sectoral planning. Part Three looks at rural planning in practice by focusing on small and large rural towns, a commercial farming area, a Bantustan and a national spatial development initiative. Cross-cutting issues and impacts on livelihoods are discussed leading to lessons and principles in Part Four.

1.3 Introduction to sustainable livelihoods

The sustainable livelihoods framework is being used internationally as a way of looking at how to respond to the needs of poor people.

> *A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with*

and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base. (Carney, 1998)

The different elements in the framework (summarised in Figure 1) are:

- *Context* which exists in
- *Assets* - access to which, is critically influenced by
- *Policies and institutions* - which also serve to influence the
- *Strategies* - which people adopt in pursuit of livelihoods and eventual
- *Poverty elimination*.

Using the concept of assets and vulnerabilities

Poor people can be seen as having not just needs but also resources or assets. This provides a much more respectful and positive framework for dealing with them. The five types of assets in this model are shown in Box 1.

Box 1: Different types of capital or assets

- **Natural capital** - The natural resource stocks from which resources are derived which are useful for livelihoods (e.g. land, water, wildlife, bio-diversity, environmental resources).
- **Social capital** - The social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust, access to wider institutions of society) from which people draw, in pursuit of livelihoods.
- **Human capital** - The skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health important to the ability to pursue different livelihood strategies.
- **Physical capital** - The basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy and communications) and the production equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods.
- **Financial capital** - The financial resources which are available to people (whether dowry (*lobola*), savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances or pensions) and which provide them with different livelihood options.

Poor people are vulnerable to a range of challenges, and reducing vulnerability may be a higher priority than increasing production (or the quantity of their assets). Therefore, when planning, it is very important to consider the priority attached by people to reducing vulnerability, it may well force trade-offs in other objectives (such as maximising production).

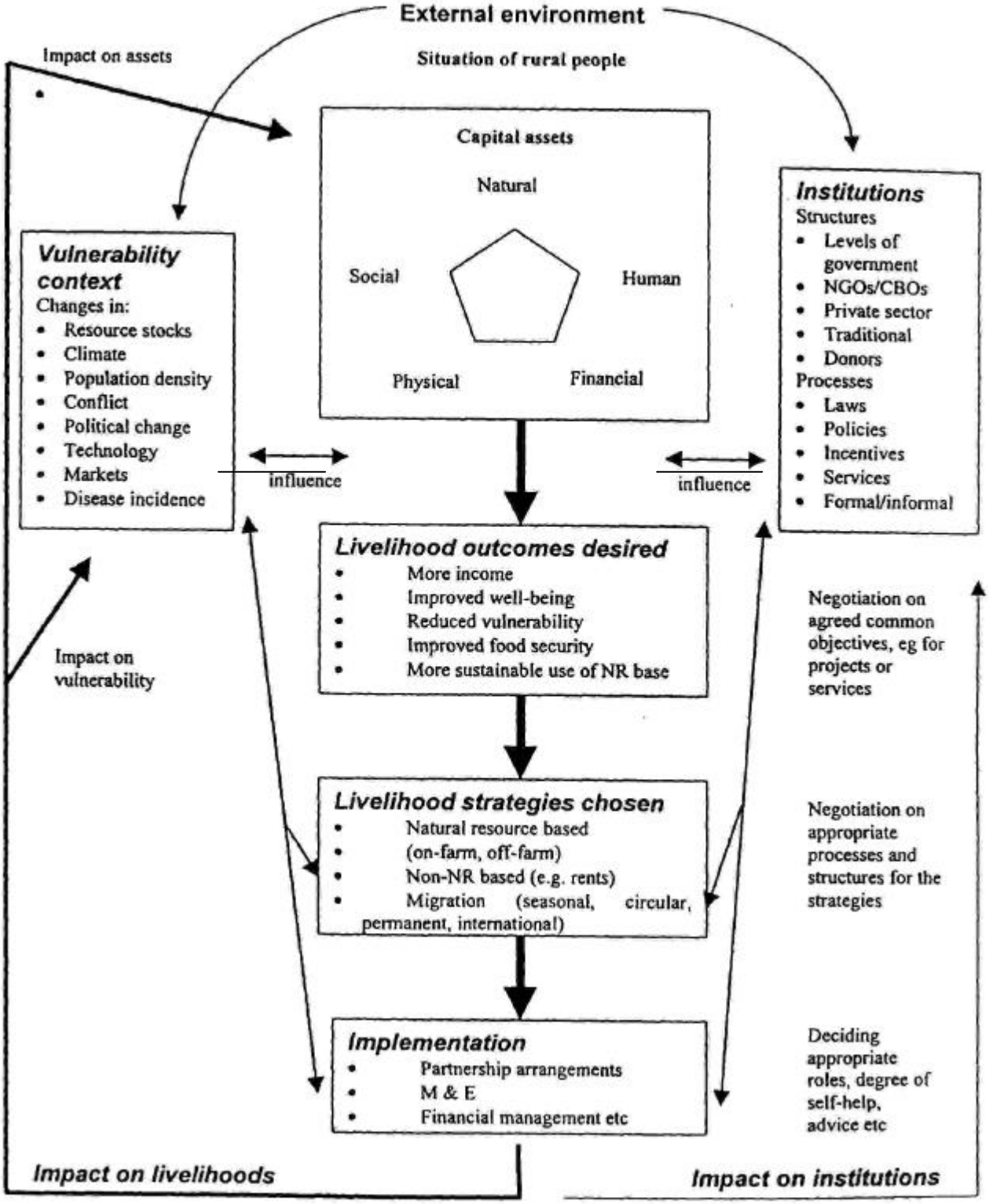
Institutional structures and processes

A variety of organisations provide services to poor people, and both people and organisations operate within a set of laws and policies or processes. These define the options available to people, both in terms of resources available, rules of the game, and services that may be available.

Livelihood outcomes

Poor people have their own views about what they aspire to. It is important that planners do not impose outcomes, but rather facilitate a process of negotiation with communities to find out what their aspirations are, and what may be achievable outcomes bearing in mind the external resources that government and other

Figure 1: SUSTAINABLE RURAL LIVELIHOOD FRAMEWORK[1]



[1] Adapted from Carney, 1998.

agencies may be able to provide. Participatory appraisals can provide tools for finding out what their desired outcomes are, e.g. increased assets, reduced vulnerability or higher order concerns such as self-esteem, happiness, etc.

Livelihood strategies

Based on their awareness of the above, poor people adopt strategies to cope with their lives. One of the most important things development can do is increase the options and choices people have, and this increases the power they have over their lives. This means the planner becoming an enabler. The key strategies in a rural context can be categorised as on-farm, off-farm or migration.

Applying the framework

Some of the issues to be looked at are:

- Assets – do we understand the resources, not just needs, that different clients have; and how is this information gathered in terms of a planning system, rather than ad-hoc PRA[2]s. How can we understand the holistic nature of people's lives?

- Outcomes - how do different clients' priorities vary? How should these be ascertained in a systematic way?

- Livelihood strategies – in the light of the previous two issues, what are appropriate livelihood strategies that are likely to achieve the outcomes that poor people desires. What does this mean for programmes?

- Institutions and processes – what are appropriate institutional structures that can address this holistic people-centred approach?

Implications of using a poverty-focused sustainable livelihood approach

Some of the implications of using this approach are:

- It starts with poor people as the focus, their assets, their needs and their vulnerabilities, not from the point of organisations and how they are currently structured.

- However, it recognises the critical nature of the institutions in deciding the environment within which people live, and the external services and resources available to them. This means they may have to be rethought to respond effectively to poor people.

- It mainstreams the environment as a fundamental part of people's assets.

- It requires that those people/institutions seeking to intervene in order to support poor people should undertake some social and livelihood analysis to understand their potential clients and their differences in some detail, as a basis for an effective partnership with them.

[2] Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRAs), similar to Participatory Learning for Action (PLA)

- If interveners are to enter a partnership with their clients, there are different roles they can play: as facilitator, animator or just as service provider.

- We need to learn to listen to those with whom we work and learn about their situation and their objectives. But we must also recognise that there may be trade-offs that need to be faced between short-term and local objectives (e.g. cutting trees for income) and wider and longer-term objectives (e.g. maintaining vegetation to protect stream catchments). This requires an effective dialogue between local people who have detailed knowledge of their environment and situation, and outside organisations with external resources and knowledge.

- Longer term commitments will be required to ensure that support delivers long-term and sustained benefits, while political priorities often demand short-term impacts.

- Work is required at both the local level with clients - to understand their situation and priorities; and at the institutional level - to change policies and structures to make them effective in serving the poor.

1.4 Clarifying terminology

In order to clarify the South African context of the study, it is necessary to define 'rural' and 'planning'.

Rural

Until 1995, 'rural' was defined as all households not living in formally declared towns. In apartheid South Africa, many areas defined as rural were, in reality, urban areas without services. In the era after apartheid, 'rural' is defined as the sparsely populated areas in which people farm or depend on natural resources, including villages and small towns dispersed through these areas[3]. The Free State has adopted this concept. However, a problem with this definition is that many households fall into both urban and rural categories as they derive their income from a range of sources, including migrant labour to towns[4].

However, during interviews, different definitions of 'rural' were provided by service providers in the Free State:

- The commercial farming area outside urban municipalities, independent of the size of the latter;
- Areas where people still live in villages in traditional systems, e.g. Thaba 'Nchu and QwaQwa;
- All areas beyond municipal boundaries are considered to be rural. This would, therefore, mostly include farm land;
- Small towns and their hinterlands where the economic base is mostly agriculture-related;
- Places where people grow what they eat, e.g. commonages and back yards;
- Areas not having an agricultural context but not close enough to services or isolated from large cities;
- The whole of the Free State.

These varying interpretations of 'rural' contribute to the confusion and lack of a single approach to rural planning in the Free State.

Planning

Planning is an action regarding the allocation of resources. Klein and Mabin (1998) point out that, in the

[3] Free State Integrated Rural Development Framework, Discussion Document 1999
[4] National Rural Development Framework, 1997

current South African context, planning has to include a 'social equity' component, given the inequities of the past. They argue that the emphasis of (district) planning needs to be on *planning* (the verb) and not on *the plan* (the noun). The planning process approach can have goals like acquisition of knowledge and perspectives as well as skills on the part of those who plan, which may influence the course of development as much as any plan-product.

Planning is a process of determining goals and designing means by which those goals may be achieved (Chadwick 1971, p127). The planner should have an expectation of what the environment for which planning is undertaken, should look like.

2 SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

2.1 The institutional framework prior to 1994

The national government led by the National Party (NP) provided the policies and machinery to implement apartheid. Well-known Acts like those restricting the free movement of black people, preventing marriage between Blacks and Whites or the establishment of self-governing homelands, and barring Africans from owning land in 'White' areas, all supported a framework within which apartheid planning took place. These Acts were strictly enforced through the courts and brutally supported by the police and army.

The government system pre-1994 was fragmented with 30 central departments, four provincial administrations, three racially-based 'own-affairs' administrations, four so-called ethnic homelands, and six self-governing territories (Skweyiya and Vil-Nkomo 1995).

The homelands and self-governing territories were physically spread out and split into pieces to bring the members of one ethnic group under one administrative system. Although the self-governing territories had legislative and executive powers, they could not free themselves from the National Party Government's philosophy of apartheid[5] and economy. The economies of the self-governing areas were stimulated with lucrative incentives to industries to establish themselves on the borders of these areas. Part of this decentralisation policy was to lure industrialists from Taiwan to bring all their equipment and to subsidise the salaries of the workers. Most of the time the subsidies they received for wages were more than the real wages paid out to workers. Abuses like these led to the growth of alternative community-based structures such as SANCO which eventually made the areas ungovernable. It also initiated alternative administrative systems to counter the homeland leadership as well as the traditional authorities.

The areas of the country outside the homelands and self-governing territories were governed by three 'own-affairs' administrations – separate systems for Whites, Coloureds and Indians. The country was divided into four provinces, each with an administration and a provincial council with very limited powers. The four provincial governments were 'White only affairs' institutions, responsible for health, education, welfare and other services for whites. No equivalents existed for Blacks, Coloureds or Indians. Apartheid policies led to expensive, distorted and separate services like separate schools, hospitals and welfare services. This separation was so rigidly implemented that South Africa had eighteen Departments of Education in 1994!

Black people fell under the administration of the Department of Bantu Affairs, which later became the Department of Co-operation and Development (DCD). This department acted as a 'State within a State', since it was intended to administer all aspects of black people's lives, from the cradle to the grave.

[5] See Thaba 'Nchu Case Study in Part 3: Case Studies

The implementation agents were Bantu Affairs Administration Boards which were primarily responsible for influx control, Black people's housing, township management and planning, and various aspects of social legislation. These boards were all-powerful, dictatorial bodies, and there could be virtually no appeal against their decisions.

After 1983, Coloured and Indian people fell under the authority of two Houses of Parliament: the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates respectively. These Houses were officially equal in status to the (White) House of Assembly. However, since 'general affairs' topics were decided by collective decisions in which the voting ratio was 4:2:1 for Whites : Coloureds : Indians, it means that non-Whites were always outvoted.

Whites were governed by democratically elected local governments, whose jurisdiction invariably included the business sector of the towns. This provided a valuable rates base, which was spent primarily on White areas. Coloured and Indian communities had their own representative structures, subservient to the local authorities. The NP Government consistently applied pressure on these representative committees to become autonomous. This was generally resisted, since the Coloured and Indian communities would then lose whatever little claim they had on the business sector rates base.

Black people were governed by Black Local Authorities (BLAs) which had no claim whatsoever on the business rates base. The BLAs had to cover their expenses from the house rentals paid by Black residents. This starvation of funds was primarily the reason for the popular hostility towards the BLAs, and their communities increasingly rejecting the councillors. This was made worse by the fact that BLAs were intended to co-operate in the enforcement of unpopular legislation, such as influx control and regulations against squatting.

Regional Services Councils (RSCs) were the first measures introduced by the Nationalist Party government which acknowledged that Black townships could not afford their own infrastructure. RSCs derived their income from levies on business, and had a mandate to spend the money 'where the need was greatest'. RSCs were generally very successful, since local White elites realised that the stability of the townships was critically dependent on resources being provided to Black townships. The RSCs can be seen as the first radically redistributive agencies (from White to Black) to appear since the 1920s. Despite the good work of the RSCs, they were hampered by the fact that Black communities represented on them came from the unpopular BLAs. Many civic activities therefore were rightly regarded as a means by which BLAs could be propped up. However, the redistributive legacy of the RSCs survived the 1994 election and is now continued by the district councils.

Spatial or physical planning had been the major planning instrument to ensure separate development outside the self-governing areas. Legislation and regulations ensured that different groups were segregated into different residential and business areas - often separated by an industrial area, road, railway or large open fields. Strict controls over the separation of business and residential areas were adhered to in the White areas, while small businesses were established 'illegally' in the residential areas. Large businesses never developed in the townships. People were therefore forced to travel long distances to places of work.

2.2 The institutional framework since 1994

A three-tier system of governance has been accepted in the new constitution (Box 2). The first tier is the parliament with proportional representation. The national executive authority comprises a President, executive Deputy Presidents and cabinet ministers, the latter being responsible for national departments.

The second tier of governance is the nine provinces, each with a legislator, a premier and executive council.

Each member of the executive council (MEC) is responsible for a portfolio that has been promulgated to the provinces. These provincial functions are: agriculture, education, economic affairs, environmental affairs, health, local government, housing, public works, roads, transport, safety and security, social welfare, tourism, sports, culture, science and technology.

The third tier of governance is the local authorities consisting of metropolitan, rural, local and district councils. The district councils play a supportive role to the local and rural councils when the latter do not

Box 2: The South African Constitution on the planning framework of local governance

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) provides the planning framework to local governments, to:

- Provide democratic and accountable government for all communities;
- Ensure the provision of services in a sustainable way;
- Promote social and economic development;
- Promote a safe and healthy environment;
- Encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

have the capacity to handle their responsibilities. The metropolitan councils govern large urban areas, while the local councils govern the (previously separated) towns and townships that are located in the same geographical area. The rural councils are responsible for the areas outside towns / townships which can include commercial farming areas or traditional homelands with villages.

2.3 Approach to development of the new government

To fulfil promises of a better life for all people, the ANC government accepted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as a policy framework. The RDP is committed to sustainable development, meeting of basic needs and democracy and addressing issues of social, institutional, environmental and macro-economic sustainability in an integrated manner, with specific attention to affordability. The central objective of the RDP is to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, and in particular the most poor and marginalised. The process includes empowerment which gives the poor control over their lives and increases their ability to mobilise sufficient resources. The RDP reflects a commitment to grassroots, bottom-up development which is owned and driven by communities and their representative organisations (ANC 1994).

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) provides the primary, over-arching framework within which planning must take place (See Box 2).

In 1996, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) was adopted as macro-economic framework. It seeks fast growth, redistribution in favour of the poor, with social services available to all. GEAR provides a framework for sound economic management, which is favourable to exporters, but is not convincing in its ability to create jobs. Since its release, this has proved to be the reality and jobs have continued to be shed. In 1997, the South African Deputy President commissioned a report on p*overty* and *inequality*. The report looked at ways to break the forces that have perpetuated poverty, while encouraging wealth, income and opportunity. It assumes that economic growth and human development are linked, and that this is best achieved through improving access of disadvantaged people to physical and social assets (Goldman 1999, p46).

The White Paper on Local Government, 1996, stresses the developmental role of local government which must play a pivotal role in representing the communities, protecting human rights and meeting basic needs. It must focus its efforts and resources on improving the quality of life of the residents of the area, especially those that are most often marginalised or excluded.

2.4 Current development situation – the challenge for sustainable livelihoods

Poverty and deprivation is the greatest burden of South Africa's people, and is the direct result of the apartheid system and the grossly skewed nature of business and industrial development which accompanied it (ANC, 1994).

Urbanisation in South Africa currently stands at 66% while the figure for the Free State Province is 69%. Recently, there have been different waves of people moving to the towns and cities. During the apartheid years, the Influx Control Act controlled the movement of Black people, especially keeping them away from the White urban areas. After the abolishment of this Act, vast numbers of people moved from the rural areas to towns. Many Black people also moved to bantustan cities like Botshabelo in the Free State to escape harsh farm life, and as a first step to eventually find a home in the regional urban centres like Bloemfontein or Welkom. After the election of 1994, the next movement towards urban areas started. Some small towns in the Free State more than doubled their populations between 1994 and 1998. Contributory factors were retrenchments on farms, mines and in other major industries, while prospects of better education, health facilities and job opportunities attracted both rural people and immigrants (mostly illegal) from outside South Africa. There are many problems in the urban areas: slow provision of basic services and housing, distorted land-use patterns, massive economic and social inequalities, public sector inefficiencies and resistance from the residents to pay for services.

Local government faced financial difficulties for many reasons, e.g. the lack of payment for services, incapacity and inexperience of the councillors and municipal officials to manage municipal business, unexpected growth of the urban areas, conflict within councils and within leading political parties, corruption and nepotism. Many municipalities in the Free State do not have funds to pay their staff or to give proper services.

Major changes have occurred at the provincial government level since 1994, both in staff and programmes, but the capacity to provide support services seems not to materialise or is hampered by lack of funds. NGOs who played a major role during the apartheid struggle were stripped of their power to deliver because staff joined the government services and overseas funds were channelled directly to government and not to NGOs as in the past. Government was also slow to utilise the skills and expertise of the NGOs through outsourcing of services. Many of the NGOs were forced to close down.

Settlements on the border of homelands like Botshabelo and the old homelands themselves are still a reality. 'Border' industries subsidised by the apartheid government to create jobs in the homelands were relocated to the urban areas when subsidies ended, leaving very few job opportunities. Most capable people now work, or try to find work, in the bigger centres leaving their families (often grandmothers and children) behind to try to make a living on a small plot or from other means. Commuting takes place on a daily, weekly or even monthly basis. With the local government system of elected leaders, conflict with the traditional leadership has not been resolved. Power struggles between the two groups have derailed the delivery of services, and often the provincial government is not willing to take a strong leadership role to resolve conflicts.

South Africa is experiencing one of the most serious HIV epidemics in the world. There are an estimated 3.2 million people in the country who are infected by the disease. 18 out of every 100 sexually active adults in the

country are HIV positive, including pregnant and elderly women. The rate of new infections is estimated to be 1,600 every day. About 9,000 children per year are born HIV positive.

The AIDS scourge has already claimed the lives of nearly 130,000 citizen's lives during 1998. It is predicted that almost 250,000 South Africans will die annually within the next three years and that figures will rise to 500,000 by 2007. The average life expectancy in South Africa is likely to fall from about 60 years to 40 years by 2008. South Africa already has about 100,000 AIDS orphans. This will rise to 590,000 by 2003 and 1.6 million by 2008. The problem facing the country is that most people do not see any evidence to suggest that HIV/AIDS poses a major threat to the nation. Most persons with HIV have no idea that they are infected, and continue to lead normal and productive lives. A culture of silence and fear has also developed around the disease. Individuals refrain from disclosing their HIV status because of fear of rejection and isolation in the community.

The ideal of a thriving economy where all South Africans have equal opportunities, access to resources and a stable income has not happened since 1994. A range of factors are commonly cited as contributing to the deteriorating economical situation in South Africa, e.g. globalisation of markets, collapse of the economies of the eastern tigers, increase in violence and crime, few international investments, tensions around the new labour laws and tenure rights to labour tenants, corruption and the incapacity of government at all levels to deliver services, and the flight of skilled people. South Africa’s Gini coefficients for all households is 0.52 while the poverty rate in rural areas is 70.9%.

Natural disasters are impacting negatively on the livelihoods of people. Unpredicted droughts, floods and tornadoes have devastated the economies of certain parts of Kwazulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, the Highveld and Karoo. Little planning has taken place to live with natural disasters and to manage their impact.

PART 2

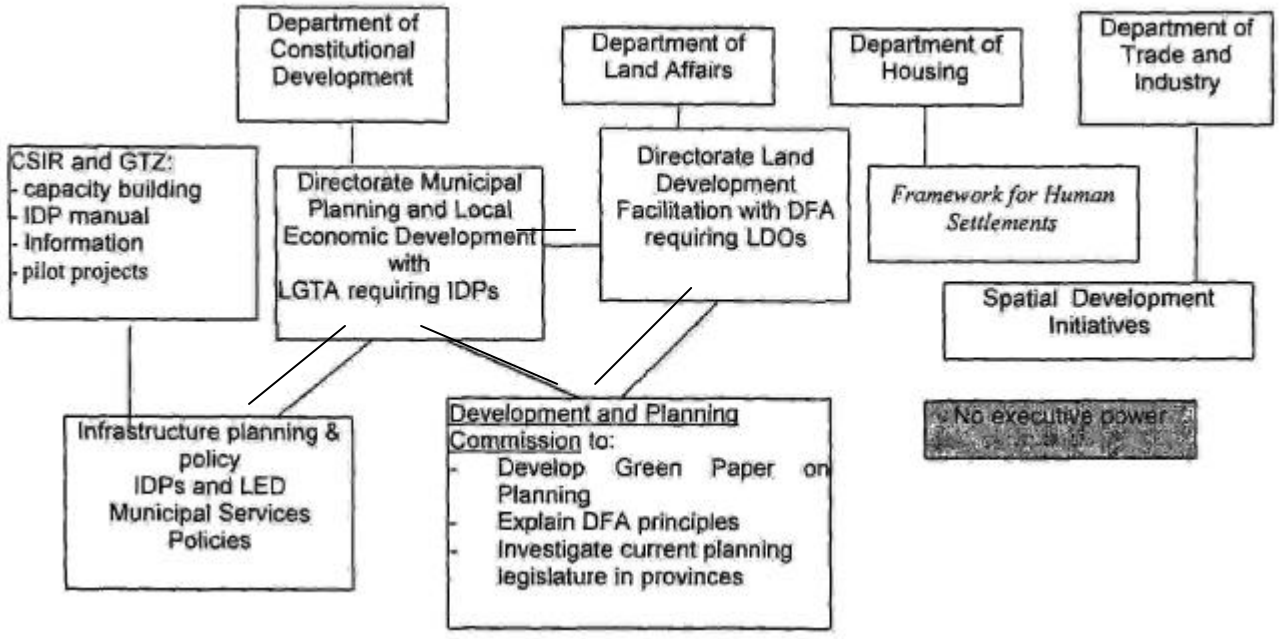
EVOLVING PRACTICES, SYSTEMS AND METHODOLOGIES

3 DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

3.1 Development planning at national level

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is the instrument that guides development in South Africa. Every national and provincial government department must gear their services towards development or creating a better life for people. Local government must change into developmental governments where integrated planning and delivery of services must take place. The two main guidelines to ensure integrated development planning and delivery are the Development Facilitation Act of 1995 and the White Paper on Local Government of 1997.

Figure 2: Flow diagram showing the roles of the main actors for development planning in national government



The Departments of Land Affairs and Constitutional Development are the main national actors to ensure that these two crucial documents are implemented through policy making, providing of information, advice and training. National departments work within their own sectoral spheres to achieve the goals of the RDP such as the provision of water, land, welfare and health services, etc. The Department of Trade and Industry is the major initiator and driver of Spatial Development Initiatives.

Framework for human settlements

A *Rural Development Framework* was developed by the RDP office, and following the closure of the RDP office, the responsibility for its updating and finalisation was passed to the Department of Land Affairs. It was published as a Green Paper in 1995. This document describes how government, working with rural people, aims to achieve rapid and sustained reduction in absolute rural poverty. After consultation, it was published as a framework document in 1997 with no particular legal status. This framework has recently been consolidated with the *Urban Development Framework* into the *Framework for Human Settlements* by the Department of Housing.

Local economic development

The Department of Constitutional Development commissioned in-depth studies on local economic development (LED) and published excellent discussion documents (case studies on local economic development and poverty and linking local economic development to poverty alleviation). These valuable guidelines are geared towards poverty alleviation.

Integrated development planning

The Directorate of Land Development Facilitation in the Department of Land Affairs is responsible for guiding the implementation of the Development Facilitation Act (DFA). The DFA consists of a number of different elements for which the responsibility is shared between all three spheres of government. The most important element is the setting of Land Development Objectives (LDOs) - a negotiated five-year development plan for all local authorities and District Councils (Box 3).

Box 3: What are Land Development Objectives (LDOs)?

Land Development Objectives are short and medium-term negotiated development plans for municipal and district council areas to achieve a 25 year vision. The process includes:

- Visioning and identifying of priority areas;
- Development framework and status quo;
- Development objectives, strategies and plans.

These plans must be revisited every year.

What is integrated development planning (IDPs)?

Integrated development planning is focussed inside the municipality and consists of three elements:

- Restructuring of the municipality organisation to deliver the LDOs;
- Transformation of the budget to achieve the LDOs;
- A communication plan between the council, municipality and residents.

The performance of the municipality will be monitored and evaluated against the objectives set in the LDO.

The Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) (209 of 1993) as amended (97 of 1996), compels municipalities to develop negotiated integrated development plans (IDPs) for their respective areas of authority. The Departments of Constitutional Development and Land Affairs have established that local and rural governments and district councils will develop separate integrated developmental plans following one common process that meets both the requirements of the DFA and the LGTA.

Other requirements of the Development Facilitation Act (DFA)

The development tribunals are in place and active in seven provinces. The Western Cape has promulgated its own planning Act with a decision-making authority. The members of the tribunals are appointed by the premiers of the respective provinces and are responsible for deciding on land development applications in the provinces. The tribunal will only concern itself in land development applications where the legal situation is complex, or where there is conflict within communities in and around the development area. The tribunals' rulings have the effect of a court order.

The Development and Planning Commission (DCP) is responsible for

- The development of a Green Paper on planning. This document will spell out which planning powers should be exercised by each sphere of government. It must also propose appropriate mechanisms for local government to implement planning that achieves integrated, efficient and sustainable land development;

- The development of a manual on the interpretation of the DFA principles; and

- A province-by-province assessment of existing planning laws.

These tasks have progressed well and will be presented to the national Minister of Water Affairs, Constitutional Development and Land Affairs for approval during 1999.

Role of donors

GTZ: The Department of Constitutional Development (DCD) in collaboration with the Department of Land Affairs, the CSIR and Deutsche Gesellschaft Fur Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) has formed a strategic partnership in order to develop a comprehensive integrated planning support package. Their partnership supports an integrated planning approach that meets the requirements of all relevant pieces of legislation in one process, consisting of six initiatives:

- A user guide on process, planning information and decision support tools.
- A training programme.
- A resource, service and advice centre for integrated planning.
- A series of pilot projects.
- A planning support centre.
- A series of linked web sites.

Most of the above have been achieved except for the advice and support centre. An LDO training workshop was held in the Free State, but unfortunately no support service or 'learning and best practice forum' on the process is in place. This places consultants and municipalities in a very difficult position because the only

guideline is a planning guide that is more appropriate for cities than small towns or rural areas.

USAID, World Bank, UN Development Programme, European Union and the Development Bank of South Africa: The government has begun its efforts to transform municipalities' finances with R855 million being injected into the Local Government Support Programme. Thisis a joint programme of the Department of Constitutional Development (DCD), the Local Government Transformational Programme Board (LGTP) and the United States Agency for International Development Mission (USAID) to South Africa to provide support for effective and democratic governance in the context of the Local Government White Paper. Local planning is one of the inter-connected processes that will be funded.

3.2 Development planning at a provincial level

Five provinces have adopted the DFA as planning legislature. These provinces, including the Free State, have passed regulations in terms of this Act that require local government bodies to prepare Land Development Objectives (LDOs). The other four provinces opted for the formulation of their own Planning Acts in the context of the DFA.

The Free State government has also developed the provincial *Development Planning Framework 1998/99* as the lead document for reconstruction, growth and development. Under the framework, a process must be initiated for co-ordinated development planning leading to continued social and economic upliftment of the citizens of the Free State. The intention is to incorporate the framework within the annual development and service planning cycle of the government, tying it to the allocation of resources through the provincial budget process. As a result, the framework will be updated annually.

Most of the officials of the provincial departments who were interviewed complained about the lack of co-ordination and co-operation between different departments in planning of service delivery. The Inter-Departmental Management Committee (IDMC) chaired by the Director General was the only structure mentioned as a mechanism for co-ordination (see Figure 3). The *Free State Development Planning Framework 98/99* was not considered as a very important guideline document, mainly because it has not been accepted by the political leadership. Of the four development clusters, the rural development cluster was identified as the only active one. Most of the officials interviewed were not aware of the LDO process, nor were their departments involved, although they stated that they would like to be involved. There was no clarity on who should take the leadership in provincial government to ensure that departmental planning and local government planning meet somewhere.

Non-governmental bodies

Freloga is the body which represents all local government institutions in the province. It includes urban, rural, regional and traditional local government institutions and it stands for all the interests of local government. Established in 1995, it was formed between the Orange Free State Municipality Association (OFSMA), the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO), the African National Congress (ANC), and the South African Communist party (SACP). It is the Free State arm of the South African Local Government Association (SALGA). One of Freloga's main roles is to build capacity and address the needs of their members.

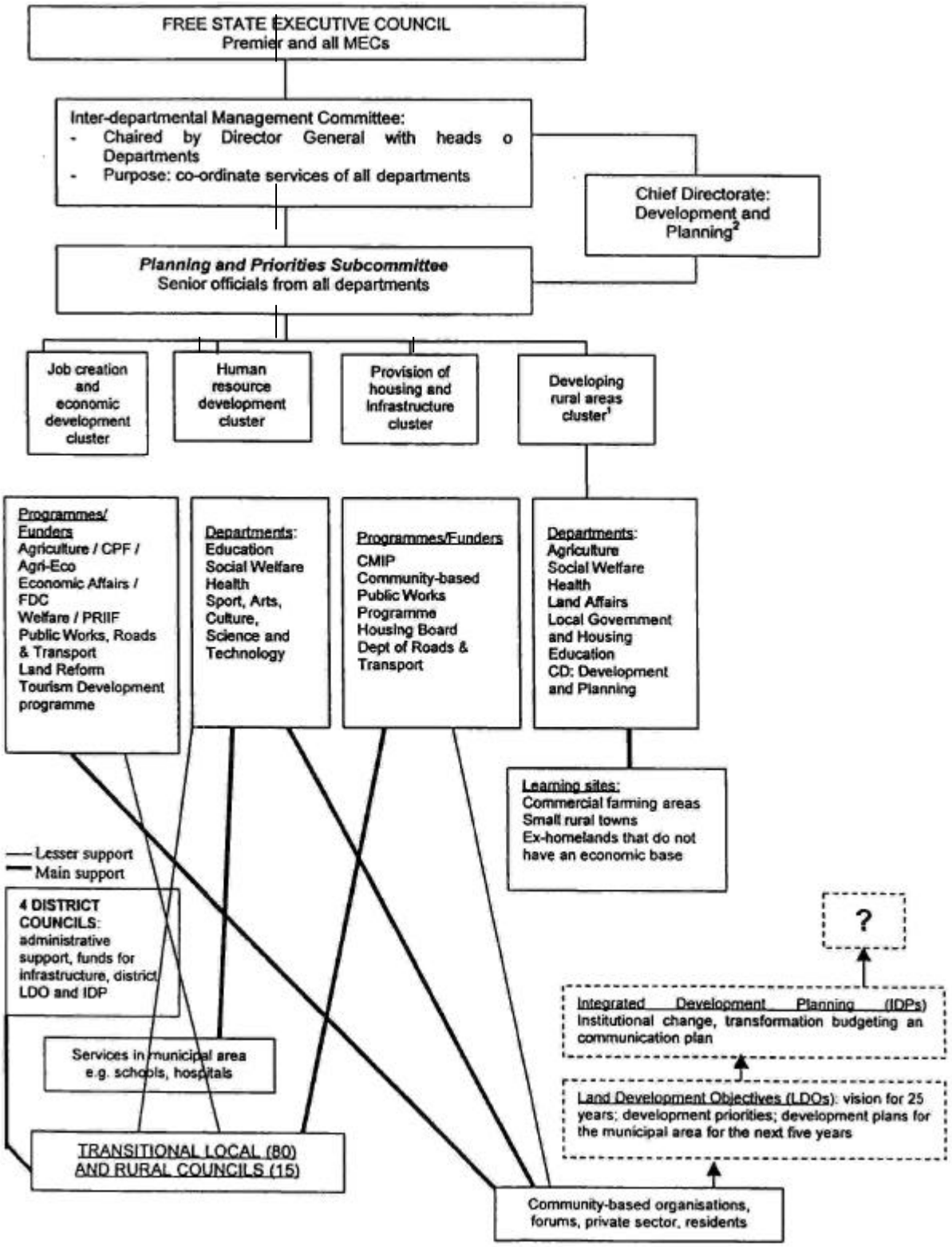
Donor programmes

DFID is sponsoring a four-year Free State Transformation Programme under the Office of the Premier. It is

currently in its third year. The focus of the next two years will be on:

- Service delivery and strategic service planning;
- Integrated development, providing guidance and support to the development planning function in order to improve the effectiveness and relevance of service delivery across the province;
- Financial management; and
- Change management, with emphasis on human resources, sustainable capacity building, performance management and culture change.

Figure 3: Flow diagram showing the planning structures and processes in the Free State at provincial and local government level.



1. Produced an Integrated Rural Development Framework, 1999
2. Produced Free State Development Planning Framework 98/99

Some departments have already made excellent progress in implementing the service planning process and have requested further support ensuring that this process is sustainable and capable of achieving improved delivery. The programme will support the Social Welfare and Local Government and Housing Departments . This is because both have shown commitment to the service planning process, and also because of the importance of these departments impacting on the lives of the poorest in the Free State.

3.3 Development planning at local level

Setting of LDOs, IDPs and water plans are legislative planning requirements for local governments. Three types of local governments are in operation in the Free State: district, transitional local and rural councils.

District councils

The district councils (DCs) are the successors of the former regional services councils and are situated administratively between the Transitional Rural Councils (TRCs) and the Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for Local Government and Housing. The DCs role in relation to the transitional local councils (TLCs) is only to provide funds for infrastructure.

The Free State is divided into four DC areas. The DC consists of representatives from all the TRCs and TLCs in its area.

The main income of the DC is from levies paid by businesses, but also from interest from investments, fuel levy and various subsidies from Eskom and government departments (Atkinson and Inge, 1997). Because most of the businesses are in the bigger towns and cities, it means that funds are redistributed from the 'richer' areas to the 'poorer' areas.

The functions of the DC is developing and expanding according to needs that keep on developing in the different area. This includes:

- Provision of development aid to TLCs and TRCs;
- Provision of essential bulk services such as water, electricity, sanitation, fire protection, tourism and transport planning;
- District planning through LDOs and IDPs;
- Administration of the TRCs until they can prove their ability to function alone;
- Technical assistance to local authorities such as computer hardware and software, standardising financial systems and reporting, etc.

The composition of DCs vary in the different parts of the country. The nature of their definition and the roles they play as well as the administrative capacity available to such councils also varies. The role of the DCs is currently expanding and all funds for infrastructure will probably be consolidated in DCs in future.

The Free State DCs will also compile district LDOs. In practice, this has yet to happen and it is not clear whether the DCs will play a co-ordinating role to implement the LDOs of TLCs and TRCs.

Transitional rural councils (TRCs)

Prior to 1994, the rural areas (outside urban municipalities) were never properly represented except through the regional services councils.

The Local Government Transition Act (no. 209 of 1993) made provision for TLCs or metropolitan councils. Amendments in 1994 and 1995 provided for the establishment of transitional councils for rural areas whereby an MEC for Local Government could, with a proclamation and after consideration of the Local Government Demarcation Board, provide for the 'constitution, election, functioning, powers, duties, assets, rights, employees and financing of such a council'.

This started the trend whereby rural local government would not be created by the provincial legislatures, but by a proclamation by the MEC. This contrasts with urban local authorities whose structures, powers, functions and duties are determined by a provincial ordinance (Notice No. 302/1995) (Atkinson and Inge, 1997). The TRCs operate on a low budget allocated to them from the DC. These funds come from revenue levies. In practice, the DCs have some leeway to determine the exact functions of the TRCs in their area.

The Free State Rural Council has been remarkably successful. This is partly due to the electoral formula, whereby 50% of the members are farmers and 50% are farm workers. One of the key challenges has been to develop working relationships between farmers and farm workers who have never before participated in social institutions on an equal basis (Atkinson, 1999). The system of rural government has been especially beneficial to health services, organised agriculture, the workers, and the provincial and national government in connection with land reformation process. The TRCs have played an active role in bringing the attention of the relevant government agencies to the needs and concerns of sectors which are not in the function portfolio of those agencies (e.g. education) and in lobbying for action. An example of this is when the conditions of the farm schools were improved by successful lobbying for the Tswelopele Education Programme to extend its services to the Bloemfontein District Council area. This contrasts with the TLCs which seldom get involved with issues outside the realm of their functions. The TRCs, with support from the DCs, are lobbying to ensure their future existence. The Municipal Structures Act proposes to amalgamate municipalities to reduce the number to less than 600 nationally. The TRCs fear they will be dominated by the urban municipalities because representation will be based on the number of voters and the needs of rural people will not be addressed.

Transitional local councils

The Local Government White Paper has established the following characteristics of developmental local government:

- Exercising municipal powers and functions in a manner that maximises their impact on social development and economic growth;
- Playing an integrating and co-ordinating role to ensure alignment between public and private investment within the municipal area;
- Democratising development;
- Building social capital through providing community leadership and vision, and seeking to empower marginalised excluded groups within the community.

The Local Government White Paper provides the following approaches to assist municipalities to become more developmental:

- Integrated development planning and budgeting;
- Performance management;
- Working together with local citizens and partners.

Integrated development planning is therefore central to realising the developmental local government vision. It is seen as a mechanism to enable prioritisation and integration in municipal planning processes and to

strengthen links between the developmental (external), and institutional (internal) planning processes (Integrated Development Planning Manual, 1998).

Payment of services

Thirty eight of the eighty municipalities in the Free State have severe financial problems. This is because many residents do not pay for services like water, sanitation, refuse removal, or tax on the erven they receive (see Box 4). In contrast, electricity provision is paid for regularly. The system is based on a prepaid card system that is managed directly by Eskom who is the national utility company. To capitalise on this experience, water meters are currently being installed in many towns. However, lack of funds to buy water meters and suspicion by the residents, has slowed this process down.

Box 4: Reasons for non-payment of services

Most residents do not pay for services from the municipality (water, refuse removal, erven tax and road maintenance) because:

- They blame the council for unsatisfactory services;
- A lack of trust in the council. Residents blame the council for failing to communicate with them – they do not understand how money is being spent by the council, because they see no improvement in services;
- They claim that they cannot pay for services because they do not have a regular income;
- The ANC (the leading political party) promised a better life to the people, so why must they pay for it?
- Many of the residents who can afford to pay (e.g. government officials) do not pay. Why should they pay?
- The culture of non-payment that was encouraged during the struggle is still entrenched;
- In towns, where political tension is high, some councillors may encourage residents not to pay.

To overcome the poverty problem, the Equity Fund was established by the national Department of Constitutional Development (DCD) and a certain amount was allocated per town for service payment. Criteria must be set by the local council to identify households who are not able to pay. A three-monthly payment is then made by the DCD to the municipality for the water, sanitation and refuse removal costs for each of the needy households. This amount does not include erven tax or electricity.

A study by IDASA has shown that non-payment for services appears to stem from a willingness to 'take a gap' if given the opportunity. If local authorities want to increase levels of payment for rates and taxes, they should focus on eliminating opportunities to evade payment through better collection, monitoring and enforcement, rather than trying to make people feel better about local government (Taylor and Mattes, 1998).

Setting of LDOs

TLCs are currently setting LDOs with funds provided by the Free State Department of Land Affairs and administered by the Directorate of Spatial Planning. Consultants appointed by the councils are leading the process. Most of them are town planners or engineers and only two or three have a development planning background. Community groups in various towns, as well as a government official, expressed concern that the prescribed public participation is not being adhered to.

There is also a lack of commitment from many councillors and officials to the LDO process. The process should be politically-driven by the councillors in order to obtain a more equal balance of power in local

authorities. The total process should be more a strategic thinking exercise than a technical process. One of the goals should be that planning be de-mystified and be made accessible to the people at grassroots level. However, some CEOs have expressed concern that the process was forced upon them by the provincial government.

Achieving the IDP phase means institutional and budget transformation, but is an even bigger problem because most TLCs do not have funds, capacity, or the political will to 'shake the boat'. Sometimes the technical knowledge of the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) overshadows the political will of the councillors and they find it difficult to resist direction from the CEO. Some CEOs and councillors consider the LDO process as just another study by a consultant that will end up gathering dust on shelves. Unfortunately, the political leadership and administrative support from the provincial government is too weak to overcome such apathy. It appears that the enthusiasm of the consultants is a major driving force in creating commitment to the LDO process. This also places a question on the sustainability of the process.

Non-governmental bodies

There are very few 'traditional' NGOs left in the Free State. Most closed down after 1994 when funding was channelled through government and not through NGOs. Most of the capable staff also joined the government. A Free State NGO consortium was formed in 1994 to provide a common voice for the non-governmental sector, but it struggles to survive. The following case studies illustrate the problem.

One of the few surviving NGOs is Sedimosang Rural Development Organisation which has been active in the Free State since 1987 and currently focuses on four rural towns. Itsr approach is to wait for communities to express their needs before reacting. However, it does mobilise the poor by assisting them to form local development forums that express their needs and lobby the local government. There are only eight staff members with a head office in the Western Cape which provides funding. Sedimosang is struggling to survive because its head office does not agree with its approach and performance.

One of Sedimosang's major contributions was to organise two conferences on rural development for rural people. One of the purposes was to bring rural people and government officials and politicians face-to-face so that the rural poor could express their concerns. A Rural Charter was developed out of such a conference in 1997 and presented to government. It has influenced the formation of the rural development cluster (see Figure 2) in the provincial government.

Kopanang Consortium started as a joint pilot initiative for cost-effective early childhood development (ECD) between seven Free State-based ECD training agencies, communities and the Bernard van Leer Foundation based in the Netherlands. Initially, some of the objectives of the consortium centred around provision for pre-school children. However, it became clear that the focus had to be broadened to accommodate some of the wider socio-economic realities that affect informal settlement communities in which programmes are delivered. Support was given to community-based pre-schools to develop small businesses to become self-reliant as pre-schools, but also to create jobs for some parents. This was a completely new direction and it took more than a year to reorganise the community-based ECD organisations, develop business plans and to try to find funding. The funding and pilot period of Kopanang Consortium is coming to an end, before sufficient capacity has been built among the community-based organisations to continue the process. The funder was not willing to extend financial support. The future of the initiative is uncertain at this stage.

Donor programmes

The Urban Upgrading and Development Programme (UUDP) is a bilateral technical co-operation project

between the Government of South Africa and the Federal Republic of Germany. The programme is implemented by GTZ and linked to the National Department of Housing. The Free State provincial partner is the Department of Local Government and Housing. The immediate goal of the project is to contribute to the improvement of living conditions in four towns in the Free State. In pursuit of this goal, the UUDP seeks to apply participatory processes and procedures to facilitate and accelerate urban planning and housing delivery as well as providing, upgrading, operating and maintaining physical and social infrastructure.

The South Africa Democracy Support Project is a project of the Joint Centre for Political and Economic Studies. It aims to build the capacity of local government councillors, community-based organisations and NGOs, and historically disadvantaged universities so that they can participate effectively in policy formulation. A number of towns in the Free State have participated in the programme.

The Decentralised Development Planning (DDP**)** programme was established through an inter-governmental agreement between South Africa and the Federal Republic of Germany for a period of 3-5 years. DCD and GTZ are the lead DDP organisations for the two countries. The DDP is semi-autonomous and is housed in and responsible to the Directorate for Municipal Planning and Local Economic Development (LED). The objectives and functions of the DDP are centred on integrated development planning (IDP), the tool used to promote and realise 'developmental local governments'.

In order to contribute to the IDP and the LED, the DDP intends to:

- Identify best practice IDP procedures and tools based on their findings in 21 pilot projects. The result will be a revised IDP manual;
- Identify 'capacity building' requirements for all role players involved in IDP process, councillors, local officials, planners, etc.;
- Identify and establish support systems for local government planning;
- Contribute to the local government legislative process.

3.4 Spatial development initiatives (SDI)[1]

The spatial development initiative (SDI) programme is a short-term investment strategy that aims to unlock inherent economic potential in specific spatial locations in Southern Africa. It uses public resources to leverage private sector investment. SDIs are a proven strategy for boosting investment and kick-starting development in regions of South Africa with a high potential for economic growth. The SDI programme consists of ten local SDIs and four IDZs at varying stages of delivery. To date, the current portfolio of SDIs has identified 518 investment opportunities valued at R115.4 billion with the capacity to generate more than 118,000 new jobs. Put simply, the initiatives aim to create jobs and opportunities for real Black economic empowerment by encouraging economic growth. They are the practical implementation of the government's economic strategy as set out in its Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy.

3.5 Conflicts and issues for sustainable livelihoods

Key observations

- There is a lack of capacity on all levels of government in development planning to support and implement planning programmes and projects.

[1] http://www.sdi.org.za/

- LDO-setting is dominated by town planners and engineers with little experience in development planning.

- The national training programme (from CSIR and DCD) emphasises facilitation skills as a priority to assist authorities to set LDOs. Development planning skills and a development approach are apparently not considered as important.

- At this stage, there is no mechanism in place to make the development objectives of the local authorities (the LDOs) the service objectives of the provincial government in the Free State.

- Funding for infrastructure projects is well organised and based on requests from local authorities. The uncertainty is whether the relevant funding bodies (CMIP, District Councils, Housing Board) will use the LDOs as their guidelines to plan infrastructure provision in future.

- The provincial government is not organised to support, evaluate or monitor the implementation of LDOs and other aspects of the IDP.

- The DFA Tribunal has not been appointed yet due to political issues in the Free State province. The old Towns Board is still in operation and using old Acts as guidelines.

- The LDO process has not progressed in the Free State to have a measurable impact on sustainable livelihoods yet. At this stage, the LDOs are done without any guidance from sustainable livelihoods or poverty concepts but is guided by the experience of the consultant. This is mainly spatial but some consultants also have development planning experience.

Recommendations:

- Local economic development (LED) must be clearly identified as a local responsibility with a champion to drive the process. The uncertainty about the role of TLCs and TRCs in LED must be clarified.

- Define the causes and levels of poverty within the areas of jurisdiction through a 'poverty audit' that combines qualitative and quantitative methods.

- Integrate the appropriate strategies for poverty alleviation into the LDO strategies that can be measured and translated into clear targets. Anti-poverty strategies should not be seen as another addition to the already complex tasks and requirements with which municipalities have to comply. Anti-poverty strategies should be subsumed in the LDO and IDP processes.

- Establish dedicated institutional mechanisms and processes to drive and monitor the implementation and incorporation of the anti-poverty strategy into all aspects of the municipality's operation.

4 SPATIAL PLANNING

When discussing spatial planning the term 'township' or 'new town' refers to a new suburb being planned adjacent to or near existing suburbs of towns.

4.1 Legal background

The Group Areas Act of 1966 prescribed that different race groups had to be accommodated in separate townships. This led to South African cities developing according to the Apartheid city model. Areas of integration were demolished and townships were provided in new localities adhering to the principles of the Group Areas Act to accommodate the removed residents. In addition to locating different race groups separately, buffer zones were prescribed and the physical structures of cities (e.g. industrial areas, railway lines, water runways) were used to separate different race groups.

The Influx Control Act regulated movement in terms of settlement of non-white residents in South Africa. This Act severely restricted the settlement of non-White residents in cities and towns in the country. It was abolished in 1986. As no forward planning was undertaken to cater for the needs of all new residents in cities and towns, problems arose on a very large scale in providing erven to all the new residents. This led to the emergence of large informal settlements or squatter areas in most towns and cities in the country.

The abolishment of the Group Areas Act in 1991 opened up all areas in towns for settlement by all races. It was, however, only with the introduction of the RDP, and later the DFA, that it became policy to integrate physically the separate areas to form unified towns and cities.

Various other forms of legislation dealing with spatial planning were introduced before 1994 and are still implemented in the Free State Province and in other parts of South Africa. These include Townships Ordinance, 1969, Less Formal Township Establishment Act, 1991, Removal of Restrictions Act, 1967, Physical Planning Act, 1991 and the Subdivision of Agricultural Land Act, 1970.

The potentially most influential legislation introduced since the elections is the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) of 1995. One of its objectives is to accommodate and promote development and the planning process - including spatial planning.

As the DFA strives to promote transparency and democratic decision-making, a tribunal is proposed to make decisions pertaining to any application received in terms of the Act. These applications include both those for the establishment of new townships and for change of land uses in existing towns. Such a tribunal has not yet been appointed for the Free State. No applications can therefore be made in terms of the regulations of the DFA. Currently, all applications submitted to the Free State Towns Board have to be motivated only in terms of the principles set out in the DFA.

The most important benefit of the DFA in the Free State is that the LDO process is carried out according to the Act. The LDOs replace urban as well as regional structure plans that were used prior to the DFA. The shift from structure plans to LDOs was seen as necessary as structure plans merely dealt with physical planning issues. It is statutory for all local authorities to set LDOs, whereas structure plans were done on an ad hoc basis.

4.2 Spatial planning at a national level

Spatial planning does not have a departmental home. There are many possibilities for the locus of spatial planning but the most appropriate one may be the Department of Land Affairs since its sectoral focus is less specialised and more closely encompasses the concerns of spatial planning (Draft Green Paper on Development and Planning, 1999).

The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) is responsible for the administration of the Town and Regional Planners Act, 19 of 1984 and provides ongoing support to the South African Council for Town and Regional Planners as it leads the transformation of the planning profession (Annual Report: Department of Land Affairs, 1998). The DLA is also responsible for maintaining the integrated survey system, the national

mapping programme, the national aerial photography programme, and registering of deeds. To ensure that the greater volume of deeds to be registered can be handled and to keep the cost of the registration in proportion to the value of the property registered, an electronic registration system is being developed. This system will make the electronic lodging and registering of conventional, as well as new statutory, land rights possible. In particular, it will benefit the disadvantaged sectors of the community who live in traditional areas, informal settlements or low-cost housing.

Further spatial planning issues with a rural influence are contained in the National Environmental Management Act of 1998 that requires impact assessments for specified land development projects.

4.3 Spatial planning at a provincial level

The Spatial Planning Directorate (SPD) of the Free State Provincial Government is responsible for controlling spatial development proposals in the Free State. These developments include the establishment of new towns as well as the changing of land use rights within existing areas.

Funding for these developments comes in some instances from the SPD itself. In other instances, these projects can be initiated and funded by other government departments (such as Land Affairs or local authorities) or by private developers. Development control is, therefore, one of the most important roles that the Spatial Planning Directorate plays in the Free State. Another significant role is regulating the process of township establishment which is directly linked to the provision of housing and infrastructure for the TLC areas in the province. This includes keeping a database for the province and setting standards to be met in the provision of erven and infrastructure with government funding. As the SPD only provides services to TLCs and not with TRCs, planning is not done in a coherent fashion.

Box 5: Comparison between town planning processes that are controlled centrally and locally

Centralised control: Reddersburg in the Free State

Reddersburg is a small town 4 487 (1995 Survey) in the southern part of the Free State. The economic base of the town is restricted to mainly providing for the most urgent needs of the residents of the town as well as people living on farms surrounding the town. The national road between the Free State and Eastern Cape runs through the town and also impacts on the local economy. A local business operating a vehicle repair service centre is located a few blocks away from the main road in the town - which is also a section of the national road. In order to be more visible to passing traffic, the owners of the business bought a vacant property fronting onto the main road with a view to relocating their business to this site. This property did, however, only have rights for the development of dwelling units. In order to obtain business rights, an application for the rezoning of the property had to be submitted for approval by the Member of the Executive Council. The process included the advertising of the application in the media and informing adjacent land owners of the proposed development by registered mail, obtaining (only) a recommendation from the local authority and obtaining a report from the town planners of the Directorate Spatial Planning. All these were considered by the Town's Board which made a recommendation to the Provincial MEC for Local Government and Housing, who finally approved the application. This procedure took eight months to complete.

Localised control: Graaff Reinet in the Eastern Cape

In other provinces, more power is given to those local authorities with structure plans complying with statutory regulations. A portion of land in the central parts of Graaff Reinet (population: 35 008) in the Eastern Cape Province belongs to Transnet. Transnet put this portion up for development proposals. The best proposal according to their criteria was selected. The property is situated on the national road between the Free State and the Garden Route area

and the proposed development catered for the needs of the local residents as well as for passing traffic. In order to obtain rights allowing such a development, included a filling station, take-away restaurant and a few smaller retail outlets, an application to change the zoning was submitted to the TLC. The application for the change in land use rights was advertised to allow objections by the public. The TLC then compared the proposal with the structure plan for the town and approved the new zoning within a month and a half of receiving the application. If objections had been lodged against the proposal and the application was still approved by the TLC, objectors would have had the opportunity to appeal to the Town's Board of the Eastern Cape which would make a recommendation to the MEC. An outcome on an appeal application would take approximately three to four months.

With the introduction of the DFA and the LDO process, the SPD is responsible for the administration of the LDO process in the Free State. Funding is provided to the SPD by the Department of Land Affairs. This process brings the SPD into contact with TRCs and the problems experienced in these areas, and might lead to the broadening of the mind set in which spatial planning is undertaken.

Other institutions also providing substantial funding for spatial planning in rural areas are District Councils, Department of Land Affairs and the national Departments of Agriculture e.g. extension of commonages and district planning.

4.4 Spatial planning at a local level

Most TLCs have no town-planning department or staff trained in this field, so the involvement of local authorities in the spatial planning process is through appointing private town planning consultants. The role of the local authority is, therefore, to liaise in the community participation process, and provide approval for layout plans for new townships and comments on other land development applications.

Spatial planning on farm land (outside the area of jurisdiction of a TLC)

The economic base of farms is often broadened by opening small shops catering for the needs of local inhabitants and also along roads providing for the needs of passing traffic. Sometimes, external companies such as national oil companies decide to invest in filling stations along main roads in rural areas to provide services to passing traffic. If non-agricultural uses are to locate on farmland, two options to obtain such rights are available:

(a) Changing land use from agricultural to commercial: small farm store

The first option is applicable when the new use is small-scale and the land accommodating such new use does not need to be subdivided to create a separately-owned portion. This would, for example, be a farm store providing for the needs of farmers and farm workers in a specific area. The process to follow is expensive and takes up to three months to complete (See Box 6). The effect of this is that, in many instances, land use rights have not been granted to operate such businesses on farm land. The required regulations are, however, not seen as a factor that would stop a person from undertaking such a project. The expansion of livelihoods for economic survival is often the driving force to continue without the prescribed permission.

Box 6: Legal process to change the use of agricultural land

Such a store would normally be accommodated on a portion of the farm and does not have to be subdivided. In such an instance, application is made for a permit to change land use on agricultural land in terms of the Physical Planning Act. Such an application is simultaneously submitted to the National Department of Agriculture in Pretoria as well as the Land Use Administration Directorate of the Free State Provincial Government. The Department of Agriculture only gives their recommendation in this regard. The Spatial Planning Directorate also comments and the Towns Board makes a recommendation to the MEC for Local Government and Housing which finally approves such an application. The cost to obtain such rights is approximately R 2,000 and the process takes up to three months to complete.

(b) Changing land use from agricultural to commercial: filling station complex

The second option is when a larger development is undertaken on farm land and separate ownership is required for the new use. An example would be the development of a filling station complex adjacent to a major transport route. The process is again long and costly. As such projects are undertaken by financially strong companies, the costs are seldom, if ever, a deterring factor (See Box 7).

Box 7: Legal process to change land use from agricultural to commercial: filling station complex

Application for the subdivision of agricultural land would in such an instance simultaneously be made to the National Department of Agriculture and the Land Use Administration Directorate of the provincial government. This application is made in terms of the Subdivision of Agricultural Land Act. These departments only give a recommendation. Such a recommendation would include that a condition should be registered against the Title Deed of the new subdivision stating that this portion can only be used for the purposes of a filling station complex. A further condition would also be included i.e. that the new subdivision should be included in the area of jurisdiction of the nearest local authority. The Department of Agriculture finally approves such an application subject to the conditions set by the provincial government. A second application then has to be lodged to include the new subdivision in the area of jurisdiction of the nearest town. This application is done in terms of the Local Government Transitional Act, 1993 and is also approved by the MEC for Local Government and Housing. The cost to undertake such applications largely depends on the addition of property value due to the new rights obtained. The minimum amount would be R 3,500 and could be as high as R 35,000 depending on the proposed development and the difficulty of the application. The duration of the process also depends on the proposed use as some uses require more liaison with external parties (such as the National Department of Transport in the case of a filling station complex). The average duration of the above process is eight months.

(c) Changing land use from large agricultural units to small farming units

Similar principles are applicable when farm land has to be subdivided into smaller portions, e.g. for small-scale farming units. Application for the subdivision of farm land has to be submitted to the National Department of Agriculture for approval. This department will investigate whether the subdivisions to be provided are big enough to create economically viable farming units.

Another option to accommodate smaller scale farming opportunities is to create a share block scheme. The owner of the farm will be a private or public company. Land use can be divided into agricultural and residential areas in which the participants will get equal shares. The residential area can be designed with all the usual urban facilities like clinics and shops. The larger portion of the farm would be applied for agricultural purposes. An example is the Diyatalawa Apple Farm near Harrismith where each participant is entitled to 3

ha of land for the growing of apples, a share in grazing land, a share in the warehouse and a house. These individual shares can be sold when a participant wants to leave the share block scheme.

The costs, time frame and complexity to create smaller farming units are constraints that hamper the division of large farms into smaller farming units.

4.5 Donor programmes

In 1999, there was no financial support from any donor organisations for rural spatial planning.

4.6 Conflicts and issues for sustainable livelihoods

Key observations

- The short time allowed for spatial planning projects does not allow for effective public participation as prescribed in the Development Facilitation Act (DFA).

- As the control agent, the Directorate of Spatial Planning only deals with TLCs and not with TRCs, making a holistic approach to rural spatial planning nearly impossible. This excludes the integration of issues that affect both the small towns and the surrounding commercial farming areas.

- The DFA contains principles that advocate sustainable communities. But only vague statements are made about these principles and, as a result, authorities tend not to apply them.

- Rural spatial planning on a provincial level is not undertaken in a coherent way as TRCs and TLCs are linked to different institutions. TRCs fall under the jurisdiction of the district councils while the TLCs fall under the Directorate of Spatial Planning of the Provincial Government. Very little liaison takes place between those institutions, and so the spatial planning process is fragmented.

- The level of public participation in the spatial planning process depends, to a large extent, on the personal convictions of consultants and to a lessor extent on the convictions of local authority officials and councillors, despite the fact that such participation is one of the DFA principles. Most of the time, participation is completely ignored.

- The current situation impacts on social and human assets as individuals and interest groups do not develop the skills and capacity to participate meaningfully in the planning which influences their living environment.

- The principles of the DFA are seldom adhered to by planners, municipal officials and councillors in spatial planning projects. The Act contains principles which promote the availability of residential and employment opportunities in close proximity to, or integrated with, each other and promote a diverse combination of land uses (also at the level of individual erven). Applying these principles could lead to complete new approaches with positive impacts on the livelihoods of people.

- The proclamation of new townships is a tedious and expensive process that prevents fast delivery on housing. This contributes to the growing waiting list for affordable housing.

5 SECTORAL PLANNING

5.1 Agriculture

The National Department of Agriculture plans services to promote agriculture, especially for people who were previously excluded from agriculture and to support the national land reform programme:

- The *Directorate for Programme Planning*: initiates, facilitates and co-ordinates multidisciplinary programmes to broaden access to agriculture. These programmes include the promotion and development of agro-economic empowerment, agro-industries, agro-vulnerability reduction programmes, food security assessment and disaster management systems.

- The *Financial Assistance and Land Administration Directorate*: facilitates the broadening of access to agricultural financing services to farmers and facilitates the settlement of farmers on state agricultural land.

- A *Conservation Information Service* is being developed by the Agricultural Engineering Directorate which makes use of a geographic information system (GIS). This information allows the promotion and co-ordination of sustainable use of natural resources through policy development and implementation, and the setting of national standards. Awareness of the importance of sustainable utilisation of agricultural resources is actively promoted through the Land Care - South Africa initiative.

The provincial departments can make use of the above services, as long as they work within the national policy framework.

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) is playing a leading role in developing strategies and action plans for key agro-industries[2]. In strategy formulation, the DTI is concerned with: identification of key characteristics of the industry, industrial customs tariff dispensations, government intervention by SADC countries, exports and imports, and international trade and its impact on domestic industry. The services are directly available to individuals and organisations.

The Free State Department of Agriculture (DoA) changed its clientele from 15,000 commercial farmers pre-1994 to 300,000 new clients including historically disadvantaged and marginalised individuals, groups and communities. The strategy was to re-orient services and resources towards the new clients, providing access to land, capital, know-how and markets so that they could work the land, whether for subsistence or cash. An enabling environment was to be created for the commercial sector so that there is a sustainable growth of over 3% in agricultural GDP per annum.

To transform the services of the DoA, client groups and their needs were identified. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) workshops were used, not only to identify the needs of the clients, but also to introduce field staff to their new working environment (Goldman, 199, p78). The participants identified jobs, good schools, clean water, transport and funeral parlours as their priorities. These diverse needs could not be addressed by the DoA and, unfortunately, there was little co-ordination between different departments and no mechanisms to plan or deliver services in a holistic way. Agricultural services were decentralised to three regions with 23 extension offices spread over the province to be close to the clients and a central agricultural specialist support service for technical support. The regions are autonomous regarding delivery but the budget is still controlled by the Office of the Chief-Director. Clients were divided into peri-urban, small farmers, farm workers, commercial farmers and new commercial farmers. Services like home and market gardens,

[2] Co-ordinated support for emerging and small-scale farmers, 1999

livestock, commonage development, training, access to markets and finance, farm industrialisation and natural resource conservation were developed. A Planning and Budget Unit was established to facilitate strategic planning linked to the budget in the DoA. All of this was captured in a business plan with quantifiable objectives (Business Plan: 1996-1999). Agri-Eco, a parastatal of the DoA, was structured to service non-farm rural entrepreneurs. Considerable efforts have been made to provide capital that supports those willing to take the initiative for economic self-reliance. The Community Projects Fund was created to provide grants for infrastructure while efforts were made to get micro-credit institutions and commercial banks to provide working capital loans, with little success to date.

Initially, the DoA did not undertake any sophisticated situational analysis of its clients (Goldamn, 1999, pp 102-104). The PRAs conducted in 1995 were partly a culture change exercise, which was not systematically written up and analysed. However, the work did provide a basic set of client categories. An evaluation of field services was undertaken in 1977 while a participatory learning and action (PLA) exercise was undertaken in 1998 in one town for the functional plan of the department. Despite the frustration that both field staff and clients experienced, there was a feeling that there have been significant impacts, and this has been supported by people outside the department (Free State Integrated Rural Development Framework, Discussion Document, 1999).

The planning capacity in the DoA has improved since 1994 but, unfortunately, strategic planning capacity has not yet been established. Unhappily, the CPF has recently been paralysed by excessive control from the provincial Tender Board, while the staff have nearly no funds for service delivery due to provincial financial problems (see Box 8).

Box 8: Funding dilemma of the Department of Agriculture

The European Union donated R97 million over five years to the Free State Government for development projects. The Community Projects Fund (CPF) was established in the Department of Agriculture. In the Free State Government budget of 1999/2000, R85.5 million was allocated to the Department of Agriculture. Salaries and related expenses will be R75.5 million. This leaves R9.9 million for services. According to the agreement with the EU, R8.7 million must be contributed by the Department to the CPF. This leaves the department with R1.2 million for the running of the department and delivering services which makes it nearly impossible to deliver services. This lack of funds to deliver services places the contract with the EU in danger.

The proposed solution of the MEC for Agriculture is to second staff from the DoA to local authorities, farmers' unions, co-operatives and NGOs.

Volksblad 16/3/99

The role of civil society

The South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) is the largest farmers' organisation in the country. Farmers can become members of organised agricultural structures by joining a farmers' association and, via district and provincial unions, become a member of the federal SAAU structure; or by joining commodity organisations such as Nampo. They can also join an agricultural co-operative or an agricultural business which is an associated member of the Agricultural Business Chamber. Farmers' associations have always played an active role in developing the capacity of farmers to plan their farms, to introduce new products, to manage finances and to plan soil conservation projects.

At present, a few organisations are also catering for the needs of small-scale farmers. The biggest and most

well-known of these is the National African Farmers' Union (NAFU). SAAU and NAFU did explore the possibilities of forming one umbrella body for all farmers but, to date, they have worked closely together only on matters of mutual interest and both organisations have retained their own identities.

Private companies and co-operatives have been playing a role in farm planning and, lately, modern technology like GIS has been added to the farm planning services.

5.2 Land

Land is the most basic need for rural dwellers. Apartheid polices pushed millions of Black South Africans into overcrowded and impoverished reserves, homelands and townships (the Reconstruction and Development Programme, 1994). Planning to redress the situation started before 1994 when the need for land was identified through a consultative process over many months.

The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) is responsible for implementing land reform. Three main programmes have been adopted (Annual Report: Department of Land Affairs, 1998, p15).

- The *land redistribution programme* is aimed at the poor, labour tenants, farm workers, women and emergent farmers. Applicants can obtain a Settlement Grant/Land Acquisition Grant of R16,000 to buy and develop land, and the DLA provides planning funds up to 9% of the grant. After a slow start, the programme has gained pace. By the end of 1998, half a million hectares had been redistributed to approximately 200,000 beneficiaries.

- The *tenure reform programme* aims to provide people with a place to live, and to prevent arbitrary or unfair evictions. Labour tenants and farm workers are employed on the basis that their remuneration is the right to occupy and farm a piece of land. It provides security for people with 'informal' land rights, mainly in the former homelands and those who are living on other people's land in rural and peri-urban areas, and applies human rights standards to the relationship between the owner and the occupier.

- The *land restitution programme* compensates or restores land to people dispossessed by racially discriminatory legislation or practices after 19 July 1913.

These programmes are being implemented by provincial offices. The Monitoring and Evaluation Directorate has contributed to better understanding of the land reform process and contributed to changing programmes. An example is the land reform process that has been changed from collective land allocation to private land ownership or groups consisting of not more than five members. The DLA has also begun to purchase farms for subdivision, and intends intervening further in the shaping of the land market over the next five years. This means a shift from demand-led to supply-led land reform. This change in policy was brought about by pressure from rural people through forums like the Rural Charter and Rural Conventions held in provinces and nationally (Eveleth, 1999) as well through the ANC structures.

The Directorate of Land Development Facilitation is responsible for natural resource management in the Department of Land Affairs. In collaboration with the Danish Co-operation for Environment and Development (DANCED**)** ,a project to integrate environmental planning and land reform has been initiated. It will produce revised procedures, policies and institutional arrangements for land reform that will ensure that the interests of both beneficiaries and the environment are safeguarded in the land reform process. A second key outcome will be increasing the capacity of land reform implementers to deal with environmental factors. Demonstration areas have been established in the Eastern Free State and Mpumalanga.

Donors

The department relies heavily on donor funding to execute programmes. Concern has been expressed about the low level of co-ordination of externally funded projects. It results in duplication that impacts negatively on the ground. The extractive approach of many consultants is also a matter of concern.

5.3 Water

Priuor to 1994, the services of the Department of Water Affairs (DWA) focused mainly on capital pending on construction, e.g. dams, bulk water reticulation and irrigation schemes. This has now changed to providing funds and support services to TLCs, often through district councils.

The provincial offices of the DWA is responsible for water source management and plays a key role in water resource planning. It is responsible for management and control to ensure sustained water quality for user requirements and the implementation of the Water Services Act. The impact of the services of the provincial office is measured through a monitoring and evaluation programme to enable regular adjustments to programmes.

Catchment Management Agencies will be established to prepare and implement catchment management plans for key river catchments. Nineteen catchment areas have been identified in South Africa. Each area will eventually have an agency that will be responsible for the management and allocation of water in the catchment area to users. Each agency must become self-sustaining, probably through taxing use. The process of decision-making and planning must be participative.

Water Boards are responsible for bulk water purification and supply to municipalities (the water authorities). The district councils are responsible for planning of water services within their area of jurisdiction. Provincial co-ordination is the responsibility of the *Provincial Liaising Committee*, the Provincial Sanitation Task Group and the Water Quality Control Committees which hold quarterly meetings to co-ordinate water and sanitation service delivery. The *municipalities* are responsible for distributing the water to the users. For long-term planning purposes, every municipality must prepare a plan for local water provision.

The municipalities must maintain the local reticulation system and users must pay for services if water is delivered on the erven. When water is provided through taps in the streets, it is free of charge. A major problem is that most registered users do not pay. This creates major financial problems to the municipalities. The Department of Water Affairs has been criticised for this situation because potential users never participated sufficiently in the planning process and therefore do not understand the consequences of having access to water on site. The DWA is currently implementing a Revisiting Programme (under the Reconstruction and Development Programme) to right the wrongs (See Box 9). All water projects must now have a steering committee with local stakeholders to guide the implementation process.

Box 9: Righting the wrongs in Wepener

In December, 1998 the municipality of Wepener could not pay the Water Board account because it did not have funds. This situation was caused because most residents do not pay for services. The water supply to the town was cut by the Water Board until the account was settled. There was an uproar and the residents demonstrated against the municipality and TLC. Community meetings were called by councillors to inform residents about the real reason for the cut of the water supply. With the intervention of the Department of Water Affairs, a loan was arranged with a bank and the account was paid. The Department of Water Affairs then started a programme to inform the people about the responsibilities of the TLC, the municipality and residents as suppliers and receivers of services, respectively. Community facilitators were trained to address meetings and schools about the roles of relevant

stakeholders. The impact of the programme is not yet known.

Despite the problems, millions of people now have access to portable water (a privilege they did not have before), while millions of temporary jobs have been created in the process.

Funders

DFID, Danida, EU and USAID are involved in the Eastern Cape, Kwazulu Natal and Mpumalanga .

5.4 Environment

The *National Environmental Management Act, No. 1540 of 1998*, requires that every national department with functions that may affect the environment and every province must prepare an environmental implementation plan, while every national department with functions involving the management of the environment must prepare an environmental management plan. The purpose of these plans is to co-ordinate and harmonise environmental policies, plans, programmes and decisions that may affect the environment. The plans must be in place by November 1999.

The National Department of Environment Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) is the central co-ordinating and policy-making authority which promotes sustainable development in accordance with international and national guidelines, and promotes a holistic approach to integrated pollution control and environment quality management and environmental conservation. DEAT also provides meteorological services to enable farmers to plan their crops better.

The strategic plan of the Free State Department of Environmental Affairs (1998/99) focuses on the protection of fauna and flora, environmental awareness, environmental impact assessment and pollution control. No mention is made of involvement in LDOs and IDPs - the main planning tools for local authorities and the provincial government. No mention is made either of the environmental implementation and management plans mentioned above. Due to inexperienced staff and a small budget, the department struggles to implement plans that integrate environmental management with poverty alleviation.

5.5 Infrastructure for basic services

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) has identified the provision of infrastructure for basic services as a priority area. Strong emphasis has also been placed on 'job creation through public works programmes'. The National Public Works Programme is responsible for assisting with policy formulation concerning the way in which infrastructure is delivered by departments at the national, provincial and local government level. New policy frameworks have been developed since 1994 to define the role of infrastructure services.

The Growth, Employment and Redistrubution (GEAR) strategy accords considerable significance to the contribution that infrastructure could make to growth. The RDP sees infrastructure not only as an input to growth, but also underlines the demand for infrastructure services to meet basic needs, alleviate poverty and support sustainable livelihoods. The philosophy of the RDP revolves around the close relationship between physical and human development (DBSA, 1998). The Rural Development Framework emphasises that good planning and management can deliver affordable infrastructure that can contribute to a better life for people.

The National Infrastructure Investment Framework (NIIF) of 1996 gives infrastructure a key role in ensuring productivity and growth. Its core reform proposals are institutional and financial, calling for better co-ordination of investment to ensure optimal sequencing, spatial allocation and sectoral balance. The government is urged to encourage public-private partnerships to provide and manage infrastructure. Other policy documents have attempted to address backlogs and misplaced infrastructure, e.g. those on water and sanitation, energy, transport and telecommunication.

The Integrated Municipal Infrastructure Investment Framework provides the guiding framework for managed investment in infrastructure for basic services all over the country – from urban areas to scattered rural settlements and farms. Several RDP-funded infrastructure programmes were launched between 1994 and 1997. The Municipal Infrastructure Programme (MIP), the Extended Municipal Infrastructure Programme (EMIP) and the Bulk and Connector Infrastructure Grant (BCIG) programme were consolidated into the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure programme (CMIP) by the end of 1998, guided by the following principles:

- At least a basic level of service for all South Africans within ten years;
- Long-term financial sustainability;
- Strengthening the institutional capacity of municipalities;
- A single coherent funding process for municipal infrastructure;
- Rapid improvement of delivery;
- Synchronisation of housing and infrastructure development;
- Integration of rural and urban service delivery.

The provision of housing has not been included in this programme, and is still handled by the Department of Housing. The latest idea towards further streamlining of infrastructure provision is to consolidate funding of CMIP and the Community-based Public Works Programme within district councils that will then be responsible for allocating funding.
‘

Provision of infrastructure

Millions of rands have been spent on basic infrastructure in South Africa. A major problem throughout the country, and especially in rural areas, is maintenance (See Box 10). A recent report by the Mvula Trust states that ‘emphasis has been placed on adherence to guidelines rather than on what is practical and affordable to communities. Community involvement in designing the scheme or choosing the technology has been non-existent in the vast majority of cases’.

Box 10: Too poor to pay for services

“In a rush to deliver, government departments are ignoring the fact that many rural communities are unable to pay for services provided, which is leading to the collapse of projects around the country”.

Source: Mail and Guardian, March 26 – April 1, 1999

The question of maintenance usually arises in the rural areas (where the poorest people live) where no authority is responsible for maintenance. In urban areas, it is assumed where the poorest people live that the authorities will be responsible for maintenance. But here there is a major problem to make people pay. On the other hand, in poorer rural areas, there seems to be an assumption that local people will not only pay, but

should also maintain the assets (Budlender and Dube, 1998).

The Community-based Public Works Programme assists 'forgotten' communities to acquire and plan to maintain infrastructure for basic services. The Free State CBPWP programme has focused mainly on the former homelands (QwaQwa and Thaba 'Nchu). A representative committee is elected to manage a project and to develop a system of maintenance, if it is outside a local authority area. Table 1 compares infrastruture provision in the Free State with South Africa as a whole.

Table 1: Infrastructure provision: The Free State and South Africa compared (Source: Human Sciences Research Council, 1998).

Type of infrastructure	South Africa	Free State
Electricity	58%	357 086 (57%)
Water on stand	60%	438 269 (70%)
Flush toilets	50%	282 116 (45%)

Provision of housing

Housing subsidies of R15 000 enable first-time home owners to receive a house if they do not have a household income of more than R1 500 per month. These 'RDP' houses are usually built in a group scheme where all the houses look like 'little boxes' in rows. The local councils have the right to decide who will benefit from these schemes. Applications are sent annually to the provincial Department of Housing which then decides how many houses will be allocated to municipalities.

An analysis of the housing subsidies in the Free State shows that there was a definite bias towards the small towns (Krige, 1999) (Table 2). This can be attributed to the fact that the approach is to allocate houses per town, notwithstanding its size.

Table 2: Allocation of housing subsidies (houses completed) in the Free State according to settlement type

Settlement type	Number of settlement types	Population	Houses completed
Cities	1	62%	19%
Regional towns	2	8%	9%
Middle towns	11	15%	25%
Small towns	57	15%	47%

Transport

Land transport plans must be developed in order to 'enhance the effective functioning of cities, towns and rural areas through integrated planning of a transport infrastructure and facilities, transport operations including freight movement, bulk services and public transport services', according to the *National Land Transport Bill (1998*). These plans must be prepared with due regard to the relevant IDPs prepared by the local authorities, and the LDOs drafted in terms of the DFA.

Rural roads have been neglected and are in a poor condition. The 1999 budget of the Public Transport, Roads and Works Department of the Free State was a mere 1.29% of the total provincial budget (Atkinson, 1999). In the Ficksburg district of the Free State, the farmers repaired the roads themselves after their repeated requests to the provincial government were fruitless.

Provision of telecommunication

The rate of telecommunications expansion has become one of the most important variables influencing the rate of economic growth and development of a country (Atkinson, 1999). The *White Paper on Telecommunications (1995*) recognises that telecommunications extension is particularly important in rural areas.

Telkom is the State monopoly operator which provides fixed wire communications. Telkom has a five-year period of monopoly over voice telephony. One of the reasons for this monopoly was to develop a network to expand telephone services to all who can afford it. It is also expected to deliver a universal service, which means that all telecommunications services - especially rural telephony - should be made accessible to all South Africans.

The copper wires used in the Telkom reticulation system are highly priced items in the metal recycling industry. Every night, many kilometres of copper wire is stolen, leaving the rural people cut off and extremely vulnerable to attacks. To solve this problem, Telkom will change from 'fixed wire communication' to microwave digital communication systems to come into line with modern communication systems. More than a thousand towers will be erected in the Free State to replace the existing telephone poles and wires.

Two licensed cellular telephone companies, Vodacom and MTN, cover all the major towns and cities, many small towns and the major national roads. This is a major benefit to the rural areas covered, where communication is now possible even when the telephone lines are out of order.

The Universal Service Agency, the 'development arm' of the South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority, promotes telecentres in rural, peri-urban and undeveloped areas as well as to certain sections of urban townships. These telecentres have been established with a range of facilities, including phone lines, computers and modems, photocopiers, printers, scanners and overhead projectors. Each centre is supposed to be run on a profit basis by a community group. The applying organisation must make a 65% financial contribution to the centre. The responsibility of managing the telecentre rests with the franchisees and training in management is provided to them. Eight of these telecentres have been approved in the Free State and 62 in the country as a whole.

5.6 Education

The dramatic change in the education system was initiated before 1994 when concerns and issues about the prevailing system were discussed between all stakeholders and in many fora throughout the country. Concerns were expressed about many issues, e.g. the education system did not develop students capable of adapting to different working environments; adults did not have access to further training and institutions did

not acknowledge courses offered by other institutions. In response, the new national Education Department introduced outcomes-based education, a national qualifications framework, the concept of lifelong learning, and adult basic education.

Planning based on the implementation of the new programmes has proved to be full of pitfalls. The national Department of Education took the lead and involved the provincial departments in the planning process. The decision about target dates for particular programmes is always a political decision. Unfortunately, staff capacity in the provinces varies, so it has been very difficult to stick to the announced programme dates. Public announcements changing implementation dates are seen as embarrassing to the government.

Once a year there is a major provincial-level planning session involving the senior staff of the various directorates and six school district leaders of the Free State Education Department. The district leaders voice their needs and concerns so that they can be incorporated into the provincial programmes. These programmes are then introduced in the towns and surrounding rural areas where all the local schools meet to plan the implementation of the programmes. The next step is for individual schools to plan how they will implement the programmes with support from staff of the district. District councils are responsible for bringing services closer to the schools, but power to develop programmes and to budget is still in the hands of the national and provincial government.

The school governing bodies are elected and have the power to develop school policy, assist with school development, take responsibility for school property and school finances. This includes preparing a school development or strategic plan. Most of the governing bodies are weak and not nearly capable of fulfilling their roles.

In the Free State, there are two types of rural schools: those on farms and those in the former homelands. At present, critical financial constraints are seriously hindering reform programmes and, in the main, the same or similar problems that schools faced in disadvantaged communities during the apartheid era continue.

The *Rural Education Programme* was introduced to address the backlog in rural schools,. The aim of this programme is to improve the overall quality of rural schooling by grouping 4-8 closely-located farm schools into clusters (green patches), for educational and administrative purposes. All the other services will be provided to the cluster.

Non-government organisation

The Tswelopele Farm School Project is an NGO which aims to uplift farm schools through activities and co-operation between relevant stakeholders and role-players. Their programme includes:

- Upgrading school facilities and the environment;
- Choirs, sport, drama and academic competitions;
- Providing infrastructure such as water, electricity and sanitation;
- Providing teaching aids and office administration;
- Promoting academic training and the total development of the farm school child;
- Improving English language skills of pupils with the Molteno Project.

Donors

Many donors are involved in education in the Free State: ABSA, NEDCOR, ESCOM, CLOVER and GEN-FOODS.

5.7 Health

Planning at national level

Since 1994, the National Health System (NHS) has been developed for the delivery of care at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The main aims of the NHS are to:

- Unify the fragmented health service;
- Reduce the disparities and inequalities;
- Make it accessible to all.

It means that the entire health system has been re-orientated towards primary health care. In turn, it has necessitated the reorganisation of health delivery at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This means that the budget has had to be reprioritised in order to move towards greater equity (Van Rensburg *et al.*, 1997). The new health system is performing reasonably well and 60% of South Africans live within 5 km of a health care facility while 75% of children aged between 12 – 23 months are fully immunised.

Planning at provincial level

Policy-making is taking place on a provincial level to incorporate the previously forgotten rural areas. A provincial Health Care Policy has been promulgated and was due to become an Act in 1999. It will provide a plan for integrated service delivery. The impact of the services of the Department of Health is measured by mortality rate, morbidity and life expectancy. These evaluations are used to re-plan and refocus services.

Planning at regional level

Six regions have been established in the Free State which are responsible for planning of functions and visioning. Rural committees are participating in the planning process. A Rural Development Policy Document is currently being developed. Communication between the province and the regions is being improved with electronic databases being set up in some areas.

Planning at a district level

The Free State has been divided into fourteen (14) health districts, each with its own district health authority; a health management team; and health team. A health district is a geographical area with clear boundaries, effectively containing a manageable-sized population.

The *district health authority* is the overall governing body overseeing all communities. It ensures that the resources are evenly and fairly allocated and conducts thorough planning so that services will be efficiently implemented.

The *district management team* accounts for the use of public funds and for the quality of services it provides. The team consists of public representatives from communities who are either directly elected or who have been elected to serve on the local council. This team decides on priorities which determine how available funds should be allocated and spent. It ensures that health care is integrated within broad, inter-sectoral development strategies and it reports back to health service users and communities; this procedure ensures public accountability.

The *district health team* is composed of all health providers in the district: public sector (provincial and local authorities); the private sector; NGOs; CBOs as well as supplementary and traditional healers. This team should provide for health personnel to render comprehensive primary health care, including the necessary professional and support staff.

The *district facilitating committee* (DFC) was formally implemented in 1996. It consists of three representative stakeholder groups: elected representatives of communities (members of TLCs TRCs, etc); staff of the district health directorate, particularly managerial staff, and local authorities; and representatives of other health related groupings in the district. The duties and responsibilities of the DFC are to oversee, represent and guard the interests of the people of that district.

Planning at local authority level

At the hospital and clinic level, *health forums* and *hospital/community health committees* oversee and guard the general health situation. A volunteer programme called Mabophelo has been strengthened with volunteers assisting in primary care services like maternal health in the rural areas.

Donor programmes

European Union and DFID funds are used for district development.

5.8 Welfare

There has been a paradigm shift in welfare so that it has moved away from the traditional welfare approach to services that lead to self-sufficiency and sustainability. The Poverty Relief and Infrastructure Investment Fund has been created and allows community groups to apply for grants to start their own income-generation projects. Fund officials have assisted groups to develop business plans. 229 projects worth nearly R20 million have been approved in the Free State. Until now the whole programme has been managed and executed by the national Department of Welfare. Due to a lack of experience and skills in income-generation development projects, the management of the funds, support and evaluation of the projects, was transferred to a national NGO, the Independent Development Trust. It will use provincial NGOs to execute the programme under their guidance.

The National Department of Welfare sets departmental priorities in line with identified national goals and mandates. This includes identifying categories of services needed with geographic and demographic spread clearly outlined. Information is then disseminated to service providers at both national and provincial levels with regard to strategic focus areas (priorities). In line with the MTEF budget cycle, resources earmarked for such services are projected over a three-year period and confirmed at appropriate times through the budget presentations in both the national parliament and provincial legislatures. Partners and potential partners are then required to prepare and submit service plans within the defined priority areas. At the same time, government will ensure that assessments of developmental needs (baseline studies) for communities are compiled. Information gathered in this way informs the monitoring and evaluation process, and so will make possible the measurement of the impact of any interventions that are financed. An assessment team will review the proposed service plans and make recommendations based on priorities set.

The payment of social grants and pensions is seen by the government as an effective strategy to alleviate poverty. Every month 2,9 million South Africans (7.2%) receive old-age and war veteran pensions (Box 11)

or disability, foster care and care dependency grants and grants-in-aid. A new grant to care-givers responsible for children under the age of seven years was to be introduced in April 1999. While the government is committed to maintaining these programmes, the reality is that allocating ever-increasing amounts of State funds to pensions and grants for the poor can never be the solution to poverty.

Box 11: Pension day

One of the biggest events in a rural small town is pension day. Some of the pensions are transferred directly into bank accounts of beneficiaries, but large amounts are paid out in cash. People come from all over to collect their pensions at a predetermined point. This has created the opportunity for a market that attracts hawkers from the bigger centres. Few of the local people sell products at this market because there is no affordable credit available to start small businesses. A lot of the money that is paid out on pension day leaves the town immediately.

The pension of R480 is the only income for many extended households that may include the grandmother (who is the beneficiary), unemployed adult children, school-going and pre-school grandchildren.

Towards a poverty strategy for the Free State

The Free State Department of Welfare has taken the lead in developing a programme to eradicate poverty and to create an enabling environment to overcome poverty, as was agreed upon at the World Summit on Social Development. This strategy acknowledges the Free State Development Planning Framework of the as well as the Free State Rural Development Strategy. It was agreed that the poverty strategy would focus on poor people in both rural and urban areas. A plan of action was developed at a workshop in November 1998. A workshop was due to be held in April 1999 to report back on the research findings. The document was then to be submitted to the government, political structures and the public for wider consultation and approval.

5.9 Tourism

South Africa is committed to working with other countries in Southern Africa in developing tourism. Appropriate bilateral relations with neighbouring countries have been established to identify areas of co-operation.

Responsibility for tourism lies with the national Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. The vision for this department is to 'promote a clean environment that is conducive to tourism and the economic upliftment of our people through sustainable management and utilisation of natural resources.' The Free State Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism promotes a responsible and sustainable tourism culture in order to benefit the socio-economic needs of the people of the Free State.

Three areas in the Free State have been ear-marked for tourism-led Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs). The current situation and the SDI plans are being compiled by the Tourism Section of the Department of Environment and Tourism (DEAT). A business plan is also being developed which incorporates participation by the local communities within SDI areas. But in Rural QwaQwa, for example, tourism is very low on the list of priorities made by communities, and yet job creation for tourism is the highest priority in the business plan. It is possible that the people do not yet comprehend the impact of tourism-led projects in job creation. Falling under the jurisdiction of the local government, The LDO Steering Committee workshop would provide the best platform for the exchange of information between the community and the DEAT. Public private

partnerships have been endorsed to enhance the delivery of infrastructure, industrial development areas, tourism-led growth, and agricultural projects.

The Free State also boasts unique natural features (geological and topographical), a special wildlife habitat, man-made attractions like major dams, casinos, resorts, bridges, etc. There are key historical sites like Boer war battles, political and religious buildings. There is potential for agri-tourism, cultural villages, arts and crafts and strategic positions for stop-over accommodation for tourists.

Local government is closer to the sites where tourism projects are implemented than both the national and provincial governments. It needs to be empowered to handle the planning, development, and maintenance of many specific aspects of the tourism product.

5.10 Planning systems

There are six legally-required planning systems operating in the Free State rural areas. By 'planning system' we mean the process of establishing a set of policies and actions through study and analysis to achieve agreed goals, objectives and strategies in a given spatial area (PlanAfric 2000). The outputs of a planning system are plans, which may include written reports, maps and diagrams. The intention of rural planning systems is to achieve a framework within which rural development programmes and projects can take place in an integrated and complementary way.

It must be noted that these planning systems were all introduced after 1994 and, as yet, there is little experience or impact information. A summary of the various planning systems is set out in Table 3.

Planning in sectoral government departments for service delivery can be divided into three types:

- National departments make the policies and plans in collaboration with the relevant provincial departments which implement the plans after consultation with decentralised structures e.g. Departments of Education, Welfare and Health. The inputs from the clients are made at the policy level, but no input is made on the planning level.

- National departments make policies and develop programmes, but the relevant provincial departments can choose to make use of the programmes, as long as services are within the national policy framework, e.g. Departments of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs. The Free State Department of Agriculture has identified its clients and listened to their needs before developing programmes. On the other hand, the Department of Environmental Affairs is guided by national policies but 'nature' is still considered as the client. Therefore, little planning really takes place that involves the people of the Free State.

Table 3: Planning systems in South Africa

Planning systems	Institutional Framework	Requirements	Approach and status
Land Development Objectives and Integrated Development Planning	TRCs, TLCs and district councils	Rolling 5-year plans, evaluated and adapted annually; which cover all aspects of development needs	Participatory, involvement of authority, municipal officials and residents In the process of implementation
Water services plans	Water Services Authorities, usually TLCs	Within framework of available water resources	Top down, expected to bring to attention of consumers and to invite comment; link with LDOs In the process of

			implementation
Land transport plans	TLCs, TRCs and district councils		New legislation
Environmental implementation plans and Environmental management plans	Every national department with functions that may affect the environment and every province Every national department with functions involving the management of the environment	Co-ordinate and harmonise environmental policies, plans, programmes and decisions; prevent unreasonable actions by provinces	Internally compiled New legislation
Water catchments management plans	Catchment management authorities;	To control water use in catchment	Participatory, users responsible for management of resource New legislation
Spatial or physical planning	TLCs, private land owners	Site and layouts New township developments	Technical, top down ; increasingly participatory Well established

- National departments with provincial offices develop policies and programmes nationally and these are implemented by their provincial offices. Clients can influence these programmes to a limited extent , but decisions then have to be taken by national departments in consultation with the provincial offices, e.g. the Departments of Land Affairs and Water Affairs and Forestry.

5.11 Conflicts and issues for sustainable livelihoods

Agriculture

- Rural people demand the establishment of 'one-stop shops' to provide emerging farmers with the help they need.

- Land reform and agricultural support services are not co-ordinated to ensure services to emerging farmers after delivery of land. In most cases, the emerging farmers are without support services and the farming projects fail.

- Risk is an inevitable part of dry-land farming activities, but risk management strategies require some degree of support from government if livelihoods are to be sustained in the face of drought. Diversification must be effectively directed to include employment generation, on-farm activities (i.e. adding value to existing farm products) or diversification to off-farm activities.

- The conventional interpretation of the 'economic unit' is redundant and needs to be replaced by a broader concept such as 'livelihood unit' which recognises people's diverse livelihood activities.

Land

- Rural people demand the restructuring of land reform policies to transfer at least 30% of all land to the dispossessed in the next five years. Less than 1% of land has changed hands in the past five years.

- There are still obstacles to women's ownership of land.

- Land is a core issue for the rural people, because the provision of services is still largely dependent on people's ability to get land security.

- Farm workers demand the implementation of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act.

- Commercial farms are big and, usually, owners are interested only in selling the whole farm. Someone who wants land for a small income generation activity is forced to join a group because one poor person cannot buy the whole farm. The different land needs in the group often create conflict.

- The use of universal norms such as carrying capacity does not make sense. There is a need to move more towards local-level planning, involving much more discussion with local land users, and more of a participative approach to planning which recognises the livelihood requirements of different people. This requires a major overhaul of the agricultural and farm planning approach, a revision of the manuals used, and the retraining of extension officers and others (Dikeni *et al.*, 1995, p36).

- Planners' have a very limited understanding of the changing contribution of the use of rangelands in the diverse activities that make up rural livelihoods.

Water

- Rural people demand 50 litres of free water per person per day.

- Provision of water-borne sewerage systems using purified water has placed tremendous pressure on water resources and purification systems.

*Environmen*t

- Rural people demand the application of the 'polluter pays' principles.

- Communities surrounding protected areas should have more opportunities to benefit from such resources, through some harvesting, employment opportunities and revenue sharing. Therefore, government must invest more in capacity-building for communities surrounding protected areas in skills of wildlife management, tourist development, etc.

Infrastructure

- Views concerning the maintenance of infrastructure differ a lot between different researchers and planners (Budlender and Dube, 1998). Some feel that many ordinary people do not want to be involved in the management of municipal services. Others are of the view that high levels of satisfaction can be found with low levels of community involvement. Many people are not even in favour of elected representatives managing the assets. This raises a question about whether the allocation of infrastructure and other development projects should be dependent on community involvement – i.e. whether those communities with the loudest 'voice' should get the most resources. On the other hand, the *Development Report:1998*, expressed the concern that unless there is continuity in community participation, there may not be a voice in the community to support maintenance once the facility is completed - because so many different institutions are often involved in the design, construction, operation and maintenance of facilities or infrastructure.

- 'Evaluations consistently show that systems are over-designed and unaffordable. Few role-players have tried to find creative ways to reduce costs on projects. Nor are communities made aware of cost implications until bills arrive that they cannot afford to pay' (Mvulva Trust).

- The allocation of houses at a local level has been rife with corruption and rumours of corruption.

- The quality of houses has been questioned by the national Minister of Housing. Many houses have cracked or show some weakness in construction. Municipalities and councils are then blamed and expected to repair the houses. This often contributes to a misunderstanding between the council and the residents of a town.

- The fact that all the houses in the 'RDP' schemes look similar has recently been questioned. There is an increasing call for 'self-help' schemes under which owners can build according to their financial ability and at their own speed.

- There is no systematic data such as a baseline to assess impacts, either across the province or on individual projects.

Education

Political and administrative leaders struggle to get teachers to support the excellent policies to transform schools and implement the outcome-based education system. The following issues relate specifically to rural schools:

- Teachers are not willing to live on the farms and are considered by the farming community as foreigners.
- Parent governing bodies are weak and often non-existent, although they have powerful roles to play according to the South Africa Schools Act.
- The parent community wants to appoint its own teachers from within the community regardless of their qualifications. They also expect of the Education Department to provide accommodation to teachers on farms.
- Some farmers assist in transporting learners to learning centres or schools.
- One of the legacies of apartheid is that many teachers are not committed to their task. They are late for school, drunk in the classroom and male teachers often have romantic relationships with girl students. Students often become pregnant because of teachers.
- The provision of equipment and books is slow and they are often under-supplied to rural schools.
- Many parents prefer to move to towns were education is of a higher standard.
- There are few opportunities for school leavers. The school system does not give them skills that are practical or equip them to make a living or to enter the labour market.
- The school system does little to break the cycle of poverty.
- Lifelong education services are not available to rural people, especially skills development.

Health

- Many farmers are not keen to allow health workers on the farms because of the fear of attacks Between January 1998 and July 1999, 150 farmers were murdered and 740 were attacked on their farms in South Africa. Farm workers therefore are deprived of health services on the farm, and are being forced to go to the clinic in town. They are also dependent on the farmer for transport to town.
- On a local level, the roles of members of local health forums and councillors responsible for health matters are not always clear. This creates confusion and hampers communication between the authorities and residents.
- Clinics are often without medication and are short of staff. This is due to the lack of funds from the provincial administration and often the TLC is blamed for the situation because of the confusion of roles.
- Although the location of clinics was decided upon through consultation, people complain a lot about the distance the poor have to travel to the clinics – often they lack transport or money for taxi fares. This is especially true for people in small towns where clinics are often based in the central part of the town.

- People are vulnerable to malnutrition, domestic violence and child and labour abuse. The Department of Health is addressing these issues through prevention, by health promotion, victim support programmes, nutrition schemes (e.g. meals in schools), education and through raising awareness of the service centres.

Welfare

- Pregnancies are high amongst school girls. Very often they have to leave school to care for their babies or extend their school years to complete their education. The fathers usually accept no responsibilities for the mother or the child.

- Welfare services to small towns and rural areas are limited to payment of, and applications for, pensions and grants. Very few social services which focus on emotional needs are provided – and towns are in dire need of such services. There are no NGOs providing these services either.

- At present, poor people are not being prepared for the policy of the Department of Welfare to scrap maintenance grants. Many rural people see the grants as their only means of survival.

General

- A major problem is 'mandate without funds' where responsibilities of national departments are passed down to provincial government without funding to implement it. An agreement has been reached that the provinces will not be compelled to accept new mandates, but the cost factors had all been rolled down before the decision was taken.

- Dependency is the development paradigm in South Africa. The reigning question is not 'what can we do' but rather 'what others will do for us'.

- Ordinary people are not informed when a government department cannot deliver a promised service due to funding problems or lack of staff. This may be due to the fact that departments do not communicate their goals and objectives sufficiently to the public.

PART 3

CASE STUDIES

6 RURAL PLANNING IN PRACTICE

6.1 Case study of a small Free State rural town – Wepener

Background information

Wepener is a small town situated on the border of Lesotho with the Van Rooyen's Gate border post 15 km from the town. The town is physically and racially divided into 'suburbs' Qibing for Africans (83% of residents), Ebenhaezerhoogte for Coloureds (7% of the residents) and Wepener for Whites (10% of the residents). This is a direct result of past legislation such as the Group Areas and Influx Control Acts. An Urban Structure Plan (1995) for Wepener, Qibing, Ebenhaeserhoogte and the environment was compiled and overseen by the Spatial Planning Directorate in 1990. This plan is not a statutory document and merely serves as a guideline used when land use applications are considered. Amongst the proposals in the document are the directions in which new townships should develop. However, the town planners in the directorate confirmed that these guidelines are not adhered to as it might be contradictory to what the community wants.

The town is managed by a Transitional Local Council of ten members elected in 1995, representing the African National Congress (7), Unemployed workers (1), Taxpayers Association (1) and Worried Residents (1). The town has a reasonable infrastructure with a library, ambulance, three clinics, three community halls, five schools, an old-age home, six cemeteries and an active business centre.

Critical features

The Sand River runs through the town and regular flood damage resulted in the recent declaration of 30 erven be uninhabitable. The Department of Water Affairs bought the land and transferred it to the TLC. The affected households, which included many skilled business people, all left town.

The population showed a dramatic increased from 7,370 in 1995 to approximately 14,500 in 1998. This has been a common phenomenon throughout the province. The causes are common: retrenchment on the mines, big industries in the cities and farms, farm workers who prefer to live in towns where there are services like schools and clinics, migration from other African countries and people who retire to smaller, safer and more affordable towns. The family linkages between the Basotho people in Lesotho and the Free State are very strong and many of the educated citizens of Lesotho migrated to the Free State, finding better paid jobs and living conditions here. The uneducated or less educated also found a haven in South Africa although they are not as welcome as educated people. There is little control of this influx but resistance is growing against foreigners who are perceived to be taking the jobs of the local people.

Spatial layout of the town

The physical structure of the town is determined by political, natural and man-made features.

Political: Due to apartheid policies, Wepener developed in three distinct areas. Ebenhaeserhoogte was developed to accommodate the Coloured community, Quibing was developed for the African residents and Wepener for the White community. Care was taken not to integrate these areas and buffer zones were created or used like the railway, the dumping site, sewerage works, Sand River and the natural contours.

Natural: A dominant factor in Wepener is the Sand River running through the town. This determines the physical shape of the town. Wepener is situated in the foothills of the Maluti Mountains. As some parts of the town are too steep for safe or easy development and are not economically viable, the topography of the town is also a determinant of its physical appearance. These foothills form a barrier to the north-east of the town. The topography was also cleverly used politically to enhance racial segregation by placing the Qibing and Ebenhaeserhoogte areas mainly on the higher-lying areas and Wepener on the low-lying areas.

Man-made features: The provincial road between the towns of Dewetsdorp and Zastron and the railway line form physical barriers restricting south-western expansion of new suburbs.

Strategic approaches

The LDO is being set by the TLC and a representative committee under the guidance of a consultant. The process is difficult due to the fact that most of the residents do not trust the TLC. In addition, there is tension between the wealthier Whites who control the economy of the town, and the poorer Africans who have the political power. One of the reasons for the distrust is the division amongst ANC councillors which filters through to grass-roots structures. Five important themes of development have been identified through the LDO process: local democracy, local economic development, provision of infrastructure, social sustainability and the capacity to plan and implement.

Two forums are active in town. The Health Forum is actively supported and encouraged by the Department of Health and the councillor responsible for health issues plays an active role in the forum. The other is the Sports Council which brings all the sports activities under one umbrella to promote and co-ordinate sport. The Tourism and Local Development Forums are inactive with no support from the relevant provincial departments.

Implementation of the DFA principles

An example of conflicts arising from the principles of the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) in Wepener, was the establishment of a new extension of the Kanana residential area. The principles state that the community should play an important role in the planning process. In the case of the new residential area, the councillors located the site in a position which contradicts most of the DFA principles: i.e.:

- *Promoting physical integration and the compacting of the town* - the new extension was placed on the outer edge and far away from the business sector;
- *Integration of residential and employment opportunities* - no attention was given to employment opportunities for the home owners;
- *Optimal use of existing resources* - new infrastructure had to be added to the existing reticulation; and
- Most importantly, the correction of historically distorted spatial patterns did not take place – rather the distortions were actually continued.

It needs to be noted, however, that implementation of the principles is not easily attained, not only because of physical difficulties, but also because of social perceptions amongst the various groupings of people. For example, where the Sand River was used as a buffer between townships, it is a permanent fixture. The mountainous terrain also makes integration difficult. There is also a perception that White people are quiet while Africans are noisy and, therefore, both groups shy away from living next to each other.

6.2 Case study of a small Eastern Cape rural town – Stutterheim.

Background information

Stutterheim was founded in 1857 under the leadership of Baron von Stutterheim. Municipal status was acquired in 1979. The town lies at the base of the Amatola Mountains, 80 km from East London. The combined population of Stutterheim and the nine villages which surround it, is 50,000 Blacks and 3,000 Whites. The main economic activities are home-based businesses, farming, livestock, and forestry for timber (Corporate Social Investment and Development Handbook, 1999, p51).

In the 1980s, the Nationalist Party government tried to move Blacks forcibly to the 'homeland' of Ciskei, stopping all development in the deteriorating townships. Angered by their living conditions, Blacks organised monthly protests and marches culminating, in 1989, in a seven-month boycott of White businesses which almost broke the commercial back of the town. During the early 1990s, a group of leaders came together and initiated the Stutterheim Forum and later the Stutterheim Development Foundation and various spin-off initiatives. The Stutterheim Forum was a negotiating platform with numerous sub-committees. National institutions like the Development Bank of Southern Africa and the Independent Development Trust became directly involved.

Spatial planning issues

After initial movement towards ending the apartheid urban form, Stutterheim has been resegregated. The town comprises a mainly 'White' area, a mainly 'Coloured' area, an African township, at least three other African townships in close proximity, and many other neighbouring rural villages. Although the neighbouring African townships and rural villages represent more than 75% of the Stutterheim community, they have effectively been left out of resource distribution, local democracy and planning for future development. The resegregation of the town is well-advanced. Residential areas are divided along class lines.

Local economic development initiatives

The Local Economic Development process in Stutterheim has become a model across South Africa for how things should be done in an inclusive, participatory and entrepreneurial manner. In view of this, this case study sets out to evaluate the success of the Local Economic Development Agency (LED) and the Stutterheim Development Foundation, against the incidence and persistence of poverty in the area (Mncwabeni and Bond, 1998). The results are startling and possibly controversial in that certain indicators suggest that poverty levels are actually increasing and, even people who have gone through skills training programmes are not mainstreamed into the local economy.

The LED activities have never developed beyond a number of small discrete projects, many of which have proved to be unsustainable. Skills-training programmes left people still unemployed or forced to leave the

town in search of employment opportunities. There has been a general failure in the LED planning to link the provision of infrastructure to the creation of opportunities for jobs, public health provision, gender equality or geographical desegregation. Local capital spending is in decline and there has been little in the way of a transformation in the local budget.

Service provision

The ability of those fortunate township residents who have been incorporated into Stutterheim to pay their bills is so limited that 61% of Mlungisi's residents have been declared 'indigent' for the purposes of payment of municipal services.

The privatisation of water has been carried out in such a manner such that a large foreign enterprise successfully 'cherry-picked' the lucrative White and Coloured areas, which receive dependable water supplies. The township remains unserviced and the unofficial neighbouring townships receive no reticulated water at all.

No effort has been made by Stutterheim Council to price basic services in a socially-just manner or to repair water and electricity lines and thus to save resources.

These are sobering findings that unsettle any assumption that LED can be simple and that its impact is automatically positive for the poor. This case study is likely to generate debate and further research because it captures the limitations of LED approaches that fail to engage with unequal power relations in communities that are just emerging from decades of separate development.

6.3 Case study of a large Free State rural town – Parys

Background Information

Parys is a medium-sized town situated 38 km to the west of Sasolburg and 60 km to the south of the Gauteng Metropolitan area. It is situated on the border between the Free State and North-West Province formed by the Vaal River.

Due to previous legislation, the town consists of three sections: Parys (10,950 residents), Tumahole (61,160 residents) and Schonkenville (840 residents). The total population is 72,950. The growth rate of the population in Tumahole and Schonkenville is estimated at 5% and that of Parys at 0.5% per annum. Parys is managed by the Greater Parys Transitional Local Council consisting of 20 councillors.

The service area of Parys is approximately 30 km around the town, perhaps longer towards Koppies. The radius of influence is not very large due to the proximity of large towns such as Potchefstroom and Vanderbijlpark, which are in competition with the facilities offered by Parys.

Critical features

Parys is a central regional centre serving as an accumulation and marketing point for the surrounding agricultural area. It is also a distribution centre for goods and mining products from the region.

The location of Parys adjacent to the Vaal River gives tourism potential to the town. Several islands in the river enhance this potential. The second contributing factor to the tourism potential is the Vredefort Granite

Dome which has great geological significance. Parys has a good location for tourism as it is close to the Gauteng Metropolitan Area, Bloemfontein and the North West Province.

There is a need to obtain land for small-scale farming and grazing. Funds were granted for this purpose by the Department of Land Affairs in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture. 1,500 ha has therefore been transferred into the name of the Transitional Local Council for this purpose. However, no funds have been received from the Community Projects Fund of the Department of Agriculture to enable the implementation of the project.

A primary access route passes through Parys. This previously formed part of the N1 route. Currently this road serves as an alternative route to the N1 which is a toll road. Tumahole and the industrial area is not accessible from this route which restricts the growth potential of these areas.

Some small holdings are situated adjacent to Parys and are included in the area of jurisdiction of the Transitional Local Council.

The White population of Parys has an older age structure than most other towns in the Free State due to the prevalence of retired people who are generally from the higher income group. This is relevant as spending patterns are enhanced and more employment opportunities are created. In contrast,. the age structure in Tumahole and Schonkenville shows a young profile.

A small, light industrial area is located in the town, but it is considered to be stagnant due to competition from better opportunities in the nearby Vaal Triangle. This industrial area and the railway line were previously used as buffers to separate townships. As they are permanent features, they have to be accommodated in the integration planning.

Spatial layout

The current physical layout of the town is determined by natural, political and man-made features.

Political: Owing to apartheid policies, Parys developed into three distinct portions. Schonkenville accommodates mainly the Coloured community, Tumahole the African community and Parys the White community. Buffer zones (the railway line and the industrial area) were created to restrict physical integration of these sectors and to separate Tumahole and Schonkenville from Parys.

Natural: The Vaal River forms a barrier restricting development of the town in a southern direction.

Man-made features: The railway line and the main road cutting through the town restricts development to a certain extent.

Probably the most challenging issue faced by the town is to keep up with the need for new residential erven. This planning is hindered by the lack of funds from the province as well as the slow legal process to proclaim new townships. New physical planning projects focus on integration of the town. This implies infill development of buffer corridors. The TLC also owns properties along the Vaal River with tourist potential. The council is currently ascertaining what the most economical option are for the future development of these properties.

Strategic approaches

Land Development Objectives are being compiled by consultants and the TLC. A Representative Structure and Steering Committee is assisting the process further. Forums play an active role in further development,

but most of them are struggling to survive (see Box 12). Tourism has development potential in the town, and the challenge to the TLC is to create opportunities for the total community.

6.4 Case study of a former Bantustan – Thaba 'Nchu

Thaba 'Nchu is an area of 127,462 ha in the Free State of which 9% is urban and the rest rural. Thaba 'Nchu has both a TLC for the built-up urban area and a TRC for the rural farming area with 37 villages. About 30% of the rural area is privately owned, the rest is communal land. The Barolong Traditional Council was responsible for the administration of the area, as well as for the allocation of land and land use before 1994. It still has support amongst the residents, especially the older people.

Box 12: Forums in Parys

There are five active forums in Parys. The most active are the Health and Tourism Forums. The Health Forum functions on a regional level and receives input from the Department of Health. The Tourism forum focuses mainly on the enhancement of tourism potential of the town. The forum is locally-based and has strong input from the business sector in town. Other less-active forums include the Sport, Environmental and Local Development Forums. All these forums link with the TLC, the main reason being funding for projects.

The TLC has six subcommittees: Human Resources, Projects, Sports and Tenders, Health, Crises, Marketing and Investment. Only two of the subcommittees overlap with the forums, which leave the forums without a platform in the TLC.

Urban Thaba 'Nchu

The TLC has jurisdiction over an area that consists of the old town of Thaba 'Nchu with the business centre, Selosesha with middle-class housing for employed people and an industrial area, and four 'rural' towns that were added to the town after the elections of 1994. These four 'rural' towns were formed in the 1960s as part of the 'betterment scheme' to move people with cattle out of urban Thaba 'Nchu. Today the issue of cattle ownership in these towns is a matter of contention. Municipal regulations introduced in the 1940s forbid farm animals to be kept in town while the Department of Health believes farm animals spread diseases. The council took a decision that all the farm animals must be moved out, without consultation with the residents. Many people in the more urbanised areas support the decision, while those in the former rural villages are against it. The two groups are divided according to those who own cattle and those who do not. Cattle are economic as well as cultural assets, and forcing cattle out has many implications for the livelihoods of the owners.

The allocation of land was done through PTO (Permission to Occupy) certificates. This was the responsibility of the Traditional Authority before 1994. The PTOs were used as a planning and control tool because very few business PTOs were allocated compared with residential PTOs. The authorities also allocated business PTOs to 'influencial' families. This contributed to the lack of entrepreneurship development and a dependency on the government to provide jobs.

Barolong Tribal Authority (part of the Republic of Bophuthatswana) was responsible under apartheid legislation for land allocation (residential, business and land and stock) and the administration of communally-owned land. Many residents associated this with co-operation with the apartheid regime, which resulted in the rejection of the Tribal Authority. This was one of the reasons why alternative structures (e.g. SANCO) started to allocate residential sites (Thaba Nchu Land Reform Research Project, Department of Land Affairs, 1998). The role of the Barolong Tribal Authority was sidelined to be responsible for 'customs', while land allocation became the responsibility of the TLC. Because the towns were not formalised until the end of

1998, both parties continued to hand out sites. In 1998, a major process of land reform was initiated by the Department of Land Affairs to transfer title deeds to the PTO holders. The Barolong Tribal Authority never acknowledged this process because it took away its last power base. More than 10,000 sites have been transferred to the owners after ownership of each site has been cleared.

Rural Thaba 'Nchu

Land and communal use was planned by the former Agricultural Development Corporation, Agricor, which was responsible for planning and rendering services mostly through village development committees. The allocation of land and stock rights were issued in all the 37 villages. Each village had access to a number of surrounding State farms for grazing and arable purposes. Land was divided based on a carrying capacity standard of 6 ha per large animal unit. The arable land was divided into plots of three morgen for every household. Every year, a stock census was undertaken to ensure that the number of animals did not exceed the carrying capacity of the area. These planning systems collapsed after 1994, when Agricor closed down and the services stopped. The village committees are now solely responsible for planning and management of the area.

Strategic approaches

The LDOs are currently being set for both the TRC and TLC areas of jurisdiction.

6.5 Case study of a commercial farming area: the Maluti Transitional Rural Council

Background information

The Maluti Transitional Rural Council covers the districts of the towns of Marquard, Rosendal, Fouriesburg, Ficksburg, Clocolan, Excelsior, Tweespruit, Hobhouse and Ladybrand. These towns are excluded from the TRC areas. The Maluti TRC therefore covers an area of 24,000 km² (200 km x 120 km) of large commercial farms without a 'town'. Eighteen thousand people registered for the 1999 election, with the total population of the area approximately 45,000. Nearly 50% of the population has left the area for the towns in the last few years.

Effectiveness of the Transitional Rural Council

The TRC consists of five Black farm workers and five White land owners. The TRC's administration is based in Bethlehem, a town which lies beyond the boundaries of the TRC, and is handled by the district council. The TRC has no funds or income and relies totally on the district council for administration and funding of development initiatives. Unlike the TLCs, the TRC does not own land. All the land in its area is privately owned.

The TRC system leaves the farm workers powerless. The farm worker representatives on the TRC cannot serve the people that elected them because of the farmers' reluctance to allow strangers onto their farms. Farm workers cannot communicate with their constituencies as they do not have transport, there are no taxis between the farms and meetings are not allowed in working hours. This means that the representatives of farm workers are without a mandate. The rural-urban linkages are very strong and a weakness is that the

services of the TRC are not available in the nearest town. The TRC is therefore only accessible to those with a telephone or car.

Critical features

The area has a financially strong economy. This is because the rainfall is reliable enough to enable the production of rain-fed crops such as sunflower and maize. The farmers also diversified their farming activities to include products for the export market like cherries and asparagus and fresh milk and vegetables for the urban markets and neighbouring Lesotho.

One of the major areas of concern is farm security which stems from the issue of land imbalance (Box 13). During 1998, 60 farm attacks took place every month in South Africa. During the first seven months, 424 attacks took place during which 89 farmers were murdered (*Ruairí Ó Conchúir*, 1998).

Box 13: Land imbalances

In 1994, some 87% of agricultural land in South Africa was owned and farmed by approximately 67,000 White commercial farmers (or less than 0.2% of the total population). By September 1998, only 1% of the land had been transferred through approximately 300 land redistribution projects. The Reconstruction and Development Programme promised that 30% of the agricultural land would be transferred to the rúral poor.

Source: Ruairi O'Conchuir (Free State PDLA Office).

The district council supported the introduction of a farm security system by providing each farmer with a radio telephone. This has saved the lives of many farmers. However, all this has had a severe impact on the social life of all farm dwellers. Farmers lock themselves up in their homes as soon as the sun sets and carry weapons on their daily trips. Farm workers live in fear because they cannot trust the knock on the door at night. No strangers are trusted on the farms, including members of the TRC, the police, workers of Eskom to repair electrical breakdowns at night and the mobile clinics. There is, however, a good relationship between the Whites and Blacks who are living permanently in the area.

Provision of services

Services to the TRC area are weak. The mobile clinics have come to a standstill due to the financial crisis of the government, roads are not maintained as in the past, and the police do not have the funds to patrol the farming area. The extension officers of the Department of Agriculture do not serve the commercial farmers anymore. The result is that animal diseases that were under control in the past are now spreading. The land reform process is slow and cumbersome. It takes at least three years for the process to be completed. Ten White farmers have started the process of selling their farms through the redistribution process; while many others, who are willing to sell, are scared away by the tedious process.

Strategic approaches

According to the chairperson of the TRC, the LDO planning process is happening at the wrong time. The demarcation of the local authority areas is in process and uncertainty exists about the future of the TRCs.

Public participation is extremely difficult. Farmers do not trust the process because they believe it will lead to the end of the TRC system and they will be engulfed by the bigger urban populations.

6.6 Case study of the Maputo Development Corridor

The Maputo Development Corridor (MDC) is one of the most ambitious and exciting development initiatives undertaken within the Southern African region. Coming at a time of substantial political change and growing co-operation within the region, this initiative has achieved remarkable success (and demonstrated impact), through true partnerships in its short history.

The idea of the corridor is to establish the development axis between Johannesburg (South Africa's industrial heartland) and the city and port of Maputo in Mozambique. The vision was to rehabilitate the core infrastructure in the corridor (notably road, rail, port and dredging, and border post) through public/private partnerships (cognisant of state fiscal limitations) - thereby re-establishing key linkages and opening up inherent and under-utilised economic development opportunities. Common to both countries was the importance of the initiative to the respective reconstruction and development programmes (specifically to achieving GDP and employment growth targets, increasing local and foreign fixed investment and improving exports). Underlying this vision was the desire to see this initiative contributing to other key policy areas – notably regional economic integration, international competitiveness and a broadening of the ownership base in the economy of the corridor. A strong, well mandated, and well resourced trans-national structure was put into place at inter-departmental co-ordination and technical levels.

The planning process adopted was developed to reflect the unique elements of the initiatives – namely the trans-national character, the short time-frame and the project-driven approach (with a focus on public/private partnerships). The planning process contrasts strongly with conventional approaches, which would generally require an appraisal of the impacts (environmental, economic, technical and social) and some degree of consultation with communities affected by the development before deciding whether to proceed with implementation. This process has been subsequently reviewed, refined and applied to a broader strategic initiative - now being pursued in South Africa – known as the Spatial Development Initiatives programme. The Maputo Development Corridor (MDC) was initiated on the basis of four key objectives. They were as follows:

- To rehabilitate the core infrastructure along the corridor with minimum impact to the fiscus (road, rail, port, dredging of port and border post);
- To maximise investment in both the inherent potential of the corridor area and in the added opportunities which the infrastructure rehabilitation will create;
- To ensure that the development impact of this investment is maximised, particularly to disadvantaged communities. Changing the ownership base;
- To ensure sustainability by developing policy, strategies and frameworks that encompass a holistic, participatory and integrated approach to environmental management.

Multi-million rand projects are planned or are underway in the Development Corridor. From toll roads, harbour rehabilitation; an aluminium smelter plant, various petrochemical projects, casino developments, and transfrontier parks are some of the large investments underway. In order to include the disadvantaged communities, all concessions involving State assets or in which the State has a role, contain a defined minimum proportion (value) of the contract to be given to emerging contractors/emerging business. There are targeted interventions to support small, medium and micro-enterprises (SMMEs). Examples include proposals to establish a regional (corridor) equity fund to assist emerging small businesses.

The rapid rate at which the MDC has been initiated has caused some tension within the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The SDI approach requires quite fundamental policy shifts, such as the active encouragement of public-partnerships, which have not been fully accepted by all member states of the SADC (Mitchell 1999, p758). A high level of political support is necessary for such a project. Friction between national ministries of Transport in South Africa and Mozambique was common, and bilateral protocols and agreements were signed, each of which could have been a cause of delay, had the MDC not enjoyed significant commitment on a senior political level. Unfortunately Swaziland has been excluded from the onset, with an apparent reactive approach of the Swaziland government to the MDC.

The relations between the national Department of Transport and the Mpumalanga provincial government has improved after initial tensions. The national government considered the capacity constraints to be so serious that it did most of the planning itself. Mpumalanga overcame most of these problems and can now play a bigger role with confidence. The MDC was successful in attracting large investments for infrastructure, although it is not certain that all the investment is a direct result of the MDC. The inherent economic potential of the area could also have played a major role.

The role of the MDC to create jobs seems limited. In most sectors of the economy, it requires about US$200 000 of capital investment to create a single permanent job. Thus, the US$1,5 billion investment is expected to create 7 000 permanent jobs. However, it is important to remember that Mpumalanga has some 350,000 unemployed people and 7,000 new jobs represents only 2 per cent of this total. Many of the skills needed are also sourced from the outside because they are not available on the local market.

It was expected that the MDC will bring opportunities to the rural, previously disadvantaged people, but this is not happening. The MDC has an urban bias, with five large urban areas directly in the corridor. The racial bias in the ownership of economic assets is striking. All of 1,000 tourist facilities in the corridor area studied were owned by Whites.

Conflicts and issues for sustainable livelihoods

Key Observations

- Political commitment is needed for any major development or transformation programme to succeed.
- SDIs are being planned and implemented with little regard for the effects on individual rural communities. Many of the causes of poverty are the result of private sector's interests in short-term profits at the expense of longer-term social goals (Eveleth, 1999).

Recommendations

- Focus on the whole picture rather than on pieces of a jigsaw puzzle when planning a project. The livelihood framework enables outsiders to see the big picture.

PART 4

EMERGING ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7 CROSS-CUTTING PLANNING ISSUES

7.1 Strategic approaches

The Development Facilitation Act and the Transitional Local Government Act have introduced normative-based methods of strategic planning (Land Development Objectives and Integrated Development Planning) at the local authority level that should be supported by both the national and provincial governments. All services provided by the provincial government should be geared towards these objectives and strategies of the local authorities. Despite the fact that the strategic planning process has started at local authority level, there are many uncertainties, 'gaps' and role-players that are not involved yet. If this does not receive urgent attention and political commitment at provincial level, it is likely to fail.

7.2 Partnership approaches and the private sector

The private sector plays an important role as the agent of spatial and development planning, as one of the groups that has to deal with the impacts of planning, and as the main creator of employment and incomes. In general, the relationship between government and the private sector is on a service delivery basis and not on a partnership basis. There are now some examples of local government contracting out water services. There are few examples of genuine involvement of the private sector, and government tends to be inwardly focused.

7.3 Rural/urban links

Planning health services: Rural/urban linkages are significant to health planning because out-of-town patients receive most of their services in the small or bigger towns. As more people leave the farms for the towns, service delivery via mobile clinics becomes very expensive in the farming areas, while the town services become more congested. New solutions for services will have to be found, e.g. farmers who will have to take farm workers to central mobile service points, or farmers' wives who are trained nurses to give assistance to the farm workers.

Planning employment: Many farm workers leave the farms to live in towns because they hope to get better paid jobs and better health and education services for the family. Planning local economic development strategies should therefore be closely linked to the farming community so as to prepare it proactively for the continuous influx of unemployed people, as well as to create opportunities for potential and emerging farmers outside towns. This is not the case at the moment.

Planning shelter: Fifty years ago many farmers owned a house in town, to use when they came to town for church events, or to buy or sell goods. This trend has changed with the improvement of vehicles and roads and visits to town have become a normal weekly event. Now many farm workers own a site (erven) with a shack or house in town. A senior member of the household, often a grandmother, sometimes lives there with the school-going children or sometimes the children live alone. Many farmers also encourage their workers to

own houses in town because of new legislation that forces farmers to provide permanent accommodation to labour tenants. This has also led to some farm workers commuting on a daily or weekly basis between farms and towns. Housing schemes for farm workers in towns or agricultural villages in the farming areas need to be planned co-operatively by the farming community and the town residents.

Planning marketing of rural produce: Prior to 1994, large farmer co-operatives played a major role in marketing the produce of commercial farmers. After the abolition of control boards and the introduction of the free market system for agriculture, the role of the co-operatives has changed. Co-operatives must now compete with private enterprise to market produce. Most of the co-operatives have changed into input suppliers. Most of the time the produce of local farmers does not even reach the town. It goes directly via rail or road transport to bigger centres for value-adding or packaging. This has removed a major economic activity from the small rural towns, leaving many people unemployed. However, some innovative commercial farmers have started agro-processing businesses on their farms like dairy processing, mills, sunflower oil processing or abattoirs. These products also by-pass the small towns and go directly to the bigger centres where the markets are located, with a detrimental impact on the economy of the town. Incentives by the TLC can lure agro-businesses back to town to stimulate the economy of the town.

Planning educational facilities: It was the practice before 1994 for White farm children to go to a well-provisioned school in town where they were accommodated in a government-supported hostel. The African children, who lived on farms, went to small farm schools with few facilities or equipment and poorly-trained teachers. After 1994, all the schools opened for all races and the immediate reaction of the rural Whites was to send their children to schools in the bigger centres where there were many Whites, or to start local private schools. This again had a major impact on the economy of the small towns because, instead of going to the nearest town on a Monday or Friday, the trip was now to the big centres where business was also done at the same time. There was, however, a major movement of African children to the town schools with the hope of a better education. Awareness of this migration of scholars is essential to plan effective school services.

Planning transport: The dominance of private cars over many years has had a far-reaching impact on the rural society. Those who do not own cars find it very difficult to move from the farms to the towns. Taxis do not venture onto the gravel roads between the farms and buses are rare. There are no trains either. Farm workers are therefore dependent on the farmers for transport to towns. These issues are critical for spatial planning.

Planning linkages: The integration of rural and urban issues and services can be seen from these examples. However, there is hardly any contact between the TRCs and TLCs who co-exist with each other. They seem to operate in different worlds (Atkinson and Inge, 1997).

7.4 Approaches to participation

Participation has been entrenched into the development and planning approach of the government through documents like the RDP, White Paper on Local Government and the DFA. But participation has been interpreted in many different ways: from very rudimentary consultation between agencies and the council, to community-based organisations or the community. Councillors often claim that they are the elected representatives of the people and are capable of speaking for the people, but the reality is there is often significant tension between them and the people. Often NGOs or CBOs are called to meetings where they speak on behalf of the people. Some government departments in the Free State (notably Agriculture and Welfare) have taken up the challenge to improve the ability of their staff to understand and manage participation and have trained staff in participatory learning and action (PLA) methods. Unfortunately, these methods are still unknown on local government level.

There is often strong emphasis in policy documents on the need for participation in planning and service delivery, e.g. in health forums, community policing forums, local development forums, infrastructure projects based on the needs of the residents, participation to set LDOs, and involving local residents in municipal budgeting. Our research has found little evidence of successes on the ground. But we found evidence of:

- Residents who do not pay services after they have been consulted about infrastructure projects;
- Residents who do not trust their councils;
- Councillors who do not hold meetings with their constituencies;
- Forums that do not know what to do and struggle to keep their members together; or
- Forums which are in conflict with the councils because they are perceived to challenge the political power of the councillors.

7.5 'The myth of community'

'Community' has been viewed naively or, in practice, dealt with as a harmonious and internally equitable collective (Guijt and Shah, 1998). Also, there is an inadequate understanding of the internal dynamics and differences, which are so crucial to positive outcomes. The livelihoods approach involves listening to interest groups and tries to overcome this concern, and it helps service providers to focus on the differing strengths and needs of social groups. The voices of women are often silent unless some proactive effort is made to involve them. Great sensitivity towards gender issues and 'the community' must be shown in planning processes. The Free State Department of Agriculture is one of few departments that have tried to differentiate their clients and their needs, and design programmes to respond.

7.6 Integrated approaches (sectors)

The provincial government departments have functions that they must execute. These functions are entrenched in the constitution, laws and white papers. Through the provincial inter-departmental management committee (IDMC) with its planning and priorities subcommittee, reasonable success has been achieved in co-ordinating service delivery in the Free State government. However, the Free State government's cluster approach to co-ordinate service and planning in the provincial government is perceived to work only in theory. Departments are like enemy kingdoms and each department refers to 'my' clients and not to 'our' clients.

Integration of services should take place at the local level, but most officials complained that integration of service delivery has not taken place yet because of a lack of co-operation between staff of different departments at local level. Integration of land use is guided by the DFA, but little evidence could be found that the DFA principles are actually understood and implemented.

7.7 Linkages between spheres of government

Evidence was found of linkages between local government and provincial government departments. These linkages happened through provincial departments delivering services in the municipal areas and also supporting and building the capacity of local authorities. However, in planning, the linkage seemed to be completely distorted. It is as if two trains are running on separate tracks and in opposite directions.

7.8 Linkages within spheres of government

Most national government departments (for example, Constitutional Development, Land Affairs, Housing, Transport, Environment, and Trade and Industry) have policies that could be described as falling within the spatial planning field. Despite the energetic reforms and new policies in each department, little co-ordination or linking has taken place during the process. The difference between planning systems for development, spatial, transport, water and environmental issues are a matter of concern. Integrated planning will easily be lost amongst line departments who tend to have their own agendas instead of a common corporate culture.

7.9 Role of donors

A few major donors are active in supporting provincial governments. Donor technical staff are placed in the beneficiary department where they work closely with local officials. Their role is to build the capacity of the officials and to introduce methods and procedures to deliver services. Political tensions, officials who resist change and the difficulty to separate political and administrative agendas, often make the implementation of donor programmes difficult. Different donors also have different approaches, planning and reporting procedures that place a burden on recipient departments.

GTZ has a significant programme supporting district development planning, DFID is funding a programme to support local government and USAID has introduced a municipality support programme.

7.10 Evidence of institutional sustainability of systems and practices

Provincial government is facing many problems, with the Free State in particular facing a financial crisis as well as residual impacts of a political crisis. Similar problems are experienced at a local level, where municipal finances are often in a very poor state. This is mainly because services are not being paid for, because there is a lack of political will to force residents to pay, and because of the lack of experience in managing a town, etc.

At this stage there is very little evidence of the institutional sustainability of systems and practices on both provincial and local levels and this has a major impact on planning processes. The LDO process is underway and it is too early to say how sustainable this will be, bearing in mind that it is supposed to be an on-going process of planning and replanning and not a once-off plan.

7.11 Capacity

Lack of capacity is one of the most serious issues facing the planning system in South Africa (Draft Green Paper on Development and Planning, 1999, p22). The problem applies to officials and decision-makers as well as in local and provincial government. The more discretionary normative and participatory planning system initiated by the DFA requires a different kind of capacity to that required by the previous rule-based system. This capacity needs to be developed in local and provincial government, and in communities.

8 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS-BASED PLANNING

8.1 Planning around people

One of the critical issues in planning is how it responds to the needs and opportunities of citizens, the people it is meant to serve. Local government provides the lowest level of planning authority that is closest to the people and incorporates representation. The role of local government looks likely to increase, possibly at the expense of provincial government. There is evidence worldwide that increasing decentralisation to local government increases the responsiveness of service providers (Goldman, 1998). Thus, important issues in promoting people-based and poverty-based planning are:

- Clarifying the role of the TLCs/TRCs in planning and management of the town/area, and building their capacity to plan and manage local development, including local economic development.

- Helping local stakeholders to develop an understanding of anti-poverty policy frameworks, instruments and opportunities[3] which should be included in the local planning process.

- The sustainable livelihood concept provides a useful framework to define the causes and levels of poverty within the area of jurisdiction[4], and can also be used for a 'poverty audit' that combines qualitative and quantitative methods.

- Integrating appropriate strategies for poverty alleviation into LDO strategies that can be measured and translated into clear targets. Anti-poverty strategies should not be seen as addition to the already complex tasks and requirements that municipalities have to comply with, but should be subsumed in the LDO and IDP processes and conducted as part of various steps within those activities.

- Establishing dedicated institutional mechanisms and processes to drive and monitor the implementation and incorporation of development plans into all aspects of the municipality's operation.

- Linking integrated development planning to the budgetary and financial planning cycles.

- Developing a common understanding of the principles of the DFA and applying it in all planning activities.

However, local government can still be far from the people. This is particularly true for TRCs which, as in the Maluti case study, sometimes cover very large areas. At present, mechanisms to develop linkages between local people and local authority structures and planning are important but weak in the South African system. This is very important if the dependency culture is to be overcome, and people are to begin to focus on what they can do rather than what government should provide. Some recommendations are:

- Local structures should develop local integrated development plans that contribute to the district plan. Initially, the structures may need support from outsiders, but the support process must focus on capacity-building.

- Local conflicts and power struggles may lead to the exclusion of disempowered groupings. Special

[3] Case studied on LED and Poverty, 1998. p 5

[4] Khanya has used it in various studies in the Free State, Zimbabwe and Zambia

emphasis should be placed on supporting those groupings, or even allowing them to plan separately, before inclusion in the bigger group.

- Encouraging a democratic and participatory culture, so that leaders and facilitators encourage all people to talk and learn to listen from each other, even when speakers are from different political groupings or ethnic groups.

- Making sure that participants in planning processes understand the issues, policies and restrictions within which they function, as informed people are able to make informed decisions.

- Ensuring that, once informed, participants and residents understand the implications of their decisions and accept responsibility for their decisions. Time and patience is therefore needed for planning.

- Making sure that the necessary resources are available to implement plans, so that people do not lose faith in the planning system.

For this to happen, it is important that the interaction is institutionalised. For this to happen, the development of local (e.g. ward) plans is important, but other ways of institutionalising participation include:

- Developing a communication system between the council, local planning structures and the other residents to ensure a two-way flow of regular, understandable and relevant information.

- While service functions are not decentralised, developing the capacity and clarifying the roles of sectoral forums (such as local health forums) and finding a way that these can be linked with the TLC (e.g. through council sub-committees, or involvement of councillors in the forums). Their roles need to be clarified and they need to be able to control resources to enable active, informed participation in local planning.

Planning processes have to favour participation. Some issues are:

- The use of universal norms, such as carrying capacity, can cause problems. There is a need to move more towards local-level planning, involving much more discussion with local land users and more of a participative approach to planning which recognises the livelihood requirements of different people. This requires a major overhaul of the agricultural and farm-planning approach, a revision of the manuals used, and the retraining of extension officers and others.

- Planning has to address people's own priorities, and not be imposed. This will allow a genuine dialogue to emerge between service providers, local government and citizens. The priorities may be to increase their assets (e.g. increasing income) or to address social vulnerabilities such as malnutrition, domestic violence and child and labour abuse.

- Applying the concept of minimalism to spatial planning at all scales (Draft Green Paper on Development and Planning, 1999). Spatial plans should take the form of frameworks of public action and investment, defining the minimum public actions necessary to achieve the goals and objectives of the plan. This leaves space for the energy and initiative of civil society.

- Helping local planners and development organisations to acquire a combination of normative planning, development and participatory skills, and awareness of poverty alleviation and sustainable livelihoods approaches.

There are also limits to the participation that people want, e.g. involvement in management or maintenance of municipal services. High levels of satisfaction can be found with low levels of community involvement, and many people are not even in favour of elected representatives managing the assets. They prefer an outside independent agency to provide and maintain the services.

Some other practical issues which could increase the impact of programmes and plans on poverty include:

- Applying the '80:20' principle – the recognition that 80% of the benefit can be achieved through the first (strategic) 20% investment in time, energy and resources. For many services, if the 20% that is having most impact can be identified, and resources focused on them, far more could be achieved with the same total resource base.

- Planning new initiatives to speed up housing and infrastructure delivery without depending on the grants from the government; but also looking at innovative alternatives including public/private partnerships

- Local authorities becoming informed about the different resources, subsidies and facilities that exist in provincial and national departments to support local communities and processes.

- Comparative learning with other local authorities can be a powerful tool to stimulate and build capacity.

8.2 Changing institutional responses at national and provincial level

There is a lack of capacity at all levels of government in normative planning. This places the emphasis on considered judgement and the discretion of decision-makers, as opposed to the application of standardised rules and regulations. This is also true for participatory planning approaches and ways of addressing poverty.

At national level: government needs to:

- Provide a clear framework within which provinces can draw up planning legislation which is specific to the provinces, but still conforms to national principles.

- Accept the principle that, if planning responsibilities are decentralised to provincial or local government, they must be accompanied by funds and capacity-building to carry out those responsibilities.

- Emphasise a combination of normative planning and development skills, poverty alleviation and sustainable livelihoods approaches in training programmes for planners.

- Adopt a more strategic approach which looks at real value added by the State, where public sector funds can make most difference. The policy-making role needs strengthening to enhance this. This is also true at provincial level.

- Provide discipline at the centre (particularly financial and legal), ensuring that audits are up-to-date, that action is taken on wrong-doing, and that local decision-making does not rely on nepotism

At provincial level

There needs to be some rethinking of the role of the province in planning. The fact that most services are

delivered by provincial departments means that many decisions critical to local development are taken at provincial level. This needs to be reappraised, and ways found to firmly link planning of local services to a local planning process. Some recommendations are:

- Look at changing the role for the province. The latter needs to deconcentrate or devolve responsibilities for service delivery to units closely linked to local authorities. This may be through the sector forums, but then these need to be linked to the local authority. Pilot initiatives should be undertaken to devolve service functions to local government. This would mean that the importance of local integrated planning processes would increase. Planning units for provincial services should relate to local government boundaries.

- In order to take this deconcentration forward, the province needs to replace control by signature (or many signatures) by control through information and monitoring. The monitoring role is very weak and needs to be strengthened.

- The provincial government should play a facilitative, supportive and co-ordinating role in relation to local government planning, not a controlling and monitoring one (Draft Green Paper on Development and Planning, 1999).

- If service delivery is improved through deconcentration, there will be an increasing demand for specialist services which will probably be provided by provincial departments. Therefore, these can become more professional, providing real value-added services.

The province is best placed to provide support to local government. Some facilitating and support functions are required, including:

- The provincial government itself developing a shared vision, goals and action plans, to alleviate poverty. A proposal has been made for this in the draft Poverty Eradication Strategy for the Free State (Khanya, 1999) – currently under discussion.

- Guiding the integration of different planning systems at a local level and developing a 'code of conduct' for all service providers to ensure that the DFA principles are participatory and adhered to at all times.

- Providing an annual, and preferably medium-term, financial framework within which local authorities can plan.

- Encouraging provincial departments to develop their own plans with goals and objectives derived from local development plans.

- Informing local authorities and the public immediately when services can not be delivered due to financial or other constraints.

- Installing the DFA Tribunal to use the wide powers it potentially has available to fast track development.

- Changing the spatial planning framework from being control-oriented to normative-based as prescribed by the DFA to speed up delivery of services.

- Acknowledging that risk is an inevitable part of livelihood activities, but risk management strategies require some degree of support from government if livelihoods are to be sustained in the face of

regular droughts occurring in the country.

- Developing a systematic database to assess the impacts of poverty alleviation programmes or development plans of government departments and of local authorities. A proposal has been made for this in the draft Poverty Eradication Strategy for the Free State.

- Providing technical support from the province where there is insufficient demand or supply for technical resources to be allocated at a local level, e.g. for an irrigation engineer.

In addition, there are some supervisory functions which are probably better placed at provincial rather than national level (e.g. for audit of local government). This would ensure that local authorities are performing adequately, with powers of last resort to initiate action or sanctions where performance is poor.

8.3 Mainstreaming environmental and holistic approaches

One element of the sustainable rural livelihoods approach is that it mainstreams the environment as part of an integrated approach to addressing poverty. Some recommendations to help this be achieved include:

- Understanding that the environment includes all natural resources, including water that is used in homes, and the possible impacts of political, social and economic issues on those natural resources.

- Ensuring that planners and local development personnel have a combination of normative planning, development and participatory skills, are skilled in poverty alleviation and sustainable livelihoods approaches, and that they understand the role that natural resources play in peoples' lives

8.4 Trade-offs between short-term and long-term impacts

The sustainable rural livelihoods approach promotes a dialogue between the people for whom development is targeted, and the service providers that serve them. However, one of the difficulties in a participatory planning process is that people facing poverty often are forced to chose short-term objectives at the expense of longer term ones. Government agencies at all levels have the responsibility to ensure the long-term sustainability of programmes, and this must be part of the contribution they make to the dialogue with their clients. This is particularly difficult at present when the aspirations of the disadvantaged may be for a level of service which is unsustainable on a mass scale. Some examples of these trade-offs include:

- The provision of water-borne sewerage systems using purified water must be weighed against the long-term cost implications and impact on the available resources.

- It may be necessary to accept a level of infrastructure that is less sophisticated than may be politically desirable, if such infrastructure is to be affordable to users and not costly to maintain, e.g. water pumps rather than piped water schemes.

Another trade-off happens with donors, They are often keen to spend funds rapidly, but this may not be consistent with sustainable development approaches.

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ANNEX 2 PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

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Jeanne du Randt	Department of Agriculture
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J Venter	Department of Health
K Lubbe	Department of Education
Nthari Matsau	Department of Health (per telephone)
G G Hough	Free State Office of the Department of Water Affairs
Elaine Kela	Department of Social Welfare
Jackie Jacobs	CBPWP, Department of Public Works
Ntsane Moroka	CBPWP, Department of Public Works
Heckroodt	CMIP, Department of Local Government and Housing
Bertha Kitching	Department of Education
Debbie Lesshope	Sedimosang Rural Development Organisation
Doreen Atkinson	McIntosh, Xaba and Associates

National

Chris du Plessis	Department of Land Affairs: Directorate Land Development Facilitation (per telephone)
Richard Kruger	Department of Constitutional Development: Municipality Infrastructure
O P Ramachela	UNDP
D L Mngadi	UNDP
A Chuma	UNDP
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N Marcoux	EU (Foundation for Human Rights)
Malene Hedlund	DANIDA
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W Leppan	IDRC
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I Peters	GTZ

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