

**RURAL URBAN STUDIES UNIT**

**PROJECT DEVELOPMENT  
IN DURBAN AND  
PIETERMARITZBURG: A  
SURVEY OF EXPERT OPINION**

**Simon Bekker and Carey Wilson**

**CENTRE FOR SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

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Centre for Social and Development Studies  
University of Natal  
Durban

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### **RURAL URBAN STUDIES UNIT**

The Rural Urban Studies Unit was founded by Professor Jill Natrass in 1983. In 1989, it was taken over by the present Director of the Centre for Social and Development Studies, Professor Simon Bekker. It is funded by the Human Sciences Research Council and focuses its activities on rural-urban linkages in South Africa. It is situated within the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal, Durban.

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## **PROJECT DEVELOPMENT IN DURBAN AND PIETERMARITZBURG:**

### **A SURVEY OF EXPERT OPINION**

Simon Bekker and Carey Wilson

#### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The 1980's have witnessed unprecedented rates of migration into greater Durban and greater Pietermaritzburg. This has brought intensified pressure to bear on the authorities within these cities to deliver shelter and public services to those in need, in particular to residents in the shack settlements located on the periphery of the urban centres.

Members of these 'have-not' urban communities have also suffered from a seemingly unending cycle of violence which continues to wrack their settlements. Causes of this cycle are complex and include socio-economic circumstances, backlogs in service delivery, youth activities and community conflict, certain forms of state action, as well as wider regional and national political competition.

The Durban-Pietermaritzburg region also finds itself caught up, with other regions in the country, in the process of political transition launched by the National Party in February of this year. This process underlines the dictum that development is essentially political, and especially so at present.

The purpose of this study, accordingly, is to establish during these changing times the opinions of a wide group of experts on development in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Previous attempts - when evaluated from the vantage point of 1990 - often leave the impression of having failed to keep up with the development demands of the region. In particular, a current major state initiative, the RSA/KwaZulu Development Project (RKDP) is generally perceived not to have addressed these development challenges satisfactorily. This study aims to identify expert opinion on ways of addressing these challenges in the future.

### 1.1 The sample of experts

Experts were chosen from four separate categories. Most were based in Durban, a minority in Pietermaritzburg. Most, too, have had direct experience in the development arena, some in related fields.

The four categories comprised:

1. **State and parastatal** bodies operating in the region.  
(Officials in state bodies establish and implement state policy while those in parastatals work within state policy. Parastatals are commonly viewed as having more discretion than state bodies on policy implementation.)
2. **Private Sector** corporations representing commercial and industrial interests in the region.
3. **Developers**, representing town and regional planning bodies, change agencies, and development consultancies.  
(Categories 2 and 3 comprise experts who have worked in the private sector, and have generally conformed to state policy and cooperated with state structures)
4. Experts acting within, or on behalf of, civic and community related organisations who are called **Progressives** in this study.  
(The progressive category comprises experts who have built up a tradition of resistance to state policies and have tended, therefore, to avoid working in collaboration with state structures. They have preferred to focus their activities on developing alternative policies for a post-apartheid society whilst attempting to assist 'have-not' communities through voluntary activities.)

Experts were chosen in accordance with their seniority and high reputation in their respective areas of expertise. Nineteen experts were interviewed during June and July 1990, each over a one hour period. Sixteen respondents were white, three African and the sample included one woman. This sample, though relatively small, does reflect a wide cross-section of development experts working in the Durban-Pietermaritzburg region.

**Table 1 : Sample of Experts**

<b>GROUP</b>	<b>DURBAN</b>	<b>PIETERMARITZBURG</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
State	1	3	4
Parastatal	2		2
Private Sector	4		4
Developers	4	1	5
Progressives	4		4
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>19</b>

Each interview covered the following four themes :-

First, respondents were asked to identify the major **development issues** they considered to be of the highest priority in the Durban-Pietermaritzburg region.

Second, they were asked to discuss appropriate **organisational and co-ordinating arrangements** which they believed were required for a successful development process - in short, they were asked to propose a suitable managerial approach to development.

Third, respondents were asked to propose principles they believed should underpin the **implementation of development projects**. They were also asked to relate these principles to the development issues they had selected earlier. In addition, they were invited to discuss the **integration of technical and socio-economic components** which formed part of their selected projects.

The fourth theme related to the **funding of development projects** - in particular, respondents were asked to make suggestions regarding potential sources of funds for development, and regarding cost recovery from development projects.

The RSA/KwaZulu Development Project (RKDP) provides an example of a current state development initiative in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Information relating to the RKDP on each of these four themes was presented to each respondent before requesting the respondent to address each theme. Respondents accordingly discussed their developmental choices from a common point of departure - they were all informed of the development issues, managerial structures, implementation strategies, and funding arrangements of the RKDP.

The RKDP is currently implementing proposals selected in 1986 by the KwaZulu/Natal Planning Council. These proposals identified development projects at a total estimated



cost of R2 billion. These include the upgrading of community facilities and of existing infrastructure (water systems, sewer systems, transport networks and so on) as well as the development of new residential areas estimated to yield some 86 000 sites over the next five to seven years.

These projects are being implemented under the jurisdiction of three authorities (the Department of Development Aid (DDA), the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA), and the KwaZulu government) with the majority of projects being implemented on KwaZulu land and on South African Trust land. One of the stated aims of the project is to establish economically viable and self sustaining communities, thereby requiring the use of a two pronged implementation approach intended to combine the technical and socio-economic aspects of projects. The development of new townships - which makes out a large portion of RKDP project activity - depends largely on the availability of tribal land and, therefore, on the willingness of the relevant chief and Tribal Authority to release this land.

Funding of the projects on KwaZulu land is primarily undertaken by way of loans made available by the Development Bank of Southern Africa, while projects on Trust land are being funded by the South African Development Trust Corporation (SADT) through the DDA.

## **1.2 The opinions of the experts**

Though striking consensus did emerge regarding a number of themes and issues, respondents did not consistently agree with one another on all questions. To do justice to the differing opinions expressed, experts' points of view will be presented separately in the sections discussed below. This method has been chosen to examine the spectrum of opinion gathered through interviews. The fact that points of view within any given section do not always complement one another, and may in some cases contradict one another, simply underlines the fact that experts do not always agree on important issues.

Each expert point of view which is labelled with a reference to the expert's category, is presented in a typescript different from the authors' text so as to enable the reader to distinguish between expert opinion and author interpretation.

## 2. THEME 1: THE PRIMARY DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

To facilitate the process of interviewing, experts were asked to choose three critical development issues. A conspicuously similar set of issues emerged from experts within all four categories.

The major issues comprise:

- i) **Housing** issues, highlighting the enormous backlog of housing as well as the inadequate housing delivery process which is widely believed to bypass the very poor. Twelve (out of 19) experts selected this issue.
- ii) **Availability of land** for urban and industrial development was selected by nine experts. Development on tribal land was widely viewed to be fraught with difficulties.
- iii) Nine respondents were also of the opinion that improving the **education** system was the best way to ensure the best investment in the future of their two cities.
- iv) Another nine respondents expressed concern over the **unemployment** situation and, therefore, the need for **job creation** in the region.
- v) The **management of the development process** (which is perceived to include matters relating to administration, local government and political participation) was chosen by eight experts.

A few experts chose urban planning issues relating to the **conceptualisation and structure of the city itself**, arguing that present disorderly urban sprawl results in the very poor being located far from the city centre, and hence far from many essential services delivered by the core city government.

Others chose issues relating to the **upgrading of existing residential areas, of infrastructure and of service requirements** within 'have-not' communities.

One respondent identified the **health service crisis** as an issue while another pointed to the need to **deregulate economic activity**.

### 2.1 Conclusion

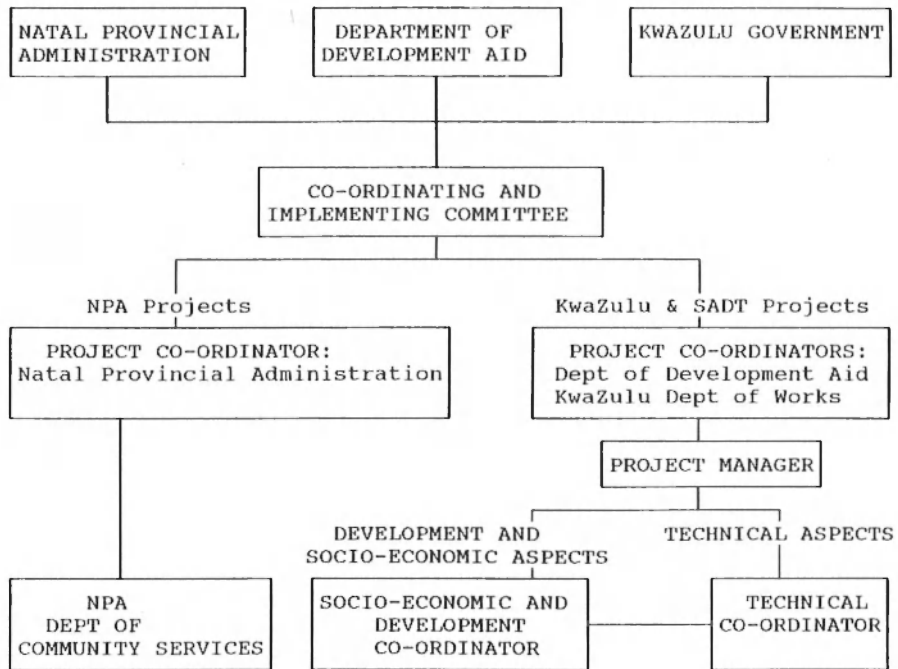
It is evident that the experts agree that the development challenge in their region is rooted in the rapid expansion of the two cities, an expansion driven by the growth and settlement of 'have-not' communities within the metropolitan region. As a result,

development activities need to concentrate on meeting the need in these communities for shelter, services, and wealth-creating opportunities.

Significantly, about one half of the experts felt obliged to raise the issue of the management - by state and other bodies - of development projects as a primary development issue in itself. It is clear that this choice indicates a deep level of concern shared by a large number of experts, concern regarding past development policy and practice in their region.

**3. THEME 2 : CO-ORDINATION AND ORGANISATION DURING THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS**

As an example of how a development project may be co-ordinated, respondents were shown the organogram of the RKDP organisational structure:



This RKDP organisational structure implies a centralised rather than devolved form of decision-making. The Department of Development Aid (DDA), a central state body, chairs the co-ordinating and Implementing Committee of the RKDP. In effect, this sometimes leads to constraints being placed upon regional and local authorities who often need to obtain approval from DDA before any action on the ground can be taken.

For successful implementation of project activity, moreover, the RKDP project relies on effective co-ordination between three governmental agencies, the DDA, the NPA, and the KwaZulu Government. There is no private sector participation in this managerial structure, other than via contracting bodies who become directly involved only at sub-project implementation level.

The majority of experts expressed negative opinions about this RKDP managerial and co-ordinating system. Many summed up their criticisms by interpreting the RKDP structure to represent a top-down, non-participatory type of decision-making and decision-taking arrangement.

Respondents were asked what type of organisational arrangement they preferred. This question was designed to probe respondents' views on both managerial and as well as co-ordinating arrangements. Five main issues emerged from their responses:

- (i) the role central, regional, and local state bodies should play in project co-ordination - the issue of the Natal-KwaZulu divide was also raised in this regard;
- (ii) the mix of public and private sector involvement in project co-ordination;
- (iii) the need for community participation;
- (iv) the possible need for short-term 'dictatorial action'; and
- (v) the need to consider using existing state and private sector structures to promote project co-ordination.

### **3.1 State control and state devolution**

Centralised state control was viewed by many experts as being a major disadvantage to successful project management and co-ordination. Equally, the existence of a Natal-KwaZulu boundary within the metropolitan region was identified as a major hurdle to appropriate management and co-ordination. A number of proposals involving devolved powers to lower state tiers were raised.

#### **3.1.1 Devolution of power from central to regional level**

*One needs to have a large regional organisation that has the capacity, the clout and the skills to do the job of changing and co-ordinating city development. It should be borne in mind, however, that adequate new structures will only be established in the future (state expert).*

*Co-ordination of the development process requires the establishment of one Local Authority in Durban, given that demands for services and the ordinary running of the region remain the same on Trust land and Provincial land. A first step may have to be to*

*exclude KwaZulu land, since 'KwaZulu is a self-governing state which has its own acts and legislation' (state expert).*

*'Central intervention in a project is counterproductive, because the planners and developers in Pretoria tend to be ignorant of local needs and conditions' (developer).*

*There is a need for devolving power to a regional government which could co-ordinate the acquisition and provision of land (two developers).*

*There is a need to dispose of current second-tier and central agencies in Natal as well as the KwaZulu government and develop one level of secondary government with one controlling body (two progressive experts, two developers).*

*KwaZulu and Natal should be run as one body at secondary level (developer, progressive expert). This process could be started by bringing the KwaZulu health department, education department and all planning under the control of the NPA (progressive expert).*

*'The only way to co-ordinate development is to unravel the complexities of KwaZulu and Natal and call it one region. What is needed is a management system that truly reflects the people living in the region. Whether it is possible for all the present stakeholders to design it, is questionable. What is needed in the first place is to legislate KwaZulu out of the whole picture' (developer).*

*No successful development can occur through KwaZulu, because of its general unpopularity. This is reflected by the present Natal conflict. KwaZulu is also a representative of the 'bantustan' system in South Africa, which by its very nature is corrupt and inefficient. In Natal, the war is central. The government's idea that development will stop the war is basically flawed (progressive expert).*

### **3.1.2 Local level co-ordination**

*The need exists for a metropolitan government representing all DFR communities to manage the civic affairs of the region. To succeed, the DFR should be one region with no homeland borders (developer).*

*The need for appropriate local government structures is possibly the most important issue to be tackled, because without systems that have legitimacy, competence and authority, South Africa is unlikely to tackle her urban development problems in a meaningful way. Questions regarding the future role of the black local authorities need to be addressed: in particular, should they be disposed of, or is there a need to work with these existing authorities to some degree? (developer).*

*In terms of local government structures, institutional reconstruction and the dismantling of the apartheid bureaucracy is primary. Natal could move a long way down the development road if it takes the two primary city authorities (Durban and Pinetown) within the DFR, builds up their capacity and extends their responsibility to include the black areas that logically fall under them. Durban would include the areas of Lamontville, Chesterville, Inanda, KwaMashu etc, while Pinetown would include Clermont, KwaDabeka etc. These city authorities would include elected people. At an administrative level, arrangements could be made whereby area managers would be responsible for specific administrative functions (such as planning and maintenance, for example) whilst township managers would be responsible for other functions (such as controlling the rental stock, the waiting lists for houses and so on). What the DFR should ultimately be looking for is unification under non-racial councils. The big political question to be answered is how to take power away from the KwaZulu Government (progressive expert).*

*With regard to the development programme itself, not much can be achieved on the ground if there are too many checks and balances built into the programme's organisational structure. It is necessary, therefore, for a transfer of responsibility down to lower levels (for example, to project teams which are allocated a budget, given the guidelines of the project and are then allowed to act autonomously for a given period of time). This would allow closer interaction with local people over a longer period of time, and would have the effect of reducing all the time wasted in getting a proposal recognised and accepted by the various hierarchies of command that are usually set up to implement development programmes. Additionally, this strategy would also tend to reduce planning and consultancy fees. It is common knowledge that little of the money allocated to a specified project actually reaches the targeted community when projects are managed through highly centralised development programmes (developer).*

### **3.2 Public and private sector involvement**

*A partnership between the public and private sector is required, with the proviso that the*

*government should set the structures of development and provide the basic bulk infrastructure while leaving the detail to the private sector. Thus, for example, government could provide the water reservoir for an area, while the private sector would provide the reticulated water systems to different areas within a community. However, government involvement becomes necessary where 'have-not' communities are concerned, because the private sector may not be able to deliver goods and services at affordable levels to this large group (state expert).*

*Ideally, development projects should be regionally controlled, but given the many central inputs into the process, one cannot do without central state involvement. However, what is needed is more private sector representation: an ideal co-ordinating body for a development programme would involve an equal partnership between the government (central, regional and local levels) and the private sector (parastatal expert).*

Experts from the private sector category expressed differing opinions on this issue. One stated that central government control over a development project was unacceptable and unworkable. This expert argued that programmes should rather be co-ordinated by a private sector development agency. It may be necessary, however, to have one or two government representatives on the co-ordinating body.

Another argued in favour of public sector co-ordination once the apartheid edifice had been totally abolished and he proposed, in conjunction with a progressive expert, that South Africa should establish a single department of development, of education, of health and so on. The ministers concerned would then have to be accountable not to a minority but to the broad South African population at large.

### **3.3 Community Involvement**

It was widely and generally recognised by the experts interviewed that development initiatives require community participation:

*'Given that development in South Africa is carried out within a particular ideological and political framework, a framework which is undemocratic, the fundamental point is that no matter how genuine any government agency or private sector development agency tries to be in its activities, it will fail unless one has the people involved' (progressive expert).*



*There are channels for community dialogue which must be used. For development to be effectively co-ordinated, there is a need to incorporate emerging local structures, including those organisations being established in the squatter settlements and in the education sphere (progressive expert).*

*For the purposes of successful development, it is very important to consult and involve a cross-section of the community. Even if a community in impoverished areas is politically divided, people's needs for housing, water, goods, roads and so on are nonetheless very similar, thereby making community involvement a critical factor (progressive expert).*

*Community involvement in development initiatives and the opening up of opportunities to all people are both absolutely necessary (state expert, private sector expert).*

*The top-down approach to development with a project team implementing the project (as in the RKDP case) is not appropriate. It is not a participative development approach. Proposals for this type of development structure usually reflect a value system within which the project team comprising engineers and technicians dominate decision-making (state expert).*

*Given the present government's lack of legitimacy, it should not be seen to implement projects, but rather should filter money through to communities. A bottom-up approach to development is required, and development initiatives must not run ahead of the target community. They should not satisfy the conservative elderly, but should rather be targeted toward the youth, the future benefactors of present development initiatives (progressive expert).*

### **3.4 Dictatorial approach**

Two respondents stated that proper development management and co-ordination are difficult to achieve in the present climate of violence and political transition. They also believe that priority should be given to service delivery even if comprehensive community participation is not immediately achieved. Services are desperately and immediately required by 'have-not' communities.

Accordingly, while emphasising that they fully support the call for community participation in principle, these experts raise the idea of a more 'dictatorial' type of organisational structure to co-ordinate initiatives, particularly when community

*involvement seems very difficult to achieve (state expert, private sector expert).  
Someone is required to cut through the red tape and get things done, instead of people continually talking about what is required' (private sector expert).*

### **3.5 Use of existing structures**

Though a number of experts tended to recommend the establishment of new development bodies, one parastatal respondent explicitly recommended using existing development structures to implement projects in the near future. This expert also recommended the formation of an ad-hoc co-ordinating body which could include representatives of the major state, parastatal and established private sector development agencies. He went on to propose the rationalisation of existing structures to eliminate duplication of development activities.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

It is evident from this series of opinions that a majority of respondents believe that the institutions and structures presently operating in the development arena need to be changed. Changes include the need for devolved state powers from first tier to second and third tiers. The principle proposed is that development planning and project implementation need to be close to the target communities identified by development projects, particularly since central state structures are viewed by many in these communities with suspicion.

The existence of a KwaZulu-Natal divide within the Durban-Pietermaritzburg region was widely viewed as a major obstacle, and in the minds of some experts, the politicised nature of the KwaZulu government was also perceived to be an important constraint.

Experts also believe that a proper mix of private and public sector participation in urban development programmes is required. Though there was not agreement on precisely what this mix should be, experts agreed that the necessity for state involvement - particularly regarding financial matters - should be offset by the greater efficiency and innovative potential of the private sector. This would avoid further squandering of development funds.

All respondents also agreed that community involvement was an essential component of successful development programmes. This perception emerged from respondents'

negative evaluation of the top-down, non-participative traditions of development projects launched in the past. These projects were widely viewed to have had little legitimacy in the eyes of members of the target communities.

Finally, a few experts did express opinions which may be interpreted to be implicit warnings: in the present troubled climate in the region, hard choices need to be made regarding 'getting things done' whilst simultaneously conforming to legitimate development practices. In addition, these experts stated that existing state institutions and their staff should not be scrapped before alternative bodies are satisfactorily established. During a transitional phase, moreover, the judicious use of current managerial and co-ordinating arrangements should seriously be considered.

#### **4. THEME 3 : IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECTS**

Each respondent was asked to consider the three development issues selected earlier during the interview, and to discuss ways in which each of these issues should be tackled 'on the ground'. In effect, they were asked to reflect upon ways in which projects aimed at addressing these issues should be implemented.

Responses to this question will be discussed serially, by analysing each of the major issues selected by respondents. Housing, land, education, and employment opportunities are accordingly considered separately. Subsequently, most experts' views on the matter of integrating technical with socio-economic components within a development project, particularly during its implementation stage, will be discussed. This matter, in fact, was widely viewed as fundamental to the implementation debate and, therefore, deserving of discussion in its own right.

##### **4.1 Housing**

A majority of experts interviewed chose housing as one of their three primary development issues. Their concern arose for three inter-related reasons:

- \* first, the growing number of families without adequate shelter in the region;
- \* second, the negative social and political consequences flowing from these circumstances, circumstances exacerbated by present high levels of unemployment in the same communities; and
- \* third, the failure of the present housing delivery system to address these circumstances.

*Sociologically, shacks create a revolutionary climate and are a factor in fueling the violence, and, therefore, housing is the most important service to be provided right across the spectrum'. Accordingly, the first area of redistribution in South Africa should be in the area of housing (private sector expert).*

##### **4.1.1 The housing delivery process**

*In order to reach the 'very poor', the housing delivery process needs to be reconstituted. Responsibility for this reconstituted system should be a governmental one because the private sector - which acts under market conditions - is unable to deliver houses at affordable prices to low-income people. A new democratic government - not the private*

sector - will have to play the central facilitating role in the process (progressive expert)

*What has unfortunately been occurring in the housing market to date is that the supply of houses is located on the high-cost side whilst the demand for housing is on the low-income side. To improve this situation, site and service projects should be set up by providing basic units of shelter within the R4 000- R6 000 price range. These costs should be written off by government as once-off capital subsidies (not on-going subsidies). This would result in a total cost to consumers of approximately R1 000 and projects would accordingly be able to be implemented in low-income communities. As far as middle to higher income groups are concerned, the private sector - with assistance from a parastatal where the risk is perceived to be high - should provide funds to finance housing delivery. Employers should also participate in such schemes so as to meet the housing needs of their employees (parastatal expert).*

*There is a real need to integrate state-driven informal settlement housing provision with private sector-driven formal housing provision. At present, the latter process of housing delivery tends to force 'have-not' families out of core urban locations and often transforms these families into squatters (developer).*

#### **4.1.2 Associated housing standards**

*There is an urgent need to lower the present standards regulating the housing delivery process because these standards involve very high costs (private sector expert, state expert).*

*To address the standards issue, the process of acquisition and ownership of serviced sites should be an informal one. Poor families should be able to be granted ownership when they can afford it. For example, the formal pegging of a site - a relatively expensive operation - should only be undertaken when the family is able to pay (state expert).*

*There is a need to look at more innovative housing technologies even if they diverge from present specified standards (progressive expert) .*

*South Africa should attempt to avoid the match-box style of dwelling unit. Housing should increasingly be provided on a site and service basis so that poor families are able - in accordance with a general plan - to build themselves (private sector expert).*

#### 4.1.3 Housing and employment creation

During their discussions on the implementation of housing-related projects, some experts pointed to the potential employment spin-offs of such projects for the very poor.

*There exists great potential in the housing market for massive employment creation, thereby enhancing the multiplier effects through the economy (private sector expert, progressive expert).*

*The housing delivery process includes a whole range of different activities, such as the production of materials, the releasing of land, electrification, as well as a host of other industrial inputs (progressive expert).*

*The development of skills in the construction industry must accompany any housing delivery process. People of the local target community who become involved in their own housing provision should be trained, and thereby develop skills, in the process. This would be a start to addressing the issue of a very skewed distribution of skills in the country as a whole (progressive expert).*

During discussions on employment potential, a number of experts returned to the need for community participation as an integral strand of development projects.

*There needs to be greater public participation in the housing delivery process, thereby giving communities more control over what is delivered to them (progressive expert).*

*The new state needs to play - together with community representatives - far more of a watchdog role in the housing delivery process, so as to overcome the delivery of poor quality houses (which has been happening in the past with regularity) (progressive expert).*

#### 4.1.4 In situ upgrading

*Given the realities of the urban challenge in Natal, people must start recognising that the informal settlements are here to stay. The 2 million informal residents in the DFR will not disappear into formal houses, and thus it is necessary to recognise that shacks constitute an integral part of the city's housing stock. The focus, therefore, should rather be on the upgrading of the existing shack areas. Immediate strategies are needed to*

*solve the squatting problem, and to improve 'have-not' households' access to basic amenities. The fundamentals for the shack areas include access to adequate and affordable transport, basic health and sanitation, serviced water supplies and, of most importance, access to formal tenure. It is partly because of the lack of this access to tenure that warlords exist (developer).*

#### **4.1.5 A general comment**

*It appears that the present mix of stakeholders and participants in the housing delivery process is out of balance, especially since the very poor (who constitute the largest group in need of housing) are effectively excluded as a result of their inability to afford to enter the process. A reconstitution of the roles of the different actors in the housing process is therefore called for, so that a correct mix of the roles played by the state, finance capital, developers, planners, contractors, and community organisations facilitate access to the process by families in this community (progressive expert).*

#### **4.2 Land issues**

The issue of shelter was closely linked, in experts' discussions, to that of land. Two themes relating to land emerged. The first revolved around the acquisition of new land required for residential development, and the second - closely related to the first - revolved around the matter of residential development with higher densities than those that had traditionally emerged in South African planned urban environments.

##### **4.2.1 Land acquisition**

The choice of tribal land for urban residential development - a route which the RKDP has followed - was widely seen, for a number of reasons, to be problematic:

- \* *first, it locates primarily poor people far from the central city and its services. (state expert, developer, progressive expert, private sector expert)*
- \* *second, the development and administrative costs associated with servicing tribal land have tended to be far too high and have consequently affected private initiatives negatively (developer).*
- \* *third, acquisition of KwaZulu land in general cannot be satisfactorily tackled whilst the KwaZulu institutional framework remains in place (progressive expert).*

*Instead, land nearer the city centres should be acquired by the state and then released to private enterprises for development (state expert).*

*The government should use funds from the recently formed Independent Trust to purchase land in bulk and to store it. It could then be released to private development companies at appropriate intervals (developer).*

*The government needs to expropriate land from private owners and to halt land speculation which has regularly inflated land prices. This is happening on an increasing scale, as farmers and companies realise the development potential of their land (developer, two progressive experts).*

*There are very powerful sugar interests controlling vast portions of land to the north of Durban, and the state has not to date had the political will to acquire this land at a fair price. These sugar interests have conceded the need to release some of this land but seem willing to release it only to upper-income groups, not for low-income community housing development (progressive expert).*

*Land acquisition should take place in a planned and systematic fashion, avoiding the development of an urban sprawl which characterises Durban and Pietermaritzburg today. If the development of Durban continues on this path, it is evident that 'have-not' families will become increasingly peripheralised (state expert).*

#### **4.2.2 Densification**

The potential for increasing densities in urban residential areas was mentioned by a few respondents (two state experts, developer).

*Rather than swallowing up more and more valuable agricultural land for development, South Africa should address the potential for high density development. Higher densities are beneficial, but unfortunately the design issues of this form of residential development have yet to be unpacked properly, especially since South African cities have developed in line with a low density residential development process. It must be noted, however, that densification planning should ensure that high density corridors follow the main communication and bulk-and-link infrastructural lines, and do not stray into peripheral areas (state expert).*



*The first step in urban residential development is to ensure that appropriate planning and implementation structures are in place. Second, group areas need to be scrapped, and then we should look at the potential for increasing densities on plots that are closer to the city centres. An example of this would entail increasing densities by renting out rooms or subdividing plots, thereby increasing the average household size in a larger number of dwelling units located near the city centre (developer).*

### **4.3 Education**

Since development programmes are fundamentally oriented toward the future, education - which is equally future oriented - is an essential strand to all development. This approach underpinned the views of those experts who identified education as one of the three primary issues in their region. Their different views are discussed under four separate themes:

- \* the inadequate administrative arrangements for state education;
- \* the duplication and related costs inherent in the present 'own affairs' systems of education;
- \* the need for a greater emphasis on technical education; and
- \* a fourth general category comprising diverse educational matters.

Their views, moreover, confirm the analysis made by the Education Foundation (Objectives and Strategies, The Education Foundation, 2, July 1990) that there are four crisis facing education in the country today: the crisis of legitimacy, the crisis of provision, the crisis of relevance, and the crisis of quality.

#### **4.3.1 The administration of education**

*All legislation which leads to the duplication of educational resources should be repealed. We need one education department in South Africa and the opening up of all education facilities to all South Africans (private sector expert, progressive expert, two developers).*

*A possible solution to South Africa's present rotten education system lies in a fundamental administrative restructuring from the top to the bottom, with a single education authority in South Africa as the goal, and the delivery of education through*

*regional education authorities as a strategy. The national body could be responsible for general policy, allocation of resources between the different regional authorities, and the co-ordination of educational research on a national and international level. The regional authority ought to adhere to national standards, but have a degree of flexibility (developer).*

*A prerequisite for sorting anything out in the educational field entails the dismantling of the KwaZulu 'bantustan'. Inkatha, via its control of the KwaZulu government, is using educational resources to hold students to ransom, by closing down schools and attempting to mobilise students into its ranks (progressive expert).*

#### **4.3.2 The more effective utilisation of existing educational facilities**

*Facilities which face closure because they are reserved for the 'wrong' race group should be opened immediately to all.' These include many white schools and several training colleges (developer).*

*White schools need to be opened up to blacks to make use of their existing underutilised facilities (parastatal expert).*

*Goodwill existing in the white communities, where many white women teachers would be willing to teach black students, but not willing to teach in townships, should be exploited (parastatal expert).*

*Educational reform could be started by opening white schools to the children of domestics working in white areas (developer).*

*A platoon system should be introduced at well-equipped schools to create rotating classes - one in the morning for one group of pupils and another in the afternoon for another group. Existing schools could also be used at night for literacy classes (developer).*

#### **4.3.3 Focus on technical education**

*There should be a greater emphasis on technical education (two parastatal experts, two developers).*

*Because of the desperate shortage of entrepreneurs in South Africa, the education curriculum requires a change which should emphasise technical and business-related skills. A means to achieving this is for the government to shift its subsidies at tertiary level so as to reward people pursuing technical and business studies (parastatal expert).*

A second parastatal respondent identified the need for a greater emphasis on industrial training.

*There is a real need to develop entrepreneurial skills, but not within a pure free market framework. Rather, the formation of co-operatives and small businesses should be fostered (developer).*

*There is a need to raise the status of blue collar workers, and to foster positive communal values, not only values relating to individual gain (developer).*

#### **4.3.4 Other educational matters**

*Non-formal education which includes adult education, literacy and numeracy classes, the learning of business skills, and so on is an untapped area and requires attention (developer).*

*We need to exploit the potential of modern technology (such as audio-visual equipment) to assist the teacher (rather than to replace the teacher). We must also build on the experience of those educational organisations which have developed alternative and innovative methods of teaching, of learning and so on (developer).*

*More teacher training colleges are required to further the upgrading of existing teachers' skills (progressive expert, developer, private sector expert).*

Other ideas raised by experts included:

- \* *the need to abandon high building standards at schools, and the improvement of access to state funds particularly for additional classrooms in areas of greatest need (developer).*
- \* *the requirement to address the whole question of the distribution of resources - both human and material resources in the educational field (progressive expert).*
- \* *the need for literacy: 'There is no way one can affect development in any sphere if people are illiterate. If people are literate, it empowers them to take control of their own lives' (progressive expert)*

#### **4.4 Employment creation**

One half of the interview panel identified unemployment as one of their three major issues. Opinions on the potential for job creation within an expanding housing delivery process, opinions which were extensively discussed above, will not be reviewed here. Rather, employment creation will be discussed under the two headings of proposals regarding decentralisation of job location, and proposals addressing the economic conditions needed for the creation of additional job opportunities.

It is worth noting that no respondents within the private sector category chose this issue, implying possibly that labour market issues are not considered as development issues by this category of respondents.

##### **4.4.1 Decentralising employment**

*The decentralisation of employment opportunities with a view to bringing industries closer to job seekers is required, on condition that local residents rather than outsiders are employed in these decentralised businesses (two state experts).*

*There exists substantial development potential in growth nodes located in the urban areas at the interface between KwaZulu and Natal. Not only job opportunities but training facilities for both formal and informal jobs, resource centres, and community facilities should be located at such nodes. Facilities of this type should account for all members of a family, with the establishment of creches for children, and home craft industries for mothers, for example. Such a project would enable the emergence of new entrepreneurs (developer).*

##### **4.4.2 Necessary economic conditions**

*In order to generate jobs, increased economic opportunities are required. In particular, the general economic climate must improve and overseas investor confidence must rise (two parastatal experts).*

*I am sceptical about the use of state funds to create jobs and believe that the unemployment crisis will not be solved until international sanctions are eliminated and economic growth flourishes in South Africa. Until such time, one could at least attempt to ensure that government uses its resources optimally (parastatal expert).*

*Though job creation is clearly important, priority ought to be given to educational matters and the improvement of squatter conditions without which the issue of job creation on scale cannot satisfactorily be addressed (developer).*

#### **4.5 Integrating the technical and socio-economic components of a development project**

The distinction between technical and socio-economic components was introduced to the experts because it is explicitly employed in the conceptualisation of the RKDP. This is clearly visible in the RKDP organogram in Section 3. This project, in fact, has created organisational entities addressing each component separately. The socio-economic component is addressed by a socio-economic developmental unit which comprises an urban economic development sub-unit, an institutional development sub-unit, and a community development sub-unit. A number of community development officers work within this last sub-unit.

Experts discussed the utility and applicability of this distinction to development planning by considering the matter at different levels of analysis:

- \* first, in terms of the conceptualisation of development projects;
- \* second, with regard to conditions required for satisfactory community participation; and
- \* third, with regard to the role of technical experts in project management.

##### **4.5.1 The conceptualisation of development projects**

*The division between socio-economic and technical components of development is artificial in the first place. It originates from an unwillingness by the state to confront the political situation. The state finds it much easier to view development problems from a technical point of view and therefore to approach the implementation of development from a technicist angle. To 'integrate' these two components, South Africa's socio-political problems must be solved after which the technical component will fall into place. Political and social restructuring needs to be undertaken first (progressive expert).*

*During conceptualisation and planning, the socio-economic component of a development project should be ranked higher than the technical side, unlike the practice with state development initiatives, like the RKDP, which places the technical side above the socio-economic side (developer).*

*The key development issues are rarely technical ones which are relatively easy to deal with; whereas the human, institutional and socio-economic problems are the most difficult and the most important. In the RKDP, for example, and in many other development projects, it is evident that technical people are running the show. This suggests that the project is driven by the wrong set of criteria and the wrong set of values (developer).*

*The increasing use of a 'techno-financial development model' in South Africa is evident. The problems arising from this approach to development include the following:*

- \* it requires a large supportive infrastructure with enormous costs through professional fees;*
- \* it involves an approach which often entails relocation and displacement of residents; and*
- \* it is often a fundamentally disruptive approach at the level of squatter communities.*

*There needs to be a reconsideration of both planning models and policies underpinning them, with a great deal of participation and negotiation around project planning and conceptualisation (developer).*

*Some successful development is taking place in the Southern Pinetown region possibly because the socio-political conditions there enable satisfactory interaction between project structures and community organisations to take place. It is also important to note that this development is not taking place on bantustan land (progressive expert).*

#### **4.5.2 Conditions facilitating community involvement**

*In order to integrate the technical and socio-economic components of a project, the basic question of representation by community members on project teams must be addressed. A development initiative must come partially from a grass-roots level and in order to do so, elected community representation is a prerequisite. In short, political*

*structures must be in place which enable all people to be represented on project teams (state expert, parastatal expert).*

*It is crucial to involve the community. However, it is often difficult to find the 'community', especially since so many communities are divided along political lines (parastatal expert, developer).*

*The crucial element in integrating the technical and the socio-economic sides of a development initiative is the involvement of the community in the co-ordination process. In addition, to obtain sustained community involvement, there is often a need to provide improved communication between project staff and community members. This raises the question as to whether issues such as the improvement of roads and of telecommunications should not be seriously considered as preliminary sub-projects (parastatal expert).*

*Though, of late, there has been a clear commitment by development agencies to involve community representatives as much as possible in the planning and conceptualisation of new development programmes, and of training local people in leadership skills, experience has shown that this can be very costly and time-consuming, especially if agencies are hiring consultants (state expert).*

*A number of community representatives have rejected state development projects during their implementation phases. 'This could be expected, I suppose, considering that our track record has not been very good.' Additional problems have also been encountered. The particular location of infrastructure led, in one case, to project facilities being destroyed (state expert).*

*There are a number of avenues for community consultation which can be used. For instance, struggles are occurring at present around a number of development issues: houses built by the private sector in Umlazi are cracking up; tenants are demanding a reduction in their bonds; and there is a perceived lack of community consultation regarding potential residential land being used for school and business development. Proposals for consultation on such issues would undoubtedly interest community representatives (progressive expert).*

*It is very important that project plans be made known to the target community, and to the representative committee elected by the community, in particular, far in advance*

*Contractors should also be introduced to the community before a project is started. Contractors should not simply enter the community and do their job, but should assist the community in whatever way they can (state expert).*

*Local workers and artisans should be employed on development projects, rather than the importation of outside workers by contractors. In some cases workers from outside have contributed to the unrest in certain areas (state expert).*

#### **4.5.3 The role of technical experts in project management**

*The role of technical experts in South Africa needs to be recast (progressive expert).*

*The technical experts in this country claim to know everything. This is a dangerous situation. If one looks at countries like Sweden, for example, the concept of worker management operates in practice. Management learns from the workers during the production and management process. Technical issues in development are largely about implementation, whereas the conceptualisation of development should come from the people (progressive expert).*

*Engineers tend to work according to time scales, and often forget, while carrying out their work, that they have to work with people. Unlike the RKDP, which employs technically skilled persons as project coordinators, persons who have sufficient understanding of both socio-economic as well as technical issues should be appointed (progressive expert).*

*Experience has shown in many cases that once private developers acquire land to develop, they immediately forget about the people previously living on the land. This may be as a result of the money involved. How one changes this attitude is not clear, but obviously what is needed is a greater degree of co-ordination between the two components of a development project (progressive expert).*

*The private sector has recently become genuinely concerned about the socio-economic problems facing 'have-not' communities and do not downplay this side of a project (parastatal expert).*

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

Project implementation, as interpreted by respondents, involves more than activities 'on



the ground'. The experts argued, in fact, that projects often did not succeed in reaching their target groups - typically, it is the very poor who are often ignored or bypassed. More appropriate and innovative means to reach these groups are needed.

In particular, repeated mention was made of project spin-offs which could lead to the creation of job opportunities. Access to land and shelter at affordable levels in appropriate locations were also emphasized. In this regard, a number of experts raised the idea of densification in residential areas.

Opinions relating to education and to employment creation tended to be stated at a macro-level of principle, particularly with regard to general conditions required for positive change:

- \* one national education department was proposed
- \* more general and effective use of existing physical infrastructure was encouraged in the educational sphere;
- \* pleas were made for economic growth and an end to the sanctions campaign; and
- \* private, rather than public, sector initiatives for job creation were proposed.

On the distinction between technical and socio-economic project activities - a distinction which may take on both managerial and organisational form within development projects - experts were generally critical of past practices. Greater consideration needs to be given within project implementation to perceived community needs, and to active community involvement - a point stressed by state and parastatal experts. On their own, external technical inputs often fail to address critical development issues - a point stressed by development and progressive experts. The current roles played by technical staff in projects, in particular, were considered to be inappropriate by a number of respondents.

## 5. THEME 4 : THE FUNDING OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Two specific areas were addressed under this theme: potential sources of finance (from the public and private sectors), and the issue of cost recovery. Subsequently, the views of those experts who proposed policy reforms regarding development financing are presented.

### 5.1 Sources of funding

Most experts agreed that development funds should come from both the public and private sectors. The views given below identify the criteria each believes should be used to make up the proper mix of these differing funding sources.

*Money should come from both the state and the private sector. However, it is necessary for the state as guarantor to support the private sector when it deals with the very poor. The example of low-cost housing delivery is a case in point. The state tried to pass this responsibility on to the private sector and the result was the collapse of the low-cost housing delivery process (state expert and developer).*

*The state must be responsible for funding housing delivery at the bottom end of the market. In addition, the state must carry the costs of all major bulk infrastructure, with the private sector filling in the detail on a cost recovery basis (state expert, parastatal expert, developer).*

*The government does have the necessary money available to fund development projects; and should, therefore, fund all aspects of projects. The responsibility for implementation should rest with the community (progressive expert).*

*Instead of straight public funding, subsidised private funding should be introduced. For example, the state should support the private sector so as to make it worthwhile for private bodies to deliver low-cost houses (parastatal expert).*

*To expect the government to obtain sufficient funds through taxation is not feasible. We need to look creatively at all ways of accessing funds for development. Lotteries are an example. (private sector expert). The private sector is starting to realise that investment in education, health, housing and so on is in their long-term interests (private sector expert).*

*There should be a partnership between the government and the private sector, where the state funds housing and land acquisitions while the private sector funds industrial projects (private sector expert).*

*While I agree that the state has a major responsibility for the funding of projects, particularly in the area of public goods, total responsibility for development should not vest in the state. It has its own interests and should not be seen as a benign entity which simply mirrors the needs of a target community. There needs to be, accordingly, a financial responsibility placed on those people who fall above a certain level of affordability. An area worth exploring is that of the mobilisation of collective community funds and resources to be used for local development purposes. Stokvels and credit unions also need consideration (developer).*

*'While funding is obviously a central government responsibility, there is also a need, for example, to 'bleed big business', in the DFR.' Many companies are making enormous profits - however unwilling they may be to disclose this fact - and can, therefore, afford to fund regional development initiatives (developer).*

Two experts situated their points of view within a critique of the present state funding environment. Their views are presented below.

*Durban and Pietermaritzburg have at present three primary sources of funding (DDA, NPA and KwaZulu), an arrangement which creates considerable confusion and facilitates corruption. Actors within the development arena are confused as to why, for example, comparable residential sites are available at different prices. A second example relating to land in KwaZulu underlines the potential for corruption. After residential land is serviced and placed on the market, a site may be bought by a person who has some influence in the KwaZulu government, for approximately R1 000. The market value for the site may be in the range of R14 000 to R15 000. The difference is pocketed by the original buyer (progressive expert).*

*At present, the allocation of state resources reflects a bias toward large-scale projects, particularly those of a high-cost infrastructural nature. Socio-economic projects suffer as a result. Building infrastructure is favoured because it is relatively easy to achieve and is immediately visible. The benefits accruing from funds invested to improve socio-economic conditions, however, have far more of a long-term multiplier effect.*

*Community development, for instance, has been limited because individuals and households do not have access to small 'soft' loans (eg. in the range of R500). Money lenders in the townships and informal areas charge extremely high interest rates. Whether it should be a state or private sector responsibility to provide these small loans is debatable, but it should be recognised that soft loans can have a strong developmental impact. Even if there are defaulters, the end result of handing over responsibility to individuals at community level is undoubtedly beneficial (developer).*

## **5.2 Cost recovery**

The majority of respondents argued in support of some form of cost recovery from development projects. They also argued that the extent and manner of recovery should depend upon the affordability levels found in the communities concerned. Unless otherwise specified, cost recovery refers, in the responses of experts, to running costs associated with services provided by a state agency to an urban residential area.

*Cost recovery is crucial, since people must pay for services such as water, sewerage disposal and electricity (parastatal expert).*

*Even without covering full costs, it is still crucial to implement a system of cost recovery because one should guard against the fostering of a set of values signalling that services are provided without cost. Some form of cost recovery (even if it is merely a token cost) will establish a relationship of interdependence between a community and the developer, thereby ensuring that the developer remains accountable to the community. It is commonplace that people involved in offering handouts always think they are in control, whilst people receiving handouts have little or no control (developer).*

*Cost recovery levels will have to be introduced progressively over time (developer).*

*Full cost recovery is not possible at present. What is required is for communities to be educated and trained in order to become responsible for the maintenance of projects in their communities and thereby to develop themselves into self-sustaining, viable communities (developer).*

*While it is important to recover costs where one can, the critical issue is that low-income people will not receive adequate services and tenure unless there are significant subsidies on land and housing. However, the way in which these subsidies should be*

*administered - in the form of a once-off capital subsidy or in the form of ongoing subsidies - is open to debate (progressive expert).*

*Cost recovery can be done in formal townships, but is futile in the informal areas where the majority of people cannot afford to pay for services (state expert).*

*At present, costs for services can only be recovered with regard to maintenance (private sector expert). If one involves the community in a project, on the other hand, the possibility of establishing a suitable form of cost recovery increases (private sector expert and developer).*

*'Cost recovery is not a major problem, because people generally appreciate the fact that they have to pay for services' (progressive expert).*

*While the principle of cost recovery is acceptable, it is not universally applicable. There is a need for cross-subsidies from rich areas to poor areas. South Africa should be looking at the system used in Zimbabwe, where owners of property which falls below a certain value are exempted from paying rates (progressive expert).*

*While cost recovery is an important ingredient in sustained development, there are other ways of recovering costs. Job creation and the general stimulation of the economy, for example, will increase the tax base and thereby offset development expenditure (progressive expert).*

*It must be noted that the concept of cost recovery is interpreted by different people in different ways. For some people, cost recovery implies a profit motive (progressive expert).*

### **5.3 Suggested reforms**

*Firstly, South Africa must have a democratic government which would then be required to play a very central, facilitative, and interventionist role in the financing of projects (progressive expert).*

*To overcome the corruption and confusion taking place within the development arena, there is a need for one national policy on development financing. The precise formulation of that policy is open to debate (progressive expert).*

*Sound financial administration of development programmes could be achieved by making development funds available to a group of high profile managers (private sector expert).*

*Funds and resources of the central government and of the provincial authorities should be pooled in order to develop a specific area more rapidly and more satisfactorily (state expert).*

One respondent offered a specific proposal regarding an alternative funding system for the low-cost urban housing market:

*In terms of the urban housing market, an equitable housing subsidy system for the urban poor in both KwaZulu and Natal should be introduced. A single capital subsidy on the selling price of a serviced site, either on a settlement upgrading scheme or on a site-and-service scheme, would be most appropriate. The capital subsidy should be the same for a site in KwaZulu and a site in Natal. It should be available for sites developed by the public as well as by the private sectors. In addition, capital subsidies currently being provided by DDA, NPA and the Development Bank of Southern Africa should be rationalised and brought in line with this proposal. Existing subsidies are not currently available for private sector developments. This undermines private sector participation in this housing delivery process (developer).*

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

All experts recognise the fundamental welfare role the state must continue to play in the financing of development projects. They differ in various ways on the form and extent of welfare which they believe should be made available and on the depth of suspicion with which members of target communities continue to regard the state.

The private sector, which most experts propose should continue to contribute toward development, is generally recognised to operate in accordance with market principles. Where, therefore, community members are not able to pay market-related prices, the state is expected to intervene by using state funds. A number of experts also pointed to the need for a more progressive form of corporate social responsibility they believe the private sector should exercise, through the provision of development funds intended to complement those flowing from state sources.

Points of view on cost recovery revolved around running costs (including maintenance costs) related to state service delivery. Very few experts commented explicitly - other than in the field of housing - on capital cost recovery. Most experts recognised that the principle of cost recovery had to be clearly established in 'have-not' communities. Thereafter, most experts pleaded for some form of differential cost recovery system linked to households' ability to pay. One expert argued convincingly that services provided without cost usually led to the development of a 'handout' mentality among providers and consumers alike, a state of affairs which kept 'have-not' households trapped in a state of powerlessness.

Generally, with reference to 'have-not' communities, the principle of differential cost recovery was viewed as more important and more relevant than the principle of fiscal equivalence (according to which consumers of services should be able to decide on which services should be delivered to their households in which ways, and should then take on responsibility for the full running costs of services so selected).

Discussions revolving around future policy issues remained largely at the level of principle: progressive experts called for a single national development policy, and the formation of a democratic government as a prerequisite for the development of wise financial policy; whereas a private sector expert recommended sound financial management as fundamental.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The development experts whose opinions have been recorded in this paper were interviewed at a time when Durban and Pietermaritzburg were experiencing three distinct processes of change.

First, these two cities are in a process of transformation from which a metropolitan region characterised by high population growth, high unemployment, and consequent major development challenges is emerging. The solid economic foundation upon which this emergent metropolis is based, together with the knowledge, experience and will of its residents, reveal the means by which these challenges can successfully be addressed.

Second, the region is experiencing violent turmoil of a persisting intensity, particularly in its 'have-not' black communities. This turmoil interacts with interventions by external development agencies aimed at improving the life chances and living conditions of residents in these communities.

Third, the country as a whole has recently entered a process of fundamental societal change. This process, which visibly is of a primarily political nature, is nonetheless affecting most aspects of the lives of all residents in the region.

It is to be expected, therefore, that development experts will find themselves, when addressing wide-ranging questions concerning their developmental tasks, with provisional and indefinite answers. Two forms of response may be anticipated. Experts will probably - in this context of uncertainty - locate their answers at a general level, referring to principles and guidelines, rather than to policy and proposed practice. They will also probably fall back on past practice they themselves have applied in the development arena, and will respond particularly on the basis of the know-how they have built up in the field.

Both forms of response, the one at a value and the second at a practical level, imply that the four categories of experts selected for interview purposes - state experts, private sector experts, developers and progressive experts - would express opinions which diverge widely from one another in accordance with their different value systems and their dissimilar experiences.



This has proved to be only partially true. All respondents identified the issues in 'have-not' communities as primary. All respondents also recognised the need for fundamental organisational restructuring in the development arena. And all respondents recommended the decentralisation of development activities to levels at which community participation would be able to have the influence it ought to have in ensuring that outside intervention succeeds in human terms.

The existence in the metropolitan area of a provincial-homeland boundary was unanimously perceived to be a major constraint to development. Though opinions regarding strategies to remove this constraint differed, its disposal in order to avoid duplication and fragmentation of planned activities was recommended by all.

Differences emerged over more specific issues:

- \* whether current state structures - held in suspicion by certain groupings - should continue to function during transition;
- \* what mix of public and private sector activities constitutes the optimal developmental model;
- \* whether decentralisation of state activities should be accompanied by devolved decision-making; and
- \* which principles should underpin state policy on development finance.

Differences, therefore, between experts in the four selected categories were apparent. Experience in state programmes was weighed up against resistance to state structures; traditional developmental approaches against innovative and often untested strategies; expert know-how against community participation; and resource scarcity against affordability. Four main actors on the development stage emerged from the minds of the experts who were interviewed: the old state, a new state, the private sector, and representatives of the target community. The experts each proposed a particular mix of roles for these four actors, a mix which in accordance with their values and experience was best tailored to the development challenges facing the Durban-Pietermaritzburg region during transition.

What is striking, however, is the degree to which consensus emerged among the experts. Everyone agreed that past development practice needs to change, and that the lessons learnt demonstrated that decentralisation and co-ordination of development planning are required. Everyone agreed that the focus of development activity ought to be on 'have-not' communities - in particular on shelter, skills and work in those communities - and that projects ought partially to be community-driven. And everyone

agreed that new and imaginative strategies needed to be devised and tested to meet the new development challenges of the region.

It is finding an appropriate mix of roles for the four main actors envisioned by the experts that remains: the old state which incorporates people of experience and of administrative ability; the private sector which incorporates people with drive and with managerial flair; the new state which will incorporate people of vision and of hope; and representatives of the 'have-not' communities who aspire to better life chances and living conditions and whose futures are closely knit to the futures of all residents of the region.

**APPENDIX**  
**SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEWS**

1. Developer	:	13 June 1990 in Durban
2. Developer	:	14 June 1990 in Durban
3. Private sector expert	:	18 June 1990 in Durban
4. State expert	:	19 June 1990, in Pietermaritzburg
5. Parastatal expert	:	22 June 1990 in Durban
6. Private sector expert	:	26 June 1990 in Durban
7. Private sector expert	:	28 June 1990 in Durban
8. Parastatal expert	:	1 July 1990 in Durban
9. Developer	:	4 July 1990 in Pietermaritzburg
10. State expert	:	4 July 1990, in Pietermaritzburg
11. Progressive expert	:	5 July 1990 in Durban
12. Developer	:	6 July 1990 in Durban
13. State expert	:	11 July 1990 in Pietermaritzburg
14. Private sector expert	:	12 July 1990 in Durban
15. Developer	:	13 July 1990 in Durban
16. Progressive expert	:	24 July 1990 in Durban
17. State expert	:	24 July 1990 in Durban
18. Progressive expert	:	27 July 1990 in Durban
19. Progressive expert	:	27 July 1990 in Durban

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20. RURAL TOWNS AND BASIC NEEDS. E M Ardington (1989), WP No.20.
21. RESEARCH INTO COMMUNITY NEEDS AND PRIORITIES: AN OVERVIEW. V Moller, WP No. 21.

### Various Publications

- 1987 THE COMMUNITY-BASED APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT: A DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THREE RURAL COMMUNITY HEALTH PROJECTS. F J Lund. CASS 21/89. Pages:162, Cost: R20,00.
- 1988 COMMUNITY REACTIONS TO THE INTRODUCTION OF AN EDUCARE PROGRAMME AT A HOME FOR BLACK AGED IN KWAMASHU. V Møller. CASS 3/88. Pages: 113, Cost: R6,00.

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