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LOCAL DEVELOPMENT: THE DEVELOPMENTAL STATE IN ACTION (/INACTION?)

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About Development Dialogues

Development Dialogues is a joint initiative of Isandla Institute and the Open Society Foundation for South Africa. The aim of the public dialogue series is to create a space for critical reflection and dialogue among key development stakeholders in South Africa. In doing this, the organisers seek to make a (rather modest) contribution to enhancing the quality of debate in the development sector. Through *Development Dialogues*, Isandla Institute and the Open Society Foundation intend to bring about creative and constructive multi-stakeholder meeting opportunities that push stakeholders to think beyond the confines of their immediate interests and theoretical paradigms.

This monograph captures the speakers' inputs and discussions at the *Development Dialogue* on 'Local development: The developmental state in action (/inaction?)', which took place on 9 February 2006 at the Centre for the Book in Cape Town.

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One of the reasons that I was eager to come and speak here was to reflect on the early days and explore the continuities and changes that have come about since then. The discovery of gold and diamond mines and the subsequent forcing off people off their land, the importation of others from overseas – Chinese – to provide cheap labour to work underground, lay the foundation for protracted struggles on these mines for decent housing. The forceful take over of land initiated the impoverishment of many families that lived adequately on their rich land.

The introduction of pass laws to men and subsequently to women set in motion struggles that were fought daily about the living conditions people were subjected to. Municipalities were responsible for ruthlessly maintaining influx control, actively policing who stayed were, with who, practically also maintaining control even about who slept with who.

The structures were thus used as instruments for a very ideological system of governance. Even as it responded to these struggles of communities in these places, the government then did so with attempts to fragment on racial, tribal and often class and gender bases. Divide and rule was a key approach of the state.

In the meantime the 1946 miners' strike, whose 60th anniversary we celebrate this year, provided the militant spirit that saw the formulation of the ANC Youth League programme of action in 1949. This programme followed on the victory of the National Party in 1948, which led to a more intense development and implementation of rigorous apartheid. The democratic movement

responded with actions to mobilise people to take action culminating in the Freedom Charter process and its adoption in 1955. It was adopted by the ANC in 1956.

The attacks on the democratic movement and the repression that characterised the work of the state were reciprocated with greater solidarity and mobilisation in support of the harassed, tried, detained, jailed leadership and ordinary members. The defiance campaign against unjust laws included defiance of municipal laws.

The decisions that followed the Morogoro Conference in 1969 were decisive in unleashing serious work to organise and mobilise people in all sectors, trade unions, civics, students, sports and the professions. This work was informed by the vision to create a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united and prosperous South Africa. The view that the masses were their own liberators was taking root and directly became the mission of how we did work at the core of our strategy and tactics. The creation of civic structures, residents associations as vehicles for fighting against the local expression of apartheid was of crucial importance in deepening the struggles waged then to involve people more fully.

In the 1980s our attempts to create a national structure of civics was thwarted by the imposition

Our liberation was attained by – and continues to be informed by – national objectives and local, civic objectives.





of the state of emergency, leading to detention, imprisonment and forcing many into deeper underground and exile. It was during this period that the call to make this country ungovernable became intense, giving equal urgency towards what we called governability by the people. Dramatic success on the latter caught everyone by surprise, creating tensions in the Eastern Cape where Port Alfred was virtually in the hands of the people. This extended to the schools and in 1986 the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) had to respond to requests from the Eastern Cape for guidance on the way forward.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) response to the apartheid reform initiatives that introduced the Tricameral Parliament and the Koornhof Bills was crucial in signalling to the state then that it could no longer rule as before; that the state required the consent of the ruled. Key affiliates of the UDF were civic structures, which during the second defiance

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campaign of 1989 called for 'one city, one tax base'. So, our liberation was attained by – and continues to be informed as much by – national objectives, as it were, and very local, civic objectives.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) outlined our intention to build a developmental state, pointing out the kind of local government system we wanted. Some of the key elements of the RDP found their way into the Constitution, which contains the overall picture of the state we seek and how the different arms and spheres should relate. It points out the socio-economic rights and other traditional human rights which the state, supported by the entities it creates, should protect, promote and realise.

Progressive provisions for local government in the Constitution were then taken up in the White Paper on Local Government. It is a progressive document that I am yet to hear a substantial critique of. The White Paper gave rise to six pieces of legislation, many of which became implemented for the first time in 2000. The last one, Municipal Finance Management Act, has only been partially implemented from last year because of its newness.

Running through the RDP, the Constitution, the White Paper and subsequent legislation is evidence of intense consultation, inclusively. All these were lessons we learnt from how our movement's basic political statement was drawn up and the continuing relevance of its substance. Huge amounts of submissions were received and many of their progressive contents actually shaped the contents of all these policy documents mentioned. Of course, the viewpoints we accepted were not hostile to our political and ideological stance. In



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its early days the transformation contained compromises that were necessary in our reading of the balance of forces, to move us forward with a degree of certainty. But, importantly, these compromises were time-bound and as soon as we reached the timelines these fell off. Since 2000 we have had a truly democratic system of local government in the country.

Conceptually, the system of local government has been well designed. The amendments that now arise are a function of any implementation of a system that responds to its changing environment. Our view is that, with fidelity, we carried through the elements of the Freedom Charter and the RDP into the Constitution, the White Paper and into the main pillars of our legislation. This is evidenced as I said earlier by the quality of the consultation process and the substance of the progressive provisions. Despite a fairly new system of local government and the inexperience of councillors and officials, significant progress has been made. Levels of poverty and unemployment remain inaccessibly high, but the systems in place are complemented by national and provincial departments.

Public entities are maturing. There remains a

high temptation to exaggerate the sources of public protest. Saying so is no intention to undermine their significance. We are convinced, however, that the lived experience of an increasing number of people in each community, supported by a campaign to root out corruption and arrogance and to instil more systematically the principles of Batho Pele among officials and councillors, will stem the tide of impatience that our people feel today in some parts of our communities. Clearly, coupled with accelerated service delivery is the need to involve people directly in the process of influencing priorities.

Our current plans are based on current work in these areas that is already underway. The powers and functions as they currently exist will be reviewed for 'careful' decentralisation, informed by 'funds follow functions' principles. The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) is a champion of local government on these issues. The job review project remains incomplete, but SALGA will give us feedback on this matter.

The Financial and Fiscal Commission has made its recommendations on a possible new formula for the equitable share. The intergovernmental fiscal flow as it stands remains under constant scrutiny to ensure adequacy and timeous expenditure, especially for the poorest areas. The bulk of the equitable share goes to weaker rural communities to overcome the shortfalls relating to overall indigence. Stats South Africa will also be completing a project to develop better information on municipalities. The amalgamation created information problems for national planning but, as work progressed, significant improvements have been registered. ■



I want to share with you my thoughts from the practical experience that we have had in the Western Cape and also based on recent reviews of the state of local government since 2002. The key challenges that manifest across the country have their own unique dimensions in our province. Much has been said about how we might have underestimated the complexity of the challenges when we started in 2002.

Firstly, many of our municipalities, across the country and in the Western Cape, are still trapped within the establishment phase and have not fully completed their consolidation. In other words, they are not quite ready for the sustainability phase.

Secondly, we are also grappling nationally with skills shortages and how this impacts on the capability and the performance of local government. But it would be foolish for us to assume that the skills shortage is only a problem at local government level. It is definitely so at provincial and national government level as well. It would be arrogant to assume that national and provincial government have the complete wherewithal.

Thirdly, it has been a very defining year and many examples all of you can probably quote relate to the accountability mechanisms which are at the heart of effective good governance. These are all the issues concerned with running an efficient and effective administration, sound financial controls, and issues of anti-corruption.

Fourthly, and unrelated to number three, a large number of municipal managers either do not have well-focussed performance agreements in place or, if they have, these have not been signed off. Or if they are signed off, they are not actively managed.

So the correlation between the performance agreement, receiving a bonus and actual performance is often questionable. A key issue is whether the performance should not be centrally focussed on implementing the Integrated Development Plan (IDP). There are clearly still some growing pains around this issue.

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Nationally we have a situation in which about 61% of our municipalities perform about 50% of their constitutionally mandated functions. What does that mean for us? Just over one in three (37%) municipalities has the capability to produce a coherent IDP or have the capacity to implement it. If you want to give meaning and substance to words like coordination and integration, the IDP is a central lever; how we use that and how to measure our effectiveness.

The capacity to implement the IDP is where the challenge manifests itself. It is one thing to have an IDP – and we have come from an era where many IDPs have been consultant-driven, with very weak or no public participation, to the current reality with better quality IDPs – but these are still



not speaking to alignment and the centrality of local economic development. We also realise that in terms of the skills shortage, the greatest shortage is concentrated around engineering and technical skills, and there is a high turnover rate of professionals at senior levels within municipalities. Rural, smaller municipalities are bearing the brunt of this. Some municipalities do not have an engineer and in other municipalities the engineer will be retiring in the next few months or the next year, or the main specialists on water and hydro-technical apparatus and machinery will be leaving shortly – only to come back the next day on a contract. A significant number of municipalities operates with acting municipal managers and we need to look at the quality of the decision-making that happens under those kinds of circumstances.

The current discussion about having one public service throws up another challenge that the next generation of IDPs will have to contend with. This clearly also raises issues for governance.

There are also particular challenges I would like to touch on. Last year we had a number of Imbizos focussed around Project Consolidate municipalities and local economic development emerged as one of the issues where municipalities across the board are very weak. Often it is not for a lack of having a local economic development strategy, but the strategies cannot be implemented because they are poorly aligned with national and provincial priorities. There is also a limited knowledge and economic understanding both within local municipalities and within provincial departments and lack of capability around the municipalities and the advisory support that is

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required. Coupled to this is an inadequate understanding of the local economic catchment areas and how you avoid competition between districts and municipalities. One municipality's local economic development strategy with a tourism angle can be a disincentive and compete with a bordering municipality for a limited pool of tourists and resources. So the notion of regional planning and inter-district planning within the context of the region and province and aligning with national is vital.

It is true to say that local economic development often happens in spite of municipalities, and that is a big indictment on us. In some municipalities, this only arises when a big industry threatens to move out, and then they wake up. We need to look at how you can keep business interested and how to create this enabling environment for business.

Particularly in the Western Cape, we are struggling to come to grips with rapid urbanisation and economic pressures and the associated other challenges that come with this, in terms of how we gear our economic potential and capabilities to respond to this in a much more proactive way.

Having said that, what needs to be done and are we getting the basics right? How do we ensure that basic services are being rendered and in an equitable or a fair manner?



It is about making sure that our government's strategies, policies, legislation and broader programme of action gets implemented with a greater sense of urgency and, more importantly, with a greater sense of focus. We need to make some key choices and trade offs around resources and how we manage competing needs. When it comes to basic services in the Western Cape, we are doing fairly well. But sanitation is still a big challenge, particularly the bucket system and the indignity that goes with that. There are still issues of electricity and clean water that are significant and outstanding. We still have growing numbers of informal settlements and places where people live on rubbish dumps and in pig sties.

We need to take bolder action in looking at alternative and interim measures until we can find the desired solutions in terms of safer and integrated communities, along with available resources. We need to take a phased, programmatic approach and we are in the process of taking it. The spatial separation is an important dimension. How do we ensure that integrated human settlements are closer to economic opportunities? That is the goal that we need to achieve, so that we can have both social and economic integration in a real sense. I have already mentioned the enabling environment we need to create, so that we can talk about this shared growth that the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) seeks to unlock at a much larger scale.

Are we too ambitious? We all realise that as we sit here that people have major expectations, and rightfully so. There are significant new requirements in terms of legislation that usher in a new

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regime of how we manage resources for instance. The Municipal Finance Management Act is ushering in a new discipline in how municipalities manage and spend their resources and meet and implement the IDP. This brings particular challenges as well.

There is a significant gap between what is expected and the capacity of government and of local government specifically to deliver. Now there are different types of capacity challenges and I think it is important to understand these, because different strategies and interventions are required to address capacity needs. For one, there is the issue of fiscal capacity, in terms of the economy and how the boundaries of municipalities are drawn. Are we setting up municipalities and communities in perpetual poverty? How municipalities with limited resources sustain the provision of basic services is a key question confronting us. Secondly, there is a big systems capacity problem where basic systems are not in place within municipalities, or where old systems were designed and geared for a very different time and not for developmental local government.





The issue around human capacity and the particular burden the poor and rural municipalities have is very, very difficult. After three advertisements you may get someone who comes in for two or three months and then moves on. So we need to look at attracting and retaining people in these municipalities, and how we more creatively deploy and share resources within and between municipalities. These are some of the things that we are starting to do through Project Consolidate.

The Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act is compelling us to start building different kinds of relationships for improved government performance and service delivery and we are in our infancy in terms of making that happen. So the developmental stage is essentially a stage that maximises the use of limited and scarce resources, that ensures government programmes and agenda are implemented in an aligned way. The challenge is in creating this alignment and in internalising local needs and realities into that agenda. How do we ensure that we do not have a reactive and antagonistic relationship with local authorities? How do we build partnerships that can give meaning to alignment and unlock a series of different types of conversations more regularly with local authorities, with the emphasis on getting the alignment on a planning level and then working to implement this?

Within the Western Cape there is definitely a different alignment of forces, in terms of the quality of relationships that have emerged over this

last year in particular. We were much further apart from municipalities, invoking their powers and functions in terms of what each sphere must do. Although not all issues on the powers and functions have been completely resolved, there is a greater willingness to start saying we have a common agenda and future.

With elections coming up we need to ensure that we bring new councillors and new councils up to speed and ready for delivery as quickly as possible. A momentum has been created and we must ensure that we follow through so that local communities are not caught up in transitional arrangements or new settling in that needs to be done.

I am optimistic about the future of local government. I believe that a set of good mechanisms is in place and we need to look at how we enforce those mechanisms. Much more solid monitoring and evaluation capability is required, so that we can monitor performance much more robustly and not monitor performance by which red flags go up, which corruption issues are simmering. We need much more focussed attention on the performance of government as a whole and how we as provincial government support municipalities.

We will be rolling out a comprehensive capacity building programme that is currently being run by local authorities. We have worked with a number of municipal managers who say that they understand their needs best, and they have helped to build the capacity of the provincial department. ■





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REFLECTIONS BY
EBRAHIM FAKIR

I am going to focus on some future probabilities and possibilities. Local government is a central pivot of the state-building enterprise, particularly the idea of local government that is strong, effective, efficient, responsive, transparent, free of corruption and democratic, of course. This is a key and critical instrument in building the state.

There is a lot of theory of failed states and weak state capacity, and the historical approach of much of this has been limited in essence and fails to account for the history from which many of these failed states emerged. Many of the developing world's most pressing challenges, from failing to deliver services at local level to HIV/AIDS are because of weak or non-responsive local government.

There is also a second problem, and that is the focus and the strategic thrust of Project Consolidate.

If we begin to internalise both contestation and conflict, cooperation is key in building both democracy and in building the state and these intersecting interests are going to be central in building both economically viable and socially viable communities.

In many instances it is very good, but its focus and strategic thrust is in the main on the technical and instrumental capacities in government; it fails to adequately account for the democratic interface between state and citizen.

I am not saying that it ignores it completely, but by focussing on the technical and instrumental capacities it ignores questions of responsiveness, questions of weak constituency relations, and the fact that you have part-time councillors and that, in some instances, people do not even know who their councillors are.

It is also true that in the broader context of South Africa's transition from apartheid to a society that is free and open, local government itself has progressed from a crude third level of government into an autonomous sphere of government. It is also true that much of the institutional transformation of local government is beset by transitional fatigue and there is some tiredness in the way that the transitional process itself is starting to unfold.

To be fair, the upcoming local government elections are only the second democratic local government elections. It provides an opportunity to make a shift away from transition to transformation. I believe local government has not been taken seriously in the state-building enterprise and it is worth revisiting key elements of state building. Many people would think that this is the domain of national government, but the increasing requirements for local government to deliver, the development of public-private partnerships (and even public-public partnerships in some municipalities) and the impact of the regulatory strength of local municipalities all become key.





Shifts in the mode of service delivery, in the absence of strong regulatory regime in water, electricity and transportation, have eroded rights as enshrined in the constitution.

Given that there is now the mooted idea that local government and local government officials will become part of a single public service, the administrative capacity of local government is going to be important – administering its personnel, resources and infrastructure. Without that capacity, the possibility arises that the gains of the national democratic process will be eroded.

There is also another area that Shanaaz Majiet has pointed out and that is that in terms of engineering, sanitation, water provision, infrastructure and so forth, technical capacity is going to be key.

What has been largely ignored is the extractive capacity of the local state. This refers to collecting and raising amounts of revenue at local level, but it also requires significant enforcement capacity by the local state, so that there is some kind of predictability. If you do not comply with the different obligations that are placed upon you as a citizen, and in the absence of that enforcement capability, people think that they can get away with anything they like. So you need the coexistence of extractive capacity and enforcement capacity.

In many instances people do not associate coercion with local government, but with the advent of metro policing and municipal policing the coercive aspects of the local state are going to be critical. We have seen local protests that have occurred around the country, and some

You cannot have a steady state building exercise in the absence of citizens.

people have been concerned that the police have gone in to stem this tide of local protest against service delivery. The question is: what kind of arbitrary decisions are being taken at the local level to give it the coercive power of policing and administrative justice in what is essentially a national function.

Thus, the questions that need to be resolved now revolve around technical capacity, administrative capacity, coercive capacity and extractive capacity. Part of the problem at local government level is that we have focussed on the state far too much and we have not really focussed on local communities. There is significant research that is beginning to suggest that antagonistic relationships and polarised racial communities exist in many municipalities. Johannesburg is one example. You find capital and investment flight from core areas of major cities and that has centred largely on fears of security and safety, of economic liability and so forth. But until there is a mutually intersecting body of interests which extends not just between state and society, but which extends between different races and between different classes, it is going to be very difficult to provide vibrant local economic development at local level. Capital flight and the movement of capital-intensive industries out of core areas of the city mean that they become wastelands.



We have seen this happen in many instances and its not only centred around questions of safety and security; it is also centred around questions of race. In some areas of the country certain racial and class interest groups have migrated out of certain areas where development has peaked, to areas where their profits can be maximised. This does not mean that in a free and open society you begin to limit the activities and freedom of activity that people have, particularly at a local level, but it does mean that there needs to be an intersecting body of mutual interests to insure that everyone has an interest in ensuring that certain services are provided and development occurs.

It may strike one as perverse to suggest that there needs to be issues of mutually coexisting interests between state and society. Some would assume that these interests are mutually antagonistic. I do not think so. I do not think that politics is always based on questions of cooperation, but neither are they always based on questions of conflict. If we begin to internalise both contestation and conflict, cooperation is key in building both democracy and in building the state, and these intersecting interests are going to be central in building both economically viable and socially viable communities.

It also seems perverse to suggest that building the state is key, because the literature of the last 20 years suggests that the less state intervention you have, the greater the amount of democracy that you might have, and the greater the freedoms that you have in society. I do not agree. I think that the capacity of the state is going to be key, and building the capacity of the state, with its regulatory, extractive and technical dimensions,

is not enough. We also need a more responsive, visionary and committed leadership. One of the things about local government is that there has not been this kind of responsive leadership, this kind of committed leadership, and in some instances, there has not been the visionary leadership that is required at this level.

Now when it comes to the dynamics of social protest at the local level, it has been suggested that it is not quite clear what happens. But what is quite clear is that there are two trajectories in the way in which local protests happen. The one is political and ideological contestation with the state – what kind of macroeconomic policy, what kind of social policy? The second is basic frustration that services are not being provided, which is also a frustration that there is no responsiveness on the part of local authorities. Many discussions about the developmental state tend to focus on whether it is democratic in nature or developmental. The argument that I would like to make is that the one without the other is moot.

You cannot have a steady state building exercise in the absence of citizens. This is about the interface between citizens and state and the democratic notions of responsiveness and participation.

There has been a ceding of space in favour of officials who have determined policy rather than elected politicians.



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There are four other elements that become important for the state, namely accountability, transparency, non-corruption and leaders with strong constituency relations. Whether this materialises or not is going to be key. What will also be key is monitoring and evaluation and the recall capability of a political party or the state for a non-performing politician.

Another area that we have tended to ignore around the democratic interface, over the past five years and during the transitional period of local government, is that there has been a ceding of space in favour of officials who have determined policy rather than elected politicians. But it is not officials who can be held to account; it is politicians. I think that is part of the reason why many local communities have been up in arms, not about the way the state has functioned, but about the way in which elected representatives have functioned.

There certainly is much hope for local government, but this rests on revisiting some

of the issues around rebuilding the state at the local level, and how the interface between local and national is going to unfold. Further, it is certainly how the local state is going to interface with its local citizen on the basis of non-racialism and equity. Its also going to require some commitment on the part of all races and classes, because while there are opportunities for elites to begin opting out of making sure that they share this mutually interesting body of interests, they will continue to procure the services in other areas, whether it be in the educational system, water or sanitation, or any other service that the local authority offers. If you can opt out of procuring your services in certain areas, simply because you are part of the elite, it will mean that the poor will have to rely on a weak state, whose capacity is not very strong to provide those services. And until that mutually intersecting body of interests exists it will be very difficult to build non-racial, viable local communities. ■





AFTER THE INPUTS, THE FLOOR WAS OPEN FOR QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS. ISSUES THAT WERE RAISED INCLUDED:

- Noting the speakers' comments about the lack of capacity within government, there is also concern about the lack of local government's involvement in building the capacity of civil society as required by the Municipal Systems Act. Currently municipalities interact mostly with affluent communities, who seem to have greater rights to appeal municipal decisions than those who live in townships.
- The contestation regarding powers and functions allocated between municipalities and other spheres of government has not been adequately resolved and there is an urgent need to rationalise this entire process.
- Communities do not understand their role, function and responsibilities with regard to local government, and a stronger watchdog role needs to be created for local communities.
- There is a lack of consensus among roleplayers about the purpose of local government and there is a lack of closure on the powers and functions debate.

IN RESPONSE THE SPEAKERS MADE SOME CONCLUDING COMMENTS:

Ebrahim Fakir

In my view, government has no role in building civil society. What government can certainly do is create an enabling space for local communities and civil society to engage with government. Furthermore, many NGOs and community organisations that purport to speak on behalf of communities do not have sufficient penetration themselves. There is capacity for civil society to build its own role and there are certain safeguards for the role of communities in participation, through ward committees and so forth, which have been legislated.

When it comes to the role of the provinces there is also a debate that has been going on for about five or six years now about whether there is actually a role for provinces or whether we should do away with them and have a two-tier structure with a national sphere and local government.

Shanaaz Majiet

From the Western Cape provincial experience, we need to put it in context and look at what has happened in this province over the past nine years. Local government has had a culture, history and the practice of being only regulatory driven and focussed, so much so that as recently as 18 months ago the rules of engagement were very much one way. If we are talking about positioning a provincial government to be more interventionist, I can certainly attest to different interventions that provincial government has started to initiate with varying degrees of success over the past 18 months, but we also need to appreciate that it is very early days. In order for our interventions to yield the desired results, there needs to be a level of maturity in the relationships, so that interventions are not perceived in terms of which political party is in control of which municipal arrangement.

Regarding the issue of public participation, it is true that there are different services and different ways of interaction and we have numerous complaints and examples of this. A recent one was when robots are out in a place like the N1, in a matter of five to 10 minutes there will be a traffic officer on the scene directing the flow of traffic. When traffic lights are out in Khayelitsha, it will be days before anything happens. So how we in the same municipal jurisdiction respond to different services is very important and I am sure there are many examples in other municipalities as well. In the province ward committees are still very new and very young compared to the rest of the country, and we are also a latecomer when it comes to community development workers, another government instrument to strengthen public participation.

Lechesa Tsenoli

Interventions such as ASGISA are short-term interventions, with the specific purpose of being catalytic. Project Consolidate, for example, is not meant to deal with the interface with communities. It is a short-term intervention that is intended to produce quick results.

There are methods, such as community based planning, which can be used to ensure the effective involvement of communities. These mechanisms to interface with the community have been successfully used in Mangaung, and include ward-based plans, with specific aspects for implementation. In some instances, these have influenced the IDP. These are examples of the state taking steps to encourage the meaningful involvement of communities. ■





LOCAL DEVELOPMENT: THE DEVELOPMENTAL STATE IN ACTION (/INACTION?)

9 FEBRUARY 2006

CENTRE FOR THE BOOK, CAPE TOWN

ABOUT THE PANEL:

LECHESA TSENOLI, MP has a long political track record, which includes being the UDF Publicity Secretary in Natal in 1980, the National Deputy President and subsequently National President of SANCO in the 1990s, and the Chairperson of the Local Government Negotiation Forum in the early 1990s (which informed the Local Government CODESA discussions). He was a member of the first democratic parliament, between 1994 and 1999, during which he served as the Chairperson of the RDP Portfolio Committee (1997-1999). After the 1999 elections he became the MEC for Local Government in the Free State Province, a portfolio he held until 2004. He returned to the National Assembly and became the Chair of the Portfolio Committee on Arts and Culture. This was only a brief detour from local government and in 2005 he became the Chairperson of the Portfolio on Provincial and Local Government.

SHANAAZ MAJIE is the Head of Department for Local Government and Housing in the Western Cape Administration. Between 1996 and 2004, she served national government in senior portfolios in the Department of Land Affairs and the Department of Water Affairs & Forestry. She is a change management practitioner and has worked in the NGO sector and local, provincial and national government. She has provided management consultancy support to government and the private sector.

EBRAHIM FAKIR is a Senior Researcher at the Centre for Policy Studies, interested in social and political theory, democracy and governance, political parties and democratic institutions, public participation, social movements and social activism, post-colonial democratic transitions and democratic consolidation, ideology, the public space, media, culture and politics. He has a post graduate degree in English literature and political philosophy and studied economics, history, sociology and politics at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. He holds a fellowship at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex and previously worked at the Institute for Democracy in SA and taught English literature at the University of Durban-Westville (now University of KwaZulu Natal).



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