A SUSTAINABLE DELIVERY APPROACH FOR PERI-URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

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ABSTRACT

Challenges of implementing Integrated Development programmes can be seen in the difficulty in aligning different departmental budgets and processes in the implementation phase of projects. This has had many implications for development. However, the use of conventional and single sector approaches to meet development needs has been more apparent. The need to respond to a lack of basic services and poverty in rural and peri-urban has been growing. Absence of appropriate rural and peri-urban development approaches, and non-alignment of policy and budgets across government structures have resulted in the use of urban based models. This has culminated in the creation of settlements that are unable sustain themselves over time. The dissertation puts forward the hypothesis that “community development through the housing approach is not an appropriate development mechanism for rural and peri-urban areas”. It also highlights problems faced in attempting peri-urban and rural areas. This is illustrated by a case study – Intathakusa Integrated Development Programme. This is a peri-urban and rural development programme located within the boundaries of eThekwini Metropolitan Area and is used to illustrate problems faced by a number of areas of similar nature. This project attempted to deliver integrated programmes within the urban edge and the peripheral parts of the city. Qualitative research methods facilitated an in-depth exploration of relevant issues in this dissertation. Development practitioners and community representatives were interviewed to elicit information on the challenges facing peri-urban and rural development and to explore possible alternatives. The dissertation concludes with suggestions for sustainable livelihoods approaches for rural and peri-urban areas. The research also acknowledges that the housing package is perhaps a basic requirement for rural and peri-urban areas. It acknowledges that housing offers a means through which a bundle of basic services (over and above a house) can be delivered. The research concludes by arguing that if this funding mechanism is to be used in rural and peri-urban areas, it should be repackaged to include bigger site sizes and agriculture
TABLE OF CONTENT

CONTENTS

PAGE NUMBER

Acknowledgements............................................................................................i
Abstract..............................................................................................................ii
Table of Content..................................................................................................iii
Appendixes..........................................................................................................viii
Figures................................................................................................................x
Tables................................................................................................................x
Definition of terms..............................................................................................xi
List of abbreviations...........................................................................................xiv

CHAPTER 1 ..............................................................................................................1

1. Introduction......................................................................................................1

1.1 Background...................................................................................................1

1.2 Research Goals.............................................................................................6

1.2.1 Purpose....................................................................................................6

1.2.2 Objectives................................................................................................6

1.2.3 Motivation................................................................................................7

1.2.4 Problem Statement....................................................................................7

1.2.5 Key questions...........................................................................................7

1.2.6 Hypothesis.................................................................................................8

1.3. Research Methodology................................................................................8

1.3.1 Qualitative Research.................................................................................8

1.3.2 Case study................................................................................................8

1.3.3 Questionnaires........................................................................................9

1.4 Scope and delimitations................................................................................9

1.5 Chapter outline............................................................................................10

1.5.1 Chapter 1...............................................................................................10

1.5.2 Chapter 2...............................................................................................10

1.5.3 Chapter 3...............................................................................................10

1.5.4 Chapter 4...............................................................................................11
CHAPTER 2 .............................................................................................................. 12

Section 1 .................................................................................................................. 12

2. Literature review .................................................................................................. 12

2.1 Background ...................................................................................................... 12

2.2 Poverty and Basic Needs .................................................................................. 12

2.3 The Role of Beneficiaries in Sustainability ..................................................... 13

2.4 Sustainability in Building Communities ......................................................... 14

2.5 Shelters, Safety and Quality ........................................................................... 15

2.6 Standards and Criteria Driven Development ................................................. 16

2.7 Foreign Technologies ....................................................................................... 17

2.8 Urban Based Rural Development Approaches ............................................. 18

2.9 Urban Rural Bias ............................................................................................. 19

2.10 Challenges of Rural Development ................................................................. 20

2.11 Agriculture and Rural Livelihoods ................................................................. 21

2.12 Land and Rural Development ....................................................................... 23

2.13 Concluding Remarks ..................................................................................... 23

Section 2 .................................................................................................................. 25

2.14 National Policy Framework .......................................................................... 25

2.14.1 The Constitutions of the Republic of South Africa .................................. 25

2.14.2 Housing Amendment Act 4 of 2001 ......................................................... 26

2.14.3 Housing White Paper ............................................................................... 27

2.14.4 The Development Facilitation Act .......................................................... 27

2.14.5 Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy .............................. 28

2.14.6 Rural Housing Subsidy ............................................................................. 29
### 3.10.1 Etafuleni Phase I

---

### 3.10.2 Etafuleni Phase II

---

#### CHAPTER 4

Research Methodology and Justification

- **4.1 Background**: 65
- **4.2 Secondary Sources**: 65
- **4.3 Primary Sources**: 66
  - **4.3.1 Questionnaire Construction**: 68
  - **4.3.2 Types of Questions**: 68
  - **4.3.3 Administrative Method**: 69
  - **4.3.4 Data Presentation**: 70

#### CHAPTER 5

Research Findings

- **5.1 Development Practitioners’ responses**: 72
  - **5.1.1 Integrated Development**: 73
  - **5.1.2 Sustainable Development**: 84
- **5.2 Community Responses**: 92
- **5.3 Concluding Remarks**: 100

#### CHAPTER 6

Analysis of Data

- **6.1 Lack of Genuine Commitment**: 101
- **6.2 Urban Based Technologies**: 103
- **6.3 Housing Process: The Better Known Process**: 104
- **6.4 Convenience**: 106
- **6.5 Cost**: 106
- **6.6 Challenges with IDPs**: 107
6.7 Non-Alignment .............................................108
6.8 Socialist approach to Service delivery ..............................108
6.9 Competition of Resources .......................................109
6.10 Interpretation of Policy .........................................109
6.11 Conclusion .......................................................109

CHAPTER 7 .......................................................................110
Towards Sustainable Rural and Peri-urban Environments ...............110
7. Suggestions ..............................................................110
   7.1 Re-package ..........................................................110
      7.1.1 Opportunities ...............................................112
   7.2 Mix Market and Socialist Approaches ............................114
      7.2.1 Opportunities ...............................................115
   7.3 Release Service Land ..............................................115
      7.3.1 Opportunities ...............................................116
   7.4 Project Driven Versus Line Function Driven Process ...........116
      7.4.1 Opportunities ...............................................116

CHAPTER 8 .......................................................................118
8.1 Conclusions .............................................................118
8.2 Testing the Hypothesis ...............................................118
8.3 Recommendations ....................................................119
8.4 Suggestions for further Research .................................121

REFERENCES ...................................................................122
BIBLIOGRAPHY ............................................................125
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix title</th>
<th>Appendix no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development Practitioners Questionnaire</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Questionnaire</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure no.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Intathakusa Study area locality Plan</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Low Densities of Peri-urban settlements in Buffelsdraai</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Map showing Inanda Dam and the surrounding settlements</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Picture showing houses with backyard gardening</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table no.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Problems on Local Economic Initiatives</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Agricultural interest</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Crop preference types in Etafuleni</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Preferences on site sizes</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Breakdown of sites</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Different views about the conception of integrated development</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Different views on implementability of integrated development</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Varying experiences involving challenges of integrated development</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Categories of thoughts about success of integrated development</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Varying views about how integrated development can be achieved</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Varying views of what sustainable development is all about</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Views on possibilities of synergy between housing and agriculture</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Services and benefits offered by the housing subsidy and LRAD</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Suggested package for rural peri-urban areas</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I. Development is defined as a multi-dimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty.

ii. Sustainable Development is a form of progress that ensures human development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

iii. Integrated Development is the process that takes into cognizance the different elements of the phenomenon that it seeks to improve. It looks at the whole rather than single components.

iv. Integrated Development Plan is a plan that seeks to address both the contextual and the spatial development imperatives of a particular area by incorporating and reflecting all required development options or elements of that particular area it seeks to impact upon.

v. Integrated Development Planning is the kind of planning intervention that recognizes comprehensive (all) elements of development relating to a particular area on which the intervention is planned for. It takes into cognizance the various role players that are/will be impacted by the development. It seeks to put people's/community's needs (which the development intends to improve) at the forefront of development. In the context of this research it is a tool that is seen to incorporate various components of development to achieve greater benefit.

vi. Integrated Development Programme: It is a development intervention that seeks to consider all elements of development in the area it is intended to improve. In all its processes it attempts to include and incorporate all components as it progresses. Sometimes it is able to achieve all at the time of implementation, but in most cases it is unable to achieve all at the same time, and the remaining ones are taken care of in planning but may be realized in the future in an incremental basis. The programme becomes a vehicle through resources and efforts are coordinated to achieve the desired objectives.

vii. Integration refers to inclusiveness of various components, people of efforts.
viii. **Components** refer to various elements or options of development, i.e. housing, infrastructure, social facilities, tourism, agriculture, basic services etc.

ix. **Shelter** refers to the total living environment within which human families live. It includes both the dwelling unit and its environment, especially the facilities and services provided on a community basis (e.g. water, waste disposal, air purity, zoning control and recreational facilities).

x. **Housing Process** is any process that seeks to address the dwelling needs of society, or and individual. This may include all the dwelling requirements during implementation.

xi. **Housing Project** is a specific intervention directed at implementing community dwelling units. This includes any of the requirements which complete a dwelling cluster. This is usually the best tool to implement a housing process.

xii. **Formal housing** refers to the type of housing structure which is constructed in conventionally western technology, and which also gets formal approval through the formal structures like National Home Builder Registration Council (NHBRC).

xiii. **Informal housing** is a term that has been given to dwelling structures whose construction does not follow formal procedures, and may not get approved through the NHBRC as a formal structure. These are normally referring to shacks or any other seemingly temporary structures. These structures normally get targeted for upgrading and improvement.

xiv. **Traditional housing** is the type of dwelling units which are built using the traditional material, and their appearance normal depicts the character of the indigenous people of that location. These are normally structures built in rural areas. They may not necessarily get approved through the NHBRC but are recognized as formal structures for traditional communities.

xv. **Rural Livelihoods** refers to adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs. For vast majority of rural and peri-urban households, these stocks are met through both agricultural and non-agricultural production, like brick lying; car mechanics; poultry farming; and craft and handwork of all forms etc.

xvi. **Poverty** is the inability for one to meet his/her basic needs for survival.
xvii. **Shack Farming:** It is a form of income generation normally practiced by the urban and peri-urban communities who have access to land space, who open their backyards by building backyard shacks and rooms for rent.
**List of Abbreviations**

1. ABM – Area Based Management  
2. CBLG – Capacity Building for Local Governance  
3. CBO – Community Based Organization  
4. CLT (s) - Community Land Trusts  
5. DFA – Development Facilitation  
6. DLA – Department of Land Affairs  
7. DoH – Department of Housing  
8. DPLG – Department of Provincial and Local Government  
9. EIA – Environmental Impact Assessment  
10. IDF – Inanda Development Framework  
11. INK – Inanda Ntuzuma KwaMashu  
12. IDP (s) – Integrated Development Planning  
13. ID – Integrated Development  
14. HSGP – Human Settlement Grant Programme  
15. INK – Inanda Ntuzuma KwaMashu  
16. ISRDP – Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme  
17. ISRDS – Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy  
18. KZN – Kwa-Zulu Natal  
19. KZN-PRS – Kwa-Zulu Natal Poverty Reduction Strategy  
20. LCT – Land Conservation Trusts  
21. LDOs – Land Development Objectives  
22. LED – Local Economic Development  
23. LRAD – Land Redevelopment for Agricultural Development  
24. MDGs – Millennium Development Goals  
25. MHU – Metro Housing Unit  
26. MIG- Municipal Infrastructure Grant  
27. NGO – Non-Governmental Organization  
28. PHP – People’s Housing Process  
29. PRSP – Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers  
30. PTO – Permission to Occupy
31. SEA – Strategic Environmental Assessment
32. SMME (s) – Small Medium Micro Enterprises
33. SSA – Statistics South Africa
34. UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
CHAPTER I

1. INTRODUCTION

Scope of Work

This chapter sets the tone of the research by presenting the background, the outline of the problem statement, the purpose, and the motivation of the dissertation. It outlines the hypothesis. Also, the chapter elucidates on the research methodology and examines its implications for achieving the objectives of this dissertation. It concludes with a breakdown of the proceeding chapters.

1.1 Background

The policy environment in South Africa is ranked among the best in the world (Independent Development Trust, 2001). In an environment where there is such a well-developed policy atmosphere, the question arises as to the possible origins of the ineffective implementation and slow delivery of integrated social programmes (Independent Development Trust, 2001). Development practitioners in the workplace tend to attribute this to the non-alignment of different policy frameworks and different levels of operations of government departments. To a larger extent it has been the non-alignment of departmental budgets within and across all spheres of government, and this has become a great concern for those involved in development. These problems have become more apparent within local government departments whom, in an effort to deliver on their mandate, have failed to align themselves.

After the first democratic local government elections in South Africa, the government saw a need to rethink the manner in which services were delivered. The local government system of the transitional phase needed to mature to a new system of local governance, which was to be characterized by an array of institutional and political interventions in order to realize the vision, goals and objectives of the new democracy (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2003). To this effect, the Independent Development Trust, in partnership with the Department of Provincial and Local Government, was given the responsibility of facilitating the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). The Integrated Development Plans were developed to enable local government, which is closest to communities, to deliver on its mandate. The key, however, seems to lie within the provincial and national government departments, as there are still a number of services whose delivery mandates fall outside of local government’s ambit. If local government is to successfully implement integrated programmes, it will need to have provincial and national
budgets aligned to its operations; especially those relevant to the actual implementation of strategies and plans. However, it is important to note that local government structures have had difficulties in integrating their own operations, budgets and systems. This has further complicated the processes. Further, if integrated development is to function, it will require changes in the way that government itself is organized (Fitz, et al., 1995).

Focus on integration is a result of the realization that isolated efforts in development have resulted in duplication of resources and effort. This was no longer proving cost effective for local government. Therefore IDPs at local level required that structures and efforts operate synergistically. This has resulted in a number of structural adjustments. While it has not yet reached the point of enabling development, it is still a positive indication of a better future. Clearly, this is not only a national or provincial challenge, but is also very apparent at local level. This is concurrent with Fitz, et al. (1995) argument that good development management means not just managing sectors, but also ensuring effective coordination and integration between sectors.

This dissertation examines the realities of integrated development in so far as it allows for the delivery of multi-sectoral programmes which is believed to be providing communities with choice and variety of benefits and options. It looks at the gap between integrated planning and implementation and how lack of these have impacted on community development needs within a rural and urban context, with particular reference to the case study elaborated below. It would be realized throughout the research document that sustainable development as a theme and integrated development as a tool form a major part of the discussion. The reason for this is that, it is the view of the researcher that the deliberations of this research cannot be achieved without fully understanding the interconnections and benefits that these two concepts have on achieving complete human settlements in peri-urban and rural areas. Consequently a greater emphasis of these two concepts will be realized in various sections of the research document.

While the use of a housing approach as a vehicle to deliver services in urban areas has created an enabling environment, this dissertation will seek to establish whether this has been successful in rural and peri-urban environments. It is also noted that there are varying characteristics of peri-urban and rural areas. The difficulties in implementing integrated programmes within rural areas, where systems of service delivery are different from those of urban areas, will be highlighted as illustrative of this. Familiarity with conventional processes means that it is more convenient to continue with known and used practices, however, rebuilding a sustainable future imposes special
administrative requirements due to the experimental nature of processes. The medium to long-term costs of developing peri-urban and rural communities in the same manner as urban environments is considerably greater than the short-term resources and time needed to deliver integrated rural and peri-urban settlement programmes. To this end, the current national Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) has made provision for the protection of agricultural land from urban development and other unsuitable developments in rural settings, and advocates for a diverse range of land uses at all levels (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2001). However, even with that provision, there are still challenges in delivering a complete settlement without the use of the housing project as a vehicle. It is currently the only tool that allows for the delivery of more than one basic service within a single project.

The need for integration in development within the South African context is probably more complex and pronounced than anywhere else in the world. The integrated development planning process puts in place an ethic of “building the future today” (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2001). It is clear that South Africa can no longer afford development mistakes. It is important to recognize from the outset, that the country is operating on limited financial and institutional resources and that these are critical factors in implementing integrated programmes (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2001). If integration is to be achieved, it is vital that early prioritization of basic needs is undertaken to minimize wastage. A basic needs approach therefore demands an interactive relationship between the capacity to supply basic goods and services, the ability to care for these services from the demand side, and appropriate institutional arrangements for access and delivery (Leipziger, 1981). Failure to understand the interrelationship between these elements leads to failure in achieving intended goals.

A global trend that has manifested very strongly in the South African setting is needs assessments and integration in the development process. The term integration acquires a unique dimension in South Africa, with its heritage of inequitable growth and development, and the reality of countless demands on limited resources (Independent Development Trust, 2001). The country needs to achieve integration, while obtaining synergy and leverage in the programming of development priorities, with a view to harnessing its scarce resources in a coherent and purposeful manner. The integrated development planning process presents a fundamental shift from a technically based approach to a participatory planning process (Independent Development Trust, 2001). Lack of coordination among ministries and between national, provincial and local units has been detrimental to the development process. Local government organizations need to be restructured to fit the
functional requirements of programs intended to improve household livelihoods. Increased participation, rather than consultation, of project beneficiaries in decision-making and service delivery should increase the efficiency of service provision.

Amongst development practitioners it is suggested that integrated development is the most effective tool for achieving sustainability in community development (Independent Development Trust, 2001). Sustainable development, as defined by the CSIR (2002), is a form of progress that ensures that human development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Emphasis has been given to both integrated development and sustainable development concepts in this report, and this is because, it is the principles underpinning these concepts that this research tries to establish as to whether development practitioners are able to translate into developable plans for delivery within peri-urban and rural areas.

To respond to the housing backlog in the country the government of national unity introduced a housing subsidy scheme that was to deliver housing opportunities at scale. The previous government had made low cost housing provision through the rental scheme of four-roomed houses, which resulted in a number of urban townships. This has been the source of “formal” accommodation for black communities on the periphery of the urban centers. Boaden (1981) succinctly described the problem when he asserted that the obvious solution for low-income housing development using the subsidy is one where more houses of a minimum acceptable standard at minimum cost are built. He added that a successful house is the one that meets certain performance and aesthetic standards at minimum possible costs. The reality is that the two-roomed subsidized houses of the current government have not achieved these standards, which may have been successfully achieved by the four-roomed houses of the previous government. The current housing subsidy scheme provides a vehicle through which housing opportunities are delivered at scale. This is the developer-driven route which has enabled a number of homeless South Africans an opportunity to own a house. However, as many as there are people getting access to housing opportunities, many have been locked into small 200m² sites with no other opportunity for future expansion, or opportunity for other locally based activities due to site sizes.

The rationale behind the use of this approach is that the current housing process provides the base on which to deliver a wide range of other basic services over and above the housing opportunity. These include water, sanitation, title on land and formalization of areas that would not have been formalized without the housing process. Experience proves that the parameters of the housing
subsidy scheme, under which these housing projects are delivered, have implications for rural and peri-urban areas:

a) By virtue of their nature and character, peri-urban and rural areas advocate for bigger sites, which are costly to service under the housing subsidy process.

b) Most peri-urban and rural households have already set up some kind of shelter. Usually, what they require is access to basic services and the formalization of their areas of residence. Formalization of land rights, and access to basic services, is easily accessed as a bundle through the housing subsidy. This, however, forces beneficiaries to settle for a smaller two-roomed dwelling with basic services, but which is on a plot of land that is comparatively smaller to what they had in the past. Thus, for some, access to the subsidy forces them to trade off their bigger units without services or land rights, for two-roomed units with services and land rights.

c) Access to the housing subsidy blocks beneficiaries who would have needed other types of government assistance over and above housing. This is because access to more than one type of government assistance is construed as double subsidization.

d) Most people living in peri-urban and rural settlements do not have access to basic services and therefore the culture of payment for consumable services and they are not often accustomed to them.

e) Moreover, most peri-urban and rural communities do not own the land that they reside on, and they are thus not liable for rates payment. Therefore, the much needed formalization and security of tenure introduced by the subsidy means that they will need to start paying for rates, which is also foreign to them. Hence, they will need a great deal of capacitating in this regard. It is not surprising that some, when they realize the responsibility that comes with accessing the subsidy, decide to sell the newly acquired units and return to another settlement or look for better opportunities.

f) In addition, whilst this may not be the case on the case study under investigation, but most rural and peri-urban areas are located often on land that is communally owned, while capital subsidy is focused primarily on individual home ownership. Development that promotes individual ownership often tempers with the current nation-wide contentious issue of tribal authority on tribal land.
Problems that have contributed to the ineffective implementation of integrated programmes and have thus resulted in the use of the housing process as the best-known route for delivering services and basic needs in the South African context are listed below:

a) Non-alignment between budgets and operations within and between local government and those of the Provincial and National Government.

b) The demarcation process has resulted in some previously rural areas being incorporated into the urban areas. For an example, Durban acquired 69% in area as a result of the surrounding rural space being incorporated. This came with 9% additional population to the Metropolitan area. The City of Durban, like many municipalities, has only been responsible for developments within its urban areas, and therefore has not established delivery approaches for the newly incorporated areas. Hence, development in peri-urban and rural areas in the interim has employed conventional approaches developed for use in urban environments, which are not only inappropriate, but also have detrimental effects on sustainability. Conventional approaches have conditionalities under which to deliver on them and such conditionalities become limitations when applied in peri-urban and rural environments. This is particularly so when they are applied without taking due consideration of the nature and character of environments they are implemented on.

1.2 RESEARCH GOALS

1.2.1 Purpose
The primary purpose of this dissertation is to advocate for alternative approaches to deliver tenure, water, appropriate sewerage, shelter, roads and other basic services in peri-urban and rural areas. These should differ from the delivery approaches employed in urban environments.

1.2.2 Objectives
To achieve the aim presented above, the main objective is to look at the concepts of sustainable and integrated development and define their implementability in the context of rural and peri-urban environments. Other objectives include:

- Highlighting the endeavors of those pilot projects whose deliberations to achieve integrated development are undermined by the manner in which the government subsidy systems are structured.
• Investigating site sizes in these areas in terms of whether they allow for diversified forms of rural livelihoods.
• Motivating for other forms of service delivery, which are different from the housing project led process.

1.2.3 Motivation
The need for this research has been motivated by the challenges that the researcher has experienced in her involvement in the coordination and planning of the Intathakusa Integrated Programme, with specific reference to Etafuleni Housing and Urban Agriculture Project. This project falls within the peri-urban and rural parts of the northwestern areas of the eThekwini Region. This project serves as a case study for the research. This dissertation seeks to analyze the challenges experienced by this project, in the hope that other projects faced with similar problems will gain a useful awareness and relevant knowledge from this case study.

1.2.4 Problem Statement
The problem statement that this research is presenting is that the current housing subsidy delivery process creates sustainability challenges for peri-urban and rural areas due the nature and character of these areas and thus a need to design development approaches that will suit the peri-urban and rural environments. It is clear with the background presented above that there are other delivery approaches that can be explored for use in peri-urban and rural areas instead of utilizing the same approaches used in urban areas.

1.2.5 Key Questions
This dissertation therefore seeks to address the following questions:

a) *Is the current housing approach for addressing basic services, the relevant approach for developing peri-urban and rural areas?* These areas are sparsely populated and may remain so for the foreseeable future. This is contrary to the development approach in urban areas, which places emphasis on densities due to land scarcity. If rural areas are to use the same approach, they will also need to increase densities to be within affordability levels of the subsidy.

b) *Will the use of agriculture to lead rural and peri-urban development be construed as double subsidization if the same beneficiaries require other government assistance for basic services?* This takes into consideration the fact that most of rural and peri-urban
people live in extreme poverty and need access to more than a single stream of assistance to meet their basic needs.

1.2.6 Hypothesis

The hypothesis that this dissertation presents is as follows:

*Basic services delivery through the housing delivery process is not an appropriate approach for rural and peri-urban development.*

1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Nachmias and Nachmias (1981) define research methods as tools to facilitate communication between scientists, who either share, or want to share, a common experience. Research methodology on the other hand refers to the methods used in the research to acquire and analyze information.

1.3.1 Qualitative Research

This dissertation draws on a qualitative research method to achieve its objectives. Brewer and Hunter (1989) as cited in Denzin and Lincoln (1998) state that qualitative research is inherently multi-method in focus. They argue that the use of a multi-method approach reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) define qualitative research as implying an emphasis on process and meaning, unlike quantitative research which focuses on data that is rigorously examined or measured. Qualitative methods stress the socially constructed nature of reality, particularly the intimate relationship between what is studied and the researcher. Chapter four explores the use of qualitative methods as a tool for conducting research. It describes the sources of information and methods of data collection that were used and discusses the interpretation and analysis of the research material.

1.3.2 Case Study

One approach of qualitative research is to focus on a specific, illustrative case study. The case study used in this research is the Intathakusa Integrated Programme, with specific reference to Etafuleni Development Project. The research draws on the experiences of the researcher in coordinating and planning the Intathakusa Integrated Development under which the Etafuleni community falls. In the Etafuleni community rural lifestyles are prominent and the main activity is land cultivation. Etafuleni still possesses large tracts of undeveloped land surrounded by a water catchment. Land is owned by various private owners and the state. Residents are therefore not able to become
innovative about their habitat, because transfer of land in this area will only take place through a project. Whilst most of rural land is in the hands of tribal authorities, in peri-urban environments land is often in the hands of either private ownership or state. This research focuses on residents who have Permission to Occupy (PTO) rights to land or other informal status to land. Furthermore, the research is about those residents although may currently not have legal status on land but development of those would ensure permanency of status on the land they reside on.

A detailed background of the case study is presented in chapter three, which also explores the development debates and challenges that were experienced during the planning and implementation of this programme.

1.3.3 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were designed to target both development practitioners in the field of social development, and community representatives who had been involved in the development processes of Etafuleni. Through the use of questionnaires it was possible to gain insight into the views of those who advocate for the implementation of integrated development as a tool for sustainable development. The community representatives had a solid understanding of the development debates in their area and thus provided a valuable source of informed knowledge. They were questioned through the use of structured interviews. Holt (1997) states that structured interviews are done using standard set of questions designed to influence the direction of the discussion. This method is seen to be more objective than an unstructured technique.

1.4 SCOPE AND DELIMITATIONS

This research explores issues pertaining to integrated development and its implementation implications, specifically for peri-urban and rural areas within the Durban (now known as eThekwini) Metropolitan area. Its relevance is limited to areas that do not have land scarcity and can allow for bigger sites that foster the potential for innovative and diverse income generating sources. These should assist beneficiaries to pay for new services introduced by developments. Within Intathakusa, there is a focus on the Etafuleni community to provide relevant support for the assertions of the research.

The argument put forward in this research is that if housing is to be employed as a delivery approach, it needs to be used in a manner that will open-up opportunities for sustainable livelihoods and complete livable environments. This may include bigger sites, which can allow for income
generation through, for example, agriculture, bricklaying, and other backyard activities. Thus the bundle of opportunities provided through the housing subsidy could be reworked to include other important elements related to rural development, rather than the urban-based package that it currently provides.

1.5 CHAPTER OUTLINE

1.5.1 Chapter 1

Chapter one introduces the dissertation. It sets the tone for the research, outlines the problem statement, purpose and research motivation and delineates the research hypothesis. Chapter one also presents the research methodology, and a breakdown of the dissertation chapters.

1.5.2 Chapter 2

Chapter two reviews relevant literature from international, national and local sources. Literature that describes the role of housing in allowing for integrated development, as well as its limitations, also forms part of this chapter. There is currently very limited research in this area, particularly research that focuses on delivery approaches that advocate for bigger sites to open opportunities for urban agriculture. In a number of studies, urban agriculture is seen to be a rural phenomenon.

Having examined the broad issues relating to integrated and sustainable development, the chapter then presents the policy framework that guides the implementation of projects relevant to this area of research. It outlines the present South African policy parameters and the relevance of these for integrated development.

1.5.3 Chapter 3

Chapter three focuses on the Case Study presentation. It provides background information on the case study and explores the relevance of this case study in relation to the issues raised by the research. The challenges in establishing integrated implementation programmes within Intathakusa, with specific reference to Etafuleni community developments, will define the focus of the chapter. This incorporates observations and experiences relating to the difficulty in aligning different government departmental budgets to deliver on the Etafuleni project. It includes data acquired from the 2003 Socio-Economic Survey conducted in the area. Development debates that took place during the planning process, and during implementation, will be discussed in this chapter.
1.5.4 Chapter 4
Chapter four is concerned with the research methodology employed by this dissertation to acquire primary information. It also expands on the justification of utilizing the chosen method on this research.

1.5.5 Chapter 5
Chapter five presents the results of questionnaire data from both the development practitioners and the community representatives. It juxtaposes the results of surveys from both sources with the interpretation the researcher attached to the results.

1.5.6 Chapter 6
Chapter six concerns itself with the analysis of presented information. It includes a critical analysis and comparative review of all the issues uncovered by the research, and is informed by the literature and case study.

1.5.7 Chapter 7
Chapter seven suggests solutions to the problems raised in the earlier parts of the dissertation. This chapter presents proposed solutions for the problems identified in chapter five. It also suggests policy adjustments, delivery approaches and institutional requirements for peri-urban and rural development.

1.5.8 Chapter 8
This chapter concludes the dissertation, tying together the discussions of chapter six and seven. It reviews the main issues highlighted by the research, and summarizes them. It also explores whether sufficient evidence was established to validate the research hypothesis.

1.5.9 References and Bibliography
This section presents the references and bibliographies that were used in the dissertation. References are the materials that were used and referred to in the document. The bibliography on the other hand outlines the material, which was used, but was not referred to in the dissertation.

1.5.10 Appendix
The appendix comprises of attachments referred to in other parts of the document.
CHAPTER 2

SECTION I
Scope of Chapter
This chapter reviews the relevant international and national literature. It highlights the threats that poverty, shelter and unemployment pose to rural and peri-urban societies today. The chapter also highlights challenges in development and in adopting sustainable and integrated strategies to address poverty in these areas. Concepts of sustainable livelihoods and the opportunities they afford rural and peri-urban areas are examined in this chapter. In section two the policy framework is presented together with some Kwa-Zulu Natal provincial strategies to alleviate, reduce and eradicate poverty.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1 Background
Rural and peri-urban areas, worldwide, tend to have similar characteristics of spatial dispersion, economic dependency on urban areas, and political marginalization leading to under provision of basic services (Independent Development Trust, 2001). For millions living in poor countries, rural poverty is so pervasive and degrading that the only escape appears to be to migrate to towns and take up subsistence on urban streets (Bryant and White, 1982). Bryant and White (1982) note that daily migration from rural to urban areas is a graphic indicator of the severity of rural poverty for most of the third world’s population. The only survival strategy for this migrant population has been to seek employment in urban centres.

Due to the high levels of influx resulting from urbanization, unemployment has become an endemic problem, not just in developing countries, but also throughout the world. Growing proportions of the unemployed are seeking out a living in the informal economy that includes various barter transactions and unofficial working arrangements (Benello, et al., 1989). Improving rural livelihood security will help to relieve population pressure on urban resources. It will also slow the demand for employment and shelter in urban areas. These are currently the two key demands on the limited financial resources for urban planning in the developing world (Elliot, 1994).

2.2 Poverty and Basic Needs
Failure to improve rural livelihoods means that a greater number of the population will continue to live in poverty. Poverty is defined by Leipziger (1981) as the inability to meet certain basic human
needs. It is characterized by hunger, malnutrition and ill health, and by a lack of basic education, safe water, sanitation, and decent shelter (Leipziger, 1981). The Millennium Summit held in New York in September 2000 came up with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were an ambitious agenda for reducing poverty and improving lives. World leaders who attended the summit agreed upon halving the proportion of people living on less than one US dollar a day and those who suffer from hunger by 2015. It was noted that more than a billion people still live on less than US$1 a day in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and parts of Europe and Central Asia are falling short of the poverty target (UNDP, 2000).

An important aspect of eradicating poverty is ensuring that poor people have access to necessary goods and services. However, it is apparent throughout the world, even in developed countries, that there is still a great challenge in devising strategies that can translate policies into action plans. Even when action plans are produced, there are often problems with adapting them to fit their targeted environments.

2.3 The Role of Beneficiaries in Sustainability
Leipziger (1981), advocating for the basic needs approach to development and eradication of poverty, states that development objectives must ensure that they enable beneficiaries to have the purchasing power of the services that are in question. He emphasizes that institutions must be in place to ensure smooth delivery of appropriate and relevant services to society. It has been recognized that institutional frameworks tend to be ignored in many conventional approaches to poverty elimination. In most cases the institutional arrangements suggested for poor people are too expensive to be viable. Communities, in fact, play a big role in their own development. The engagement of households as institutions is crucial to poverty eradication (Leipziger, 1981). Knauder (2000) highlights the interconnection of poverty and shelter by asserting that apart from hunger, rural poverty shows its face in poor housing. In fact, Stallworthy (2002) reiterates this by stating that housing provision is perhaps the most basic individual requirement for every household. Elliot (1994) advocates that sustainable development should recognise the fact that shelter provision is not only a problem for central, provincial or local government, but it is also a concern for communities. Given a chance, communities hold the key to solving the housing problem, both in urban and rural environments (Elliot, 1994). This would need to be well appropriated to ensure that the capacity is in place for communities to unleash their strength and power in solving their own problems.
In addition, government would be expected to bear access to basic services in a manner that would create an enabling environment for communities to play their role. Government would do this by providing basic services and infrastructure for the poor to create their own shelter. It becomes difficult for communities to increase their control of the future, if basic needs are not met. Boaden (1981), advocating for self-help, states that self-help homes is a concept that has found favour in many countries. The process is normally referred to as “sweat equity” (Boaden, 1981). Sustainable projects should present various means through which local communities can be supported in providing and improving their own housing and local environments. These include legislative reforms and the provision of basic infrastructure (Elliot, 1994). Shelter and housing, as is emphasised in the literature, form the backdrop through which most basic services are provided in poor communities.

Long-term sustainability is more likely to be achieved through building the community, and through assisting communities to become socially organised in the course of a physical building programme. Poor people must be actors in the process and must develop a social conscience. They should be provided the means to take control of their own development. This is the starting point for achieving levels of urban and rural development and environmental change, which are unlikely to be met by government finances (Elliot, 1994). Issues must be addressed in an integrated fashion rather than via narrow sectoral programmes (Independent Development Trust, 2001).

2.4 Sustainability through Building Communities

Bryant and White (1982) recognise that challenges and opportunities for sustainable development lie in providing security for individuals to meet their basic needs. Only then will they be able to take a long-term view of development and the environment (Elliot, 1994). Bryant and White (1982) emphasise that development should be about increasing the capacity of people to influence their future. They contend that programs and projects should not only accomplish physical and concrete changes, but also need to do this in such a way that people have a greater capacity to choose and respond to the changes.

The United Nations is in fact providing technical assistance to developing countries to shape their sub-national poverty eradication strategies based on local needs and priorities. The World Bank is also assisting Lesser Developed Countries in developing their national Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) advocates for these
nationally owned solutions and helps to make them effective through ensuring a greater voice for poor people. The programme places emphasis on expanding access to productive assets and economic opportunities, and linking poverty programmes with countries' international economic and financial policies. At the same time, UNDP contributes to efforts at reforming trade, debt relief and investment arrangements to better support national poverty reduction and make globalization work for poor people. In doing so, it sponsors innovative pilot projects; connects countries to global best practices and resources; promotes the role of women in development; and brings governments, civil society and outside funders together to coordinate their efforts (UNDP, 2003).

Through these initiatives people feel secure to use the resources they have at their disposal. If communities do not have control over a particular resource, they are unlikely to protect or sustain the use of that resource. People need to begin to own the process of their development. Self-help approaches to projects, as an alternative to outsiders imposing their technologies on communities, would reinforce this sense of ownership.

2.5 Shelters, Safety and Quality

Current rates of population growth and urban-rural migration, particularly in developing countries, have a serious impact on living conditions in human settlements. It is estimated that 1.1 billion people live in inadequate housing conditions in urban areas alone. In many cities of developing countries, more than half of the population lives in informal settlements, without security of tenure and in conditions that can be described as life and health threatening (Un-Habitat, 2003). Safety becomes a critical element that needs to be factored into plans by those promoting shelter for the poor. Aristotle is credited by Doxiadis to have said that happiness and safety are the main aims of human settlements (Mabogunje, et al., 1978). The concept of safety, he explained, as not meaning physical safety only, but also encompassing safety from fear and exploitation. He acknowledges the significance of safety and happiness in human existence but realised that these have little direct impact on planning. Nonetheless, he advocates that it should be generally accepted that shelter provision is about man’s striving for a better, secure and happy future. Mabogunje, et al. (1978) picks up on safety as a very important element of shelter. If shelter is to be looked at in a holistic sense, then it should encompass good health conditions, liveable environments and access to essential services. These ensure that the environments within which people live are safe.

Determinists assert that people shape their buildings and then their buildings in turn shape them. That is, shelter not only reflects the accumulated culture of people, but also reflects the quality of
their life (Mabogunje, *et al.*, 1978). Many assume that lot sizes, street widths, housing densities and other engineering standards have little relevance to the quality of residential living. Acknowledgement should, however, be given to the fact that there is a correlation that exists between the quality of life and the quality of the physical environment. “Greening and vegetation, cleaner air and water, less crowding, safety from fire and other hazards, etc. are all regarded as beneficial for the biological as well as psychological development of man” (Mabogunje, *et al.*, 1978: p7). Boaden (1981), states that a successful house is one that meets certain performance and aesthetic standards. Community pride and community cohesion is easily apparent in a community that lives in a healthy, quality and habitable neighbourhood. Thus development needs to be understood to be all encompassing.

Mabogunje, *et al.* (1978) further assert that a good human settlement is one where the housing needs are met and satisfied without adversely affecting the man-nature relationship or the legitimate interests of people. Human settlement is looked at as an all-encompassing concept and not only the delivery of basic shelter. Thus every development must seek to determine the extent to which shelter provides for man’s biological needs such as clean air, water and food. It must also seek to determine the extent to which shelter provides for psychological needs such as satisfaction, contentment, prestige, privacy, choice, freedom and security. Equally important to consider are social needs such as interaction with others, human development and cultural activities (Mabogunje, *et al.*, 1978). There is also a correlation between environmental status and health status. It is important to note that there is still a long way to go in terms of achieving good human settlements, which satisfy all aspects of human needs. The United Nations notes that more than one billion people still lack access to safe drinking water and more than two billion lack sanitation worldwide. The Millennium Summit targeted that by 2020 there should be an improvement in the lives of at least one hundred million slum dwellers (UNDP, 2000).

### 2.6 Standards and Criteria Driven Development

The South African Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) places specific emphasis on the development and upgrading of household infrastructure, as part of a basic needs programme. It is widely acknowledged that sustained investment in appropriate types of infrastructure is essential for the achievement of the equity and efficiency objectives of the government (Government of South Africa, n.d.). However, the types of infrastructure and services need to fit the requirements of the areas for which they are intended. It has been noted that interventions to provide and satisfy basic services in South Africa are structured around government funded
assistance which has pre-set criteria and formats. This has been restrictive to integrated development in many respects (Coovadia, 1995). Generally, in all developing communities, most developments are driven by standards and criteria, which are technical in nature. These standards and criteria often do not address the different human needs outlined by Mabogunje, et al. (1978). These standards and criteria are mainly scientifically desirable. They also, however, need to be socially acceptable (Mabogunje, et al., 1978).

2.7 Foreign Technologies

Too often policy makers prescribe what rural and peri-urban communities need when, in fact, the needs of these communities vary from area to area. Official standards, especially those borrowed from other countries, are frequently irrelevant to local conditions. They often lead to the neglect of the under-privileged and tend to focus mainly on meeting targets. Boaden (1981) adds that university education in South Africa in those disciplines concerned with the built environment tends to concentrate on teaching skills relevant to problems likely to be encountered in Western society. Thus, graduates have difficulty in dealing with problems of a Third World nature. The only alternative available to them is to attempt inappropriate techniques to deal with local problems. Another temptation is that of using urban-based technologies and standards for rural and peri-urban community development. Classic examples are Thubalethu Township, located in Melmoth, and Zondela Township in Ulundi - both deeply situated in Kwa-Zulu Natal rural environments. These two townships were established to solve a rural housing need, however used urban-based approaches and thus created small townships in the middle of rural areas. It is commonly suggested by practitioners within the field of community development that township style developments of uniform structures and small sites are inappropriate in a rural environment. Reasons normally put forward relate to the fact that in such environments there are no supporting infrastructure and employment to sustain and support the new developments. This results in these areas becoming dormitories rather than residential areas. They also present no further opportunities for future development due to site sizes. The interesting feature is that they are both surrounded by vast tracks of vacant land and spatially dispersed rural settlements.

The two roomed-houses, constructed “back to back” both in Melmoth and Ulundi, present a challenge to planners who are involved in rural planning. There are certain factors to which this rural-urban mismatch can be attributed. These include the fact that planners involved in rural and peri-urban areas are trained in urban centers and the case studies they have of housing project
interventions and processes are those they get taken to during field trips. These are mainly urban projects, and leave them with limited experience of rural projects and approaches to rural planning.

There are currently very few standards designed for rural and peri-urban areas. Even those that exist are not based on local experience; most have either been inherited from the colonial past or are imported from developed areas (Mabogunje, et al., 1978). Often development projects targeting rural or urban poverty make use of technologies that are not appropriate for their environments. For instance, Mabogunje, et al. (1978) add that many housing interventions, especially those that provide for low cost housing, advocate the use of mass production, prefabrication and industrialised-system technology to achieve targets. This does not take into cognisance the fact that human resources are the chief assets of developing countries. Thus effective technology for these environments has to be labour intensive and capital saving, which should be taken advantage of by creating employment opportunities. To be effective and useful, the provision of shelter should be within the capacity of the people it is meant to serve, especially if one notes that most people live at subsistence level.

2.8 Urban Biased Rural Development Approaches

Due to most developments taking place in urban areas, housing standards in most rural and peri-urban areas are urban biased. Rural housing programmes are absent in many African countries (Mabogunje, et al., 1978). Few attempts have been made to develop rural housing standards. Where they do exist, they are often no more than slight modifications of urban standards. Where standards have been specified, they apply only to officially sponsored programmes. Standards for shelter provision in developing countries have been largely elitist, imitative and unrelated to socio-economic realities (Mabogunje, et al., 1978). Since they are a means of helping to ensure a safe and happy life within human settlements, they must be realistic enough to allow the people who live in them to achieve these goals. Since economic, social and other conditions differ from area to area, it is obvious that there can be no universal standard for shelter. “Standards to be effective must be compatible with the overall social objectives of government and should be used as tools in the implementation of development programmes” (Mabogunje, et al., 1978: p77).

Maintaining the practice of one house on one small plot exacerbates urban sprawl and militates against the maximum and efficient use of land, thereby reducing the amount of land that could be used for cultivation (Epstein, 1994). Another critical point is that basic service infrastructure provision needs to be centralized for optimum use and fair distribution. It should be realized that
provision of on-site services to spatially disperse rural and peri-urban areas would prove costly and undoubtedly inefficient. On-site services have been a requirement in urban developments, but should not be assumed as a requirement and priority for rural dwellers, although this is often the case.

In addition, because planning is mostly associated with urban development, urban agriculture because of its rural associations, tends to be viewed separately, as an additional component, and can only be considered once other matters, that are perceived to be more important, are settled. It therefore tends to be peripheral to the planning process, rather than an integral part of it. Where urban agriculture has been accommodated within the planning process, it tends to occur on an ad hoc basis depending on the innovation, sensitivity and commitment of the planner concerned (Epstein, 1994).

2.9 Urban Rural Bias

It comes as no surprise that few countries are committed to rural development and even those that seem to be committed are only surrendering to international and domestic political pressures. In the last century, the development needs of rural communities have often been secondary to the prevailing political policies and strategies of political actors both inside and outside the country (Clarke, 1992). Although the rhetoric of national plans speaks of rural development, the reality is that national budgets are centred on urban development. Bryant and White (1982) cite the example of Zambia, where more money was spent on the national development plans in two urbanised regions, than in the remaining six rural provinces combined. Clarke (1992) adds that neglect of rural communities often results in hundreds of thousands of rural people believing that their hope for survival and a better future is in a shack on the outskirts of urban areas. Focusing on urban development by neglecting rural and peri-urban areas should be seen as the major contributory factor to overcrowding and unemployment in urban areas. It is commonly suggested that the population in urban areas often increase as most people move from rural areas to seek better opportunities in urban areas. The situation is further made attractive with development resources being directed and concentrated in urban areas. Under these conditions, it is often observed that migrations from rural areas continue to be a pervasive force. Thus, dealing constructively with rural and peri-urban communities should have positive spin-offs for urban areas.

In a more “developed” geographical environment in Norfolk in the United Kingdom in the 1950’s, economic growth tended to concentrate around major urban centres and towns, neglecting large
rural areas outside the immediate influence of these centres. Much of the population in the rural areas were relatively poor and badly housed, but tended to have a higher car ownership (Drudy, 1976). Drudy (1976) adds that opportunities for change in the rural situations were constrained and influenced by the type of physical infrastructure that existed in terms of settlement patterns, system of public utilities and communication networks, and the resources available to modify them. This period was also characterised by large numbers of small towns and villages without sewerage. Water supplies were also an urgent need.

2.10 The Challenges of Rural Development

Even where development does take place in rural areas it is often plagued by the “leaky bucket” syndrome. This is where benefits leak to the middle-income groups before reaching their intended beneficiaries (Bryant and White, 1982). Bryant and White (1982) state that even beyond the “leaky bucket” syndrome, integrated rural development projects have management difficulties. Integration is rooted in the fundamentally correct observation that poverty of small rural farmers stems from a host of problems in multiple areas such as health, literacy, and access to credit and technology. Clarke (1992) adds that there are myriad rural needs that need addressing. These range from physical infrastructure (such as building of roads and much needed social facilities such as schools, learning centres and clinics, and improving water supplies) to helping small farmers to improve their farming capabilities. The idea is to try and address these many problems in one program which is often termed as “integrated development program”. Thus the more integrated the intervention is, the more complicated and demanding it will be. The co-ordination of these complications and demands weighs heavily on project level administration.

The project staff not only has responsibility for the substantive project, but also is forced into a constant series of negotiations with central ministries over staff, supplies, budget, and lines of command. If staff are seconded to the project, their management still remains with their line function managers. Different integrated sectors of the project are under their own different ministries, which have their own priorities, and project staff have to constantly make known their requirements, even if the success of the project accounts to the success of the ministry (Bryant and White, 1982). Limited resources, especially in government structures, mean that project administrators must make painful choices, even though the basis of such choices is often unclear and uninformed.

a Involvement of more than one aspect or element of development, i.e. infrastructure services, farming, social facilities etc. in one development programme.
Most projects are weighed on the basis of importance; usually measuring is based on the amount of investment the project brings to the region. It is important to note that low-income developments often demand a greater capital investment but generally plough very little back into the region. However, the greater the capital investment, if managed well, the greater the efficiency and productivity of that region. This could even have some positive spin-offs for the national economy, by ensuring effectively functioning rural areas. In addition, projects should not be judged solely on the rate of return they give, but on how much potential they have for increasing the capacity to implement and sustain development.

2.11 Agriculture and Rural Livelihoods

A rural livelihood is defined as an adequate supply and flow of food and cash to meet basic needs (Elliot, 1994). For a vast majority of rural and peri-urban households, these supplies are met through agricultural production, even though some non-agricultural enterprises are important to complete the circle (Elliot, 1994). Non-agricultural sources of cash and food may include brick making, motor mechanics, baking, sewing etc. Thus a complete livelihood system needs to combine both agricultural and non-agricultural sources in order to sustain rural and peri-urban households. Chambers (1983) as cited by Elliot (1994) argues for adequate and decent livelihoods that are sustainable. Much depends on policies that affect agriculture, whether subsistence or commercial.

Regarding rural development and the world food system, many developing countries that were once able to feed their own population, are no longer able to do so, most in fact have become net food importers (Elliot, 1994). They tend to concentrate on the growth of export crops. This frequently results in malnutrition and even hunger within the country, as people turn their energies from food crops towards export crops. Most rural communities are still faced with challenges in meeting their basic needs, which include access to land, water, animals, technology and capital. Often it is the lack of access to these basic needs, which continues to account for hunger. Thus, the focus on the commercialisation of agricultural land and resources disregards the majority of the poor, as their literacy levels are so low that they are not even able to enter and compete in the commercial sector. Knauder (2000) asserts that one cannot expect decent housing and quality living environments in areas without sufficient food supplies. Therefore, it is vital for development interventions to take into consideration the poor who form part of the lower end of the economy.
Experiences from observations gathered from a visit undertaken by the researcher to Kenya in 2001 and Uganda in 2002 reveal that women are active on farms, as this is almost the main source of food, income, exercise and activity. Discussions held with Ugandan counterparts informed that Uganda is known to have been hit first and hardest by HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa. It used agriculture in conjunction with capacity building and information dissemination to deal with the scourge. The government made concerted efforts to facilitate agricultural programmes within rural areas. Food in Uganda is not scarce but access to markets is, because almost every local household has surplus from its harvests. Some of the children receive training in higher educational institutions through profits gained from surplus in agriculture. This could provide a valuable lesson for South Africa. Critically, women were at the forefront of this process. They hold useful knowledge of the seasons and of good soil for their crops.

Another important discovery in Uganda was a programme started to foster animal husbandry or cow ownership in rural communities. This programme, called “send a cow”, was implemented by the Kulika Trust, which is an NGO based in the United Kingdom. The programme began by training a group of farmers to look after cows. As soon as the farmers were ready to keep a cow, organizations would donate cows to ready and trained farmers. They would be closely monitored and checked. Training would continue with a new set of farmers. The first set of cows would produce offspring, which the farmers would give away to newly trained farmers. The second set, and in fact the rest of the cows, would belong to the original farmer. The process would circulate until it almost encompassed the entire village. This encourages cow ownership, which in African culture is a strong source of pride for most village communities. Ownership in this process is very significant. Thus instead of handing out housing grants, people could be trained to become capable farmers and would therefore be allowed to sort out their own housing need through produce from farms. This has worked in other countries and could work in South Africa if given the necessary support. It does not need to be a cow, but could be any form of livestock such as goats, sheep, pigs etc. Cows, however, provide diversified products more than just meat. Milk could be sold in local markets and consumed by the household. Cows could also be used for ploughing the land, and they provide very good organic manure. Chickens are also a very good source of organic manure, and chicken waste is good for animal feed, especially if given to milking cows, as it increases the rate and amount of milk produced. Thus, considering different ways of addressing sustainable development could yield significant opportunities. Agriculture also offers a number of opportunities for successful integrated development in rural and peri-urban environments.
2.12 Land and Rural Development

Land has proved integral to rural development. In some countries land reform has been a major development strategy (Benello, et al., 1989). One of the most valuable resources rural people possess, or should possess, is land. Access to land, however, is increasingly limited and this impedes rural development. The solution for many of the unemployed in poorer communities lies in their ability to secure land tenure where they live. Security of tenure would result in higher productivity, investment, and improved social and political conditions in those communities. Examples where this has been successful are in Japan, Taiwan, Iran and some South American countries (Benello, et al., 1989). In these countries the concept of individual or state ownership of land has been replaced by community ownership, but the individual or family retains equity in home ownership. This has encouraged initiatives and productivity, and morale has remained high. In these environments, community land stewardship has been encouraged through Community Land Trusts (CLT) (Benello, et al., 1989).

Benello, et al. (1989) note that CLTs are not primarily concerned with the preservation of natural areas, as are the Land Conservation Trusts. CLTs are principally motivated by egalitarian concerns, such as providing farmland, community gardens and low-cost housing to members of the public, who would ordinarily be denied access to land. These offer benefits to both urban and rural communities. Urban Community Land Trusts deal primarily with improving the quality of life within neighbourhoods; they use land for community gardens, open spaces, and low-cost housing. They serve as suitable tools to receive funding from private foundations and government entities (Benello, et al., 1989). Rural Community Land Trusts, on the other hand, seek to put their acquired land into productive use by providing access to farmland for young families and disadvantaged groups, who would otherwise be priced out of the market (Benello, et al., 1989). This could provide possible solutions for a number of problems in the developing world, especially where there are vast rural areas that are underutilised. These areas could be turned into very productive agrarian villages.

2.13 Concluding Remarks

It seems as though administering development is generally complicated and challenging, but managing rural development is even more so. There are a number of administrative problems identified in dealing with development. These administrative problems may be due to faulty management, but more often the basic problem is one of organisational design. Local government organisations are not structured in such a way as to respond to the complications of rural and peri-
urban development. It is important to understand the kinds of structures and processes that are best able to facilitate integrated development (Bryant and White, 1982). Dealing with rural poverty is very demanding on administrators; it challenges their organisations, their skills, their roles, and their assumptions. The tendency has been for administrators to focus on urban areas where problems are at least more visible and political pressures more immediate (Bryant and White, 1982).

The government of South Africa has formed partnerships with United Nations agencies through various programmes seeking technical and financial assistance to capacitate local government in delivering on their mandates. The Capacity Building for Local Governance (CBLG) is one of the programmes, which even though it focuses on two provinces (Limpopo and North West) has attempted to increase capacity on local governance to gear up for delivery. This is however still limited and the vast majority of rural areas and municipalities falling within the remainder of the provinces struggle to deliver on the IDPs. Thus, although there is a well developed strategic and policy environment in the country, there is very little translation of these policies and strategies on the ground.

This section has identified a number of issues facing developing countries, as well as the opportunities they suggest for rural and peri-urban development. Arguably, the success of rural and peri-urban development is largely dependent on development that recognises land as the greatest asset. Rural development requires access to land to allow not only for shelter provision but importantly also for agricultural and non-agricultural enterprises. It is also important to realise that if given access to agricultural land, and land for other enterprises, rural communities would be able to sustain themselves within their environments. For many decades, rural households provided for their own shelter and survived entirely on rural livelihoods. This was mainly due to security of tenure on land. Thus, the best policy is to ensure that all those who have the capacity to create and maintain dwellings/shelter with minimum assistance from government are encouraged to build their own shelter. In this approach, government then focuses on creating enabling environments by facilitating the provision of land as the greatest asset to rural households.

The preceding section has reviewed international literature relevant to development in rural and peri-urban areas. The next section is concerned with the presentation of the policy parameters guiding development within South Africa. This section will outline policy guidelines that are relevant to the subject of this dissertation.
SECTION 2
2.14 NATIONAL POLICY FRAMEWORK

There has been a growing realization that the manner in which services are delivered to communities has further impoverished those areas they intended to develop. Hence, government policies and efforts are now focusing on ensuring that development processes allow for widening of people's choices. This would enable them to earn a living within their immediate environments, especially in poor households (Independent Development Trust, 2001). Urban agriculture is seen to be an important tool to allow for this in peri-urban and rural communities.

On the other hand, the need for basic services and the backlog in infrastructure in rural areas is immense. Meeting this backlog requires large investment, institutional development, training and technology development (Government of South Africa, n.d.). More cost effective alternatives must be applied in rural areas where bulk services are costly.

Thus, while urban agriculture creates opportunities for sustainable livelihoods, services need to be provided to create a base through which all other developments take place. Service provision is a complex process requiring both human and financial resources. Most local governments, particularly those in poor rural areas, do not have the resources to engage in infrastructure development, operations and maintenance, and require outside support to achieve their goals.

This section will present the South African policy framework, focusing on those policies and strategies that support the recommendations made by this research. It will also discuss briefly the provincial initiatives that would guide future development.


The Bill of Rights is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. The Bill of Rights affirms that all citizens of South Africa are equal and have human dignity. They all have the right to:

- Life
- Freedom and security
- Privacy
- A healthy environment
- Property
- Housing
- Health care, food, water and social security
- Education
- A language, culture and religion of their own
- Access to information and to the courts (Republic of South Africa, Constitutional Assembly, 1996).

Comment
The Constitution forms the foundation that informs all policy guidelines. As outlined above, it covers all human needs and enshrines the right of people to access all government resources.

2.14.2 Housing Amendment Act 4 Of 2001
The Act sets out general housing principles that form the backdrop of municipal actions. It provides that every municipality taking part in the municipality’s process of integrated development planning must take all reasonable and necessary steps to ensure, inter alia, that:

- All inhabitants of the area are adequately housed (on a progressive basis) and have healthy conditions and basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity, roads, transport etc.
- Housing delivery goals are set and must be integrated in nature
- Appropriate land is designated for housing
- A public environment conducive to housing is created and maintained
- Housing development is initiated, planned, coordinated and promoted in the area
- Land use and development is planned and managed
- Bulk engineering services and revenue-generating services are provided (Republic of South Africa, 2001).

Comment
The Act makes provision for the facilitation of a sustainable housing development process. The Act seems to be urban-biased, and it is this bias that has resulted in rural and peri-urban areas being developed using the same guidelines as those of the urban areas. The guidelines can be adapted for rural and peri-urban environments. This depends largely, however, on the interpretation that is attached to the Act by the development practitioners in charge. Thus IDPs for rural and peri-urban areas must ensure that the interpretation of the Act is favorable to those environments.

The White Paper on housing further promotes efficient and integrated land development that amongst other things:

- Integrates rural and urban areas, poor and rich areas, and black and white areas in towns and cities, and different land use areas
- Integrates the social, economic, physical and institutional aspects of land development
- Promotes development of housing and work opportunities in close proximity to each other
- Makes maximum use of all available resources and avoids duplicating existing infrastructure and services
- Promotes diverse land use
- Discourages urban sprawl and contributes to more compact towns and cities
- Corrects historically distorted spatial patterns by making optimum use of existing infrastructure to meet current and future needs
- Encourages environmentally sustainable land development practices and processes (Republic of South Africa, 1997).

Comment

The White Paper expands on the recommendations of the Housing Amendment Act. It encourages environmentally sustainable land development processes. It acknowledges linkages between urban and rural areas as essential to development. Thus, housing is seen as one of the catalysts to promote a range of development opportunities for both urban and rural areas. It is therefore the responsibility of local players to interpret the recommendations of the White Paper in a way that satisfies the requirements of the area they are developing.

2.14.4 The Development Facilitation Act 67 Of 1995

The Development Facilitation Act 67 of 1995, developed to facilitate the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, provides in broad terms the following:

- Land Development Objectives (LDO’s) outline how people will gain access to basic services and delineate the standards of those services. These Land Development Objectives must contain objectives relating to urban and rural space and form, particularly:
  - How poor areas will be integrated into the area as a whole
  - How the environment will be used in a sustainable manner
  - How transportation will be planned
• How bulk infrastructure for the purpose of land development will be provided
• What densities there should be in settlements
• How land development should be coordinated with other authorities
• How land use should be controlled
• How natural resources should be optimally used (Republic of South Africa, 1995).

• In addition, the LDO’s must contain goals that are quantifiable, such as the number of housing units and other facilities planned for, the nature of housing development, the rate of delivery and how much it will increase in the future.

Comment
The Development Facilitation Act advocates strongly for the development of both rural and urban areas in a sustainable manner. The formation of Land Development Objectives is critical for both rural and urban areas, as it will eventually be the vehicle through which integrated development is guided. It is inclusive of all the issues that are relevant to development. Coordination of resources is easier when local needs are quantifiable within the LDO’s. This is an important tool to use in dealing with rural areas, and again it is appropriate interpretation at a local level that will ensure its effective implementation and smooth functioning.

2.14.5 Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy
The Rural Development Strategy makes provision for the:

• Promotion of local economic development (LED) in support of small businesses
• Access to opportunities for small farmers and entrepreneurs
• Promotion of small and medium scale enterprises
• The development of agricultural land use plans
• The provision of planning for areas where there is competition between urban agriculture and conservation uses
• Balanced approaches to competing land uses
• Agricultural systems that retain valuable, productive agricultural land
• Promotion of administrative practices and laws that enhance integrated development, practices and processes that are environmentally sustainable for the rural domain
• Land regulated for good quality water
• Promotion of transport infrastructure that is environmentally sustainable
• Promotion of sanitation and waste systems that is environmentally sustainable (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2002).
Comment
It seems as though the ISRDS will depend largely on the LDO’s and the IDPs for it to be implemented on the ground. It is focussed on rural and peri-urban areas. However, it needs to be interpreted in a manner that is enabling for development. The ISRDS is not yet linked to the IDPs and budgets, and thus is difficult to implement. Also, the ISRDS is currently focussing on a few nodal points, which leaves vast rural areas unattended or with very little activity. Furthermore, as there are still structural and institutional challenges with the strategy, attention is put on rectifying those challenges and thus very little delivery is taking place on the ground.

2.14.6 Rural Housing Subsidy
In various areas of the country, commonly referred to as rural areas, individuals enjoy functional security of tenure as opposed to legal security of tenure. The Housing Subsidy Scheme, in its current form, precludes those persons from obtaining access to the subsidy. This policy accordingly sets out the rules to be applied in extending the benefits of the Housing Subsidy Scheme to those persons, bearing in mind the need to balance:
- Their legitimate expectations to participate in the subsidy scheme against the need to ensure that they are not deprived of the benefits of the subsidy due to factors beyond their control.

It is noted however that:
- The areas in which rural subsidies will be made available will not necessarily be “rural” in the sense in which that expression is normally understood.
- The land, in respect of which the subsidies are made available, could be land that would more commonly be classified as urban (for example land adjacent to urban areas in the former “homelands”)

The Rural Housing Subsidy should be regarded as a last resort (Republic of South Africa, 2000).

Comment
The Rural Housing Subsidy presents itself as a flexible subsidy scheme, which could be applied in rural areas without importing the urban-based standards and criteria. It makes provision for rural areas that are adjacent to urban areas, but it does have limitations on minimum site sizes. Therefore, while, it seems to advocate for peri-urban areas, by virtue of site sizes, these areas are excluded. The implementation of this scheme is reliant on the interpretation of its principles by development practitioners.
2.14.7 Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD)

LRAD is designed to provide grants to black South African citizens (Coloured, Indian, and African) to access land specifically for agricultural purposes. The strategic objectives of the sub-programme include the following:

- LRAD is unified and basic, it is flexible and beneficiaries can use it in ways appropriate to their objective resources and objectives
- All beneficiaries make a contribution (in kind or cash), according to their abilities
- LRAD is demand driven, meaning that beneficiaries define the project type and size
- Implementation is decentralised
- Projects will be undertaken in a manner consistent with district and provincial spatial development plans
- Projects are reviewed at provincial level
- Inter-departmental collaboration will take place at all spheres of government, with District Government assuming a key role (Ministry for Agriculture and Land Affairs, 2001).

Comment

LRAD encourages participants to design schemes that work for them, and beneficiaries can access a range of grants (R20 000 to R100 000). Purely residential projects are not supported under LRAD, except in cases where beneficiaries seek to establish household gardens in their new residences, or where funds for top structure are sourced from elsewhere, such as the Department of Housing. This is however problematic, as access to this scheme should include access to legal security of tenure. This requirement is the same for other government-funded assistance and is a source of conflict with regards to other grants. Therefore it is prohibitive to incorporate both the housing subsidy grant and the LRAD in one development. However, if delivered simultaneously within a housing development, this process could provide solutions for rural and peri-urban areas. This would be particularly effective in areas that do not have land scarcity problems. Some of these discussions will be elaborated on in chapter three, the case study presentation.

2.15 PROVINCIAL INITIATIVES

According to Statistics South Africa (SSA), Kwa-Zulu Natal is the province with the highest population (9.4 million) in the country. Although this figure is expected to decline due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the existing situation is exerting pressure on the provinces limited resources and capacity. SSA reveals that Kwa-Zulu Natal experiences higher levels of unemployment and
chronic poverty than other provinces. In South Africa the three provinces affected the most by poverty are the Eastern Province, Limpopo Province and Kwa-Zulu Natal. 53% live below the poverty line with 74% of rural people living in extreme poverty. Several attempts have been made to address poverty in the past, but the process needs to be accelerated to alleviate the problem. To this end, the province released an Integrated Rural Development White Paper, which meant to highlight the problems that the province faces and target strategic points that would assist in addressing poverty. These provinces are also in the process of developing their provincial poverty reduction strategies.

2.15.1 The Integrated Rural Development White Paper in Kwa-Zulu Natal

The Integrated Rural Development White Paper in Kwa-Zulu Natal, among other things, advocates for approaches that facilitate rural development. It upholds that development must be institutionally sustainable by integrating traditional and community structures into formal systems of government. The Integrated Rural Development Policy promotes social sustainability by offering a full spectrum of opportunities and resources to households and interest groups in rural areas. Economic sustainability will be achieved through building on existing resources and opportunities, and through promoting strategies that are within the means of the Province and localities. The poor should be included in development processes by removing affordability constraints. They should not be compelled to over-exploit their natural resources. Through providing development resources and basic services to poor households, the proposed approaches ensure environmental sustainability (Kwa-Zulu Natal Provincial Government, 1998).

Comment

The Integrated Rural Development White Paper in Kwa-Zulu Natal gives sufficient focus on the province’s rural areas. It takes a step further from the ISRDS by listing the constraints that are faced by the rural poor, and suggesting ways and means of dealing with them specifically within the KZN province. Implementation of the recommendations of the White Paper may be reliant on tools like the DFA, ISRDS and IDPs to be successful. The practical value of the Paper is, however, subject to its guidelines being translated into action.

2.15.2 The Kwa-Zulu Natal Poverty Reduction Strategy

The Kwa-Zulu Natal Poverty Reduction Strategy (KZN-PRS) is placed within the framework of national and provincial policies including:
- National Anti-Poverty Strategy
- The Provincial Poverty, Growth and Development Strategy
- The White Paper on Reduction of Poverty and Inequality
- The Human Rights Approach to Poverty
- Urban Renewal Programme

The KZN-PRS is critical in creating an enabling environment for people to participate in development. It outlines eight provincial priorities of which addressing poverty is the first. The eight provincial priorities are as follows: eradicating poverty; addressing the HIV/AIDS pandemic; providing provincial social security nets for the poor; investing in infrastructure; developing human capacity; strengthening governance; promoting rural development and urban renewal; and investing in job creation and economic growth.

2.15.3 EThekwini Rural Development Framework
At a micro level the eThekwini Unicity has embarked upon initiatives that are aimed at addressing poverty through the delivery of basic services in peri-urban and rural areas falling within its boundaries. EThekwini Rural Development Framework provides the city with a strategic direction towards developing the peri-urban and rural areas within the Unicity boundaries. The Area Based Management (ABM) approach to development pilot project identified Kwa-Ximba as a learning area for the eThekwini rural areas. Attention and resources have been focused on this area and lessons learnt in this area will be duplicated in other areas within the eThekwini boundary. The Intathakusa integrated development has been used as an example of peri-urban integrated development, and has been packaged as both part of the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) Urban Renewal Programme, and the rural pilot programme. The eThekwini IDP process informed by the national provincial and local strategies, policies and conditions serve as the cornerstone for development within the eThekwini region. It is through the IDP that the eThekwini Integrated Rural Strategic Framework is being formulated (Linda Masinga Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003).

Comment
The importance of these initiatives is that they indicate a commitment towards delivering services to these areas. However, of importance is that most of these initiatives are at a planning and strategic level and very few have been articulated on the ground. Even those programmes that are area

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b An all inclusive approach to development
specific and that have implementation plans focus on a very small area compared to the greater needs of the province and the city. The impact therefore will be felt only long after the transit poor have improved their situation. On the other hand, the chronic poor would in the meantime increase and double the impact. The ISRDS is the main framework for rural poverty reduction with a time frame of 2001 to 2010. Both the ABM and the ISRDS have chosen specific learning areas as focal points. These nodes receive attention sometimes at the expense of other much poorer areas. Their choices have not necessarily been on the basis of need but are sometimes informed by political motivations. Generally they are done on a case study basis and are not linked directly to local planning initiatives. They sometimes seem to float as newly adopted programmes with few linkages to, and synergy with, local initiatives. Furthermore, local government in rural areas is still trying to evolve and capacitate the very poor. Thus, development is still very slow in these areas as there is not enough human capital to respond to the challenge. The UNDP through its Capacity Building for Local Governance programme (CBLG) assists local government to gear up for their mandate to deliver services to communities (United Nations Development Programme, 2002). Even with the CBLG, focus has been given to the Northern and the North West provinces as learning areas. This highlights that even though good initiatives exist they focus on limited areas, and if they encounter problems in those areas it becomes difficult to replicate them elsewhere.

2.16 CONCLUDING REMARKS

All the policy guidelines presented above make provision for flexibility and innovative strategies for service delivery in rural, urban and peri-urban areas. There are strong economic arguments for building infrastructure to support production and equally strong ethical arguments for the provision of essential infrastructure in areas deprived in the past. Various sector White Papers show a strong commitment to an equitable allocation of investment in both urban and rural areas. The Constitution of the country provides a blueprint against which all policy undertakings are measured. The Housing Amendment Act 4 of 2001 looks at housing in a holistic manner. It recognises that housing is concerned with broader development issues, over and above the dwelling structure, water and sanitation. This becomes even more important at the implementation level. The challenge is to translate this policy into action plans that can yield results in line with what the policy advocates. The Housing White Paper also makes important recommendations regarding integrated development and the promotion of diverse land uses. Also salient are the deliberations of the Rural Development Strategy, which advocates for the promotion of local economic development within rural settlements. Again the challenge is to translate this strategy
into action plans that create an enabling environment for all rural inhabitants to access economic opportunities within their neighbourhoods.

Rural councils need to show that proposed investments represent a justifiable use of scarce resources (public and private) and that they can manage the process. What this dissertation also highlights is that the country has a good policy framework with strategies within which to develop, but the tools, which are meant to ensure that delivery takes place on the ground, are currently not able to do so. There are currently no enforcement mechanisms to ensure that practitioners adhere to IDPs. Thus, even in such a well-developed policy climate, development does not take place at the pace and level at which it is anticipated. The result is that those involved in development within rural and peri-urban areas use conventional approaches developed for urban areas to deliver on these areas. The discussion will be taken up again in chapter five, which reviews the case study, drawing together the literature, policy recommendations, and the findings in chapter four. The next chapter presents the case study.
CHAPTER 3
3. CASE STUDY: INTATHAKUSA INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT

Scope of Chapter
This chapter presents the case study. It starts by giving a historical perspective of the origins of the people of Etafuleni. It outlines the development planning process of the Intathakusa Integrated Development Programme and explains how it evolved from the small Etafuleni area into an integrated programme. Socio-economic statistics of the area are given. The latter part of the chapter presents the Etafuleni projects, which evolved from the Strategic Environmental Assessment exercise. The development debates, which began when the project was being readied for implementation, are highlighted.

3.1 Basis of Choice
Intathakusa Integrated Programme has been the responsibility of the researcher from its conception, and thus there has been an investment in closely documenting its progression. Secondly, the technical and policy issues that were raised by the programme established the basis for it to be used as a case study in this dissertation. Furthermore, the challenges that were raised at the implementation stages of the programme helped to identify issues that needed review and could assist in informing decisions at policy level. Intathakusa as a programme was chosen to serve as a case study for this research; however, the development debates raised in the latter part of this chapter will focus on the Etafuleni Development Project as it has been subject to a number of problems. As Intathakusa is the mother programme for the Etafuleni Development Project, background to this project will be given. Moreover, the planning phases of Etafuleni occurred through the Intathakusa Programme, and it served as the vehicle through which the development debates that took place were addressed.

3.2 Background
Intathakusa, a Zulu expression for early dawn, was named by the people of the Etafuleni community area in 1999 after dedicated efforts by the then Durban Metropolitan Council to develop the area. The Etafuleni community has resided in the area for more than fifteen years without any hope of development. Intathakusa is a conglomeration of four community areas falling between the north-western borders of Inanda, north east of iQadi Tribal Authority and south west of the Borough of Verulam (see figure 1, for locality map). The four community areas are: Groeneberg, Etafuleni, Tea Estate and a portion of Buffesldraai. The areas were among many community areas that formed a line along the north-western peripheral edges of the Metropolitan boundary of Durban.
Etafuleni, and some parts of Groeneberg, form an outline of urban informal settlements with sparsely populated dwellings. This area is a buffer zone between the densely populated informal settlements of Ngoqokazi, Amaoti, Amawotana, Amatikwe, and the rural peripheries of the Unicity region. The other part of the project (Tea Estate and a portion of Buffelsdraai) is a rural farming area that currently supports sugarcane farming and other types of agriculture. It is purely peri-urban in character; particularly where people settle is comprised of sparsely populated structures. (Refer to figure 2 below).

Figure 2: Picture showing low densities of peri-urban settlements in Buffelsdraai

*During the transformation phase in the mid to late 1990’s the Local Government was faced with the challenge of developing the previously neglected informal settlements and the surrounding townships. The population in these areas formed the majority of the city. These areas were targeted for development shortly after the City of Durban began to consider areas outside the old Durban boundaries. The old Durban boundary had only included the city centre, the industrial areas and the surrounding White, Indian and Coloured residential areas. The informal settlements were densely populated and brought with them development challenges. They were the source of a massive*
housing backlog, to which the Durban Metro Council had to respond. Informal settlements were found on almost all undeveloped patches of land within the city and the suburban areas, while the majority were found within the townships and on the edges of the townships. Service delivery was the main focus for these areas because of the level of underdevelopment. Shortly after the first local government elections the pressure mounted to develop these areas.

The densities within and around the informal settlements, and the increasing densities within townships, meant that the City needed to look for alternative land to depopulate the informal settlements. Land availability was becoming an impediment to development within and around the city. On the other hand, focus on these areas negatively impacted the peripheral areas of the city as most attention was focussed on the areas in close proximity to the city which eventually left the peripheral areas unattended. However, peripheral areas became areas of opportunity because of the availability of land within them. The peripheral areas were undoubtedly at the bottom of the list of development priorities. Residents within the townships and informal settlements were more vocal. The identification of Etafuleni as an area of development was therefore not driven by the need in Etafuleni but by the need that existed outside the area. It was strategically singled out to play an important role in releasing land to develop the neighbouring, densely populated informal settlements. A feasibility study had already estimated that it would yield five thousand housing opportunities, which would act as a release valve for the surrounding settlements.

3.3 Historical Perspective

The historical perspective presented in this section is gathered from conversations with the residents of Etafuleni through the interactions undertaken during the proceedings of the project. They reflect the origins of Etafuleni people, but the same can be said about the different waves of people in Tea Estate and Buffesldraai. Groeneberg differs slightly in that it is mainly populated by people who were farm workers of Tongaat Hullett Group. There are three waves of settlements that point to the origins of the inhabitants of Etafuleni. The first wave of people is believed to have arrived as labourers for the Indian families that lived in the area. Most of these people are said to have worked as domestic workers; even though the area was previously a farm region that provided work for farm labourers. These people are believed to have had good relationships with the Indian families, such that some of them later became tenants when the Indians began to open their backrooms for rent.
However, during the rent boycotts and the uprisings of the early to mid 1980’s, it is believed that the Indian families fled the areas as the African people stopped paying them rent, and as they feared for their lives as the whole country was in an uproar. A number of Indian families left their houses under the protection of African families. The number of African families increased in the area, which was eventually left to them. The former tenants and farm workers inherited this land.

The second wave of people came from the iQadi Tribal area, the site where the Inanda Dam is currently located. These people were relocated from this area because the dam was to be built. Etafuleni was the closest sparsely populated area that the City of Durban could have relocated them to. This took place about fifteen years ago when the dam was built.

The third wave is what many Africans experienced. This is the group that came from different violence stricken areas that they fled during the political uprisings of the mid 1980’s to the early 90’s. Etafuleni was calm and was believed to have been a safe haven as it was not under any tribal authority nor was it under any strong political influence.
These diverse origins have made the population of Etafuleni to be distinct and their locations reflect the different waves of occupation. Different waves settled in locations that identified them with their time and whereabouts of origin. This is evident in the division of classes that exist between sections of the area. There are two contested understandings of the origin of the name “Etafuleni” itself. It is thought that because the area is highly elevated and resembles a plateau on top; its name was derived from the Zulu word for “table”. The second understanding, in line with the first wave described above, suggests that there lived an Indian man who owned a shelter table at the entrance of the area on which he sold vegetables and fruits. This table became a landmark for all people who came through the area, and people named the taxi stop “Etafuleni” and eventually the whole area was called Etafuleni.

Irrespective of the influence the various waves had on history, settlement pattern, institutional arrangements and cultural norms, the fact remains that a community had emerged. People have made their mark on the area and some have lived there for over twenty years. The area has historical and traditional significance as most of the earlier generations of the Etafuleni people were buried there in a small burial ground, which was said to have been donated by an Indian farmer. People have created an identity for themselves, and would like to see their quality of life improved. They anticipate the changes that development will bring to the area, which they have inhabited for a very long time. In the following section, the dissertation outlines the conceptual background of Intathakusa and reflects on how Etafuleni fits in with this programme.

3.4 The Development Planning Process

The first democratically elected Councillors were in place in June 1996 within the province of KwaZulu Natal. All areas that fell within the Durban Metropolitan region (which came in to being during the period 1996-1997) were demarcated into wards and represented by Councillors. Councillors became the mouthpiece of communities. Among other things, Councillors’ roles were to lobby for the development of their ward areas. Development in any ward area was dependant on how vocal the Councillor was. If a Councillor was less vocal then there would be very little or no development in his or her area. While it fell within the periphery of the city, and like many other areas was not the focus of development attention, the prevailing Councillor of the area made sure that Etafuleni made it to the list of priorities of the Metropolitan Council’s Development agenda. At that time development projects were suggested and proposed by ward Councillors.
Discussions between the ward 89 Councillor (under which Etafuleni fell) and the Metropolitan Housing Unit (MHU) led to Etafuleni being seen as a suitable area for a massive housing development. Five thousand housing opportunities were envisaged for Etafuleni, which was to play a strategic role in depopulating the nearby informal settlements of Amaoti and, most importantly, to tackle the then massive housing backlog in the northern region of the city. For the Councillor, development in this area would prove his capacity to influence delivery within his ward.

In 1997, the Metropolitan Housing Unit, which was the development vehicle for housing delivery within the Durban Metro Region, commissioned a feasibility study to consider the development of five thousand housing opportunities in Etafuleni. This took place at the same time as the Integrated Development Framework (IDF) for Inanda, which culminated with the development of a series of Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), (Markewicz English & Associates, 1997). Amongst other things, the IDF advocated for developments that were integrated in nature and that looked at a variety of development options without favouring any one over the other (Markewicz English & Associates, 1997).

This served as the basis on which the Etafuleni feasibility study was to be developed. The feasibility study process was democratic and consultative, and the views of the residents of Etafuleni revealed that people wanted a development that would retain the existing character of the area which accommodates backyard gardening (see figure 4 below).
A number of development options were suggested, with housing, urban agriculture and community tourism topping the priority list. The resulting findings indicated that the five thousand housing units needed to be revisited. In addition, urban agriculture, in the form of backyard and communal gardens, was highlighted as a viable development option. This was to serve three important purposes, i.e. greening the housing developments, curbing urban sprawl, and as a means to create alternative forms of income and to generate local economic development activities (Markewicz English & Associates, 1997).

In addition, the research found that the area had both urban and rural characteristics. The area was therefore classified as forming the “urban edge”. The “urban edge” could not therefore be developed as an urban area with high-density housing (Markewicz English & Associates, 1997). The “urban edge” is a concept that was coined to refer to areas that form the periphery and that separate the urban from the rural. This classification has implications for development. An area that would have been developed as urban was no longer classified as urban, but would not be developed as a rural area either. Hence, it became important to investigate new and innovative approaches.
Based on this it was decided that development had to take into cognisance the character of the area and a combination of development options were considered to be viable for this area. This mix would include urban agriculture and housing. The development of this combination of options fell outside the mandate of the Housing Department.

The then Metropolitan Economic Development and Planning Department took joint responsibility for the development of this area by commissioning another study, which was to investigate the feasibility of urban agriculture in Etafuleni. The findings of the study revealed that the area had high levels of crime, illiteracy and unemployment (Institute of Natural Resources, 1998). This had implications for future development, if urban agriculture was to be pursued. It was recommended that capacity building take place before any plans for urban agriculture could be developed. Local people, who felt that they did not accurately reflect the Etafuleni community, did not welcome these findings. Before looking further at the developments that structured and directed the project, this research will examine the socio-economic status of the area so that there is an understanding of the nature of people and their means of survival.

3.5 Socio-Economic Survey

It is critical at this stage to get an understanding of the social, economic, political and physical status and needs of the people living within the Intathakusa Programme. A study was undertaken that focussed on Etafuleni, however, this study also represents the aspirations and needs of the four African black community areas of Intathakusa as a whole. Most Indians and Coloureds live within the Tea Estate and the Buffelsdraai areas. However, only African people attended the development discussions that took place within the communities. This could be due to the fact that they were the only ones within these areas that still needed access to basic services. The following discussions provide detail information on the area and are based on the survey undertaken by Maseko Hlongwa and Associates, in 2003 which provides the most recent information on the area. This section will expand on this data, all based from the same study.

3.5.1 Socio-Economic Status

This section presents the socio-economic statistics of Etafuleni, as representative of the four community areas of the Intathakusa programme. This was surveyed and completed in January 2003, when a number of projects were being pursued. This survey was commissioned in late 2002, at the time that development debates were taking place. It was commissioned to inform decisions, affirm certain conclusions and to reconsider any undertakings, which did not support the aspirations and capacity of the people on the ground.
3.5.2 Demographic Profile
According to this study, the population of Etafuleni was estimated at around 6500 people. Household's numbers were estimated at 1371. 47.4% of households were female headed and 51.1% were headed by men. The community of Etafuleni was said to have a high percentage of youth, totaling to about 4,507, which is 69% of the population. Other community areas have similar population and household numbers. These statistics are reflective of the turnout at community meetings. Young people throughout Intathakusa dominated meetings.

3.5.3 Education Profile
The education profile relates to the household heads, as the survey targeted household heads. The research study revealed that about 51.3% of the household heads managed to reach high school levels and beyond, with 13% reaching secondary school levels, 27.1% with primary education, 3.2% with no primary education, and 5.2% unspecified. About 3000 children were still within school going ages. These figures reflect that about 91.6% of the household heads are functionally literate. However, later it will be revealed that there is a contrastingly low skills base. Nevertheless, it was acknowledged that being functionally literate provides an opportunity for an individual to be taught and provided with the necessary skills to compete effectively for available job opportunities.

3.5.4 Economic Data
Employment statistics, and other information presented in this section, relates to the household heads. The research study revealed that 29.2% were employed at the time of the survey, with 51.3% unemployed, 2% self employed, 4.4% casually employed, 0.3% retired, 5% pensioners, 0.1% housekeepers, and 1.7% unspecified. These figures reflect that over half the population of the economically active group is unemployed. This is not an unusual situation within the country and also within the greater Durban area.

Critically, the study revealed that many of the household heads were the sole breadwinners. Only an approximated 10% were engaged in household economic activities or survival strategies, such as backyard gardening, communal gardening, baking, selling fowls or eggs, art and craft and selling fruits. The programme, at one time, had to support women living in Tea Estate who were starting a communal garden for commercial purposes, but were struggling to pull the project off the ground due to limitations on resources. The low economic base may have discouraged other family units from initiating or engaging in these economic activities. This could also be attributed to a lack of
skills, capacity and start-up capital. Collectively, these aspects make it impossible for some people to engage in local activities.

The table below presents the challenges or problems encountered by the people of Etafuleni engaged in local economic activities.

Table 3.1: Problems on Local Economic Initiatives (Maseko-Hlongwa and Associates, 2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Problems/ Challenges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable Gardening</td>
<td>Inadequate land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ground worms and pests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle Repairs</td>
<td>Lack of appropriate space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry Farming</td>
<td>Theft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art and Craft</td>
<td>Death of fowls due to lack of knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-payment of debtors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit and Vegetable Selling</td>
<td>Low economic base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baking</td>
<td>Lack of appropriate facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of the market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of appropriate equipment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

High unemployment levels and high dependency figures could, on one hand, ensure maximum housing subsidies but may also mean low affordability levels when it comes to payment for services provided. This will also depend on the community’s choices of service levels. High dependency has a negative impact on the ability of the community to save, and its ability to divert its resources from essential needs to physical development, such as improving or extending their houses. On the other hand, higher levels of unemployment could mean a greater number of people available to engage actively in agriculture. This depends on whether they have start-up capital and the capacity to access necessary resources.

3.5.5 Agricultural Data
This section delineates the community’s involvement, and willingness to engage, in agricultural related activities. Fifty percent (50%) of family households indicated that they were engaged in agricultural activities in the form of backyard vegetable gardening and communal gardening. Five percent (5%) indicated a lack of interest. These were mainly the younger generation between the
ages of 20 to 30, who argued that this was a very primitive lifestyle, redirecting them back to rural ways. Fifteen percent (15%) indicated work commitments precluding them from engaging in agricultural activities. Twenty eight percent (28%) indicated a lack of available land for agricultural purposes contributing to their non-participation in agricultural activities. Two percent (2%), comprising elderly people, indicated age as a hindrance to engaging in agricultural activities.

Although statistics indicate that half the community is inactive in agriculture, this should not be read as indicative of interest or non-interest in agriculture. The survey results indicate that should extraneous variables such as lack of opportunity and time be removed, 12% would indicate non-interest due to various reasons including age and work commitments, while a significant 88% would show interest. Eighty eight percent (88%) included those who were already engaged in agricultural activity, those who lacked land, and those who were employed and devoted their weekends to agricultural activities. Thus the following table:

Table 3.2: Agriculture interest (Maseko-Hlongwa and Associates, 2003)

These statistics are supported by the number of vegetable gardens planted at the back of houses in Tea Estate and Buffelsdraai. Most of these are used for subsistence purposes. Thus development needs to cater for these needs, as people depend on these in addition to their income. A huge majority of people indicated that should land be provided, they would use the land for vegetable gardening. This has important implications for the types of development envisaged in this area, and influences the site sizes. The following table indicates the crops that were identified as preferable:
Table 3.3: Crop preference types in Etafuleni (Maseko-Hlongwa and Associates, 2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop Type</th>
<th>Crop Type</th>
<th>Crop Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Onions</td>
<td>Cabbages</td>
<td>Potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomatoes</td>
<td>Green-beans</td>
<td>Butternuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrots</td>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>Green pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinach</td>
<td>Amadumbe</td>
<td>Beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td>Sweet potatoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These crops are indicative of the needs of poor communities, for example their need to plant those crops, which have a short turnaround period for harvesting. Aside from these crops, the study revealed that people were also very interested in poultry farming and other diverse activities like backyard motor mechanics, bricklaying etc. This has implications for development because if people had security of tenure and available land, high unemployment figures and a low economic base would necessitate local economic initiatives and agriculture. Thus future development should be informed by the community’s existing aspirations and conditions, in order to foster these activities. However, the study recognized that the success of these activities would depend largely on the capacity given to beneficiaries and the support provided, including appropriate agricultural extension service and finances.

3.5.6 Housing Information

The study revealed that even though people did not fully understand the concept of the People’s Housing Process as a housing development route, they preferred it to developers coming into the area and providing small uniform starter houses. When offered a choice between a bigger site and lower services, and a smaller site and higher levels of services, 80% of the community opted for bigger sites. The majority of this 80% preferred an additional benefit of higher service levels. Only 20% favored smaller site sizes. A bigger site in this case is 500m² and larger. Smaller sites mean anything less than 300m². The middle size site of between 300m² and 500m² is considered acceptable and enough for a house and another livelihood activity.
The study revealed also that when raising specific questions regarding the community’s financial preparedness for house ownership, 99% of the respondents indicated that they were not members of any savings club. This is probably due to a high unemployment ratio within the area. It should, however, be indicated that most people in an interview process are reluctant to reveal their true financial status or investments. They tend to think that aid and support will only be given to those who are poor; and as such everyone would like to be categorized as poor. On the other hand, family members tend to hide their membership with savings clubs, for fear of being burdened with extra financial responsibilities when their savings are matured. The study also revealed a huge percentage (75%) that expressed their dissatisfaction with 200m² site sizes and suggested site sizes ranging between 350m² to 400m².

This concludes the presentation of the socio-economic survey data. The following section describes the development processes of the Intathakusa programme and explains how the projects in Etafuleni came about. To provide a complete picture, the discussion will include the processes from 1999, when the project was given capacity, onwards.

3.6 Capacity Dedicated to the Project

In 1999, a Council resolution was taken stating that the project needed dedicated capacity, and that capacity needed to be placed within a Department whose mandate was inclusive of planning and facilitating different development delivery sectors. Thus, the Development Facilitation Department, of the Development and Planning Unit, inherited the project from both Metro Economics Development and Planning and MHU. A project leader was appointed as part of this rationalisation process. The Council resolution spelt out the terms of reference for the Project Leader as broadly as
possible, to create an enabling environment for development to take off on the ground. The project leader also had to facilitate a process, which was to allow for the development to take place in a sustainable manner. This would take into cognisance the character of the area, and the fact that this was an experimental project, which would lead developments in other areas of similar character in the city. It was after the project leader was introduced to the community that people coined the name, “Intathakusa Integrated Programme”. This name reflected the aspirations of people. The project became truly integrated\(^6\) at a departmental level, as it involved all relevant sectoral departments, who were all represented at a steering committee that was established immediately after the introduction of the project leader.

3.7 The Strategic Environmental Assessment Process

The project took a turn when the steering committee made a decision to demonstrate sensitivity to environmental issues before continuing the exploration of any development options. In March 1999, advised by the steering committee, the Project Leader commissioned a Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA), which was seen to be critical in recognising the significance of the environment and the type of development that was to be undertaken. The SEA process is a broader process than the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). It is not a legislative requirement, as is the EIA. However, it forms the basis by which all development endeavours are informed. This became a very lengthy exercise for both the project leader and the people on the ground. It began to unfold new challenges and development imperatives, which needed to be dealt with before development could take place. It took at least two and a half years to come to some conclusion about the SEA process. People had hoped at the beginning that processes were going to move faster. Even the short-term deliverables that were agreed upon, which would have been delivered while the rest of the development was being carefully planned, could not be delivered. The planning process kept revealing issues, which became so imperative that they needed to be dealt with before any form of development could be embarked upon. The project grew even bigger (+2000 hectares) as it saw the significance of the areas surrounding the catchments to be included into the project, of which Etafuleni was part. These areas included Tea Estate, a portion of Buffelsdraai, and Groeneberg. These areas formed part of the ward, which included Etafuleni. The inclusion of these areas into the project was initially political but later there were technical realities that supported their inclusion.

Technically, it was discovered during this process that the “urban edge”, in so far as Etafuleni was concerned, intercepted an important river catchment (which forms the head of the oHlange water

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\(^6\) Integration in this context refers to: inclusive of various stakeholders from various backgrounds, and areas that originally fell outside the project, of various sectoral departments and also mixing development elements in one area.
catchment). Development on either side needed to regard the catchment holistically. Thus, the Steering Committee affirmed a decision to include the three community areas of Groeneberg, Tea Estate and Buffesdraai. All four-community areas surround the Amaoti catchment, and needed to be integrated so that the environmental sensitivity of the whole catchment would be recognised. This is how the three community areas were included as part of the development of Etafuleni. The name “Intathakusa” was thus coined to represent all four areas.

The length of the process became a major source of frustration as the second local government elections of 2000 were drawing near. Development began to get mixed up with political lobbying and canvassing. It was a critical time for the development as the process had endeavoured to engage all concerned parties during the planning phases. The main concern was that the work that had been done was being threatened by political dynamics. Community representation was limited to a few people ~ those who were retired and the elite of the community.

Community dynamics began around questioning the legitimacy of the community representation as truly representative of the people. There were also concerns about their term of office, which had extended to three years. This group had been part of the development deliberations since its inception. People began to complain about a lack of transparency and report backs, such that the majority did not know what was actually happening in their area. This became a major concern for the project, as the democratically elected representative of the community, who was accountable to the City Council, oversaw the representation. The democratic representative was the only link to the community, and seemed to approve of this representation. Council officials on the other hand could be overstepping their jurisdiction if they were to question the legitimacy of the representatives and their term of office.

People began to look to the project leader to remove the representatives, so that a more democratic and representative group could take over. This was again outside the jurisdiction of the project leader, who could only assist by providing advice. The situation intensified as the build-up to the elections grew. Some community facilities were stolen, and crime levels increased. The area was no longer safe for any development initiative. By July 2000, the project had almost come to a standstill. The Department took a decision to stall the processes until after the elections. Professional consultants continued their work, although at a slower pace.

The process started again in January 2001, after the elections, with a new system of representation. For the project leader, it meant starting the process all over. This was in terms of briefing and taking
people through the processes that had already taken place and explaining why certain processes were decided upon. This was another lengthy process, and people would accept a way forward only when they were satisfied that they had been sufficiently informed about where they had come from. It became quite costly in terms of time and resources. The project lost the budget, which had been committed to the project for the financial year 2000 to 2001, to undertake the short-term deliverables. This was a big blow for the project, as it meant that yet again there were not any deliverables on the ground. However, these challenging processes turned out to be critical for the sustainability of the project. It became vital that a trust be built between the new members of the Development Forum and the project team.

3.7.1 Findings of the SEA Process

The SEA process was concluded in June 2001. It became critical to begin to deal with the issues that the study had raised at this time. However, this was also when time and effort needed to be invested in bringing people up to speed, especially with the SEA process, and with its implications for development. The development itself, technical in nature, was complicated, and needed a very cohesive community to take it through to its desired stages. However, the situation in the area was sensitive and needed to be treated cautiously so that development would not be jeopardised. Community facilitation was the main activity at this time. This became the most important phase of the project, as trust was built, and this formed the basis for good relations between the project team and the local people, which lasted even when the forum members changed their term of office.

The SEA process had revealed important issues. Critically, the study affirmed the development proposals that had been suggested by the communities. The project would be integrated in nature, would test new forms of settlement patterns and would introduce innovative delivery approaches. However, development would not be possible without taking into consideration a number of development imperatives that had been identified. The following outlines the development imperatives, which were highlighted by the SEA process:

- **Land**: The study recognised that land was a critical resource, which these areas possessed. However, land was owned by a myriad of landowners. This had implications for the development since development depended on land being released and it was apparent that the process of negotiating with landowners could prove long and difficult. This was after the Durban Municipality had signed deals with Tongaat Hulett regarding its land along the northern corridor. A number of landowners saw this as an opportunity to begin to speculate with their land. Further, a number of claimants had laid claims on the land and had not been compensated for them. Unless these land legal issues were resolved, development could not
take place. Even on land that was owned by the state, the process to release land from the State Disposal Committee had proved bureaucratic and complicated.

b) **Crime**: the area had become a paradise for organised criminals, who identified the neglected houses left by Indian families in Tea Estate, Groeneberg and Buffelsdraai as a safe refuge from the justice system. Formalisation of tenure, and reconstituting the area as a township through development, was seen to be the best mechanism for cleaning up the area and reducing criminal activities. However, development needed to devise a safety and security strategy to deal with these issues in an integrated manner. If not dealt with accordingly, tourism and agriculture would suffer greatly from crime.

c) **Environment**: the areas are intercepted by the Amaoti catchment, which is the head of the oHlange water basin, and should be developed through an understanding that all the proposed development options are dependant on the environment for their sustainability.

d) **Integration**: All the different development options needed to be taken into consideration when developing the areas, to ensure optimum use of resources and sustainability of the urban edge. Different stakeholders needed to align their operations and budgets, so that development could take place in the manner in which it had been planned. Communities were the major stakeholder group and would be an asset in ensuring the success of this development, thus, all development initiatives needed to respect this. It was vital not only to consult with them, but also to partner with communities to deliver some of the projects.

e) **Coordination**: By virtue of the size of the project area (it had been increased to 2000ha) and the myriad of options which were proposed, the project needed to be coordinated as one programme, even though there were different precincts which had been identified, some sectorally and some geographically.

f) **Funding**: This was critical to the project and to the implementation of all the above imperatives - the success of this development hinged on whether or not there was sufficient funding.

g) **Institutional Arrangement**: This was as critical as funding, because without a dedicated capacity to manage different components of the programme, which had been identified by the SEA process, the programme would be a failure. The project was unique, and was already showing signs of being complicated, and thus needed dedicated support politically, institutionally and financially.

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4 Integration in this instance relate to inclusive of various development elements i.e. tourism; housing; urban agriculture; social facilities etc., also ensuring that various stakeholders really worked together to achieve the deliberations of the project whilst also ensuring that operations of various departments converged towards the project’s goals.
Arising from the different development imperatives presented above were a number of opportunities of strategic significance, which need to be explored so as to address a wide range of questions. The strategic significance of Intathakusa, within the city and within itself as an area of development need, is discussed below.

3.8 Emerging Strategic Significance

The development of the Intathakusa project was recognized by the city through the SEA process as a strategic intervention in its quest to:

- conserve and manage the ecological environment as a natural and tourist asset
- contain and manage urban sprawl
- Provide a range of economic development opportunities through, inter alia, tourism, urban agriculture and housing opportunities.

The strategic significance of Intathakusa relates to a need to rethink the manner in which the peripheral parts of the Unicity are planned and developed.

There were key aspects that the development of this area would seek to address:

- The role of the periphery in terms of urban settlement, housing choice, job creation, environmental conservation and agricultural productivity
- Forms of innovative settlement capable of creating new lifestyle choices in the metropolitan area
- Food production opportunities within the metropolitan area
- Challenging existing economic “monopolies” and opening up new opportunities for local economic development
- The capacity of the study area, not only in terms of residential yields, but also in terms of other activities which could be supported by the area
- The role of the project in providing a learning experience that would inform the future management of similar areas, which need this kind of intervention to manage the urban edge and deal with sprawl.

These were the development imperatives and opportunities that were identified by the SEA. However, this took place at the time when the Municipality was undergoing the last phases of transformation and various processes were taking place within the city, which shifted attention away from projects onto transformation processes. It was at this time, again, that no decisions especially pertaining to resources were made, as the transformation process was to advise decisions pertaining to what and how much was needed where. Thus, not enough capacity was made available
to work on the project, and at this time very few budget decisions pertaining to projects were made, other than those that were relatively insignificant. This was another hurdle that the programme had to overcome.

To conclude the SEA discussion, it is important to summarise the precincts and projects that were identified through this process. Intathakusa had been demarcated into the following developable and sectoral precincts:

- Tea Estate and Buffelsdraai were to be developed for commercial agriculture, as they had always been, but this was to be more sophisticated. An organic farming scheme had been initiated to be jointly handled by the City and the provincial Department of Economic Development and Tourism. At the completion of this research, the feasibility study for an organic scheme had been concluded.

- A tourism project, situated between Tea Estate and Etafuleni, was to be developed. This was envisaged to be a major source of local economic development opportunities, and the avenue to develop SMME’s within the area. At the time when this dissertation was written, the feasibility study had been concluded and had been supported by the city.

- Groeneberg was to be developed for communal gardening and minor housing along road corridors. This project was packaged as a commonage development, and had been supported by the Department of Land Affairs at the time when this dissertation was being written.

- The catchments formed a precinct in their own right; this was the catchment management portion of the programme. The catchments management project had been developed. At the time of the compilation of this dissertation, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, through its Working for Water Programme, had begun the removal of alien plants as part of the management intervention of this catchment.

- Etafuleni, as it is closer to the densely populated informal settlements of Amaoti, was to be developed for housing.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the next section will focus on Etafuleni, rather than taking into consideration the Intathakusa programme as a whole. This brings us to the end of the history and the development processes of these areas. The proceeding section reviews the development debates and challenges within Etafuleni. Some of these have already been outlined in previous discussions, but in the following section these debates will be elaborated on and put into their context.
3.9 Etafuleni Projects and Development Debates

3.9.1 Etafuleni Precinct Projects

Etafuleni had a number of development opportunities with the potential to pilot new forms of settlement patterns and development combinations. There were five projects identified for the Etafuleni precinct, three of which fell within the two-phased housing projects. For the benefit of clarity, projects will be briefly discussed individually. In-depth discussions will focus on the housing projects and the development debates that took place during its packaging stages. These reveal the shortcomings of the policy parameters under which most developments operate.

3.9.2 Etafuleni Sports Fields

The Etafuleni sports field was initiated long before the conception of Intathakusa. It came about as a politically identified project, which was to act as a release valve for the ABSA stadium. It was not identified within the Integrated Development Framework (IDF) of Inanda. When Intathakusa came into being, it had to incorporate the already excavated sports field, which was eroding soil and clogging the catchment. It was therefore incorporated into the Etafuleni precinct as a recreational facility, which needed to be completed and slotted into the planning deliberations of Etafuleni.

3.9.3 Catchment Management Project

The Etafuleni project is located at the head of the Ohlange Water Basin, whose northwestern borders are covered by forty-percent natural environment. Thus, the development of the project relied on mechanisms and approaches that recognized the natural environment as a sustainable base through which all the proposed development options would be supported. Furthermore, being situated at the head of the Ohlange Water Basin, means that any development upstream needed to consider areas downstream, otherwise damage on the upper end of the catchment could open up drainage problems downstream. This could prove expensive for other Unicity Council Departments. A catchment management plan that would ensure conservation of the natural environment, and the management of the activities taking place upstream, was paramount to this development. This plan was to be directly linked to the community programmes.

It was stressed that catchment management should be viewed as environmental conservation, rather than as part of an area management. In the first instance, historically, there have not been good relations between those who advocated for environmental conservation and those who worked for human development. There are reasons for this. Firstly, there was no clear explanation of how environmental conservation was critical to human development, or how human development could
benefit from environmental conservation. Secondly, conservation land within any proposed housing
development was always an area of contention. It usually exerted pressure for an EIA to be
undertaken, at the cost of the limited housing subsidy. The cost of the conservation land would be
borne by the beneficiaries of that development through the subsidy. Frustratingly, the land was
likely be fenced off, to discourage entry by beneficiaries. Thus, environmental conservation could
easily be viewed buy some as working against human development.

In the second instance, in South Africa, the Apartheid system ensured a clear separation of human
establishment from any environmental conservation and management programmes. This was such
that even patches of green belts that existed within a settlement were fenced off to prevent any
interference from the inhabitants of that settlement. This reinforced and discouraged any
environmental/human co-existence. This has been taken up in political chambers as a point of
contention, as there were clear disagreements about the essence of environmental conservation in
relation to human development. Professional boardrooms were also battlefields that never provided
common ground for agreements between those who advocated for environmental conservation and
those for human development. As a result of these complications, it came as no surprise when this
part of Intathakusa struggled to get funding or political support.

Thus, a joint venture between the eThekwini Municipality and the Water Affairs and Forestry
Department was the only strategic route to tackle the financial and political hurdles. The project was
a cooperative effort involving both the eThekwini Municipality and the Department of Water
Affairs and Forestry’s “Working for Water” Programme. This project was envisaged as a pilot for
all other projects within the city, which share similar characteristics, and require similar attention in
terms of environmental management.

The project was designed to first remove alien invasive plants along the edges and within the
catchment. The second stage of the project was to tag all plants with medicinal, historical, and
traditional significance. This would present the project as not just a catchment management
programme but as an eco-tourism asset. The third phase was an on-going process of clearing the
catchment of secondary invasions and establishing and capacitating community groupings to
manage the catchment on an ongoing basis. This involved linking the catchment to educational
institutions, and creating walking trails within the catchment. The envisaged end product was an
eco-tourism asset that would tie in well with the Intathakusa tourism project.
3.9.4 Etafuleni Cemetery

The northern region, and actually the entire Metropolitan region, was said to be running short of burial sites with increasing death rates - a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The cemetery was identified as a release valve within the region by the locals and through the SEA process. The site became part of the Etafuleni social facilities. At the time of writing this dissertation, the site was being fenced off, and a site office was being built.

3.9.5 Etafuleni Phases I and II Housing Projects

A housing project was identified for Etafuleni. It was conceptualized to incorporate urban agriculture within the settlement, either as backyard gardens, or as small communal patches of agricultural land, which could be used for other purposes if agriculture failed. The conceptualization of this project initially stipulated for at least a minimum of 500m² per site, which would then ensure flexibility and innovation. Kwa-Ngoqokazi informal settlements on the south, and Amaoti on the eastern side, border the site on which this project lies. This meant that a number of sites would have been set aside to relieve the neighboring informal settlements.

This was a great opportunity for beneficiaries both within and outside Etafuleni. Housing opportunities that could have been yielded by this project amounted to around 1450 sites. The preliminary design revealed that certain considerations had to be taken into account. Firstly, the project had been moved into a denser phase I and the 500m² sites had been dropped to 300m². The second phase was to be more innovative and included elements of agriculture with bigger sites. The technical task team responsible for this project had realized that there was no funding route that could support 500m² sites in the current structure of the housing subsidy. Thus the Technical Task Team took a decision to reduce the site sizes, so that they were affordable through the subsidy scheme. This seemed to have been agreed by all concerned to exclude any form of agriculture, and presumably to allow beneficiaries some choice in deciding whether to reside in phase I or phase II. While this was said to have been verified with community members, beneficiaries later revealed that they wanted to have bigger sites for other opportunities. This is where the challenges around practical implementation started to surface. Further debates took place around phase I, which had reduced the site sizes to between 250m² to 300m². The debates outlined below are the culmination of this dilemma.
3.10 Development Debates

3.10.1 Etafuleni Housing Phase I

Being an administratively housing led process, Etafuleni (both phases) was handled by the Metro Housing Unit's Projects Department. Both phases were to follow a conventional housing project process. This would involve the preparation of detailed designs, which would be submitted to the Housing Working Group. This is a group of professionals who check the viability of housing projects by considering a number of development imperatives, which need to be taken care of before development can progress.

However, this was proving to be a different project. The community representatives, who lobbied for bigger sites that would realize the urban agriculture need, contested sites. Site locations were to take into cognizance the fact that urban agriculture was to take place mainly in backyard gardens. As mentioned above, the preliminary designs had been prepared and they delineated a minimum size of 500m² per site. The challenge was to find a funding stream that would fund the project in this conceptualized form. The conceptualized form was an integrated development of housing and urban agriculture, and was to become a pilot for land reform projects.

Table 3.5: Breakdown of sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land for Housing</th>
<th>200m²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land for Agriculture</td>
<td>300m²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site Size</td>
<td>500m²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the breakdown above, it is clear that 60% of land portion per site was to be dedicated to agriculture, rather than housing. Since housing was the delivery process route, it meant that the acquisition and servicing of the 500m² land was to be borne by the housing subsidy scheme of R20 000. This was not going to be possible considering the costs of servicing a site.

Etafuleni does not have bulk services within its boundaries. The nearest bulk sewer line is estimated to be at the bottom of Amaoti, which is about 10km away from the site. There existed a provisional water pipeline running through the area, but the diameter of the pipe would not be sufficient to supply water for the planned development. A new pipe would have to be connected to meet the demand. Thus, if the project was to be pursued in its conceptualized form, the subsidy of R20 000 per beneficiary needed to be doubled so that some basic services could be connected.

* This refers to planning and implementation of housing, urban agriculture and other development elements into one area and these to be attempted within the same period even though some may need to be completed at a later stage.
Alternative sources of funding needed to be sought in order to pursue this project. What was
becoming apparent was that the recommendations, based on data that had been collected, and the
feasibility studies, were being challenged and constrained by the approach that was being adopted,
which was enforced by the subsidy limitations.

This was the beginning of searching for a funding stream that would accommodate bigger sites and
housing in one development. The first alternative development route was the Rural Housing
Subsidy. The Rural Housing Subsidy is a flexible way of delivering to areas that do not fit urban
forms and standards. Levels of service and road standards are not a priority in this subsidy, so long
as the development creates a human settlement for the rural inhabitants. However, it is stipulated as
a subsidy of last resort.

The challenge was land. The subsidy stipulates for at least a minimum of 900 m² per site, as it is
assumed that the subsidy will be used for rural development where sites are much bigger. Insisting
on 900 m² per site would have limited the number of sites, thus excluding some beneficiaries from
accessing these opportunities. Further, some services were expected to be delivered in Etafuleni and
sites of 900m² would have escalated the costs of servicing the land meaning that very little would be
achieved. So the Rural Subsidy route was ruled out for this project. Etafuleni phase I could only
make provision for 500 m² per site, but still this would be too big to service in the conventional
subsidy stream.

Etafuleni sits within the “Urban Edge” and advocates for innovative and alternative forms of
development. Its main development option is agriculture, which is associated with rural
development. However, it is located in close proximity to the city and is within the jurisdiction,
mmandate and financial responsibility of the eThekwini Roads Department. The department ensures
that new developments should be undertaken in a manner that minimizes maintenance costs.
Providing gravel roads could have reduced service costs, but this would have created heavy
maintenance costs on an ongoing basis, which would have been expected to be borne by the Roads
Department. So, even if the project had taken the Rural Subsidy route, some of its main roads would
have had to be tarred.

The community wanted bigger sites in order to have a wider choice of opportunities for income
generation. They saw the characteristics of the area as presenting an opportunity for farming and
other local economic development (LED) enterprises. They were therefore not prepared to
compromise on the service standards, which had been received by some of their newly developed
Inanda counterparts. Waterborne sewerage and the normal pressure system for water supplies was the service standard they expected in their area, which they had seen their urban counterparts receiving. As mentioned previously, while 80% wanted bigger sites, they were not prepared to compromise on service levels. It was becoming clear that communities viewed themselves as falling within rural perimeters when it concerned agriculture and bigger sites and this needed to be taken into consideration. On the other hand, when it concerned housing and service standards they rated themselves as equally urban, and needed to be considered with urban standards. However, the development was already ruling that in order to be able to deliver on urban service levels, the project needed to lower the site sizes to at least 250m$^2$, and follow the conventional project linked subsidy route.

The dream of having and maintaining bigger sites that allowed for small economic activities and some backyard gardens was shattered by the realities of the development. Already the process was becoming laborious for all concerned, and the people on the ground, who did not fully understand the dialogue that was taking place between different professionals, community representatives and departments, were becoming anxious about the process. The debate continued, but in the end it was acknowledged that if the project was to reduce the site sizes, this would mean that the whole SEA process, as well as the feasibility studies, had been redundant, proving impossible to implement.

Realizing this plight, the project team urged that further investigations be pursued around the possibility of matching funding from other government funding streams. This was agreed upon by all concerned. As a result, a meeting was convened in Pietermaritzburg with the Department of Land Affairs (DLA), the Department of Housing (DoH) provincially, the Department of Agriculture (who were absent), and the project team. This was the beginning of another lengthy process. The objective of this meeting was to establish if the project could use the LRAD (Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development) programme. It was argued that the LRAD would not conflict with the use of the housing subsidy. It was hoped that beneficiaries would have access to both schemes and that this would not be viewed as double subsidization, due to the manner in which it would be structured.

LRAD, as mentioned in the previous chapter, supports the release of land for agricultural purposes. The way this was envisaged was that the housing subsidy would be used for the housing component (which was 200m$^2$) and the LRAD would be used for the remaining 300m$^2$, and this would require extra technical consideration, observation and excellence. After lengthy discussions considering the proposed development, the two departments argued the limitations of this approach. The major
being that this approach was new, having never been implemented anywhere else and thus could set precedence for government that could later prove unsustainable or unwieldy. LRAD had been common for already settled communities who needed to access agricultural needs and required more land to do so. Furthermore, there were a number of implications that the use of this route could have for both Departments.

Firstly, the DLA had only dealt with hectares and Etafuleni was being delivered in meter squares. Meter squares were too small for consideration by the ministry, and would not prove cost effective. They considered the land too small in comparison with what the department was used to dealing with. This meant that a greater slice of the department’s budget would be used in a small area, at a time when the department was faced with significant challenges within the entire province. In addition, the DLA had not dealt with anything other than vast rural areas, which made it difficult to understand the different challenges faced by peri-urban areas. It was clear that the peri-urban areas needed a different type of assistance. It was therefore concluded that Etafuleni was too small an area to petition the department for such a huge investment.

Secondly, LRAD is administratively laborious, even though the project is small, there would be 1400 LRAD grants to administer. The benefits this area offered would be small scale, in comparison to projects that cater for commercial purposes. From a housing point of view, however, the benefits would be great because the project would develop the housing settlement into a livable, healthy and self-sustaining endeavor. From a DLA point of view, it was a breadth versus depth, as the project covers many beneficiaries, but with limited hectares, and little visible benefit according to the measurements of the department.

The DLA was also not prepared to fund activities that were viewed to be another Department’s responsibility and mandate. Etafuleni lobbied for the funding of agricultural land, but this would mean that services would have to be funded from the same budget. For the LRAD to work, it would need to first sort out land related matters, and then provide some basic services for agriculture. The DLA was not prepared to do this; they preferred to stick to their mandate. What the project was calling for was innovation, flexibility and the exploration of new forms of development in areas that had not been developed before. The project would be rejected by the DLA if it was to be developed in its conceptualized form.

The only alternative that the DLA offered was that of a commonage approach. Commonage would usually require a big piece of land, which would be kept aside for agricultural development, and
then the housing component would be developed separately. This approach was more acceptable to the DLA. The challenge this presented lay with the fact that Etafuleni was partly an in-situ upgrading project. There were people that lived on site, even though the settlement was sparsely populated. The idea was to develop around them to minimize costs of relocation. A commonage settlement would have required that land be set aside for agricultural development where settlements sat adjacent to the commonages.

The response of the Housing Department was not too different from that of the DLA. It was clear that the department wanted certainty that the subsidy would be used strictly for the housing component. The technical possibility was that the subsidy would spill over to elements other than housing. Again there were challenges. For the subsidy to be released there needed to be proof that the transaction had included the transfer of land to the beneficiary. This would have been a point of contention with the DLA because the same requirement is imperative for the release of the LRAD grant.

The housing representatives realized that this development could save the Human Settlement Grant Programme (HSGP). The HSGP is a programme aimed at enhancing the character of housing developments, especially the newly developed two-roomed subsidized settlements. This programme aims mainly at greening or adding development elements that would improve the settlements. However, they were hindered by the policy parameters, which had stringent rules. At a policy level, the department was not yet geared up for these kinds of developments. The conclusion from this meeting was that the project needed to take the conventional project linked subsidy route if it were to be delivered in the short to medium term.

After this meeting, the project team went back to the drawing board. There was growing anxiety, both within Council pertaining to the progress of the project, and within the communities who were waiting for a way forward and could not see it coming. For this reason, the site sizes were cut down to between 250m² and 300m². The project was to take the conventional route of any urban area project. This was a major blow for the project team, but the majority of players had begun to worry about the length of time that the processes had taken. Thus this compromised on the quality of settlements. At the time of compiling this dissertation, the project had been submitted to the Housing Working Group for comment, and had been approved to proceed with a funding application submitted to the Housing Board. The next discussion describes phase II.
Etabuleni phase II consisted of the remaining piece of land at the bottom of the valley line of the Etabuleni area. It was mostly vacant and it bordered the Intathakusa catchment. This area was only separated by a river from Groeneberg on the northeastern border, and thus it was decided that they should be treated as one project. This aimed to establish a rural settlement that could serve as a pilot for other developments, especially after the challenges and debates that emerged in Phase I. There was sufficient land in both these areas to allow for the development of a rural agricultural village. Agriculture was again advocated as the main development option that would create opportunities for alternative income generating sources. This was another chance for the project team to pursue a combination of development options within one development.

To take the project forward, a team of consultants was commissioned to package it in a manner that would ensure delivery of housing together with agriculture. Due to its vicinity in the area of the catchment, the project was linked with the catchment management programme. Initially, it was stated that the minimum site sizes would be 500m². These were to be developed along the corridors and would allow for patches of productive land situated between the housing sites to be set aside for agriculture or other LED opportunities. This approach was trying to avoid the challenges of the first phase, with its design of one house on one agricultural plot. Community institutions would be set up to manage and administer the productive land. This was conceptualized to be managed only by its immediate surrounding residents. However, this approach was found to be complicated and required too much administration, and the idea of one house on a farm seemed simpler to develop and manage.

A big piece of land within Groeneberg was to be set aside for a commonage development, taking advantage of the Commonage Grant by the DLA and the Department of Agriculture. This commonage establishment was to be attached to the residential development and the beneficiaries of the housing development would manage the commonage in order to minimize security problems. This project challenged the boundaries of what had been done before and opened itself up to a number of skeptics. To the benefit of this project, the City had just commissioned the same consultants to undertake a Rural Development Framework for the newly incorporated rural areas of the city. The objective was to establish mechanisms for approaching development in these areas. Simultaneously, models of how these areas would be developed were being investigated. This project presented itself as offering learning opportunities for the rural areas in terms of implementing rural projects.
Events seemed to unfold more rapidly in this process than in the earlier phase. This was proved by the simultaneous submission to the Housing Working Group. The processes had been started in two distinctively different times. This can be attributed to a number of factors. To mention a few, the rural areas had been afforded the highest level of both political and administrative attention in the city. Phase I, on the other hand, was just another housing development undertaken by project managers in-house. Secondly, the same consultants had been entrusted with the Rural Development Framework, which made it easy to synergize the processes. It would be interesting to find out how the administrative processes align themselves to deliver on Phase II, as among other things, the Consultants were mandated to find funding streams appropriate for the different components of the project. The next chapter presents the research findings and the research methodology.
CHAPTER 4

Scope of Chapter
This chapter presents the research methodology employed in the study.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND JUSTIFICATIONS

4.1 Background
This research study made use of qualitative methods to gather information. Information was acquired from a small group of development practitioners, for whom this study had particular relevance and the community representatives who had been part of the development deliberations of the Etafuleni project. This section supplies a brief background describing the secondary sources of data and then moves into a detailed discussion of the primary information. There will be a brief discussion around the case study, which was discussed in greater detail in chapter three. The focus is on the methods and tools employed in designing, administering and analysing the questionnaires that were used to acquire primary information. The manner in which the questionnaire data was presented is described in greater detail below.

4.2 Secondary Sources
In terms of secondary sources, the research made extensive use of international literature to establish the theoretical architecture, and research theses that examined issues pertaining to the study. The literature provided the study with valuable insight into sustainable approaches that could be used for development in rural and peri-urban areas. According to Holt (1997), a literature review allows students to understand peripheral issues and measure the extent to which other research and current understandings have been incorporated. This enables the researcher to compare ideas and thinking with respect to existing knowledge. The information that was gathered was used to address the conceptual basis of promoting and accommodating bigger sites as an important strategy in achieving innovation and diversification of peri-urban and rural livelihoods. In this respect, specific emphasis was placed on people's involvement in all development processes, as well as land release and security of tenure as important development imperatives for sustainable human settlements. In addition, there were policies and strategies that formed the basis of local literature on the subject. These policies illustrate the different endeavors of the South African government in seeking to deal with poverty and development challenges, mainly in rural areas. Archival information (in the form of maps) has provided the geographical context of the study.
4.3 Primary Sources

In terms of collating primary data, the research used structured questionnaires. Holt (1997) states that structured interviews are done using a standard set of questions designed to influence the direction of the discussion. This method is seen to be more objective than the unstructured technique. Discussions below expand on the sources of data used in this study.

The dissertation made use of structured questionnaires as a tool to gather information from those who had been involved in the specific case study area. Two sets of questionnaires were constructed which targeted two types of audiences. The first set of questionnaires targeted a small group of professionals from local government, who are faced with the challenge of implementing integrated programmes, and who have been part of the development and planning of the Intathakusa project. The same questionnaire targeted respondents from the provincial Departments of Land Affairs, Agriculture and lastly the National Department of Housing. The provincial and national groups were chosen because they are the recipients of project applications from local governments for integrated projects. It was important to get the perspectives of all three levels of government as, in terms of human settlement, all three may potentially contribute to poverty alleviation and achieving sustainable communities within the built environments. However, all respondents from national and provincial departments did not return questionnaires and eventually only the local level and the individual from an NGO responded on questionnaires. Responses from local government were most relevant to the subject of the research. The research targeted one responded from each local department. The research targeted specifically those individuals who had been involved in similar programmes and who had wealth of knowledge whose contributions would directly impact on the subject under investigation.

The following is a list of targeted individuals:

National Department of Housing x1
Provincial Department of Land Affairs x1
Provincial Department of Agriculture x1
EThekwini Metro Housing x1
EThekwini Metro Urban Strategy x 1
EThekwini Planning and Land Use x 1
EThekwini Metro Economic Development and Planning x 1
EThekwini Development Facilitation Department x1
AFRA x1
Intathakusa Project Manager x 1
EThekweni Rural Development Manager X 2

There were twelve individuals targeted for this research study. From the outset, only respondents from local government responded to the questionnaires. The targeted individuals from provincial and national government did not return the questionnaires or avail themselves for interviews. The main reason given was time constraints. The National Department of Housing was approached because of prior interactions with the department in matters relating to the project. The same response would have come out of the provincial Housing Department. Thus, there was no questionnaire for the Provincial Housing Department. However, had this level been targeted as well, a lack of response at the national level, would have been backstopped by the provincial level. The targets for both the Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs were at provincial level, chosen because of their understanding of relevant issues pertaining to projects that had been submitted for their consideration, related to the rural and peri-urban areas. Secondly, specific individuals from these departments were targeted because of their prior involvement in the Intathakusa Development. There was one respondent who had been targeted, who worked for the NGO (AFRA) that served to implement the Land Affairs Department’s projects, mainly the LRAD programme. The rest of the targeted individuals came from the local government level. In total, out of twelve targeted professionals, only nine responded. The reason for targeting such a small number of people was that the requirement of this research was to get well-informed responses, based on experience and involvement with the Intathakusa development.

The local level respondents were the majority of the targeted development practitioners. The reason more attention was paid to this group was that there were various players and departments that had a direct role in impacting on rural and peri-urban projects at a local level, and specifically on the case study. Secondly, the issues dealt with in this research affected mainly local level players. In selecting the professionals, only those that had worked or been exposed to issues of IDP and the challenges of rural and peri-urban areas were targeted at all levels. The reason again of targeting specific individuals with specific backgrounds and experience was that the research needed to get precise insight on the topic and at least be informed by practitioners who have experienced the issues that the research raised. Key people within each section and department, who had been identified as critical in this research, were visited and given a brief background to the research prior to sending questionnaires. The contribution of the respondents from the local level was seen as key in raising relevant issues, challenges and suggestions. Their exposure and experience with the struggles of implementing IDPs, and developments within the newly incorporated rural and peri-urban areas became relevant to the deliberations of the research.
The second set of questionnaires targeted the community representatives of Etafuleni. These differed from those constructed for the professionals. These questionnaires targeted the Intathakusa community representatives because they were most well informed in terms of the progress and deliberations of the project throughout its progress.

4.3.1 Questionnaire Construction
According to best practice, questionnaire construction and techniques to gather information should be determined by the research approach. This study sought the opinions of top development practitioners operating within the eThekwini Municipality, and its provincial and national counterparts. Due to financial and traveling considerations the questionnaires were administered via email. The study used strategic sampling techniques, choosing to focus on specific, selected or targeted individuals, who had knowledge or experience that was relevant to the area of research.

When constructing questionnaires, ideas or specific concerns, which were to guide the types of questions to be asked, were listed. These ideas or concerns were related to the research objectives presented in earlier chapters. Questions were derived from these and were listed. For the development practitioners' questionnaire, there were two sections comprising of different categories of questions. These categories were based on the aims of the study and the issues that came out of the literature review. Questions were deliberately designed to be open-ended, to allow for more in-depth information from the respondents. Some were short and concise, while others were more comprehensive, requiring elaboration. The short questions assumed that the people that were targeted were familiar with the subject. There are generally problems associated with lengthy questionnaires, but the study chose to ask comprehensive questions to ensure that answers incorporate all possible responses. The two types of questionnaires are attached as appendix 5.

4.3.2 Types of questions
The research used open-ended questions. Unlike closed questions, these do not force respondents to adapt to pre-conceived answers. Nachmias and Nachmias (1981) suggest that having understood the question, respondents are able to freely express their thoughts and opinions. However, open-ended questions are difficult to analyze and process. Van Maanen (1983), for example, argues that qualitative research does not offer well-formulated methods of analysis like those of quantitative research. However, a qualitative analysis does allow the researcher to explore new and innovative areas of thought, and allows for more depth and interpretation in the analysis. Questions were also constructed to elicit opinions about the processes that are driving development. These questions did not offer any choice and answers were recorded in full.
The study drew on Naoum's (1998) list of criteria in constructing the questionnaire. Below is a list of those criteria that were relevant to this study:

a) *It must deal with a topic of some significance that it is important enough to the respondent to merit the response.* All people employed in local government and who were targeted for questioning had a great interest in the topic and some were actually using this opportunity as a platform to voice their ideas and frustrations.

b) *It must seek information not obtainable from other sources.* All the questions were seeking information that was based on opinions and experiences of the respondents.

c) *It should be short as possible but comprehensive enough to allow the study to derive what it needs without alienating the respondent.* The questionnaire was concise, but covered all the relevant issues and allowed respondents to give comprehensive answers.

d) *Questions must be as objective as possible without being leading.* While some questions focused on specific areas, respondents were given space to answer freely.

e) *In their sequencing, questions should run from general to specific and from simple to complex.* Questions started from very general by asking the development practitioners about their understanding of certain concepts in development, and later explored more specific issues around these concepts.

In both questionnaires, the questions started by eliciting relevant personal information. For the community representatives, the first set of questions explored the origins of the people of the Etafuleni community, and this information was used in the case study presentation. The second set of questions sought to establish issues that led to hurdles in delivering integrated development programs and their suggested solutions. This questionnaire was constructed in Zulu to avoid any possible language barriers. However, a translated version of this questionnaire is attached as appendix 5. The rest of the information was related to their attitudes and opinions about issues pertaining to development.

4.3.3 Administration Method

Prior to the distribution of questionnaires, the targeted individuals were contacted, mostly by phone, and were given the background and aims of the study. In addition, a note was attached to the questionnaire requesting that the respondent complete the questionnaire and explaining the rationale of the research. The questionnaires were distributed in the manner that was most efficient in terms of time and expense. All the questionnaires in this group were delivered to the chairperson of the Development Forum who then distributed them in one of their meetings. All respondents were
given deadlines by which they needed to have completed the questionnaires and returned them to the chairperson. When all were completed and collected, the chairperson curried them.

This survey method allows for detachment and objectivity, which under certain conditions, and for a number of research purposes, can be useful (Naoum, 1998). Specifically for this dissertation, this method proved cheaper and did not require trained interviewers to be employed. Secondly, it avoided personal interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. This is cited by Nachmias and Nachmias (1981) to be important in reducing biasing error. It reduces the potential for detailed explanations or leading questions, which may direct the responses. Mailed Questionnaires allow for anonymity, which meant that even though there were no particularly sensitive questions, the respondents could feel free to answer honestly and openly. Some questions, especially the ones that targeted professionals, required that they refer to other documentation and this method allowed for sufficient time and space for the respondents to do so. This would not have been possible in a personal interview, as respondents would feel that they needed to respond there and then. Lastly, due to the wide geographical spread of respondents, this method minimized traveling costs.

There were, however, disadvantages. Firstly, structured questionnaires require the researcher to use simple and straightforward questions that are easy to comprehend, but this does not however allow for much elaboration or explanation. Nor does this method allow for further probing. Answers need to be accepted as they are, even if the researcher would have wanted to explore further. The major disadvantage was the delay in responses. Follow-ups using the phone were used to track the progress. Only after a lengthy period of time was it recognized that questionnaires from the provincial and national departments were not forthcoming. Personal interviews may have made it easier to get responses, but these were likely to have their own complications, particularly in terms of setting up interviews. Fortunately, the overall response rate from the local players was good.

The other primary source of research material came from the feasibility studies, socio-economic surveys and the Council reports that had been put together during the process of project planning and lobbying. These were readily available resources that related directly to the area in question. These sources were used mainly in the case study.

4.3.4 Data Presentation and Analysis
A combination of information collated from both the primary and secondary sources were presented in their respective chapters. Secondary sources are presented in chapter two which reviews the literature. Data collated from the questionnaires was analyzed using qualitative methodology. The
nature of the research required that a descriptive approach be adopted in presenting and analysing the results. Two sets of data were presented and analyzed from both development practitioners and community representatives. Some of the information acquired from the community representatives was discussed in the presentation of the case study in chapter three. The rest of the primary data is presented as survey findings in this chapter. In terms of processing the questionnaires, each question was analyzed as a whole. The answers given by different respondents for each question were grouped together, and presented as a whole. Firstly, it was the professional responses, then the community responses. The questions were analyses as a whole.

This section has captured the methodology and the techniques used to construct, design, present and analyse the information acquired. The next section presents the responses from the development practitioners.
CHAPTER 5

5. RESEARCH FINDINGS
This section presents survey results and explores findings for each question, including additional comments and interpretations.

SECTION I

5.1 DEVELOPMENT PRACTITIONERS' RESPONSES
This part concerns itself with responses from development practitioners. Whilst questionnaires were designed and distributed to specific departments at national, provincial and local government level, responses only came from local government people. From within local government level, respondents came from a range of backgrounds. Backgrounds included planning, local economic development, land and development sector, policy and strategic planning, and housing. Their common element was having been involved in integrated development programmes and some had been exposed to working with rural areas. Results presented below are therefore based on questionnaires responded to by people from local government, and one from the NGO that worked with land and development issues. She was selected, as the NGO she worked for was formed to deal with projects and applications for land development for Department of Land Affairs in the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal.

The questionnaires explored two major themes or concepts i.e. integrated development and sustainable development. The reason for focusing on these two concepts is that, it is the view of this research that a greater understanding of these concepts and their application in implementing projects will accomplish long lasting results. Therefore, greater emphasis on these concepts in this research and particularly in this section is due to them being considered by the researcher as cornerstones of achieving the deliberations of this research.

In terms of presentation of responses, it was decided that where responses varied, there would be presented in percentages. In circumstances where responses concurred among respondents, there would be presented as a whole in bullet form. In instances where variations could be categorised by sector, responses would be presented in categories and tables would be used in this instance. As was mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, out of the total targeted respondents only 75% which came from local government including an NGO representative responded to questionnaires. Therefore, percentages and the total number of respondents referred to in the presentation of results relates only to those who responded on questionnaires.
5.1.1 Integrated Development

Question 1

What would you say is your understanding of the concept of integrated development?*

Finding

Fifty percent (50%) of respondents held the view that this refers to the manner in which various aspects of development are interrelated. This group also saw this as a tool that allows for the coordination of interrelated financial and non-financial resources to advance development objectives that conspire to produce a living environment. Thirty percent (30%) added that it should be seen to be a way in which service sectors, partners, and budget sources are aligned to effect development. The last twenty percent (20%) saw it as an approach to development which considers all actors and factors, including all relevant stakeholders and role players, to come up with a holistic plan of action.

Comment/ Interpretation

The responses in this question reflected that there is a general understanding among all respondents on the definition of integrated development. However, although presented in various forms but the conclusions on what it refers to are similar. It indicates that there is a general agreement that integrated development should encompass all sectors, all players and actors in development to effect a complete living environment in communities. It is significant to note that there was also a mention of financial and non-financial resources, as these form critical building blocks for sustainability in community development. It is encouraging to also find that different people from different backgrounds see this concept in the same light.

Question 2

What have been your thoughts around its conception?

Finding:

The finding below is presented by categorising the responses according to different backgrounds from which respondents came:

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*Integrated development is referred here as a tool for planning, management and implementation, through which various efforts and resources are combined to achieve a common goal.
Table 5.1: Different views about the conception of integrated development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planning and Econ. Dev.</th>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Project Management</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-A good start to change processes, even though it is usually flawed in some aspects. -Planning is fine. But due to no systems in place, implementation does not translate into what was planned</td>
<td>- The plan forces people to plan together but does not have reinforcing measures to carry it through implementation -Conceptualisation due to silo operation but still battling</td>
<td>- The concept was imposed without adapting to local conditions, such that not all parties had a chance to think through it before it was planned for implementation</td>
<td>- Very little synergy between planning and implementation. - Institutionally and organisationally it has not found its place.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comment/ Interpretation

Responses ranged from positive to negative. There is clearly an indication that the development of the concept has been significant in pulling together all planning efforts. However, there is greater emphasis on the lack of translation of theory into plans. Secondly there was also a feel that this has not been carried through, as action plans are not being implemented on the ground. What is interesting is that the different backgrounds and work environments have subtly shaped the direction of responses. However, the findings converge in pointing out that there is a gap between planning and implementation. Critically, while most respondents had in the previous question seen integrated development to be vital in co-ordinating interrelated financial and non-financial resources to achieve development objectives, they in this question felt that in reality these issues had not been addressed and that this did not happen on the ground. These findings are critical, especially for practitioners pursuing integrated projects on the ground. In fact, Etafuleni faced many of these challenges in attempting to implement integrated development. While planning took place, implementation was a major hurdle for the project, due to institutional, organisational and financial non-alignment.
Question 3

Would you say it is implementable?

Finding

Table 5.2: Different views on implementability of integrated development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planning and Econ. Dev.</th>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Project Management</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Yes although it is time consuming and truly hard work</td>
<td>- Yes because resources are there, they just need to be properly packaged and aligned and must be complimentary</td>
<td>- Yes but needs to be agreed by all affected parties, otherwise it would be a waste of time and effort.</td>
<td>- Yes but project teams should be tools for implementation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- It actually challenges government’s way of operating.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Needs transformed leadership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Requires human capacity and resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- It’s a matter of getting service providers talking to each other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Needs communication strategy to bring all actors on board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- All need to buy into</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Very complex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comment/ Interpretation

Basically, there was general agreement among all respondents that the concept of integrated development is implementable, with various gaps and special conditions for its implementability from all angles. The gaps that were identified are some of the issues that have been raised in development debates which needs attention. Respondents pointed out that it is time-consuming and complex, which interestingly also came up in the literature. Such views also have been used to evade the use of integrated development due to the time and effort it would take to bring all stakeholders on board. Many respondents highlighted the fact that all actors need to buy into the concept, and that resources need to be aligned and complimentary. It is also important to note that respondents recognised that this is challenging the manner in which government operates, and thus it goes without saying that institutional systems must gear themselves up for change if this tool is to achieve its original goals.
Question 4

At what level would you think this concept would work better?

Finding

There were varying views about the level at which this concept could work better. Fifty percent (50%) of respondents across all sectors believed that all levels are critical for the success of integrated development. Twenty percent (20%) particularly from project management believed that the local level is where development takes place, and that integrated development can only work effectively if it is taken up and implemented at this level. Another twenty percent (20%) was a mixture of the planning and the land background argued that national and provincial government departments have a significant role to play, as they hold the key to funding and policy. Ten percent (10%) said that it is only possible to succeed at an operational level, which concurs with the view that advocates for the local level. This was further supported on the basis that local level is closer to the needs of the people, and is well placed to coordinate investments from other spheres and private sectors.

Comment/ Interpretation

It would have been interesting to obtain the views of the national and provincial government departments regarding this question. The majority of responses indicated that there is a general agreement among practitioners that for integrated development to work better it needs all spheres of government as each has a role to play in the process. The other fifty percent was spread between varying views about which level seemed to be better able to handle the implementation of the processes. This dissertation argues however, that all levels are critical in ensuring the successful implementation of integrated development. Unless provincial and national spheres are actively involved in the process, local government will find it difficult, if not impossible, to implement. Furthermore, there are a number of functions that occur at local level that rely on the support and actions of provincial and national government. To ensure that these government departments deliver on these functions; they need to have been part of the process from planning through to implementation. In that way they will know when to act, what funding is needed, and if necessary, what technical support to render. On the other hand, it is the local government that understands the areas within its jurisdiction. Different areas, within the jurisdiction of any municipality, call for different forms of interventions, and thus only this level can intervene with the right tools and strategies.
Question 5

What sector should lead peri-urban and rural development?

Finding

There were conflicting views about the idea of a lead sector, as it was felt that this notion tends to be adopted without due consideration to varying local situations. Thirty percent (30%) felt that it was unacceptable that urban-biased lead sector thinking should be imposed on rural areas without checking the needs of rural communities. This group further suggested that lead sectors should be identified for specific projects, rather than as blanket methods for all projects. Twenty seven percent (27%) argued that rather than focusing on the concept of lead sector, it is more important for development to respond to specific needs of communities. This group added that if integrated project teams were to be adopted, it would not be a concern what sector should lead. Fifteen percent (15%) cited the example of Durban suggesting that choosing local economic development as the lead sector could help the unemployment crisis. Another fifteen percent (15%) believed that one sector should take charge of planning, and should hand over to another sector for implementation. Furthermore this group stated that for instance, the planning sector would take the lead in identifying needs and priorities, but would hand over to agriculture or housing to deliver in accordance with plans. From a land development point of view, thirteen percent (13%) of respondents felt that the concept of a lead sector works well in urban areas, but not in rural areas.

Comment/ Interpretation

The concept of lead sector is a concern because urban community service delivery has been led on the basis of lead sector approach and this, among other things, has motivated this research. Particularly worrying is the discriminatory nature of processes encouraged by lead sector approaches. The lead sector approach does, however, provide an avenue for development to be kick-started, as being led by a single vehicle ensures that concerted efforts are geared towards development. This research does concur with the suggestion that an established planning sector should lead the planning process, and then having identified the priority needs of the area, suggest a vehicle through which implementation can be approached. This vehicle could be from a specific sector, or it could just be a team of project managers who are assembled specifically for that development. A single sector approach should in no way suggest that a particular sector should dominate processes in development. Rather, this would ensure that a single focussed institutional vehicle could consider the deliberations of all the stakeholders and design plans to translate these into deliverables.
Question 6

Do you have examples of projects or processes where you tried to implement or see the concept of Integrated Development being challenged?

Finding

A number of examples were cited in response to this question. An example, cited by forty percent (40%) of respondents who had been involved in evaluating and monitoring IDPs, was that the concept of integrated development was challenged in Municipal Planning practice of IDPs. The main criticism was that IDPs are not linked to budgeting processes that they advocate. Twenty six percent (26%) cited an example that the delivery of electricity, a service that was seen to operate on its own, rather than being integrated into housing and/or land acquisition has eventually been incorporated into the bigger picture. Another example cited by eighteen percent (18%) of respondents was that of the Beachfront Revitalisation Project, which was planned in an integrated manner. When it came to integrated implementation, line function managers saw it as an invasion of their territories and a challenge to their way of operation, and resisted the process. The last sixteen percent (16%) stated an example of the housing sector that, it tends to lead, with little integrated implementation occurring, thus perpetuating the older spatial structures. This view further asserted that the environment sector seems to focus on biodiversity and lacks the local economic development (LED) focus on poverty alleviation where it could use the environment in a sustainable manner. This group argued that sectors tend to champion their own agendas.

Comment/ Interpretation

Clearly, while integrated planning is accepted and does take place within development practice, integrated implementation is still problematic. This could be attributed to the fact that integrated implementation challenges old, known and set ways of operating. Thus, change management should follow integrated planning, to allow for managers of line departments to adapt to the realities of integrated implementation. The examples cited above begin to explore why it is so difficult to employ innovative measures and flexibility in translating and interpreting different policies for implementation. A number of practitioners take the policies at face value, rather than treating them as guidelines to achieve different needs for different environments. It is also interesting that the Municipal Planning Practice for the IDPs has identified challenges. The non-alignment of budgets is a symptom of change management issues at line function levels. These are not only at local government level, but cut across provincial and national levels. Some see a close relationship between budgets and power, in that, if a department controls its own budget, it has the power to take decisions, but the minute it begins to share its budget and other people have a say on how it should be spent, then power and control is lost.
Question 7

*What are some of the experiences you have involving challenges of integrated development?*

**Finding**

5.3: Varying experiences involving challenges of integrated development

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<th>Planning and Econ. Dev.</th>
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<th>Land</th>
<th>Project Management</th>
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<td>- Some mainstream service delivery agents like water, wastewater, roads etc. would oppose integrated plans because this is a new way of operating and they do not want to change.</td>
<td>- The major challenge is that departments and role players have always done things in silos and they resist sharing and working in a coordinated manner, and even more so if the coordinator comes from outside their working environment. - It has always proved difficult to get a school built specifically for a housing project, even if the school was planned as part of the project. An exception is Cato Manor, where funding came from an external source (European Union). What this means is that even if the housing project is planned with all the required services over and above the housing</td>
<td>- Sometimes political competition emerges when the plans are to be implemented, and politicians fight for what they want developed, rather than what the development plans envisage.</td>
<td>- There has been a lack of co-operation between line function departments and officials, different budgeting systems, cycles, financial reporting of the different spheres of government etc. - Political problems are very prominent with apportioning of credit.</td>
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</table>
opportunity, those services will rarely be implemented due to non-alignment across local government departments and with provincial and national departments.

Comment/ Interpretation

This question seemed to be confused with the previous question, and the findings presented in this section reaffirmed some concerns raised in the previous answer. This was one example where the disadvantages of mail questionnaires became apparent, as there was no opportunity for the researcher to probe further. Nevertheless the respondents are raising important issues. Of particular importance is the recognition that projects designed in an integrated manner may not be realised in their completeness, unless there is an external funding source, which does not depend on local politics and internal processes.

Question 8

*How do you think we can ensure delivery using this tool of integrated development and planning?*

Finding

The following were the suggestions for the success of integrated development

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<th>Planning and Economic Development</th>
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<tr>
<td>- IDP review processes must be used to address some of the shortcomings and to allow for new ways to be explored.</td>
<td>- There should be information dissemination at high levels of authority and in various departments and also, in order to implement, it is vital to</td>
<td>- Since the process is also seen to be laborious and complicated, people involved need to persevere, and be committed to the</td>
<td>- Changing mindsets to focus on results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- All involved in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Total change of organisational structures in line with the agreed outputs.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>- Strong continuous</td>
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</table>
| Integrated planning should come together to check if programmes are being delivered in accordance with their initial plans. | Get political will.  
- Integrated development must be linked to projects rather than line functions.  
- Projects should have dedicated funds top sliced from all sources rather than each department having their own. | Process.  
- There must also be a proper understanding on the side of officials involved. | Communication essential.  
- Project managers should be linked to projects rather than functions. |

**Comment/ Interpretation**

From the list of suggestions provided for by respondents in this question, it is clear that people who have practically been involved in integrated programmes are finding it difficult to operate unless certain development imperatives are taken into cognisance. This further notes that failure to recognise the opportunities offered by this concept will mean a great loss in achieving sustainability in development programmes. It seems likely that capacity building is required to assist practitioners in moving towards a new system of operation. Plans and principles of integrated development have put emphasis on how things should take place, and very little has been done in terms of how organisations and structures should be adapted to ensure smooth delivery of integrated plans. It therefore comes as no surprise that urban-based approaches are used in rural and peri-urban environments without due consideration.

**Question 9**

*Do you think government policies talk to one another in ensuring integrated development?*

**Finding**

Fifty percent (50%) of respondents said that there is no communication between various government policies and that planning in all departments is fragmented. This was further motivated that it is mainly due to the fact that policy formulations are stratified per department. In addition, this group noted that from an operational view, there are a number of conflicting pieces of legislation in government. While all departments talk integrated development, this group felt that each department/ministry is expected to be individually efficient, even if this means compromising on the ultimate goal. Seventeen percent (17%) felt that there are attempts to address integration,
even though silos still are evident. Another seventeen percent (17%) cited a number of policy conflicts that sometimes impact negatively on other departments e.g. PIEVOLA impacting on housing development.

Sixteen percent (16%) declared that national and provincial government believe that what they say goes, even if all parties do not agree.

Comment/Interpretation
Generally, responses on this question highlight the challenges that government is faced with in terms of coordination and integration. The responses picked up a number of issues whose symptomatic results manifest themselves in project failures. The non-alignment of policies has been identified as the major constraint in implementing integrated programmes. Each department and ministry has been assisted to formulate its own IDPs and its own guidelines delineating how it will implement. However, there are no clear and implementable guidelines outlining how it will need to restructure itself to cater for the changes. The Area Based Management System was suggested as a means of achieving integrated development by targeting and focussing all efforts on a particular area. This is a system, which could foster top slicing of budgets to be committed to a development, instead of depending on line function budgets, which may have their own priorities. This process, however, is yet to prove successful in achieving the goals it was designed to achieve. As was also noted by respondents, even though planning may include all relevant stakeholders, responsibility lies within each stakeholder to use the tool within their own operational situations. These occur in silos and foster silo implementation. Furthermore, while all departments may agree with principles, they still struggle to translate these principles into plans that can be realistically implemented. Thus once again respondents’ concerns relate to difficulties and challenges that exist at implementation level. Peri-urban environments are particularly vulnerable to these problems, as there are currently no set procedures for implementing development in these areas. Even when people have agreed to follow certain procedures, lack of administration systems within these areas forces people to use known and tested methods, which are usually urban-based.

Question 10
How best can we achieve integrated development in our current policy parameters?

Finding
Suggestions for achieving integrated development within the current policy parameters were as follows:
5.5: Varying views about how integrated development can be achieved.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planning and Economic Development</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Changing the way we currently operate, adopting the results based approach, changing mindsets, setting policies that talk to one another and adopting appropriate performance measurements that measure the impact instead of inputs/activities i.e. finances.</td>
<td>- Integrate administration and management.</td>
<td>- Set processes in place, build relationships and continuously review policies.</td>
<td>- Every policy needs to be flexible to take into account different situations.</td>
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<td>- Every policy needs to be looked at by other departments to be tested for fit.</td>
<td>- All policies should have magnets to pull them towards other policy frameworks.</td>
<td>- Need to establish memorandum of understanding between departments to bind them to implementing integrated development approaches.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- National government must ensure that it sets up institutions to enforce participation and alignment by all spheres.</td>
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Comment/Interpretation

Whilst this may not be the only solutions for implementing integrated programs, recommendations expressed by respondents in this question indicate the importance of realising the significance of integrated implementation at policy level. It is however important to also note that whilst responses provided herein critique the policy for not creating an enabling environment for implementation to take place, the policy frameworks presented in earlier chapters clearly provide a good environment for implementation and it should be at the interpretation of the practitioner to ensure that policy does what it was intended for. However, it is important to note that policy guidelines may play an important role in people’s perceptions, they may enforce rigidity, or, more positively, may allow for flexibility and innovation. Thus, the interpretation of policy framework should be widely agreed upon by all concerned. Also important to point out is that policy makers need to understand communities for which they formulate policies. Some Councillors, for example, may advocate for various development interventions in areas they are unfamiliar with and often have no conception of priorities and actual struggles that the community deals with on a daily basis.
5.1.2 Sustainable Development

Questions around the concept of sustainable development as a theme facilitated an exploration of core issues. This encouraged a more focussed discussion around how development should be attempted in rural and peri-urban areas, if sustainable development is to be achieved. Questions below begin by seeking respondents’ understanding of the concept of sustainable development.

Question 11

*What in your understanding is sustainable development in so far as peri-urban and rural development?*

Finding

5.6: Varying views of what sustainable development is all about.

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<th>Planning and Economic Development</th>
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<th>Project Management</th>
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<tr>
<td>This concerns actions to support poverty reduction, social services, job creation, habitat protection and infrastructure services commensurate with the number of people supplied in the context of catchments’ management. The creation of viable income generating opportunities within rural areas should be part of sustainable development. The creation of high quality environments with life choices, and restoring...</td>
<td>- This is meaning surviving for long and functioning in the future. - A three-dimensional focus of development, looking at social, economic and ecological integrity was also highlighted.</td>
<td>- A phenomenon where people know and understand their livelihood objectives. In this definition, local people are able to balance social, economic and natural aspects of their lives with available resources and are able to cater for future generations. - Advocated for conducting development in a manner that does not compromise the needs of future generations.</td>
<td>A phenomenon where people are actively involved in their own development. This would include the provision of an enabling environment for them to excel in their development</td>
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the physical quality of the peri-urban and rural areas is also important. It can be looked at from two angles i.e. economic and environmental. Environmentally, this would mean ensuring that the natural processes of the environment are used in a way that allows resources to be renewed naturally. Economically, it would be ensuring that people are able to earn a stable livelihood.

Comment/Interpretation

The respondents captured four critical elements, which should be considered in creating sustainable environments:

- Development should enable communities to understand their livelihood objectives, and through these be able to balance the limitations and opportunities presented by the resources they have.
- Communities need to be actively involved in their development to understand the capacity of their areas to carry the demands imposed by development.
- Economic needs are sufficiently met with a full consideration of the capacity of the environmental resource base on which those economic activities depend.
- All poverty reduction strategies are employed to supply essential services in a manner that balances the current needs with the needs for generations to come.

These are broadly the issues that are raised when talking about sustainable development.
Question 12

How can we ensure we achieve sustainable development in our development projects?

Finding

The following suggestions were made in response to this question:

- Capacity building programs must be designed for local people using participatory methodologies, and thereby learning from people and not imposing ideas on people.
- By changing our mode of operation from a pure supply driven approach to one that is balanced between supply and demand.
- By ensuring that developments satisfy today’s needs, while at the same time taking into consideration the needs of future generations.
- Integrated planning can also serve as a tool to achieve sustainability in development.
- The key is mastering the integration of resources.

Comment/Interpretation

Whilst these responses were provided as critical in achieving sustainable development, it was however expected that respondents would also mention the significance of development practitioners to engage in designing service delivery approaches and technologies that are adaptable and appropriate for local environments. The reason why some projects fail at implementation, or fail to implement what was planned, is due to failure to design approaches that are appropriate for their particular environments.

Question 13

What are some of the thoughts that come into your mind that you think are critical in addressing sustainable development?

Finding

Respondents, in response to this question mentioned a number of considerations. They suggested that the following should be considered or put into place:

- Skills development, community participation, integration of resources, results-based approaches, flexibility, innovation, continuous improvement and structures which are output-based.
- Community environmental management, real community economic empowerment.
- There needs to be a strong culture of change coupled with training, communication and will.
- Quality and skills transfer.
Comment/Interpretation
The respondents outlined some valuable considerations. In addition, there needs to be a balance between “policy driven” and “poverty driven” mindsets. This is said because development practitioners often come with a “policy driven” mindset into a community that is “poverty driven”, and they clash when they need to translate the policy into what can be delivered on the ground. If these two mindsets could both be given consideration practitioners and communities could find a common ground.

Question 14
Would you think that agriculture is an appropriate alternative development option for rural and peri-urban development?

Finding
Forty percent (40%) saw agriculture as a tool for alleviating poverty and for providing a stable source of nourishment. This group further stated that agriculture assists in self-sufficiency and could propel local economic development. It suggested that there are different types of enterprises that could be yielded from agriculture beyond crop farming. Thirty percent (30%) felt that although agriculture is proclaimed to be the main development option for rural and peri-urban areas, there are other options, which need exploring. In other words, success in agriculture will depend on the extent to which it is integrated with other applicable options in the particular context. Another thirty percent (30%) felt that agrarian reform is an option for these areas, and that agriculture would be the main component, as it forms the basis from which people derive their livelihood strategies. This group saw great potential for agriculture in rural and peri-urban areas because of availability of land, particularly in the Durban context where these areas are in close proximity to urban centres, providing a market for agriculture.

Comment/Interpretation
This question was asked to gauge whether agriculture is seen to be contributing to sustainable livelihoods in rural and peri-urban areas. There were similar responses in so far as agriculture is seen to be providing an option. A considerable percentage felt that it is the main player in promoting sustainable livelihoods however of significance is the fact that respondents saw a need to also look at other development imperatives over an above agriculture to create complete liveable environments.
Question 15

Would you subscribe to the thinking that says that agriculture is the tool to achieving peri-urban and rural livelihoods?

Finding

The responses to this question varied. Some felt that it could work, whilst others felt that it would only work if certain issues were taken into consideration. A greater forty five percent (45%) saw agriculture as the main engine for rural and peri-urban growth, but felt that the need for social services and education should not be ignored. Generally agricultural development in rural areas was seen as a tool that could support cities. Thirty percent (30%) argued that without capacity building, agriculture in these areas could fail because of its associations with primitive and traditional lifestyles. The last twenty five percent (25%) felt that agriculture was an option but that it should not be the main option in certain areas, and that it should be applied in a manner that is flexible and that allows for future revision.

Comment/Interpretation

After receipt of questionnaires from respondents it was realised that greater benefit could have been realised if the question was presented as scaling question and provided with a Likert scale for ease of comparison. This question engaged respondents in exploring appropriate development options for rural and peri-urban areas. Interesting was the view that saw agriculture important in these areas but further felt the need not to ignore other social services which are conventionally associated with urban areas. Of particular significance also was the inclusion of capacity building in agriculture in relation to rural and peri-urban development. It is also viewed as one of the important building blocks of development of these areas.

Question 16

Would you think that the housing process is a relevant approach to peri-urban and rural development?

Finding

While all agreed that housing and shelter are basic necessities, there was also consensus that the housing subsidy approach is not the best way to develop rural and peri-urban areas. Forty percent (40%) suggested that housing should be used as a funding mechanism but that this should be free of norms and standards and should be accompanied with choice of expenditure. Thirty five percent (35%) put forward that land security and food security are of utmost importance, particularly as people in rural areas have always been able to take care of their shelter needs, and would continue to do so if they were not made dependent on government through the housing subsidy. Twenty five
percent (25%) argued that local economic development should drive the process, as people need adequate shelter and other basic necessities to be able to engage in economic development. To substantiate this it was stated that economic development is less prescriptive than housing subsidies, and people could have both housing and job opportunities.

Comment/Interpretation

The housing process approach refers to the housing project-linked subsidy system, which is widely used in urban areas in South Africa as a delivery vehicle for a number of basic services. An important point that was raised is that people in rural areas have always taken care of their shelter needs, and more importantly need security of tenure, social services and agricultural extension assistance. This is an important consideration when thinking about rural and peri-urban needs. Of particular importance is that a good percentage of respondents viewed housing as a funding mechanism that could be used to deliver basic services in rural and peri-urban areas. Respondents raised an important point on the fact that rural and peri-urban dwellers have always taken care of their housing needs, and should be left to do so without being encouraged to depend upon government for these. This is an important point to raise as its recognition will begin to alleviate problems of dependency syndrome that practitioners in development have been concerned about.

Question 17

Can you see synergy between housing and agriculture in any community development from planning to implementation?

Finding

5.7: Categorised views on possibilities of synergy between housing and agriculture.

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<th>Planning and economic development</th>
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<th>Project Management</th>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture could be used to ensure sustainability of people’s houses by enabling them to engage in economic activities and to earn an income, thus being able to maintain and</td>
<td>Development needs to be all encompassing, rather than being divided into “housing” or “agriculture”.</td>
<td>There needs to be strong community participation, and that it is critical to consider the location, standards and needs of communities. The two options must be flexible enough to</td>
<td>Housing and agriculture can work synergistically in some areas. Mandlazini in Richards Bay was cited as an example; however, it was cautioned that the housing subsidy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
expand their housing. Housing and agriculture should be made to work together in these areas in a more fruitful manner, for example by allowing for commonages, rather than individual gardens, thus ensuring proper soil regeneration and management.

accommodate a variety of community needs. approach, in supplying basic services and shelter, should not be the driving engine.

**Comment/Interpretation**

The argument of this research is that a synergistic approach, which allows for agriculture and housing within one development, should be adopted in rural and peri-urban areas. This point is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter and suggestions for putting this into practice are given. It was suggested in response to the previous question that individuals can take care of their own housing needs. There are various factors, however, that have eroded this potential for self-sufficiency similarly there are a number of people who have valid housing needs.

**Question 18**

*What do you think are the best rural and peri-urban livelihoods?*

**Finding**

All respondents advocated for the empowerment and capacitating of local communities, who are then expected to take on the ongoing maintenance and management of created environments.

**Comment/Interpretation**

Whilst all respondents advocated for empowerment and capacitating of local communities, it was not clear how this could be done, as there was no relationship that was provided between best rural and peri-urban livelihoods and community empowerment. It was expected that something to the
effect of community ownership of these programmes could have been mentioned as part of responses as it is seen to be critical in creation of livelihoods and long-term sustainability

Question 19

How do you think we can ensure sustainable development in our community developments?

Finding

The following suggestions were given:

- Helping people to organise and empowering them with information and support. Ensuring a transfer of skills so that locals can continue to operate even after developers are gone.
- Workshop people to be able to engage in development processes from planning to implementation.
- Communities must own the process and it is important to ensure community pride and to build the capacity of communities, not just of key individuals.
- Delegate some powers during the process and not to wait for the end of the project.
- Need to build strong relationships with all the partners.
- Need institutional support, provide it with necessary resources
- Have processes for strengthening civil society.
- Integration and output-based structures are critical ingredients for successful development.
- Should not compromise on quality.
- Practitioners need to have clearly defined principles of operation and these should underpin their work and must be adhered to.

Comment/Interpretation

These responses once again emphasised important components of sustainability, i.e. the role, responsibility and rights of communities in their developments, and the need for practitioners to respond to communities as partners, to impart knowledge and information, and to release resources.

Question 20

Where do you think we miss in our operations?

Finding

The following were seen to be shortcomings of development practitioners:

- Too much focus on supplying people with handouts, which makes them dependent, rather than working towards empowerment by creating enabling environments.
- There are not enough community liaisons.
- Doing too much of everything, only involving people at the last minute.
Community forums are badly structured; communities are “liaised” with rather than engaged as development partners.

Some practitioners are not committed to their work, but to the benefits of what the work can provide.

Task and skill mismatch, where people are employed because of reasons other than their ability to do the job.

“Silo” development mentality.

Socialist approach in allocating funding where all receive equally irrespective of the realities and needs on the ground.

There is a gap between policy makers and implementers.

Superiority complex when dealing with communities, including bad tools for community facilitation.

Comment/Interpretation
These responses highlight the major shortcomings of development systems, under which most development practitioners operate. Some of these responses touch on the fundamental bias upon which some of these policies are based. This will be elaborated on in chapter five.

SECTION II

5.2 COMMUNITY RESPONSES
This section explores the findings of the questionnaire targeting community representatives. The questionnaire was aimed firstly at gathering information on the origins of the inhabitants of Etafuleni. Secondly, the questionnaire sought to uncover the current state of affairs of, and feelings around, the development debates that had taken place. The following section focuses on questions that explore the views of community representatives regarding the development processes of Etafuleni. There were eight community representatives at the time of undertaking this research and all of them were targeted and interviewed. Responses relating to origins of the area were used in chapter three and only the responses pertaining to the development processes in the area are presented in this section.

Question 1
Development has long been spoken about in your area, what do you think had delayed processes of development in the last few years?

Findings
The community leaders made the following comments in response to the question:
• The Etafuleni area has unique geographic features, which needed to be taken into consideration in the development plan of the area. This demanded the involvement and participation of all council departments and stakeholders, which contributed to the delay of implementation.

• The area was not seen as part of the city and therefore development was not planned for, as it was in other areas that were considered part of the City Council.

• Endless research, different developers coming and going.

• Change of councillors, committees and officials.

• Inside politics within the EThekwini Municipality Departments.

• Communication was previously very poor between council departments and communities.

• Some decisions were taken without due consideration of the needs and aspirations of the people.

Comment/ Interpretation

This question was asked to explore people’s understanding of the development battles that the project went through, and also to establish their views on the process itself. The responses are based on their actual experience of the project. Responses are an indication of how people felt about the pace of development, and some interesting comments were made. While development practitioners may have legitimate reasons for the slow pace of development processes, the people on the ground are likely to view this differently.

Question 2

Etafuleni was conceptualized, as an integrated development of housing and urban agriculture, is it what all people wanted?

Finding

Fifty percent (50%) of respondents appreciated the unique approach adopted by this development. They further acknowledged the importance of bigger yards, and of space for agricultural development, as there are already gardens in the area. Twenty percent (20%) felt that the people who came from Ndwedwe had lost their rural status when the dam was built and they were forced to relocate, and that this needed to be restored to them. They had lost everything they owned, and they need land to start rebuilding their lives. It was pointed out that there is a high level of unemployment in the area. Another twenty percent (20%) saw agriculture to have potential to assist people with livelihoods, and most people in the area would appreciate
agriculture and stock farming. Ten percent (10%) looked at communication and interaction between the project developers and the people and saw it to be good, and was felt that people were very much in agreement with the processes to be undertaken.

Comment/ Interpretation
Earlier studies conducted in the area had highlighted the need for agriculture; however, there was some concern when the project was being packaged that people would use land for shack farming instead of agriculture. The responses to this question suggest that agriculture would, in fact, be welcomed. In concurrence with the argument of this research, it was felt that bigger site sizes would assist people with subsistence and in supplementing their incomes.

Question 3
What could have been the best development for people, in your view?

Findings
A greater fifty percent (50%) put forward the People’s Housing Process as a potentially positive development tool for the area as it mobilises the active participation of the local community. This approach (it was added) would benefit people in terms of skills development, jobs opportunities and affordable end-products. Forty percent of respondents (40%) saw four-roomed houses to allow enough space for agriculture, shopping centres, water, a post office, a crèche, land ownership, a clinic, low rates on services, a high school, and for people to participate in their own development. A small ten percent (10%) felt that anything could be achieved so long as there is communication with the people on the ground.

Comment/ Interpretation
Amazingly so, people saw the People’s Housing Process as an important tool to assist them in delivering services to communities. This is a nationally driven concept of delivering services to communities through the involvement of people. Furthermore, people saw innovation, flexibility and self-help approaches as another way of increasing choice, pride and ownership of the entire process. This would be expected as most people in communities are unemployed and any opportunity that would seem to open up opportunities for them would be applauded. Secondly being an employment generating opportunity for people, representatives would see an opportunity of promoting what would profile them among their constituencies. The forty percent responses appeared to be ambitious of and showed limited understanding of what the subsidy could afford to provide in any given project. These are, however, reflective of an
awareness that certain aspects can be provided by the people themselves. Nevertheless, development practitioners need to be aware of these expectations.

**Question 4**

*What site sizes would people want if they were to make a choice?*

**Findings**

There was consensus that people desire bigger sites and there have been discussions with the Metro Departments concerned to ensure that people are not provided with smaller sites. The following site sizes were proposed:

- In phase two it was suggested that residential sites should be only 400-500m², while sites that had both agriculture and housing should be 1000m².
- Others felt that sites should be from 500m² to 1000m²

**Comment/ Interpretation**

The Intathakusa programme is located in a peri-urban to rural type area, and it was interesting to see how people perceived the area in terms of the rural-urban interception and how they saw this affecting their development. When it came to site sizes people saw themselves as being situated within a rural area and thus deserving of bigger sizes. Whereas when it came to services they viewed themselves as being in urban areas and therefore deserving of the levels of services that their urban counterparts would get. This is one of the lessons learnt in community development that unless people’s aspirations are channelled well, there could play with opportunities and ensure that they get the best there is even if it means contradicting their beliefs.

**Question 5**

*In your view what needs to be done in order to make development sustainable in the long run? Especially as people always complain about rates payments?*

**Findings**

There were various suggestions for possible ways of ensuring the sustainability of the project:

- Skills training in various aspects must be prioritised and should look beyond arts and culture, to consider training in exportation, tendering, project proposals and management.
- Skills development especially in aspects which will allow people to sustain themselves.
- People need to form co-operatives to build and extend their houses, and a savings club should be started to compliment development.
- The area should be treated as a peri-urban to rural area and thus should not be charged rates as people in these areas are poor.
- People must be developed according to what they can afford.
- Rates must be reviewed in these areas.
- Jobs must be made available, so that people will not struggle to pay for services rendered.

Comment/ Interpretation

The relationship between rates and sustainability in this question is based on that understanding that residential developments should always cater for future maintenance of the area and therefore how the maintenance activities are financed is critical. Therefore in order to ensure long-term sustainability of a newly developed area, rates must be factored into the planning of that area. In responding to the question some indeed felt that rates should not be charged. The general view, however, was that local economic opportunities must be created so that people to have access to an additional income to compliment their wages. This view agrees that people need to pay rates, but it does stress that these rates must be charged proportionally to what people can afford. It was also interesting to note that there was a suggestion that people’s income level should determine what basic service they get and how much they should be charged for rates. This demonstrates an understanding of the balance between what government can afford to do and what people need to be able to do for themselves.

Question 6

In your view what needs to be done to develop areas that are not urban, and which are not purely rural?

Findings

The following responses showed that respondents took four approaches as suggestions:
Twenty five percent (25%) said that development in such areas must provide adequate services to the local people even if they are not of the same standard and quality of the urban counterparts. The second twenty five percent (25%) felt that those identified as poor and very poor must be provided with 350m² land with two-roomed houses and restricted water and must...
not pay rates. The third twenty five percent (25%) felt that development must be tailor-made to suit the area. The last group of twenty five percent (25%) said that people must only get what they can afford, if others need more assistance then those specific cases must be provided with it, and those who are able should be left to make their own provision. This will allow for cross subsidisation within one development, and should be allowed within the subsidy system.

Comment/ Interpretation
What came through strongly in the responses was that development must be tailor-made to suit the area. It was also interesting that the blanket approach to development where all community members receive the same in terms of subsidies was felt to be unacceptable. Instead cross subsidisation was suggested as an option to bridge the gap between the very poor and those who can manage without government assistance. This is interesting coming from the communities because it would have been expected that people would want to get the best they can from government assistance.

Question 7
*How do you think the proposed development will change the lives of people?*

Findings
Respondents felt that the following would improve the lives of community members:

- Job opportunities will improve the socio-economic status of this area.
- Adequate services will help in reducing health hazards.
- Ownership of land will ensure pride and stimulate innovation.
- People will hopefully benefit from the project in terms of skills development and this will assist people to continue helping themselves.
- The future is looking good for the area.
- Bigger sites will ensure that people are able to expand in the future.
- The multi-sectoral nature of the project promises a number of jobs and opportunities for SMME’s.

Comment/ Interpretation
These responses reflect that people seemed to have carefully considered the possible benefits and opportunities of the project. Development practitioners can no longer afford to believe that people do not know what they want, and are not aware of how the development can assist them.
Question 8
_Do people know that a bigger the site may mean a reduction in service standards?_

Findings
Responses to this question varied. Fifty percent (50%) of respondents felt that people were aware of this, and added that people know that they have a choice between phases I and II (as discussed in chapter three). This group further added that people are concerned as they have stock and need bigger sites for grazing land to accommodate this source of income. Thirty percent (30%) felt that farming is a primary need in this area, and therefore it goes without saying that land is a vital element of this development. Whereas twenty percent (20%) felt that while it is not important whether people know or not, it is critical to have land made available to support community members in a wide range of enterprises. This group argued that having a full range of services, without being able pay for them, does not help people. Bigger site sizes would open-up opportunities for income generation to assist in rate payment.

Comment/ Interpretation
Having both Phase I and Phase II (as discussed in chapter three) as development options means that people will have choice, and that they shall choose based on their affordability and needs. This question sought to explore whether people were aware of the implications in choosing between bigger site sizes and higher service standards. It was also hoped that this would serve as a reminder to the community representatives of their responsibility to disseminate information. The interesting response which typified an authoritative approach to development is the one that said that it was not important whether people knew what the development meant. This approach is reflective of the problems in communities where people are not aware of what impact development will mean for them and the leadership on the other hand will not see the problem so long as they have “represented” what they think is the views of people.

Question 9
_In your own view, would you have chosen the higher levels of services or a bigger site?_

Findings
The general view (60%) of respondents was that a combination of the two options would be more beneficial for most, although there were people who would have opted for bigger site sizes. Another view (20%) felt that it was the first time that the city had agreed to talk with community members about the levels of service, and Phase II was felt to be a step forward in dealing with the city, thus making this project a real people’s project. The other group of twenty percent (20%) felt that neither option was ideal, but was acknowledged that at least people have
a wider choice. Houses must be liveable and be attractive to all people, especially with the establishment of tourism in the area.

Comment/ Interpretation
The responses to this question were interesting. While most people would have opted for bigger site sizes, it was felt that there should be a compromise integrating aspects of both. People still hope to be able to bargain with the system and to negotiate more satisfactory outcomes, thus it is important that community members are kept informed of the practical reasons for offering only certain options. It is generally accepted that peri-urban areas need bigger sites and services may be supplied on a communal basis to minimise costs. This is also another lesson that development practitioners may have to accept that communities may find loopholes in the system and would want to use it to bargain even if it contradicts their principles.

Question 10
*What would you think would have made your development achieve its desired objectives?*

**Findings**
- People must persevere, as successful development is on the horizon, people should not be anxious about the pace.
- Community involvement and participation, not only in planning. People want to be truly involved in implementation so that they feel a sense of ownership of the process.
- Land ownership will ensure that people become innovative; some problems will be reduced.
- Cemetery provision, sports grounds and tourism must not just be talked about but must be completed as schemes that make this project unique.
- Maximum interaction and commitment by all Council Departments, which is currently carried through.

Comment/ Interpretation
Responses to this question suggested that people spoke from their hearts and pointed out issues that were of great concern and would impact them directly.

Question 11
*What are some of the thoughts that you think were left out in this questionnaire which you feel should have been added?*
Findings

The following were suggested in response to this question:

- Need a high school, and a library complex.
- If there are jobs that can be tendered for in the implementation of the project, local people must be given priority to expand their knowledge and experience base.
- People are excited about the job opportunities to be opened by tourism and about the fact that tourists will visit the area; they feel that their area is being uplifted.
- Council seems to have no institutional infrastructure and capacity in the upcoming project.
- Economic Department needs to start developing business opportunities in the area.
- People should not be consulted for unskilled labour, but efforts must be made to equip people to assist in skilled labour in the upcoming projects.

Comment/ Interpretation

This question was asked to allow people to raise issues that may have been critical and the questionnaire did not cover them. There were indeed some very optimistic responses that were given in response to this question, but the responses also reflect a community that has engaged in development debates and processes and thus knows what should be provided. Interestingly, it was noted that almost all the jobs that are open for local labour in community projects are for an unskilled labour force. This implies an assumption that most community members are unskilled, which has been noted as a shortcoming of local government operation in its relationship with communities. Opening up opportunities for local people beyond the unskilled labour force would in fact increase their skills base and provide people with experience to compete in the labour market. This is a key way of capacitating and creating sustainable communities.

5.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

To conclude this chapter, it is clear that there is an emphasis on the importance of land availability for communities. Access to land would allow for greater flexibility, innovation and opportunities to supplement their incomes, as well as to diversify their local economic activities. The chapter outlined and explored the responses of development practitioners and community representatives regarding issues relevant to the research. The next chapter will expand on these discussions, making suggestions for sustainable livelihoods.
6. ANALYSIS OF DATA

Scope of chapter

This chapter draws together all the discussions and issues raised in previous chapters. It analyses these in relation to the aims and questions outlined in chapter one. The issues will be analyzed thematically, drawing on the themes that formed the literature review. The dissertation starts by looking at the issues raised, and these are categorized into sub-headings for clarity, better understanding and easy analysis. These issues are looked at in relation to the suggestions and the opportunities they present. The practical value of these suggestions is explored, in relation to the case study, and also in relation to the experiences and views of community representatives and development practitioners as presented in chapter four.

6.1 Lack of Genuine Commitment

Fostering genuine commitment to rural and peri-urban development is a worldwide challenge. South Africa is not different in this regard; in fact, high levels of unemployment, constant migration to urban centers, extreme poverty, lack of basic services, and high prevalence of HIV/AIDS characterize most rural and peri-urban areas in South Africa. Commitment to rural development has been expressed through the Integrated Strategic Rural Development Programme (ISRDP), which identified nodal areas that would be target points and pilots in the attempt to deal with rural areas. This has culminated in a number of strategic plans for different rural nodes. However, the challenge that South Africa needs to overcome is that of translating these strategies and plans into real implementable programmes, which will be felt by beneficiaries on the ground. In most peri-urban areas, development has happened by chance, either because these areas provided an opportunity to relieve population pressure in urban centers or because they served as protection lines to curb urban sprawl.

Secondly, national plans, with regards to their budgets, need to reflect commitment on rural development. Budgets have not indicated optimal commitment to rural areas. Most development activities take place within urban areas, which is reflective of this problem. Most of these activities in fact are dealing with problems resulting from high levels of urbanization due to lack of resources and opportunities in rural and peri-urban areas.

Lack of commitment to rural and peri-urban areas manifests itself in various subtle ways; for instance, most good development practitioners concentrate on urban areas because these areas offer "good working conditions". This could be attributed to the fact that there are no resources in rural
and peri-urban areas. The complexity of problems in rural areas is also overestimated. In fact, this research takes the view that urban development is more complicated than rural development. What has made urban areas seem easier and more convenient to deal with is that there has been considerable effort, time, capacity, budgets and research focused on them over a considerable period of time. In addition, the infrastructure is well developed in most urban areas, which makes life easier and more manageable.

The "leaky bucket" syndrome outlined by Bryant and White (1982) earlier in the research seems to be characterizing most rural and peri-urban development. In areas where government has released budgets, often the funding is spent on things other than the actual delivery of services to beneficiaries. This can be illustrated by the example of organizations that receive government funding to capacitate and develop rural communities. A large percentage of this funding goes towards paying for consulting fees and only a small portion goes to the development for which it was intended. This was highlighted in chapter four when community representatives noted that too much research had been undertaken in Etafuleni. This was one of the reasons given for the delay in implementation. There was an element of truth in this observation, in that several studies had already been undertaken in the area and yet there were still suggestions to explore these findings further. By 1999 up to a quarter of a million rand had already been spent on feasibility studies in Etafuleni alone. In 2002 this figure had risen to three-quarters of a million. There was very little direct benefit on the ground, which actually confirmed the notion of a "leaky bucket syndrome". This does not; in any way seek to underplay the role of feasibility studies. It is critical to undertake feasibility studies before pursuing development in an area, but it is also important to ensure that their findings are translated into action that directly benefits communities. Unfortunately, some of these studies end up on shelves, collecting dust. This is mostly because they do not articulate deliverable interventions or because of lack of funding when it comes to implementing the findings.

The case study alluded to the fact that Etafuleni as a development region was identified as an area of opportunity. It was to serve two main purposes, firstly to depopulate or relieve the neighboring informal settlements. Secondly, to impact on the massive housing backlog that existed in Durban at the time. Housing opportunities that were to be yielded by the project were estimated at five thousand. This was to establish what is called "a city within the city", as it was going to be a massive low-cost township development. The area is peri-urban, and through that project it could have been turned into an urban settlement with small, uniform, back-to-back government structures. The benefits of this project were not to be enjoyed by the inhabitants of the area, but by people that came from outside. Thus, reaffirming the point that commitment in such areas is normally
motivated by factors that exist outside of these areas. The rural character would have been lost and the benefits of space and backyard gardens would have been traded-off for a township of small structures.

What the case study and the literature highlight is that there is often an extrinsic value placed on peri-urban and rural areas. Development in these areas needs to be for the benefit of these areas, rather than for the benefit of other areas. At least, the extrinsic value should be realized in the process of ensuring that the intrinsic value (that benefits the actual community) has been respected and affirmed. This raises important considerations, which should drive some of the interventions in rural and peri-urban areas.

Looking at the issue of budget allocations, it has been noted that even in those metropolitan areas, which have inherited big portions of rural land, there has not been real commitment in budgetary terms. These areas have presented themselves as areas of great need, but they still get packaged with the budget slices allocated for urban areas. This is an indication of a lack of commitment in developing these areas. Having said that, it has been noticed that many municipalities are making efforts to develop rural frameworks. This is a positive step towards future planning for these areas. The implementation of these plans will prove a real commitment to the development of rural areas.

6.2 Urban Based Technologies

As there have not been strategic plans to develop rural and peri-urban areas, urban-based technologies have been adopted as quick fixes to put into action any intervention to develop rural and peri-urban areas. The literature indicates that a number of African countries have also faced this dilemma. The fact that the case study eventually had to be developed as an urban project raises important questions for future projects in similar environments. It is critical that developers advocating for rural and peri-urban developments ensure that technologies for urban areas are used in urban areas, and not in rural and peri-urban areas.

Linked to this is the issue of norms and standards. Urban norms and standards present yet another challenge, as these should guide development in urban areas, but seem to be carried through to rural and peri-urban areas as well. These norms and standards are conceptualized with urban environments in mind, and generally are not appropriate for rural and peri-urban settings. The character and nature of rural and peri-urban areas make it impossible to adapt urban norms and standards to fit these environments. The case study discussion revealed that if it was not for these norms and standards, the project could have used the Rural Housing Subsidy as a funding
mechanism. The use of this subsidy would have meant gravel roads within settlements, bigger sites and on-site sanitation in the form of septic tanks. These levels of services are rural and peri-urban based, and because the area falls within the boundaries of the eThekwini Metropolitan area, this would have meant having to apply a different set of norms and standards that deviated from the known and tried. Failure to achieve the rural character within this area, forced the project to adopt the conventional route of 250m² site sizes, which could be accommodated within the normal Housing Subsidy system.

Another fear that was raised by the development debates was that if sites were to be made bigger, and then agriculture failed, people would use land for shack farming. This has been used to contest the adoption of bigger sites in other areas of peri-urban character. The example that has been used to support this is of areas which were designed for rural and peri-urban activities but never realized the envisaged plan, due to shack farming that resulted. The Adams Mission village in the south of Durban, opposite Amanzimtoti suburban area serves as a classic example of this situation. Its conceptualization was envisaged that bigger sites would allow for people to pursue rural activities. The area is currently a source of accommodation for the labor force in the southern region and Isipingo areas. Subdivisions were made in most sites and shack farming has become a source of income for most of the landlords. Nevertheless Etafuleni, it was argued, that bigger site sizes would encourage the pursuit of economic enterprises other than agriculture, such as backyard car mechanics, brick laying etc. Zonings and enforcements would have ensured that shack farming did not become a problem. Zonings, in the Adams Mission area, were not monitored nor were they enforced, as they did not form part of the old Durban boundaries. Peri-urban areas like Etafuleni carry both rural and urban characteristics. These communities are able to find loopholes and to use their urban-rural character to fight for higher levels of services, while still accessing bigger sites for rural-based activities.

6.3 Housing Process: The Better Known Process

The housing process referred to in this dissertation relates to the housing project linked process. It is an established and standardized process, which has been used in urban areas to deliver basic services to communities. It is urban-based and stipulates for certain standards and levels of roads, sanitation, site sizes etc. It sets limitations on the amount of the subsidy that can be allocated towards land acquisition, which indirectly determines the size of sites. Due to land scarcity in urban areas, higher densities in settlement form best achieve this process. However, land is not a scarce resource in rural and peri-urban areas, and therefore, this becomes irrelevant as a guide to settlement densities. The subsidy system governing the implementation of housing projects is
structured such that it is spread to accommodate all beneficiaries within a targeted settlement. Sites are sized according to what the subsidy can afford in that development. This is often limited and does not allow for future expansion. It normally advocates for individual connections to water and only offers limited road maintenance (roads are usually tarred). All these services are urban-biased.

As discussed earlier, there are difficulties in pursuing the housing subsidy led process in developing and delivering basic services in rural and peri-urban areas. There are reasons why this approach is inappropriate for rural and peri-urban areas. Firstly, the urban population has a labor force that needs accommodation in close proximity to work places. A lot of them therefore may only need accommodation closer to their work places. Most of them also still have connections with rural and peri-urban areas, and have bigger land parcels in their rural areas. On the other hand the rural population is largely involved in self-sustaining activities in and around their homes. Therefore, there is a need for sufficient space to enable and encourage these activities. Secondly, creating new environments within peri-urban and rural communities must be coupled with the necessary infrastructure and opportunities for self-sufficiency; otherwise it destroys the rural and peri-urban character. These areas must be able to sustain themselves and must be supported in doing so. Enhancing, nurturing, and supporting the locally based activities which are well known and supported by the local systems and processes is the key towards achieving sustainable livelihoods.

The failure to adapt the housing subsidy to accommodate the peri-urban area of Etafuleni shows that there is a need for a different package that takes into cognizance the specific requirements of rural and peri-urban areas. This package could include the housing component but this should not become the main component. At present, there is no specific subsidy system for the delivery of basic services in these areas, other than CMIP, which also looks at bulk services, and is also currently under review. The different funding mechanisms that are currently used in many developing communities are on an ad-hoc basis and are often fragmented. Thus there is a need for a new bundle designed specifically to deliver in rural and peri-urban areas. The LRAD (Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development) programme assumes that all rural communities have access to basic services, and that if land is released, it should be used for commercial purposes. It also assumes that people are living above poverty levels, when in fact most still require assistance to access basic services, and to start engaging in subsistence agriculture. Further, the programme assumes that people are sufficiently capacitated to be able to raise their contributions, and that they are able to seek assistance to put together business plans. Most people living in rural and peri-urban environments still require assistance in moving beyond the survival modes so that they can be capacitated for commercial based assistance.
6.4 Convenience
Inconvenience seems to be another pretext given to explain the lack of directive and development plans for rural areas. It is convenient to do business and to deliver on mandates within urban areas because there is an infrastructure base that facilitates delivery of services. The situation in peri-urban and rural settings is different because most of these areas do not even have basic infrastructure to put into action any development intervention. The manner in which things are done in these areas is different. Firstly, processes are dominated by the tribal system, with which most people are wary to tamper. Secondly, the enormity of the areas and access limitations determine the types of infrastructure required, and the types of services. Thus, development in these areas seems inconvenient because of the nature of the setting defined by its settlement form and spread. The institutional systems that should govern the implementation of basic services in these areas are in most places virtually non-functional. These factors create “inconvenient” environments that constrain development in these areas.

6.5 Cost
There is some truth in the argument that development is more expensive to manage and effect in rural and peri-urban areas. These problems complicate the planning and implementation of development projects. However, this is mainly because there has not been a concerted effort to invest in these areas. Urban-based approaches and processes, because of their lack of fit, are expensive to deliver in rural areas. In order to avoid unnecessary costs, it is important to adapt processes to suit the delivery of services in rural and peri-urban areas. Importing norms, standards and criteria increases costs and complicates processes.

There is a pressing need for capacity building in these areas, as rural and peri-urban inhabitants have had very little exposure to development processes. Furthermore, as these areas are not in close proximity to each other, there would need to be more resources allocated towards building the infrastructure, than in urban areas. Rural and peri-urban areas also require more resources and expenditure to deliver services. Thus, government must be prepared to channel more resources into these areas, both technically and financially. These areas may also require far more in terms of capacity building to reach the same level of understanding as their urban counterparts. Thus, it is necessary to recognize that development in these areas will be costly.

6.6 Challenges with Integrated Development Plans (IDPs)
Discussions with the development practitioners in chapter four highlighted the challenges involved in implementing IDP programmes. Firstly, IDPs are able to bring stakeholders together to plan in an
integrated manner, but fail to enforce integrated implementation. A monitoring tool and unit is being revived at a national level, to monitor the implementation and adherence to the IDPs. This is hoped to assist in eradicating some of the challenges raised by the development practitioners in earlier chapters. Secondly, IDPs have not been able to align themselves with budgets. This can be seen at two levels. Firstly, within local government, there has been difficulty in ensuring that IDPs relate to budget requirements and needs. Some of the confusion was linked to the difference between line function departments and budgets for integrated programmes, whether maintenance or implementation. Secondly, the different budgeting timelines between local government level and provincial and national levels contribute to these problems. This has caused problems in ensuring that the two higher levels of government recognize local government in planning for budget requirements at local level. The resulting effects include failure by the provincial and national government departments to deliver on their mandates, which exist within integrated programmes at local level. These gaps have however been realized by the Department of Provincial and Local Government, and is hoped to alleviate some of the difficulties at local level. These issues present a major challenge within urban environments, and become even more serious in rural and peri-urban areas.

It was noted that communities are normally not genuinely included in the IDP processes, as they should be. In urban areas this is easier to set up because of the institutional systems that are in place. Secondly, representation in urban areas is clearly defined through councilors and development forums. This is not the case in most peri-urban and rural areas. While councilors exist in these areas, there is difficulty in defining the jurisdiction of councilors over the tribal authorities. Often are no forums and the only systems available are that of tribal chiefs. The involvement of people is determined by the willingness of the chief to expose his subjects to the development process. The power, responsibility and roles of tribal authorities in local development have not been clearly defined at a national level. This has implications for the development of these communities. Thus the gap between the level of capacity and understanding of rural and peri-urban communities is different from that of their urban counterparts. This has further implications for development and means that development programmes, which would normally take three years to complete, may take five or even more years to come to fruition. Currently, there are no legal requirements to ensure that the IDP recommendations are carried through into implementation and the challenge is to ensure that these are put into place.
6.7 Non-Alignment

Etafuleni’s failure to secure different funding streams was a major setback for the development. A number of projects across the country face similar challenges. Access to one funding stream prevents communities from accessing other much needed assistance. Etafuleni, as a peri-urban area, was unable to access the benefits of the LRAD programme, because it did not fit the LRAD’s rural criteria. The use of the LRAD programme, or of assistance from the Department of agriculture, is seen as double subsidization in communities where housing grants have been given. Grant sources, which could have been enabling to communities, become restrictive, as they lock people into either-or options. Although it has its own challenges, the Housing subsidy scheme has been able to create opportunities for communities to access basic services. However, this scheme is more appropriate to urban communities. Most rural and peri-urban communities need more than one type of assistance from government, particularly if poverty is to be eliminated. Failure to provide this will exacerbate the need to hand out food parcels, and all other short-term needs that government finds itself responding to.

6.8 Socialist Approach to Service Delivery

Another shortcoming that has been identified by a number of development practitioners is that the housing policy advocates that people residing within a targeted settlement should receive the same type and amount of subsidy within a given development. The central system registers all those beneficiaries who have received some kind of government assistance. This is used to ensure that beneficiaries do not access other types of government assistance again. It assumes that the needs and priorities of different areas and communities are homogenous. This socialist approach forces people who may not have needed assistance from government to receive it, so long as their area is under development. The resulting effect is that as soon as people know that their neighbor area is earmarked for development, they begin to invade and settle closer so that they will also be considered. Many of them need assistance other than the housing subsidy, but receive it anyway. People who need more help from government are unable to access it, because this would be construed as double subsidization. This has become costly for government to manage. There is a great opportunity for cross subsidization within settlements under development. The critical element is whether those involved in a specific development are able to manage the soft issues at the very beginning of the process.
6.9 Competition for Resources
There is undoubtedly competition between rural and urban areas in terms of the distribution of resources. As has been highlighted, up until now, resources have been focused on urban areas for various reasons. These include the fact that in urban areas there are systems in place to deliver services. Rural areas have begun to demand the same services that are received by their urban counterparts. This competition for resources has resulted in rural and peri-urban communities demanding access to the housing subsidy, even though it does not really suit their needs or situation. Access to the subsidy allows these communities to feel as if they have received a fair share of government resources. This unguided process, however, has led to the formation of a number of townships like Thubalafethu in Melmoth, Northern Kwa-Zulu Natal. A failure to deliver services to rural and peri-urban areas has resulted in this competition with urban areas for resources. The approaching 2004 elections may increase this challenge.

6.10 Interpretation of Policy
A reading of the policy framework (as outlined in chapter two) would suggest that the policy environment is enabling and allows for integration. The LRAD programme, for example, is founded on land reform principles, but also incorporates agriculture. The way it is defined in projects, however, would suggest that the grant system does not allow for both housing and agriculture in the same project. Planners involved in the development process base this on the interpretation of its guidelines. The grant demands that land tenure transfer should be one of the key performance indicators, which is also a requirement for the Housing grant. In itself, the grant is not construed as double subsidization if the same beneficiaries access it. It is the manner in which it is translated to make provision for the needs of the intended beneficiaries. In the case of Etafuleni, the departments representing the two funding streams found it difficult to marry the two grants in that there was no consensus as to how the policies could be translated to allow for both grants within one development. This eventually forced the Department of Land Affairs to reject the project. Allowing for both grants within one development would have served as a valuable pilot for other peri-urban projects.

6.11 Conclusion
This chapter has explored some of the challenges to development and has picked up on issues that were discussed in earlier chapters. The issues outlined above were issues faced by the Intathakusa project but are also faced by local players dealing with rural and peri-urban development. The next chapter presents some possible solutions, which could be used to alleviate the problems identified above.
CHAPTER 7

TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE RURAL AND PERI-URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

Scope of chapter
This chapter outlines recommendations and explores possible solutions to the problems discussed in earlier chapters. It reviews the potential opportunities and benefits that these solutions may offer, as well as indicating how these may help to overcome the challenges to development.

7. SUGGESTIONS

7.1 Re-Package
The first suggestion is based on a need to overcome the impracticality of the housing subsidy system as a funding mechanism in rural and peri-urban areas. It takes into account the fact that it is not possible to implement the LRAD programme within a development project that uses the housing subsidy to fund housing and basic service provision. This is complicated by the inability of the LRAD programme to assist peri-urban communities. Thus, a possible solution is to re-bundle the two grant systems to meet rural and peri-urban needs. The LRAD programme is founded on the assumption that rural communities need land for agricultural development. It does not, however, cater for the basic service needs of these communities. On the other hand, the Housing subsidy deals with housing and with the provision of basic services, but is structured to cater for urban environments. It offers a bundle of basic services, which are also needed by peri-urban and rural communities, although in a different form. The table below presents a graphical illustration of what these two funding mechanisms offer:

Table 7.1: Presentation of the services and benefits offered by the Housing subsidy and the LRAD Programme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LRAD Programme</th>
<th>Housing Subsidy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planning and Facilitation</td>
<td>Planning and Facilitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land release (from 1000m² up to</td>
<td>Land (at least 250m² – 300m² stand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hectares)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security of Tenure</td>
<td>Security of Tenure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural opportunity</td>
<td>Housing opportunity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water connection on-site</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewer connection (usually water</td>
<td>Roads access (internal reticulation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>borne)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The LRAD programme was designed to benefit mainly rural areas, whereas the Housing Subsidy Scheme was designed to service urban areas. There is a Rural Housing Subsidy, but it is stipulated that this should be used as a last resort. The Rural Housing Subsidy was also founded on the assumption that rural areas are under tribal authorities. The manner in which it is designed assumes a tribal setting. Thus, there is no specific grant system to cater for housing and basic service needs within rural and peri-urban areas, other than the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG), which is only a bulk infrastructure funding mechanism. Again, the MIG needs a municipality or an institutional framework that is capable of accessing and managing it – **most rural areas** lack these basic infrastructures. The LRAD programme was designed, as a package to deal with two major rural needs: land reform and agriculture. A package that incorporated the LRAD programme with elements of the housing subsidy would enable developers to create a rural-based package that would fulfill rural needs and peri-urban needs. This can be represented graphically:

Table 7.2: Suggested package for rural and peri-urban areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Peri-urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planning, facilitation and capacity building</td>
<td>Planning, facilitation and capacity building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land release (at least a hectare or and above)</td>
<td>Land release (From 500m² to 1500m²)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security of tenure, and/or land rights</td>
<td>Security of tenure and ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture assistance</td>
<td>Agriculture opportunity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing opportunity (starter help), but only to those in dire need, People's Housing Process</td>
<td>Housing opportunity (starter help), but only to those in dire need, People's Housing Process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communal water access</td>
<td>Communal water access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewer, on-site sanitation</td>
<td>Sewer, on-site sanitation (possibly, septic tanks)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Road access good. Main roads tarred only, the rest gravel
Main roads tarred, internal roads gravel

Formalize villages to allow for control
Formalize villages to allow for control

Access to other community facilities
Access to other community facilities

Create commonages
Mainly backyard gardens or space for other activities

7.1.1 Opportunities

This package could yield a number of opportunities. Firstly, it is not construed as double subsidization if the same beneficiaries access housing, or other government grants, on top of the LRAD grant. Thus, bundling the housing subsidy grant and the LRAD grant would open up opportunities for rural and peri-urban communities to have access to basic services and housing opportunities. This could take place at the same time as accessing and formalizing their land status with agricultural opportunities. The possibilities offered by this bundle are numerous. The first one is that the housing component could foster the People’s Housing Process (PHP). Through the PHP, a number of employment opportunities could be created for building related jobs. Etafuleni and other peri-urban communities could benefit from this process, in that it is a vehicle through which people can be trained and capacitated. This process could foster a number of local economic activities, for example encouraging local people to supply bricks and other materials. This would prove cost effective, as it would minimize transport costs.

Both rural and peri-urban areas would benefit from rudimentary road construction and management, as this would create short-term employment. Further, this would enable local people to access and invite in other services, for example by giving health providers and investors access to the areas. Capacity building and training facilities could be easily accessed, if the areas are well networked. Funding for major roads and bulk infrastructure could be acquired through the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG), but communities need to be trained in the process to be able to mobilize their own resources for further infrastructure needs. For instance, if commonage were created, it would be possible to set up a communal institutional structure. Thus, if its main activities grew to accommodate commercial options, resources could be mobilized to tar some internal roads that link to main roads.

Land is the greatest asset in these areas. In peri-urban areas backyard space is critical for small plot gardens and also other local economic. Thus, in the case of rural and peri-urban areas, the main development options should be agricultural (farming vegetables and other important crops, poultry
farming) and non-agricultural enterprises such as backyard mechanics, backyard bricklaying etc. These are still the most prominent and commonplace activities in peri-urban and rural areas. They also mobilize people to engage in economically generating activities. In areas where rates need to be paid, this is one way of empowering people to be able to supplement incomes so as to be able to pay for consumable services and rates. An important part of capacity building would be to ensure that people are made aware of their roles and responsibilities. As one respondent mentioned in chapter four, it is impossible to expect people to pay for services when, in the current high unemployment environment, they have been unable to generate an income. Thus, development projects need to ensure that people are empowered to access and afford the opportunities that development generates. At the same time, it is critical to capacitate them to take responsibility for paying of services that need to be paid. This is emphasized in the light of the fact that most rural and peri-urban communities are not familiar with the culture of paying for services and rates.

The other important point to mention is that it is important to assess the circumstances of each community before adopting a blanket approach. Most current agricultural interventions are emphasizing commercializing small farmers. It is awkward to preach about the commercialization of farming enterprises in poverty-stricken communities where people do not even have food for daily subsistence. It therefore is important to realize that before people can begin to see commercial opportunities, they need to have sufficient produce for subsistence as well as a surplus that could be sold for profit. It is better to start small and recognize people’s basic needs. Encouraging people to grow food for subsistence is a good start. People will know when they are ready to take a bigger step. Offering help to extend farming practices is critical in this regard, as it plays an important role in developing interest, knowledge and understanding.

When looking at the importance of agriculture in the proposed package, it is important to note the role that agriculture plays in the country. Some provinces are characterized by vast rural areas, which could be turned into agricultural villages. Firstly, agriculture is a source of healthy food, and thus deals with food security. Secondly, in a country currently overwhelmed by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, nutritious and organic food is critical in strengthening bodies but also in boosting the immune system. Furthermore, activity in gardens exercises the body and keeps people strong and healthy. Gardening activity keeps people busy, and could give them a sense of purpose in life, as the gardens grow bigger. Surplus, as was mentioned above, could allow people to enter into commercial farming, thus generating incomes and creating small businesses. Women, who are often the sole breadwinners and caregivers for entire families, and who are expected to carry the burden of HIV/AIDS and poverty, would be the major beneficiaries of this process.
Land in rural areas is critical for stock farming. Stock farming could be planned, depending on the availability of land for grazing. Where there is too little land for grazing, it would be beneficial to explore poultry and/or pig farming or to keep only small stocks that would not demand too much land. Stock farming offers a number of benefits that would go directly to communities. In a country where there is very little stock ownership for subsistence purposes, interventions like “send a cow” would be a good start in fostering activity within rural and peri-urban areas. Increasing opportunities and activities in these areas would allow for a higher quality of life, and would thus decrease migration to urban centers.

Land release for agriculture could further foster the farming and supply of medicinal plants, as there is a growing market for traditional medicines. Aloe, a plant which grows naturally in most rural areas, has been recognized for its immune boosting properties and is currently in huge demand, particularly as AIDS attacks the immune system. A number of medicinal plants grow naturally, and there has been a move to process natural herbs without modifying them in laboratories. Rural areas could supply these natural materials. Land provision and security of tenure are vital to the development of these enterprises.

7.2 Mix Market and the Socialist Approaches

Most development practitioners would testify to the fact that not all people within informal settlements are looking for the same opportunities. The Housing subsidy scheme currently assumes that all people within a project need and want the same opportunities. This is a socialist approach and does not allow for any depth in assisting needy people. It rather allows for publishable statistics about the number of people that have been assisted. There are undoubtedly some people who can afford to build or buy their own houses without assistance from the government. The subsidy scheme forces people to be dependent upon government, instead of capacitating them to take care of their own housing needs. In chapter two, evidence was given in recognition of the need to explore the housing market to foster upward mobility within black communities. In this section it was argued that it is vital to ensure that housing schemes benefit the people for whom they were intended. It was further asserted that a large portion of government subsidies are spent inappropriately.

In realizing this problem it is therefore important to encourage people who are able to meet their housing needs through the market system to do so. Government subsidies should be directed only to individuals in real need. Retaining aspects of both the market and the socialist approach could help
to diminish dependency. The starting point would be to acknowledge that there are shelters that people have managed to secure for themselves, formally or informally, other than street dwellings. It would then be important to recognize housing structures that qualify for improvement, or that qualify as permanent structures. This should take into account whether it adequately satisfies people's needs for shelter. Thus, people would receive access to the subsidy based on real need, and those who were not in need of housing could have the subsidy redirected to satisfy other needs.

It is considered to be the best yardstick, but using income levels as the determiner for access to government assistance is problematic. People tend to hide other incomes, or pretend to be poor in order to access the full subsidy. Thus, feasibility studies should seek to identify those households that have already taken care of their housing needs. People need to be empowered to perceive the benefits and trade-offs of cross-subsidization.

7.2.1 Opportunities
Allowing those who have less habitable structures maximum access to the subsidy for improvements would benefit the entire neighborhood by increasing its value. Resources that would have gone to individuals who were not in need could be channeled towards other essential needs of the community. This could include tarring the roads, greening the surroundings or improving the aesthetics of the area as a whole. This would instill pride in community members, as they would see themselves as contributing to the creation of a livable environment. This would also help to counteract dependency. Although the transition will not be easy, moving away from known and conventional practices to embrace more flexible and innovative ways of doing development will benefit communities and generations to come.

7.3 Release Serviced Land
Releasing serviced land has been suggested as an alternative to the current housing process. This is seen to be particularly important in peri-urban and rural areas where services are the main requirement. Access to basic services, and security of tenure, could allow for creativity and innovation. Not all people want to be provided with the same housing opportunity but people want to be able to express their uniqueness in the types of houses they build for themselves. Some people living in informal settlements have managed to build formal and sturdy houses. This suggests that they do not need a housing subsidy but need land, security of tenure and access to basic services. Ironically, there are also people living within informal settlements that own luxurious cars, and live rather comfortable lives. Again, these people need access to land and services, as it is likely that they will provide for their own housing.
7.3.1 Opportunities
This process will allow people to make their own provision for things that they can afford. Some people would be able to access bank loans to build houses that are bigger than those provided by the subsidy scheme. This was evident in the Lovu Township, situated in the southern part of Durban. Sites were released to people who came mostly from informal settlements and who needed serviced land and titles. People built much bigger houses on credit, facilitated mainly through KFC and Ithala Bank. People who were not able to access normal financial assistance from banks were given an opportunity to have a credit record. These people were given an opportunity to shape and create their own living environment. Such townships are likely to be more cohesive, as people will have grown together, sharing the challenges and opportunities of home and property ownership.

7.4 Project Driven Versus Line Function Process
Another way of achieving sustainable and integrated development is through using a project-driven approach, rather than the silo approach of line function departmental delivery systems. This approach could be bundled with top slicing of budgets, instead of individual departmental kits. What this means is that areas of need are demarcated as projects, and efforts concentrate on these areas. This differs from the usual blanket approach where a department arbitrarily decides where it deems fit to spend its money. In the project-driven approach, projects are run by multi-sectoral teams and by project managers whose single target is to deliver. Budgets in this model are also project based; each project is given a budget according to need, usually identified through the IDP process.

7.4.1 Opportunities
The project-based approach empowers and capacitates people with the responsibility to handle projects. Despondent development practitioners could gain personal satisfaction from handling projects. Top slicing of budgets prevents departmental “turf creation” and other problems, which hinder integrated implementation (as described in chapter four). Some of these problems relate to the fact that some line function departments refuse to follow integrated implementation, even if they were part of the integrated planning processes. Projects often do not get funding when they need it, which is a symptom of a malfunctioning system. Thus, allocating budgets to specific projects removes some of these challenges. There were times when the Intathakusa project could not get needed funding, which in many instances was a result of a line function department who had priorities elsewhere. As project management is a professional field, which needs accountability, it would be easier to create accountability lines and procedures. Continuous improvement forces project managers to continuously strive to do their best, thus ensuring that development takes place...
on the ground. Projectising development interventions could help people to move away from outdated modes of thinking and operation. It would also introduce them to new and innovative ways of doing business. Project managers would be capacitated through learning to manage many different situations.

This chapter put forward some possible solutions to the challenges facing development, drawing on the literature, the policy framework, the case study and the research findings. The following concluding chapter ties together the issues and suggestions raised by this research and makes future recommendations.
CHAPTER 8

8.1 CONCLUSION
This dissertation has argued that there is a need for different approaches towards developing rural and peri-urban areas. It has argued that the current urban-based processes for delivering basic services fail to achieve sustainability in rural and peri-urban areas. Limitations in the structure of the housing subsidy scheme were shown to compromise the delivery of basic services and housing in the peri-urban environment of Intathakusa. A number of other projects face similar challenges. There is a pressing need to design appropriate approaches to deliver basic services in these areas. The housing subsidy scheme has thus far proved limited in creating complete livable environments. However, as a funding mechanism, the housing subsidy scheme has created an enabling environment for delivering a range of basic services. The LRAD, on the other hand, is only concerned with the land and agricultural needs of vast rural land. Restructuring these two funding mechanisms to suit peri-urban and rural environments will go a long way towards creating sustainable settlements.

Furthermore, it has been argued that bigger site sizes are critical to sustaining peri-urban and rural communities. Bigger site sizes allow for diverse opportunities for rural livelihoods. This could be achieved through introducing other approaches to service delivery that are not necessarily housing subsidy led. The literature highlighted a number of challenges to rural and likewise, peri-urban development. It is hoped that the suggestions made by this research will be of use in guiding projects and practitioners who are engaged in rural and peri-urban development. Some of the suggestions recognize that changes need to take place on a policy level, and it was argued that adjustments to the LRAD and the Housing Subsidy scheme could benefit rural and peri-urban communities.

8.2 TESTING THE HYPOTHESIS
This dissertation put forward the hypothesis that “basic service delivery to communities through the housing subsidy process is not an appropriate approach for rural and peri-urban development.” The housing subsidy system, as a funding mechanism, carries within it a package of services that are needed by rural and peri-urban communities, but on its own is not adequate to lead rural and peri-urban development. The argument was supported by the findings of the research interviews, where most development practitioners felt that the lead sector approach has had negative implications for development. The housing approach as mentioned above has been used because of the bundle that it offers, however, this dissertation argues that while that package is also required by rural and peri-urban communities, using the housing approach alone will further impoverish these communities.
This means that the hypothesis was partially affirmed in that housing cannot achieve rural and peri-urban livelihoods. Housing, however, is still a requirement for rural and peri-urban areas. Thus, it is more appropriate to state that “basic service delivery to communities through the housing subsidy process is not adequate for rural and peri-urban areas”.

The argument pursued was that in order to adapt to the needs of these communities, the housing subsidy should be re-packaged together with the LRAD programme. The LRAD by itself also seems to be inadequate for rural communities, because it only caters for land and agriculture and does not provide the basic services that are needed. It is therefore concluded that neither the housing subsidy, nor the LRAD grant, or any agricultural assistance alone, can address rural and peri-urban livelihoods. An integrated approach, which encompasses and includes relevant elements from both subsidies, needs to be developed.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations for future consideration emerged from the dissertation. The dissertation will present the major recommendation and then present a number of smaller recommendations.

- The main recommendation is that there should be a policy adjustment that allows for a new delivery package for rural and peri-urban areas. This has been elaborated at length above.
- Secondly, there needs to be a strong monitoring tool that is able to monitor adherence to the IDPs and to ensure that they are implemented. This will assist in implementing integrated plans on the ground.
- Thirdly, it is important to realize that there are still a number of functions and mandates that reside with the national departments, which are within the jurisdiction of local municipalities. Thus, mechanisms need to be put in place to ensure that national and provincial departments, that have mandates at local level, are able to deliver on their mandate under the guidance of IDPs developed at local level. Budgets for those activities that need to be delivered by national and provincial departments at local level should be aligned with local processes, and should not be separate processes.

The dissertation would also put forward secondary recommendations. Of particular importance is that boundaries and walls between the operations of national and provincial departments should be permeable, and that interactions between these levels and local level should not occur on an ad-hoc basis. This requires a greater understanding of how local government functions to ensure that when
projects are submitted for funding, there is already a process in place to take them through, without any bureaucratic delays. It therefore further recommended that:

- Instead of a top-down approach, clear terms of reference should be developed on how different local activities are supported and delivered jointly by national and provincial government departments.

As was argued earlier, the way in which policies are interpreted can be counterproductive to development aims. To this end, it is recommended that

- Interpretation of policies should be a joint matter between funders (provincial and national departments) and the implementers (local government. Thus, this research recommends that provincial departments should seek advice from local players, who are more likely to be aware of the practicalities of policies on the ground.

A number of challenges were identified at local level, especially pertaining to integrated implementation. For the success of this process, it is critical to build the capacity of local government players to be able to face the challenges they are confronted with. This will include training them to be able to adapt to new systems of operation and helping to foster open-mindedness. Some developments are complicated because they use conventional processes that may fulfill the actual needs of the particular project. Thus projectising complicated development targets, and top-slicing budgets across departments and across levels of government should allow for a good delivery environment. Further, educational institutions need to assist in the training of project managers and planners to equip them to cope successfully with the challenges of working in rural and peri-urban areas.

Some of the challenges to development emanate from a lack of transparency with communities. Thus, it is vital to involve communities early in the development process, so that they are able to understand what is possible and what would be their contribution to the process. This is critical to achieve sustainability. Development actors must not be afraid to spell out the realities of development to the community, after all they need to understand the process better in order to support and contribute positively to the process.

Another challenge relates to the way people have begun taking advantage of the loopholes in the system. Capacity building workshops must be target oriented and need to inform people about their roles and responsibilities in development. it is important to shift attitudes from dependency towards self-help, so that individuals and communities are able to regain their pride. Resources can then be
Channeled into other much-needed programmes. The onus is on development practitioners who are in constant interaction with communities. The Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) sector seems to have decreased its influence in the country since the new dispensation, but their role is still much needed. NGOs need to be encouraged to cultivate interest and understanding among rural and peri-urban communities and to encourage them to articulate their needs. Rural communities must advocate for rural standards, and should not accept urban-based projects in their areas. This is possible with the assistance of both the Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and NGOs.

In terms of the eThekwini Municipality, it is recommended that the integrated rural framework must put forward, as part of its institutional recommendations, the establishment of a unit whose function would be to look into the development of rural and traditional housing. This unit could be placed within the eThekwini Metro Housing Department, and would deal specifically with housing in the peripheries. This will focus attention on these areas and avoid ad-hoc interventions.

One of the limitations of this research was an inability to access the views of national and provincial departments. It would have been interesting to compare their views with those of local departments, as they may have provided insight into some of the challenges facing development.

8.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This research argued that a new package, which is a more appropriate delivery mechanism for rural and peri-urban areas, needs to be developed and implemented. Thus, future research needs to take the recommendations of this dissertation into consideration, hopefully in taking on the technical task of developing and testing a new bundle specifically for rural and peri-urban areas. Finally, work would need to be put on designing implementable monitoring tools with clear indicators for IDPs, and to investigate how they can be aligned with funding streams of all levels of government to deliver on local plans.
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Appendix 1

Professional Questionnaire

Dear Respondent

I am a student at the University of Natal in Durban within the Faculty of Civil Engineering and Construction doing a research towards partial fulfilment of the Masters Degree in Construction Project Management. My research is on the topic of integrated development and the effects of the use of the housing process as an engine for physical social development. I would request you to respond to the following questions which will take not more than 20 minutes of your time. Your assistance is appreciated!

1. PERSONAL DETAILS

1.1 Name of Respondent

1.2 Position

1.3 Name of Department

1.4 Sector from which respondent comes

1.5 Nature of work

1.6 Area of operation

2. INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT

1 What would you say is your understanding of the concept of integrated development?

2 What have been your thoughts around its conception?

3 Would you say it is implementable if yes why? If not why?
4 At what level would you think this concept would work better?

5 What sector should lead peri-urban and rural development?

6 Do you have examples of projects or processes where you tried to implement or see the concept of integrated development being challenged?

7 What are some of the experiences you have involving challenges of integrated development?
8 How do you think we can ensure delivery using this tool of integrated development and planning?

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9 Do you think government policies talk to one another in ensuring integrated development?

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10 How best can we achieve integrated development in our current policy parameters?

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SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

11. What in your understanding is sustainable development in so far as peri-urban and rural development?

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12 How can we ensure that we achieve sustainable development in our development projects?
13 What are some of the thoughts that come in your mind that you think are critical in addressing sustainable development?

14 Would you think agriculture is an appropriate alternative development option for rural and peri-urban development?

15 Would you subscribe to the thinking that says that agriculture is the tool to achieving peri-urban and rural livelihoods?, if yes please elaborate

16 Would you think the housing process is a relevant approach to peri-urban and rural
17 Can you see synergy between housing and agriculture both as development approaches work together within a community development from planning to implementation?, please elaborate

18 What do you think are the best rural and peri-urban livelihoods?

19 How do you think we can ensure sustainability in our community developments?

20 Where do you think we miss it in our operations?, please elaborate and suggest solutions
Thank you very much for responding to this questionnaire, if you need to see the results of this work please contact me on the same email address
Appendix 2

Community Questionnaire

Dear Respondent

I am a student at the University of Natal in Durban within the Faculty of Civil Engineering and Construction doing a research towards partial fulfilment of the Masters Degree in Construction Project Management. My research is on the topic of integrated development and the effects of the use of the housing process as an engine for physical social development. I would therefore request you to respond to the following questions which will take not more than 10 minutes of your time. Your assistance is appreciated!

1. Name of Community Grouping: .................................................................

2. Where do people in Etafuleni originate from?
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3. When did they arrive in Etafuleni?
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4. Why did people decide to reside in Etafuleni?
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Development Related Data

1. Development has long been spoken about in Etafuleni, what do you think had delayed processes for development in the past years?
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2. Etafuleni was conceptualized as an integrated development of housing and urban agriculture, is this what all people wanted?
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3. What could have been the best development for people, in your view?

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4. What site sizes would people want if they were to make a choice?

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5. In your view what needs to be done in order to make development sustainable in the long run? Especially as people always complain about rate payments?

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6. In your view what needs to be done to develop areas that are not urban, and which are not purely rural?

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7. How do you think the proposed development would change the lives of people?

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8. Do people know that bigger sites would mean reduction in service standards?

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9. In your view would you have chosen higher levels of services or bigger site sizes?

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10. What would you think would have made your development achieve its desired objectives?

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11. What are some of the thoughts you think were left out in this questionnaire which you feel should have been added?

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Thank you, for your assistance in this endeavor, your assistance is greatly appreciated!