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**TOWARDS INTEGRATING SUSTAINABILITY IN THE
ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT
PLANNING PROCESS**

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ABSTRACT

Many of today's global environmental problems can be traced back to cities. Managing the urban environment has become a priority not only for cities themselves, but also for the global environment as a whole. It has also placed considerable pressure on local governments to capacitate themselves with strategies, tools, and other competencies that enable them to effectively manage the environment. This thesis was undertaken to explore how the eThekweni Municipality located in South Africa is integrating sustainability, specifically within its Integrated Development Planning Process.

This thesis is underpinned by the literature works of environmental policy making and discourse analysis as a methodology purported by Hajer (1995). One of the central premises of this literature is that any understanding of the natural environment is based on various representations coupled with assumptions and social choices. Therefore a detailed understanding of discursive practices that guides our perception of reality must be understood (Hajer, 1995). Ecological Modernisation, a newer policy discourse, does not comprise a unified set of ideas but has developed over many years of institutional debate. These set of ideas were initially drawn from large firms, environmental organizations, and scientific experts and to a lesser extent from local communities. Consequently this discourse represents a form of weak sustainability. The strong sustainability discourse calls for more involvement of local communities in respect of environmental issues and includes the discourse of LA21. The literature review therefore spans over a spectrum of discourses covering both weak and strong sustainability thinking as a base foundation on which to explore the case study of the eThekweni Municipality's Integrated Development Plans (IDPs): 2002-2005.

Integrated Development Planning serves as the main tool for Planning in South Africa. It draws together the municipality's budget process, project implementation and strategic priorities across sectoral plans with strong involvement of communities. The eThekweni Municipality's IDPs from 2002 to 2005 were explored to ascertain whether sustainability was integrated into this planning process and if so, how it was incorporated into the city's most important strategic decision-making tool. Detailed interviews were conducted with key, executive management city officials from the different sectors to gauge their views on the incorporation of sustainability into the various IDPs. The data collected from the various sources was then analyzed using a thematic approach and Hajer's story line methodology to determine whether and how sustainability was

integrated into the IDPs. This analysis was within the overall conceptual framework of the weak and strong sustainability literature review.

By understanding the interplay of various discourses in an attempt to integrate sustainability or not, deliberately or unintentionally into the various IDPs provides for a deeper level of understanding of the dynamics of sustainability issues within the broader municipal context. This provides for the opportunity to make direct interventions and to create innovative mechanisms for the entrenching and strengthening sustainability within the IDP process.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABM	Area Based Management
ANC	African National Congress
D' MOSS	Durban Metropolitan Open Space System
DEAT	Department of Agriculture and Tourism
DPLG	Department of Local Government
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
LA21	Local LA21
LTDF	Long Term Development Framework
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
SEA	Strategic Environmental Assessment
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Cities are fundamental for economic opportunities and social interaction, as well as cultural and spiritual enrichment. However, cities also damage the natural environment and exploit natural resources in an unsustainable manner that can jeopardize long term prosperity and social well being. This is a global concern, as more than half of the worlds' population lives in cities and trends indicate that this will increase.

The shift of cities to a more sustainable development path will require co-operation and partnerships between various levels of government, various sector disciplines, the business sector, NGOs, CBOs, and all citizens. Their collective and individual actions are critical in energising and achieving a common goal. Improving the sustainability of cities will not only improve the quality of life for all the inhabitants, but will also significantly contribute to improving global wellbeing of all the earth's people (UNEP, 1993).

Cities are of great economic significance. As Elkin et al, (1991, 4) observes, "urban centres are crucial to the functioning of the world economic order". Although urban problems are generally known, the complexity of cities and differences in the urban experience of their inhabitants, lead to a variety of issues that make the search for effective solutions a daunting task. Nevertheless, it is a task that needs to be undertaken. A large part of the response to unsustainable development should come from cities at the local level because that is where the most intense environmental damage is taking place, and it is there that many improvements can effectively be made (White, 1994). Global and national environmental policy initiatives, such as LA21, recognise the important role that local governments can play in bringing about sustainable development (Gibbs et al., 1996). Accordingly, the main aim of this thesis is to ascertain to what extent the eThekwin Municipality is moving towards sustainability through the adoption of LA21.

In 1992, the leaders of 179 countries came together in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in order to participate in the United Nations Earth Summit on the Environment and Development (ICLEI, 1996). One of the important outcomes of the conference was a global 'programme of action for

sustainable development,' called LA21 – the action plan for socially, economically and ecologically sustainable development for the 21st century (UN, 1993). LA21 is made up of the Rio Declaration on the Environment and Development, encompassing 27 sustainable development principles and a Programme of Action consisting of 40 chapters (ICLEI, 1996).

In preparation for the second international conference, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), which was held in Johannesburg in August 2000, a global survey on municipal sustainable development planning activities, was conducted by ICLEI (2002). The survey was to establish how much progress has been made in implementing, specifically, LA21 has agreed to by the nations of the world ten years previously. For the purposes of the survey, Local LA21 (LA21) was defined as:

“ a participatory, multi-stakeholder process to achieve the goals of LA21 at the local level through the preparation and implementation of a long term, strategic plan that addresses priority local sustainable development concerns” (ICLEI 2002: 6).

The South African government proclaimed its commitment to LA21 at the Earth Summit in 1992 and the national LA21 campaign was initiated in 1995. During June 1997, the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Local Government and Housing, the department that is responsible for Integrated Development Planning, launched a LA21 conference at the International Convention Centre in Durban (Kwazulu-Natal LA21 Information Pack, 1997). The objective was to secure commitment from local authorities to LA21 and to share this with planners. Many training programmes were thereafter conducted for civil society, councillors, officials and local authorities on LA21.

In addition, since the demise of apartheid in 1994, the South African national government has promulgated a number of key pieces of environmental legislation calling for sustainable development as a key approach to development. Within the country's Municipal Systems Act (Act No.32, 2000), developmental local government is a key concept and calls for sustainable service delivery, ensuring safe and healthy environments, a call for democratic and accountable governance as well as ensuring community participation and partnership formation at the local level.

Within the South African context, all facets of government are currently undergoing a transformation and restructuring process as a result of the abolition of the apartheid system and

the introduction of a new dispensation and political order. In order to achieve this in the sphere of Local Government, Integrated Development Planning (IDP) has been introduced as a key planning instrument for the new transformation process (Donk, et al: 2008).

Integrated Development Planning (IDP) is a participatory planning process aimed at developing a strategic development plan to guide and inform all planning, budgeting, management and decision-making in a municipality (IDP Planning Guide 1V: 2001). It views development problems and solutions in an integrated, multi-disciplinary and multi-dimensional way. It seeks to support the appropriate integration of sectoral strategies, in order to achieve the optimal allocation of scarce resources between sectors and geographic areas and across the population in a manner that promotes sustainable growth, equity and empowerment of the poor and marginalized (IDP Planning Guide 1V: 2001). It is therefore a process that is closely aligned with the principles of sustainable development. The IDP is currently the key planning tool in South Africa and provides a vehicle or mechanism through which sustainability principles such as that of LA21 can be integrated into the development planning in local areas so as to increase sustainability developments patterns and sustainable decision making at the local government level (Donk, et al: 2008).

An IDP is a process through which all municipalities prepare a strategic development plan, for a five year period. Hence the IDP is the “principle strategic planning instrument” which guides and informs all planning and development and all decision-making” at the local governmental level (Republic of South Africa, 2000). According to the Municipal Systems Act all municipalities (i.e., Metropolitan Councils, District Municipalities and Local Municipalities) have to undertake an IDP process to produce Integrated Development Plans. This is a legislated plan that supercedes all other plans and guides local development (DPLG and GTZ, 2001). The Municipal Systems Act list two fundamental principles to be adhered to in the IDP process, which are that it must be developmental in focus and take place within a framework of co-operative governance.

The key question, then, is how South African municipalities are integrating sustainability into their Integrated Development Planning processes to enhance the path of sustainability at the municipal level. This research considers one Metropolitan municipality, the eThekweni Municipality, Durban, and how it is responding to the challenge of integrating sustainability into its Integrated Development Plan through Local LA21 or other mechanisms. In the new political dispensation, eThekweni Municipality produced its first IDP in 2002 and completed the required

first review process of its IDP in June 2004. The eThekweni Municipality IDP is used here as the research case study.

1.2 Research Rationale

The rationale for this research is based on the need to understand and evaluate the integration of sustainability into the Integrated Development Planning Process at the municipal level. Since the national government has committed to the LA21 programme and Durban is one of the first cities selected to run with LA21, it is important to ascertain how the municipality is paving its way to sustainability in this regard. In addition it is a statutory requirement for all municipalities to produce an IDP (the municipality's key strategic plan). It therefore becomes critical to ascertain how the IDP and LA21 integrate to promote a path to strong sustainability for the municipality. The researcher has selected the eThekweni Municipality IDP as a case study because of the researcher's working experience in the planning and environmental disciplines in this city. In addition, the researcher is employed by the eThekweni Municipality and has been involved to some extent in both the implementation of the LA21 as well as the IDP process. The choice of this research topic was also partly motivated by the researcher's interest in the integration of planning and environmental imperatives so as to achieve a stronger sustainability path to deal with the many municipal development challenges facing the eThekweni Municipality. The Municipality has many international and national obligations to fulfill as well as meet its social responsibility to communities. The Municipality is therefore challenged as to how these obligations can be met sustainably.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

The aim of this study is to explore to what extent the eThekweni Municipality has integrated sustainability (using Local LA21) into the Integrated Development Planning process.

The following objectives are identified to support the aim of the research:

- 1.3.1 To understand *how* and *when* sustainability was integrated into the IDP process via adoption of the LA21 programme or discourse?
- 1.3.2 To understand how *other discourses* have influenced the integration of sustainability into the IDP process?

1.3.3 To examine the *extent* to which the LA 21 principles have been integrated into the IDP process?

The research aim and objectives led to the selection of the appropriate methodology and theoretical framework that was utilised to locate this study. These are discussed in the following section that outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter one introduces the nature and rationale of the research. It also outlines the main aim of the research and identifies supportive objectives that will lead to an interrogation of the main aim of the research. The main aim and supportive questions “provide a framework” for the way in which the research will be undertaken. It also outlines the various chapters of the thesis.

Chapter two reviews the literature related to discourses on strong and weak sustainability and ecological modernisation theory. It also deals with how environmental problems are constructed as this leads to the way in which tools and responses are selected as approaches to address key environmental problems. This in turn informs the outcome as to whether the approach encompasses a strong or weak sustainability development path.

Chapter three deals with the background and context in which the eThekweni Municipality IDP is located. The IDP and LA21 process are discussed in detail.

Chapter four describes the methodology designed for the study. It is largely qualitative in nature and use was made of interviews and existing resource documents as sources of data. Interviews were conducted with key municipal officials who were responsible for the LA21 programme and the Integrated Development Planning process.

Chapter Five discusses some of the key findings of the study. Various facets of the IDP are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Six also addresses some findings specific to the question of the extent to which the principles and approach of LA21 have been integrated into the IDP planning process. In addition,

it examines the way in which the LA21 process and the IDP are dealt with and institutionalised in the municipality.

Chapter Seven draws the core elements of the study together into general conclusions and provides some suggestions emanating from the findings. The suggestions focus on how LA21 principles can be integrated into the IDP process in the future at a metropolitan level so as to place the municipality on a stronger sustainable development path.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Sustainability is defined as a journey or pathway that needs to be taken so as to meet the goals and principles of sustainable development (O’Riordan, et al, 2000). Furthermore sustainability is viewed as the process of assisting in integrating the ecological, social and economic and governance realms. It calls for an approach of facilitating the compromise that must be reached if humans, as a species both locally and globally are seeking to achieve ‘a better quality of life for all’ (O’Riordan, et al, 2000). National governments worldwide have institutionalized mainstream environmental management discourse through state policy and legislation that seeks to manage the impacts of development (Oelofse et al., 2002). However, often it is the scientific, instrumentalist framework of environmental management discourse as applied science that has led to the development of weak sustainability approaches and tools (Oelofse et al., 2002).

However, despite the domination of this modernist approach to environmental management and hence sustainability, there are parallel proponents of local, participatory and communitarian processes of environmental management which seek to provide protection from “the inequality and poverty that market forces may produce” (Woodhouse, 2000, 161, cited in Oelofse et al, 2002). One such proponent is the Local LA21 Programme that is operational at the local government level where programs have been initiated to integrate environmental concerns into formal institutional and power structures in a multidimensional way. Environmental issues are also a growing concern of the business sector, civil society, non- government organizations and individuals. Environmental issues have therefore become political issues (UNCED, 1992).

Because so many of the environmental problems and solutions being addressed by LA21 have their roots in local activities, the participation and co-operation of local authorities will be a determining factor in fulfilling its objectives. Local authorities are mandated to construct, operate and maintain economic, social and environmental infrastructure, oversee planning processes, establish local environmental policies and regulations, and assist in implementing national and sub-national environmental policies (UNCED, 1992). As the level of governance closest to the people, they play a vital role in educating, mobilizing and responding to the public to promote

sustainable development (Chapter 28, LA21, 1992). Policy, strategy, projects and programmes aimed at sustainable development can therefore have a considerable impact at the local level (Rees, 1999). Since the aim of the thesis is to evaluate the extent to which the eThekweni Municipality has shifted along the path to sustainability, it is necessary to provide a theoretical framework which will provide the conceptual tools for examining this process.

A review of literature related to sustainability and ecological modernization theory will provide a framework for direct empirical analysis of environmental policy at the local municipal level. The main aim of this chapter then is to provide a general view of sustainable development and sustainability as set out in sections 2.2 and 2.3. In section 2.4, an overall understanding of the discourse of ecological modernization to sustainability is discussed. Having reviewed both strong sustainability and ecological modernization, this section also reviews and discusses how strong sustainability allows for a critique of ecological modernization. In section 2.5, a review of the alternative discourses to ecological modernization, namely strong sustainability and LA21 is undertaken. This provides a basis for detailed discussions on the social construction of discourses in the institutional context in section 2.6. In section 2.7, Hajer's discourse on story lines which provides a key theoretical and methodological component of analysis to this thesis is presented and section 2.8 provides a conclusion for the overall literature review.

2.2 Sustainable Development and Sustainability

In the 1990s the slogan "Act Locally Think Globally" occupied the global agenda regarding the environment. This gave impetus to the implementation of sustainable development (Patel in Parnell, et al et al, 2008). The Brundtland Report defined sustainable development as 'development which meets the needs of the present without comprising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987: 43). Emerging international agendas around sustainability defined it as a holistic approach addressing the dimensions of economic, social and the biophysical environment, rather than viewing sustainability as a narrow 'green' agenda (Parnell, et al et al, 2008). Sustainable development and sustainability have been shown to have various interpretations that can move towards weak or strong outcomes with respect to sustainable development (Gibbs, et al. 1998).

Sustainable development is now widely accepted as a policy framework in planning and development both internationally and in South Africa (O'Riordan, et al, 2000; Scott, et al 2001;

Sowman, 2002). The term sustainable development is most widely defined as a process or state where environmental opportunities are maximized for current generations without limiting or compromising the opportunities for future generations (WCED, 1987). Historically, the conservation and management of natural resources and development were considered mutually exclusive and as conflicting needs within society. The term sustainable development has reversed that trend by implying that it is possible, and in fact desirable, to achieve a balance where development and the management of natural resources coexist.

Over the last decade the term sustainable development has been used as a “catchall” and “fix all” concept with little real examination of whether it is a process or a state that is either real or achievable (Oelofse, G, 2002). Few people talk of environmental management, Local LA21 or conservation without implying that the ultimate goal is sustainable development. Oelofse, G, (2002) states that “Few demonstrated or measured examples of successful and real sustainable development exist, and those that do are by and large small projects within limited geographical areas”. Part of the problem is that the term ‘sustainable development’ implies an end point or something that can be achieved. However, this end point as a ‘package’ does not exist. Sustainable development can be defined as a normative concept and looks at how the world *should be*, not how the world is. The more recently accepted term of sustainability attempts to address this problem. As previously mentioned, sustainability is defined as the journey or pathway that needs to be taken so as to meet the goals and principles of sustainable development (O’Riordan, et al, 2000). In this thesis the term sustainability will be used.

A sustainability agenda recognizes the importance of maintaining ecological systems while developing and enhancing social capital, considering the future, involving people in decision-making, addressing issues of social justice, and ensuring that decisions taken are economically viable and sustainable (Blowers, 1997). However, the implementation of the principles of sustainability through a wide range of tools and mechanisms has proved difficult to achieve. Tools of environmental management have been developed to meet the goals of the sustainability agenda. However, the success of these tools has thus far proved to be limited. Whilst many initiatives worldwide have made attempts to reduce environmental degradation, the beginning of this century still reflects serious environmental degradation, increased poverty levels, a widening gap between the north and the south and a fight to restore the earth’s ecological balance. This reflects that the ‘war’ is being lost (Brown et al, 2001). So what has sustainable development achieved? Perhaps part of the problem is the way in which environmental problems have been

socially constructed. Within the techno-centric approach to environmental management, environmental issues are defined as problems of inefficiency, marginalizing the importance of social issues and the broader social, economic and political context of these problems. Technical solutions have therefore been used to deal with complex problems that defy rational, objective approaches. Within the South Africa context, it is becoming more and more evident that although mainstream environmental management approaches still dominate environmental policy, there is a move towards alternate approaches that challenge the dominant technical and scientific discourse of ecological modernization (Oelofse, et al, 2000).

Sustainability is defined as pathway that needs to be embarked upon in order to fulfill the goals, objectives and principles of sustainable development (O’Riordan, et al, 2000). It has come to be known as a process of assisting in the integration of the ecological, social and economic realms. It can also be seen as a scientific principle, a political goal, a social practice and a moral guideline (Blowers, 1997).

National governments worldwide have institutionalized mainstream environmental management discourse through state policy and legislation that seeks to manage the impacts of development. This is evident in the review of weak and strong sustainability in the following section.

2.3 Weak and Strong Sustainability and LA21

The notion of the “environment as a stock of assets” (Bond, 2002) is at the core of weak sustainability. Bond further argues that the notion of the environment as an economic asset is central to “contemporary neo-liberal economic environmentalism,” which then defines sustainability as maintaining or enhancing the stock of environmental assets so that its depletion is avoided wherever possible (Bond, 2002). Within this asset-based approach economic development proceeds as long as we are able to ‘compensate for the losses or ‘create new asset holdings’. Therefore ‘the polluter pays’ and environmental management is a matter of ‘calculating the environmental costs and benefits’ (Bond, 2002). Environmental management action then means identifying asset stocks, developing systemic audits and engaging in command and control environmental management planning through legislation. This approach to the environment is technically complex to implement and reduces “the environment” to the

“externality effects” of economic actions and represents a form of weak sustainability (Bond, 2002).

In respect of local government, various tools have been used for environmental decision-making and to achieve sustainable development, for example, environmental impact assessments (EIAs), social impact assessments (SIAs) and strategic environmental assessments (SEAs), etc. Within the South African context, the regulations emanating from the Environment Conservation Act 73 focused on EIAs and the other tools remained voluntary. Patel (Parnell, et al et al, 2008) argues that despite the advantages of EIAs, much debate surrounded EIAs time frames, large administrative processes and appeals against decisions have not delivered sustainable outcomes. Hence the strong focus and dominance of EIAs indicates a weak sustainability approach.

Strong sustainability thus provides a critique of such an economistic conception of environmental management, emphasized by Bond (2002) which forms the basis of Ecological Modernization. Strong sustainability literature is continuously evolving and is in fact a critique of ecological modernisation. The discourse of ecological modernization or mainstream environmental management is criticized for explicitly avoiding addressing social contradictions (Blowers and Pain, 2001). The inequalities of wealth and power, which are particularly evident in developing countries, form a barrier to the creation of partnerships and co-operation in environmental decision- making. With the reliance of science and technology for assessing environmental impacts and creating solutions, social and development issues are side-lined as they are both difficult to conceptualize and measure. Ecological modernisation does not adequately deal with social questions related to assessing who benefits and who development processes impact upon (Blowers and Pain, 2001). To this end the LA21 approach and principles provides an opportunity to integrate strong sustainability imperatives into the development and planning processes.

Thus the issues of self-determination, decentralization of decision – making, quality of life and social development are marginalised in ecological modernisation discourse (Hajer, 1995). Policy strategy is based rather on a belief in progress and the problem solving capacity of modern techniques and skills of social engineering to master and control environmental problems.

Part of the shift to a more democratic policy making is the inclusion of other stakeholders in the process of public participation (Taylor, 1995). LA21 calls for local LA21 and local action 21 in this regard and rests fully at the local governance level which is closest to people. Ecological modernization therefore does not take heed of other inputs into decision - making. Consequently,

the large volume of literature, emerging now on the procedures and methods for adequately addressing and representing the voices of the different social groups in the environment and development field in respect of decision-making processes deals with the shortcomings of ecological modernization (Douglas and Friedman, 1998; Oelofse and Patel, 2000). Hajer and Kesselring (1999) note the wide range of experimental institutional practices to make decision-making more democratic as part of the principle of sustainable development. However, participation remains a legitimating process with marginalized groups playing a limited role or remaining altogether “invisible” (Blowers and Pain).

Ngobese and Cook (1997) argue that in the late 1970s more pragmatic environmental movements began to emerge which looked at the development agenda from a different angle incorporating the issues of environmental justice and broader questions on sustainability. Within the international arena sustainability was being viewed and defined more as a holistic approach that addresses the issues of economic, social and the biophysical dimensions of the development arena rather than addressing a narrow “green agenda.” (Harrison, et al, 2008). Within this context, these movements started to resemble an adoption of stronger sustainability approaches to development. However, it must be noted that some forms of radical environmentalism in themselves may become conservative representing views of weak sustainability.

Strong sustainability is part of a more radical view that states that unless current global economic and social systems are fundamentally and structurally altered then sustainability will remain an elusive goal (Oelofse et al, 2002). This approach focuses on social, ecological and environmental justice and requires a shift in the conceptualization of the relationship between humans and the environment. It requires that humans see themselves as part of the environment, rather than as the objective “other” able to transform and manage the environment (Redclift, 1994). Ecocentrism and deep ecology, as forms of environmentalism, represent a strong sustainability approach (Redclift, 1994). A critical review of these frameworks of “competing” worldviews of sustainability, i.e., strong and weak indicates that it is problematic to consider these views as binary (Oelofse, et al, 2002). These concepts need to be extended to form a continuum of positions (Oelofse, et al, 2002). Specific social and political contexts frame the construction of sustainable development discourses and these will be implemented and different positions adopted in each historical and geographical context (Oelofse, et al, 2002). However, it is the notion that different sustainability discourses exist and that these will alter the social construction of tools for sustainability that is important (Hajer, 1995).

Strong sustainability is not defined and some may even argue that there is no cohesive strong sustainability discourse. This is partly due to the fact that the discourse of strong sustainability is firstly a critique of Ecological Modernization (which reflects a form of weak sustainability) and modernization in general (Blowers, 1997). Ecological modernization does not adequately deal with the social questions related to assessing who actually benefits and who development processes impact upon (Blowers and Pain, 2001), whereas strong sustainability demands a people-centred approach. Pointing out the deficiencies of weak sustainability, the strong sustainability discourse suggests what needs to be considered and done to aim for stronger sustainability. The discourses related to strong sustainability draws from a range of ideological and theoretical viewpoints including social, ecological and environmental justice, ecosocialism, neoMarxist demodernisation perspectives, and deep ecology (Harvey, 1996; Blowers, 1997, 2000; Pepper, 1999; Taylor, 2000). While these represent some diverse and even oppositional viewpoints, they share common aspects:

In broad terms the alternative discourse of strong sustainability contends that “nothing less than fundamental social and economic changes” are required to cope with the global environmental crisis (Blowers, 1997: 846). Current global economic and social systems based on a capitalist approach to development need to be substantially altered to achieve sustainable development. Institutional and social arrangements require restructuring and economic thinking need to be transformed (O’Riordan, 1993; Gibbs et al., 1998). How exactly this is to be achieved is the subject of much debate, and some radical perspectives would even argue for a stateless, moneyless and market less economy (Pepper, 1999). Others argue for an increased role of the state to ensure that the poor and disadvantaged receive protection and assistance from the state, particularly in light of the increased vulnerability of these groups in a global neo-liberal economy. The provision of state support structures, including welfare, housing, social services, education and health are still vital to ensure that environmental conditions do not deteriorate further (Blowers, 1997).

Whatever form economic change is proposed, the importance of the local context is emphasized as being the key focus of efforts leading to stronger sustainability (Pepper, 1999; Blowers, 2000). More and more frequently local problems are caused by geographically distant consumers and producers (Gould et al., 1996, cited in Blowers, 2000). To counteract the effects of globalisation and the international economy, therefore, the strong sustainability discourse argues for

decentralisation and the reassertion of localism, to create a “protective space” for local communities and regions (Pepper, 1999: 25). Linked to this then would be a decreasing dependency on external markets, through increased self-reliance, autonomy and self-determination. This would also involve a focus on meeting basic needs through self-sufficiency (Pepper, 1999).

Central to strong sustainability is the need to address issues of social inequality, which are intricately linked to issues of power, through environmental and social justice (Blowers, 1997; Taylor, 2000). The poor are the most vulnerable to environmental impacts and change, and are unequally exposed to environmental hazards. The environmental justice movement, which originated in the United States, has politicised these inequalities, drawing attention to the need to ensure justice in all development decision-making (Taylor, 2000).

While the environmental justice movement has focused on the exposure of marginalized groups to pollution, its precepts are applicable to all kinds of developmental impacts and concerns. Environmental justice “puts the survival of people in general, and of the poor and marginalised in particular, at the centre of its concerns” (Harvey, 1996: 386). It therefore moves beyond concern for the biophysical environment alone to recognise the complex human dimensions of the environmental problem. In other words, it is “a people-orientated way of addressing ‘environmentalism’ that adds a vital social, economic and political element” (Szasz, 1994: 153, cited in Harvey, 1996: 410). Dealing with environmental problems requires a confrontation with the fundamental underlying processes that generate social and environmental injustices, leading to the transformation of these processes (Harvey, 1996). These would include “power structures, social relations, institutional configurations, discourses and belief systems” (Harvey, 1996).

Linked to Harvey, 1996 the notion of strong sustainability is the need to promote the participation and empowerment of affected individuals in any development context. Strong sustainability argues for the redistribution of power, allowing for local communities to take control of, or at least contribute to, decision-making that affects their livelihoods and living environment. This requires a commitment to “a participatory framework of decision-making which provides people with effective power” (Blowers, 1997: 867). While participatory democracy is not without its difficulties, including lengthy and contradictory decision-making and participation fatigue, sustainable change requires that people are given greater freedom and responsibility in decision-making (Blowers, 1997; Oelofse, et al., 2002).

Essential to participatory democracy, is ensuring that the concerns of local communities are not excluded by the use of non-scientific or non-technical language in policymaking processes. Expert discourses have often been deployed by those in positions of political or economic power to attempt to diminish the importance of local viewpoints or concerns (Harvey, 1996). Scientific or other formal institutionalised arguments should be balanced by local discourses, arguments and traditional forms of knowledge.

In South Africa and at the national and provincial levels strategic planning and strategic environmental management have been conducted as separate processes. At national and provincial levels sustainability is assessed within sectoral departments. The State of the Environment Report assesses sustainability at only the national and provincial levels. The main tools for planning at these levels are the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) and The Growth and Development Strategy (PGDS). These documents reflect the need for sustainability mainly in terms of pro socio- economic, infrastructure and governance developmental issues (Harrison, et al, 2008).

Within the South African context, IDPs provide an opportunity for the integration of sustainability into this strategic document mandatory in the many municipalities. Coetzee (2002) states that IDPs can be seen as South Africa's version of LA21 and it provides an avenue for strong sustainability to emerge. Despite this, Sowman (2002) and DEAT (2003) argue that the integration of sustainability into IDPs is rare. Harrison (2003) states that part of this problem lies in the focus on the process issues of the IDPs rather than the content. What is seen to be emerging in the formulation of most IDPs, is the lack of sustainability integration and a dominance of social and economic concerns.

The strong sustainability discourse thus gives voice to a range of concerns or issues most strongly expressed at a local level and by or for those who have experienced the inequalities of the current development paradigm. It brings together a diverse group of interests from urban communities in the North dealing with environmental justice issues, to radical green movements seeking alternative sustainable lifestyles, to rural communities in the South dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods.

How then can the strong sustainability discourse make an impact on the status quo in environmental politics? Bond (1999: 28) argues that for meaningful change to happen requires transcending these diverse interests through the establishment of stronger alliances “between community, labour and environmental activists”, both at a local and global level. As Harvey (1996: 401) contends, “the environmental justice movement has to radicalise the ecological modernisation discourse”. This requires dealing with

“the material and institutional issues of how to organise production and distribution in general, how to confront the realities of global power politics and how to displace the hegemonic powers of capitalism not simply with dispersed, autonomous, localised, and essentially communitarian solutions ..., but with a rather more complex politics that recognises how environmental and social justice must be sought by a rational ordering of activities at different scales. ...such a movement will have no option, as it broadens out from its militant particularist base, but to reclaim for itself a non co-opted and non-perverted version of the theses of ecological modernization” (Harvey, 1996: 400-401).

For a developing country such as South Africa, the strong sustainability discourse offers a more socially relevant approach to managing the relationship between society and the environment. It recognises the social contradictions and complexities of the ‘environmental problem’, and suggests that if meaningful change is to occur on the road to sustainability, more attention needs to be given to issues of social justice, inclusion and empowerment.

The Ecological Modernization approach relies on science, technology and expert dominated processes in order to effect change (Hajer, 1995). He further argues that Ecological Modernization does not deal with basic social dynamics. Whilst it is often stated that Ecological Modernization lacks the foundations of strong sociological thought, Buttel (1999) argues that Ecological Modernization has introduced new thinking around environmental problems and solutions. He cautions the social science community to move with caution and take into account both the strengths and weaknesses of Ecological Modernization (Buttel, 1999). He further adds that processes with strong recognition of identity for citizens can strengthen the ecological modernization approach and produce stronger sustainability outcomes.

Having discussed both strong and weak sustainability the following section turns to review how the above strong sustainability discourse discussion allows for a critique of Ecological Modernization.

2.4 Ecological Modernization - A Critique

This section also reflects how the principles of strong sustainability can be applied to reveal the weaknesses and gaps in the ecological modernization theory. The environmental debates of the 1990s focused on environmental problems that were much less the object of direct sensory perception (like smoke and odour) or common sense understandings and were constructed differently in terms of scale, time, and techniques. Hajer (1995) argues that arriving at well-defined problems is an interpretative activity calling for exactly what is the problem and who defines the problem and herein emerges contradictory claims, hence resulting solutions can all emerge differently. These problems take what has become known as the 'global biosphere' as their level of analysis, and portray problems that will often only materialize many years from now. The understanding of current environmental problems has ceased to be a matter of direct experience, but is a matter of complex scientific extrapolations and of mathematical calculations (Hajer, 1995). Such understandings require the employment of many experts and expensive supercomputers, and, consequently, it is limited to this group of experts who define the key problems. This is the basic premise of Ecological Modernization. They also assess the urgency of one problem vis-à-vis other possible problems and implicitly often only conceptualize the solutions to the problems they put forward. The layperson depending on sensory perception and everyday experience is totally disqualified from this process (Hajer, 1995). Hajer (1995) argues that environmental problems and their solutions are embodied in environmental discourses which then dominate policy-making.

This literature review attempts to explore the ecological modernization approach to environmental issues and problems. It must be noted that this section presents the theory of ecological modernization. This review will also attempt to understand whether this approach promotes strong sustainability at the local level. The approach of ecological modernization is a policy oriented discourse in environmental politics that came about in the 1980s and 1990s. The literature on ecological modernization continues to evolve, since the concept first originated through the work of Joseph Huber in the 1980s (Huber, 1991, cited in Buttel, 1999). The environment and development debate first started in 1972 at the United Nations (UN) Conference

on the Human Environment, significant changes have occurred in environmental politics (Hajer, 1995; Duarte, 1999). Pepper (1999) and Duarte (1999) argue that the manner in which environmental policies are conceived and conceptualized have changed from the 1970s notion of “limits to growth” to assumptions that economic development and environmental protection can be reconciled (Pepper, 1999; Duarte, 1999).

The concept of sustainable development as developed by the Brundtland Commission is central to the ecological modernization discourse. State regulation is recognized, but the role of the state is now to be “supplemented by strong international organizations as well as local governments” (McDonald, 2002:58). Hajer argues that the emergence of ecological modernization literature and thinking in the 1980s recognizes the structural character of the vast range of environmental problems that face the world but still continues to assume that the existing political, economic, and social institutions are sufficient to protect the environment (Hajer, 1995). This suggests that there is no conflict perceived between environmental protection and economic growth, in fact they are assumed to be mutually supportive (Murphy, 2000).

In the ecological modernization framework, market mechanisms are given a prominent role in determining the nature of environmental management. There has therefore been a strong focus on costing externalities so that they can be brought into the marketplace. Whereas the early motivation for this was to leverage the internalization of external costs, there is now a growing emphasis on using such costing to provide the basis for trading pollution credits (Hajer, 1995). This trend is most noticeable in climate change negotiations where the ground (or rather the atmosphere) is being prepared for the privatization of rights in “carbon credits”. Lohmann (1999), points out that this market is already being ‘rigged’ in the interest of the northern and corporate interest. He sees the consequences as the commodification and enclosure of the atmosphere as well as the further dispossession of land to make way for afforestation. Within the discourse of ecological modernization, McDonald, (2002:58) states that, forms of accumulation are naturalized as “progress” and poverty is constructed as the condition of being without development. In this manner, poverty is seen as isolated from the process of accumulation of wealth that in fact defines development. At the same time environment is placed in opposition to development. Access to resources is presented as conditional in modernizing development. Within what is represented as the common project of humanity, it is assumed in ecological modernization theory that economic growth the only option is to mitigate the “hazards” of development to achieve this growth.

Ecological modernization literature further suggests that environmental protection is perceived as a source of economic growth by emphasizing the mutually reinforcing benefits of resource efficiency and waste minimization (Christoff, 1996; Pepper, 1999). The internalization of environmental impacts and associated costs of industrial development through the concept for example of “pollution pays principle” has led to tremendous growth in waste management, recycling and associated technological innovation (Christoff, 1996). Ecological modernisation is conceptualized as a positive approach to environmental management with associated economic benefits. It uses the language of business to stress the cost effectiveness and efficiency of changing to improved environmental practices, leading to improved market competitiveness (Hajer, 1995; Christoff, 1996). Drawing from Mol, Berger et al. (2001:57) refer to this as “the institutionalization of ecology into the social practices of production and consumption..... to redirect economic practices into more ecologically sound ones”.

An assumption of ecological modernization is the role of technology and innovation in bringing about environmental change, aimed at reducing pollution emissions on-site and encouraging more efficient use of resources, including the use of renewable resources and the conservation of energy (Berger et al., 2000; Blowers, 2000; Murphy, 2000). As Hajer (1995:32) argues the ecological modernization literature turns the “ecological crisis” upside-down – “a threat to the system now becomes a vehicle for its innovation”. Ecological modernization theory suggests that through the development of more sophisticated technologies environmental problems can be addressed. Innovation has also been encouraged in the development of environmental policy, through the introduction of economic concepts, mechanisms and principles which encourage environmental reform (Berger et al., 2000; Murphy, 2000).

The apocalyptic dimension of the ecological situation seems to emerge in the present-day environmental debate. But in contrast to the early seventies, eco-alarmism in its present form seems to reflect growing uncertainties and anxieties related to the changing character of late modern society. Such uncertainties and anxieties do not only pertain to high-consequence risks, as exemplified by the Chernobyl accident, but also to local problems of providing safe drinking water from the tap ((Berger et al., 2000; Murphy, 2000).

Ulrich Beck's risk-society theory, elaborated by Anthony Giddens, analyses these eco-anxieties against the background of changing conditions of modernity. Because of its overall pessimistic

undertone and its basic questioning of the role of science and technology in overcoming an eco-catastrophe, the risk-society theory seems to fundamentally contradict ecological modernisation theory (Beck, 1986).

Furthermore ecological modernization perceives environmental protection as a management problem (Hajer, 1995). Through the combined efforts of society, government and the private sector, the environmental problem can be adequately managed and controlled. Ecological modernization suggests that there is “a techno–institutional fix for the present problems” (Hajer, 1995: 32).

The growing influence of the ecological modernization literature has proposed a more dominant role for science and scientific experts (Hajer, 1995). Science has taken the role of identifying environmental problems and solutions. Debate surrounding environmental issues is “conducted via scientific evidence and counter-evidence in a culture of expertise” (Blowers, 1997: 851). Systems ecology and more integrative ecological ideas relating to carrying capacity have become important in environmental policy and decision-making processes (Hajer, 1995). Ecological modernization thus relies on the quantitative measurement of environmental degradation and environmental impacts (Oelofse et al., 2002).

New environmental policy principles and techniques have been developed, allowing for the environmental costs of development to be internalized. These include the “polluter pays principle, cost benefit analysis, risk analysis, the precautionary principle, tradable pollution rights and the levy of charges on pollution activities, as well asresource taxes and emission taxes” (Hajer, 1995:27).

It is assumed in ecological modernization theory that, the state’s role with business has also changed under ecological modernization from strictly regulatory to a more participative and enabling one. State-business partnerships reflect a relationship which is “complementary rather than conflictual” (Blowers and Pain, 1999: 226). Ecological modernization encourages cooperative and voluntary arrangements with and between the state and industry, opening up new ways of regulating environmental impacts (Christoff, 1996). The state therefore plays the role of encouraging companies to undertake self-regulation, by providing a “framework for incentives and standards for environmental performance” (Blowers, 2000: 378). This corresponds with

changes world-wide in state relations with civil society, including South Africa, which have moved from government to governance (Berger et al., 2001).

Ecological modernization theory also proposes that there should be an involvement of the public in environmental policy making. A range of participation procedures and methodologies have been developed to ensure more democratic policy making (Oelofse et al., 2002). In the urban context participation approaches include LA21 which is aimed at promoting sustainable city development (Blowers and Pain, 1999).

Related to the above, with the expansion of ecological modernization literature, there are documented reviews of environmental groups increasingly being involved in collaborative relationships with business and government as part of environmental policy making processes (Blowers, 1997; 2000; Mol, 2001). By accepting that there are environmental problems, the ecological modernization approach “seeks to bring to an end the sharp antagonistic debates between the state and the environmental movement that were characteristic of the 1970s” (Hajer, 1995: 28-29). Ecological modernization therefore internalizes the potential conflict in the environmental arena (Harvey, 1996).

This shift in concepts about the relationship between economic growth and the environment has led to ecological modernization literature being appropriated by many environmental groups. Duarte (1999) suggests that the reasons for this shift are complex, but in part relate to an active strategy by environmentalists to legitimate their claims in negotiations with the state and business.

Ecological modernization ultimately seeks the restructuring of national economies resulting in industrial sectors “which combine higher levels of economic development with lower levels of environmental impact” (Gouldson and Murphy, 1997, cited in Murphy, 2000: 2). This would accord with the shift in emphasis away from resource and energy intensive industries to service and knowledge based industries at a national level as part of the post-Fordist economy. However, this does not account for the continuation of resource and energy based industry elsewhere in the world to meet global demands.

Looking at the theory of ecological modernisation, it is too early to ascertain the full extent of the applicability of this theory to different economic, cultural, political-institutional and geographical

settings and locations around the world. Much of the literature converges, however, in finding that the approach and tools of ecological modernisation theory are useful for social scientific analysis and policy formation, even where all conditions for development of ecologically modern institutions do not yet exist. At the same time, some processes of ecological modernisation are global (even while others are not), and thus this body of theory remains at least partially relevant to understand environmental management and practice around the world (Mol, 2000; Sonnenfeld, 2000).

As a maturing but still young school-of-thought, it is only natural for ecological modernisation theory to expand the understanding of important dimensions of contemporary life inadequately addressed by other environmental social scientific approaches. Here the roots of this theory in classical European social theory are real strengths in addressing issues of consumption practices and consumer behaviour, taking positions between 'realists' and social-constructivists, and understanding the development of cultural institutions and practices. According to some writers, ecological modernisation theory in addressing these issues may ultimately not only contribute to environmental social science and policy, but also strengthen linkages between those trans-disciplinary pursuits and mainstream social science (Mol, 2000; Sonnenfeld, 2000).

Across the spectrum of the ecological modernisation theory literature review, it is reflected that this area of knowledge is still being developed. Consequently various aspects of this theory would still need to be substantiated and clarified. Within this context the critical issues of the dynamics of both institutional and political imperatives would need to be further developed within the theory of ecological modernisation. In addition the role and significance of environmental organisations, other social movements, non-governmental organisations etc. would need to be elaborated upon in the ecological modernisation theory. This is particularly important in countries with weaker histories and institutions of popular participation.

In focusing on the tools of environmental management it is important to define what a tool is. Sustainability tools can be considered as mechanisms for working towards the principles of sustainability. As a result of mainstream construction of environmental problems as issues that can be addressed through science and technology (Hajer, 1995), the dominant tools employed globally and in South Africa tend to be technical procedures that are often reactive to environmental issues. Current mainstream tools for sustainability tend to focus on procedures or formulae for solving environmental problems, rather than providing theoretical frameworks for

the critical and reflective analysis of the problems (Oelofse et al, 2000). These tools represent a weak rather than a strong sustainability approach.

Literature suggests that countries in the developing world including South Africa have adopted the environmental assessment policies and practices of the developed world (Lee and George, 1998). This scientific, managerial and technical approach to the environment focuses on large scale projects with a strong focus on the 'green environment'. This viewpoint is supported by the authors, Hajer, (1995), Dryzek, (1997), Adjer et al, (2000), where they argue that within this utilitarian logic, the ecological modernist discourse on environmental protection issues are reduced to those of management issues. This has led to the dominance of technical and institutional tools to underpinning environmental assessments. Framed with a techno centric paradigm, these tools have tended to concentrate on the biophysical environment and neglect the social issues that are harder to measure. The writers, Duenez, Houghton, Oelofse, Scott (2002), suggested that these mainstream environmental assessment procedures and practices fall short of fulfilling development and social goals in developing countries. They further add that in the post-apartheid South Africa, a complex process of political and social transformation is taking place and this provides an opportunity for changing practices and tools in environmental management and assessment.

In the context of South Africa's emergent economy key questions are raised like: are our technological choices appropriate; will they enhance our development or retard it; and will they contribute to the consolidation of a democratic future or impinge on our hard-won constitutional rights? These questions imply that technologies are not neutral, but that their adoption has specific political, social and environmental consequences. In raising these questions we are interrogating the development path, the industrial strategy and raising the issue of democratic oversight over the technologies choices. The recent revival in South Africa of the push for economic growth, especially in the form of the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA), raises questions about how development is conceptualized. Nowhere is the disjuncture between the growth strategy and sustainability criteria more explicit than in the state's promotion of certain technologies in projects like the aluminum smelting, nuclear reactors and genetically modified crops. The South African government's commitment to technologies is partly made in accordance with the view within mainstream macroeconomic analysis, that growth is the panacea for development. There is also large scale spending on infrastructure and the dismissal of small and medium scale technologies which will enhance small business. There is

also a bias towards a technological nationalism which sees high technology as an important indicator of the nation's global status. These values need to be reversed for bigger development dividends, for example renewable energy technologies. Some key technological choices promote unsustainable development in South Africa. Despite legal and constitutional provisions, notions of sustainability have yet to be integrated into the macroeconomic and industrial policy thinking (Fig in Buhlungu et al, 2007).

Sustainability tools are beginning to shift taking cognizance of the development context in a society such as South Africa. Ecological modernization theory due to its assumptions about the relationship between the social and the natural world, has led to the development of a specific set of environmental management tools.

The critical aspects of a critique of ecological modernization theory are discussed in the following paragraphs. Firstly, ecological modernization takes for granted the ideal of development as economic growth. Consequently, the practice of ecological modernization reproduces this modernist paradigm (Duarte, 1999; Seippel, 2000). This suggests a revival of mainstream development theory (Christoff, 1996). Ecological modernization is "a moderate and conservative theory confirming business as usual" (Blowers, 1997: 853). It has wide appeal since it does not require any major changes to contemporary economic imperatives, which still tend to take priority in development and environmental decisions. Hajer and Fischer (1999: 3) contend that ecological modernization and its story-line of 'sustainable development' are caught in 'the culture of progress', which believes that, once recognised, environmental problems "can be handled by the institutions of science, technology and management". Ecological modernization therefore does not encourage existing institutions to question the normative and cultural premises underlying their practices (Hajer and Fischer, 1999). For those who believe that the free market economic system is a root cause of environmental degradation, poverty and underdevelopment, ecological modernization presents serious shortcomings.

Secondly, ecological modernization is based entirely on western or Eurocentric industrial experience (Blowers, 1997; Christoff, 1996). Ecological modernization discourse assumes that western affluence and growth can be universally applied in a sustainable way. While aspects of modernization may apply equally well in developing countries, others have proved to be unsustainable.

As Blowers (1997: 854) notes, “(s)ubsistence economies which are prevalent over much of the South may actually be more sustainable than modern agricultural systems based on the intensification of production”. The wholesale appropriation of ecological modernization discourse could have dangerous results in developing countries which depend upon primary resource exploitation to fund local economic growth (Christoff, 1996; Blowers, 2000). The assumed conditions for ecological modernization – “economic prosperity, an efficient market, technological advancement, an enabling state and a plural, inclusive society” - are either not present or are poorly developed in developing countries (Blowers and Pain, 1999: 267).

Some of the negative effects of the ecological modernization approach are evident in the pulp and paper making industry in South East Asia. While the influence of ecological modernization on environmental management has resulted in cleaner production technologies, it has not led to a decrease in the use of resources, otherwise termed “dematerialisation” (Sonnenfeld, 2000). Technological innovation in production has also resulted in job losses with associated high costs to society. Ecological modernization therefore exhibits serious shortfalls in its application to the developing world, and does not consider alternative approaches to development and sustainability, based on non-western cultural experience.

Thirdly, a related factor is that ecological modernization explicitly avoids addressing the social contradictions that earlier environmental discourses suggested (Hajer, 1995; Blowers, 1997; Berger et al., 2001). Ecological modernization rather focuses on technocratic and institutional solutions, giving precedence to efficiency at the cost of social equity (Oelofse et al., 2002).

Ecological modernization does not call for structural change to the economic status quo, and ignores the fundamental issues of social justice, redistribution and democracy that should accompany an approach aligned to sustainability (Pepper, 1999; Guldbrandsen and Holland, 2001). It neglects to give attention to the divergent interests reflected in society and particularly to wealth and power inequalities, which act as a barrier to co-operation in environmental decision-making (Blowers, 1997; Oelofse et al., 2002). This is especially relevant when considering the appropriateness of ecological modernization discourse in South Africa’s developing context, characterised by high levels of social inequality.

A reliance on science and technology for problem solving and environmental management means that “social and development issues are sidelined as they are difficult to both conceptualise and

measure” (Oelofse et al., 2002: 4). For example, sustainability indicators tend to emphasise the ecological dimension while neglecting social issues (Blowers and Pain, 1999). While more recent versions of ecological modernization incorporate the notion public participation and their inputs to feed into the decision-making, many of these processes have limited power sharing options. In this situation the more dominant groups like business and government strengthen their relationships, whilst smaller and vulnerable groups such as children, women, aged, disabled groups, youth etc. are marginalised (Blowers and Pain, 1999).

A fourth criticism of ecological modernization discourse is its national focus. By focusing on changes within nation-states, ecological modernization ignores the global dimensions of economic development in relation to sustainability issues. While certain European countries may be making strides in reducing waste and resource consumption, much of this is because environmental impacts have been displaced elsewhere in the world, particularly to developing nations (Christoff, 1996; Blowers and Pain, 1999; Blowers, 2000; Cohen, 2001).

A related factor is globalisation itself. The pressures placed on countries to perform in the international marketplace have led to increased export dependency, specialisation and a lack of local control (Pepper, 1999; Mol, 2001). Globalisation tends to reinforce the economic growth of core areas at the expense of peripheral developing countries. The theory of ecological modernization fails to consider the environmental impacts of globalisation, which are often related to issues of poverty and control over local resources. The approach of ecological modernization is therefore not compatible with aims of achieving global sustainable development (Blowers, 2000).

Lastly, Cohen (2001) points to the apolitical nature of ecological modernization. By reducing the role of the state and turning instead to the market, business and science to bring about improved environmental responsibility, ecological modernization conceptualizes fewer opportunities for direct political engagement (ibid). As Guldbrandsen and Holland (2001: 130) note, since business is considered apolitical and “a taken-for-granted good”, it is not questioned in the same light as stronger environmental positions which are often construed as political and even radical. This is illustrated in Guldbrandsen and Holland’s (2001) research into the American Heritage Rivers Initiative in North Carolina and Virginia. This project, which is aimed at preserving the ecological and cultural integrity of the New River, exhibits all the trademarks of ecological modernisation, expressed in a partnership between the state, business and environmental NGOs.

These environmental groups are encouraged to engage as equal partners, however in reality they are obliged to temper their positions and concerns in line with economic imperatives (Guldbrandsen and Holland's, 2001). As shown here, ecological modernization theory often excludes the consideration of more politically sensitive environmental issues or concerns.

Ecological modernization theorists such as Mol (2001), Frijns et al. (2000) and Sonnenfeld (2000) argue for adjustments in the current western-based ecological modernization discourse to overcome its inadequacies related to the local development dynamics of developing countries, particularly within the context of globalization. However, this perspective still upholds the central tenets of the theory of ecological modernization, focusing on continued modernization while taking consideration of, and adapting to, environmental and societal constraints. Essentially ecological modernization theory is based on a belief in progress and the capacity of modern technologies and techniques to manage environmental problems (Oelofse et al., 2002.) Consequently critics perceive this discourse as promoting a weak form of sustainability (Pepper, 1999; Oelofse et al., 2002). Conversely, a more radical alternative to ecological modernization has been put forward, which can be broadly defined as the strong sustainability discourse.

Hajer (1995) states that the implementation of the theory of ecological modernization has been the foundation of the changes in the institutional procedures in the 1990s and formed the basis for policy making in the network society. Since then it has dominated the debate on environmental regulation and has also begun to dominate the conceptualization of environmental problems, solutions, and social strategies through which regulatory achievements are to be made (Hajer, 1995, 30). The ecological crises is thus seen as a "challenge for business", stimulating innovation (Hajer, 1995, 32). The notion that industry and business have to 'pay' for environmental pollution inherently suggests that there is "techno-institutional" fix for environmental problems. In respect of environmental assessment, the policy is to "anticipate and prevent" impacts with science playing a leading role in providing evidence of environmental impacts (Hajer, 1995). Ecological modernization relies on quantitative measures that reflect environmental degradation in monetary units to measure cost, or quantitative measures of impact derived from natural sciences. In this regard, Hajer (1995) argues that environmental protection is portrayed as a "positive sum game" within the discourse of ecological modernization. Blowers and Pain (2001) further add that this approach reduces resource consumption and pollution to sustainable levels and thus in this context the state's role then becomes the 'organ' to provide a policy and a regulatory framework

for environmental protection resulting in a complementary relationship between the state and the market.

Modernization as a model seeks growth at all costs. This leads to little restraint on industry and markets resulting in the depletion of natural and human capital. Fig (2007) argues that within the South African context there are three variants to the model. In the capital variant of modernization, investment entirely depends on the confidence and whims of owners of capital. A second variant which failed to deliver includes a number of state-led industrialization projects. A third variant is the “ecological modernization” one which essentially called for environmental services to be recognized and internalized in the cost of production. In South Africa this is evident in the carbon trading system (Fig in Buhlungu et al, 2007).

One of the major limitations of the ecological modernization approach in developing countries is that the assumed conditions for this approach to be successful are not evident or are poorly developed. Blowers and Pain (2001) argue that the discourse on ecological modernization explicitly avoids addressing social contradictions. The issues of self-determination, decentralization of decision-making, quality of life and social development are marginalized in ecological modernization discourse (Hajer, 1995).

Taylor (2000) states that, part of the shift to a more democratic policy making is the inclusion of other stakeholders in the process of public participation. There is now a large volume of literature emerging with regard to procedures and methods for adequately representing the voices of social groups in the environment and development decision – making processes (Douglas and Friedman, 1998; Oelofse and Patel, 2000). Hajer and Kesselring (1999) note the wide range of experimental institutional practices to make decision – making more democratic according to the principles of sustainability. This reveals a shift away from the original tenets of top-down policy making.

The social justice discourse is an alternative worldview or ‘counter culture’ to that of ecological modernization and critiques the latter for its focus on technocratic and institutional solutions, and its focus on efficiency at the cost of social equity (Hajer and Kesselring, 1999; Castells, 2000). The discourse of social justice addresses the issues of inequities through social redistribution of the benefits of society and therefore challenges the status quo by proposing changes in the economic and social relations to prevent continued environmental deterioration and social crisis (Blowers and Pain, 2001).

Beck's (1986) "risk society" theory considers ecological modernization as a shift in the objectives of modernization away from the distribution of wealth and the mastery of external threats to the management of dangers that are the inherent by-product of industrial society itself (Hajer, 1995, 36). Beck (1997) suggests that the ecological deficit of industrial society directly backfires on the institutions that have been erected to manage industrial modernization, hence requiring a shift away from mainstream environmental management approaches. The emphasis on weak sustainability is on the management of the benefits and dangers of development and the distribution of the environmental benefits and dangers of society.

It is argued that ecological modernization represents weak form of sustainability and that alternative approaches need to be adopted if sustainability is to make a difference to the future. While ecological modernization discourse promotes the participation of all stakeholders in environmental decision-making, it tends to depoliticise the environmental debate. However, in reality many environmental impacts are the direct result of unequal power relations, and participation approaches are not adequately applied to deal with these issues of power.

2.5 LA21

It is argued that the LA21 global programme is embedded within the paradigm of strong sustainability. The principles and approach that underlie LA21 call for a much more holistic development agenda encompassing the concepts social justice, inclusion, empowerment and equity that are neglected in the ecological modernization approach. The next section deals explicitly with LA21 as part of strong sustainability discourse.

LA21 is an internationally derived participatory planning process, which is underpinned by the principles of sustainability. This section examines the strong sustainability aspects of LA21. A strong sustainability approach recognizes that the way in which "the environment" is viewed is not the result of "objective facts" or the "universal laws of nature". On the contrary, our notion of the environment arises from the way in which we "look at the world and our place in it" (Healey, 1997:183). The way in which "the environment" is viewed is linked with our pre-occupations of daily living and social construction of webs of relationships within the world of pragmatic actions. Jobson, (2002), Khosla, (2002), South African Women's National Coalition, (2002), reflected this perspective that underpins and informs the social construction of LA21 and the Rio Summit of 1992.

The Brundtland Report of 1989 also provides a social construction of the notion of an Earth Summit. As Healey (1997, 183) so aptly says, the Brundtland Report attempts to merge “the biospheric dimensions of environmental care with a concern for the sustainability of human social relations”. LA21 resonates with a concern about the extent, “to which the way we live now” both globally and locally, are “reproducible in the long term” (Healey, 1997:184). Underlying this concern is the moral notion of “how we ought to live”. Central to the social construction of the concept of LA21 is a concern with improving the quality of life based on ethical grounds and not simply in terms of material welfare (Luckin, 2003). Khosla makes this point when she explains that despite the changed terrain of global governance between the time of the “Earth Summit of 1992” and the “World Summit on Sustainable Development of 2002, “women did take Rio home and are organizing to ensure that their concerns are firmly placed on the agenda of the WSSD” (2002:17). Khosla (2002) highlights the hope and inspiration surrounding the Earth Summit in the following example from LA21 (ICLEI, 1993):

LA21 explains that population; consumption and technology are the primary driving forces of environmental change and offer sustainable policies in this regard. It highlights how to reduce wasteful and inefficient consumption patterns and how to encourage increased sustainable development in various parts of the world.

LA21 provides options for combating degradation of the land, air and water, conserving forests and the diversity of species of life. It deals with poverty and excessive consumption, health and education, cities and farmers. There are roles for governments, business, and civil society organizations and vulnerable groups such as women, children etc.

It argues that the accounting systems that measure the wealth of nations also need to count the full value of natural resources and the full cost of environmental degradation.

A major theme of LA21 is the need to eradicate poverty by giving poor people more access to the resources they need to live sustainably. By adopting LA21, industrialized countries recognized that they have a greater role in cleaning up the environment than poor nations, who produce relatively less pollution.

LA21 calls on governments to adopt national strategies for sustainable development. These should be developed with wide participation, including non-government organizations and the public. LA21 puts most of the responsibility for leading change on national governments, but calls for various partnerships with organizations. These ideas formed the framing concepts of the Rio Earth Summit agenda.

Khosla (2002: 17) states that through the Rio Summit,

“Many years of networking and organizing has brought about agreements of issues important to both the North and South. It sealed better relations among the various social and environmental movements. The Rio Summit also introduced a new system of negotiations at the United Nations (UN). Civil society organizations were able to participate significantly in official UN proceedings. This provided the platform for Women’s voices to be heard and provided new space for civil society participation in future UN conferences”

The above quotation reflects the strong sustainability focus of LA21. Khosla stresses that the Earth Summit constituted an approach based on governance oriented toward an “equitable and sustainable planet” (Khosla, 2002:17). Through the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) established at Rio, the formal inclusion of the ‘voices’ of the marginalized, such as women, youth, indigenous people, trade unions, farmers, science and technology communities, local authorities and NGOs has progressively expanded in UN activities and Summits (ICLEI, 1992; Jobson, 2002: 81). As Jobson (2002: 84) points out, “sustainable development is a multilateral issue and demands a global solidarity between the peoples that inhabit the planet presently and in the future” which were exhibited both at the Rio Summit and the WSSD.

The concept of strong sustainability is therefore proposed here as the key framing concept framing LA21. The principles of LA21 were communicatively negotiated covering long and arduous participation routes traveled by a range of participants. Some of the principles cannot simply be selected in an ad hoc manner and then be used according to any particular notion of sustainability that is not located within the communicative context of LA21’s pragmatic construction (Luckin, 2003). On the contrary, all 27 principles of LA21 need to be considered when issues relating to sustainability of development within a locality are addressed. The need to decipher the context of sustainability at the local level is imperative, through an inclusive approach to the LA21 principles.

The following section sets out to develop a more critical framework within which sustainability can be evaluated and understood.

2.6 The Social Construction of Discourses in the Institutional Context

The intention of this section is to provide an understanding of the nature of discourses that operate within a set institutional structure. Hajer (1995) draws from Giddens's concept of the "duality of structure" (Giddens, 1984, cited in Hajer, 1995) in this discussion on the social construction of discourses. This concept is based on the premise that individuals are not completely free to act independently, but act within the context of the structures of society (Hajer, 1989). However, individuals also constantly reproduce and/or transform society and societal structures (Bhaskar, 1979 in Hajer, 1989). Therefore structures are conceived not only as constraints to action and human agency, but as enabling the transformation of society (Hajer, 1989; 1995). The relationship between structure and human agency is a dialectical relationship - structure and agency are interrelated and inseparable. Acts of power are only brought about through the relationship between individuals and societal structures. Structures alone cannot bring about societal change. As summarised by Hajer (1995: 58),

"Social action originates in human agency of clever, creative human beings but in a context of social structures of various sorts that both enable and constrain their agency. ... (S)ociety is reproduced in this process of interaction between agents and structures that constantly adjusts, transforms, resists, or reinvents social arrangements".

Taking this one step further into a discursive context, Sharp argues that individuals may be both "structurally influenced by the discourses to which they are exposed, but also to exercise some of their own agency in the reproduction of discourses" (Sharp, 1999: 148). Individuals' particular circumstances will determine which discourses they are exposed to, and therefore the discourses that they may reproduce in their personal and professional capacity. However individuals still do have a choice as to which discourses to subscribe to or appropriate, and which to dismiss, even though this is generally done unconsciously. These acts of human agency therefore make an important contribution to discursive reproduction (Sharp, 1999). It follows that individuals in the municipal context would play a key role in the reproduction of multiple discourses. It is also

possible for individuals to reproduce contradictory discourses in different contexts or circumstances (Sharp, 1999).

The way in which discourses interact with individuals can be applied to institutions (Sharp, 1999). In fact, Hajer (1995) argues that institutional arrangements are a precondition for the process of discourse formation and change. Institutions and their associated practices (whether they be policies, programmes or structures), require discursive 'software' to operate and produce effects. Discourses can be defined as:

“a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities” (Hajer, 1995).

It is the interaction of individuals within the institutional context that is key to Hajer's argumentative discourse analysis. As with individuals, the political realm of institutions is influenced and characterised by a plurality of discourses, particularly in environmental politics in municipalities, where problems are complex and comprise many different aspects (Hajer, 1993).

Actors can and do draw their arguments from more than one discourse at a time. A policy document on a certain issue may draw discursive elements from a variety of discourses. In the municipal context, specifically, influential sources of discourses will include national policy guidelines, legislation and even political party directives (Sharp, 1999). These discourses will compete for influence over the municipality, and this discursive competition will be “played out in terms of many small struggles (or non-struggles) over policy wording, decision-making structures, policy monitoring devices, resource allocation, and the detail of policy initiatives” (Sharp, 1999: 149). Similarly, municipalities produce and reproduce a range of discourses. Due to the volume of discourses produced and reproduced by institutions, the potential for discursive inconsistency, or contradictory discourses, is heightened (Sharp, 1999). This has huge implications for promoting strong sustainability.

According to Hajer, the relative influence of a discourse in an institutional context is expressed through the processes of discourse structuration and discourse institutionalization. Discourse structuration occurs when a discourse begins to dominate the way the institution conceptualizes the world, i.e. if actors draw on a certain discourse to ensure their credibility in particular context

(Hajer, 1993; 1995). This can occur at the level of policy documentation and in policy debates and rhetoric (Healey, 1999). Discourse institutionalization occurs when a successful discourse solidifies into institutional arrangements, organizational practices and policies, or as traditional ways of reasoning (Hajer, 1993; 1995; *ibid*). Thus the institutional structure and dominant policies and procedures of a municipality indicate whether a particular discourse has been institutionalized. Hajer (1995) notes that a discourse can be considered hegemonic when both discourse structuration and institutionalisation are achieved.

An institutionalised discourse can exert considerable power in the municipal context. Actors working within the frame of an institutionalised discourse can use their positions to persuade or force others to interpret and approach reality as they do (Hajer, 1993). Once institutionalised, however, a discourse still needs to be continually drawn upon (or reproduced) to retain its power. As Hajer notes, drawing from Davies and Harré, “discourse is reproduced through a sequence of speech situations” (Hajer, 1995: 55). The rules and conventions that constitute the social order need to be confirmed and reproduced in actual speech situations, for example, in documents and debates. Nonetheless, an institutionalised discourse can be difficult to change, due to its reproduction through institutional arrangements and practices. Sharp (1999) raises the important point that this discursive reproduction builds on longevity – in other words, through policy statements, programmes and institutional decision-making structures, discourses continue to be reproduced long after a decision on those statements, programmes and structures was made.

Institutional structures probably play the strongest role in entrenching a particular discourse. For example, a decision to split up environmental management functions in a municipal context into sectoral issues (e.g. air and water) can restrict the development of new ideas and related practices until reorganisation occurs (Sharp, 1999). This also illustrates the difficulty of deliberate policy-making efforts to bring in a new discourse to structure institutional action. The introduction of a new policy discourse may appear successful when it begins to be drawn upon by a range of actors. However, unless it filters down from the conceptual level of discourse structuration to the level of policy practices and/or structures, i.e. institutionalization, it cannot be said to have achieved its intentions (Healey, 1999). The issue of discourse institutionalization is of particular relevance to this research, which seeks to discover whether the LA21 discourse was integrated into integrated development planning and whether it has been institutionalized. This discussion of discourse institutionalization provides a context for understanding the concept of storylines and discourse coalitions which will be discussed below.

2.7 Story Lines

Having discussed Hajer's (1995) discourse analysis borrowing his key concepts on institutional context and discourse coalitions, the writer continues by now turning to a discussion on story-lines which is an important conceptual tool for this study and provides the foundation for the analysis of the empirical data. Hajer (1995) draws on Davies and Harre` (1990) to assist in defining story-lines as:

“Narratives on social reality through which elements from many different domains are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding” (Hajer, 1995: 62).

Hajer (1995) in his argumentative approach to discourse analysis introduces the concept of story-lines which assists in the analysis of inter-discursive communication. The great power of story-lines is their ability to regulate conflict by providing common ground between discourses, and therefore to suggest unity despite the variety of separate discursive components of a problem or issue. The concept of the story-line is based on the assumption that “the political power of a text is not derived from its consistency but from its multi-interpretability” (Hajer, 1995: 61).

A story-line is accepted and used in a certain context because it “sounds right”, the argument is reasonable, the power and image of the author of that position and the acceptability of the practice in which it is produced (ibid). Story-lines are powerful political devices (Hajer, 1995). Story lines form the basis of many problems, and often create a certain social and moral order in a particular domain. The nature of story lines allow for the clustering of specific knowledge bases, allowing actors to imbibe a particular view and to carry this out in the form of creating coalitions within a particular domain (Hajer, 1995). Story-lines play a functional role by creating various options to allow for the discursive complexity of a problem to be reduced, thereby allowing for a problem to be closed. They also allow different actors to expand their own understanding of a problem beyond their own discourse of expertise or experience. In other words, story-lines provide narratives that allow a variety of actors to illustrate where their work fits into the broader context of a particular problem (Hajer, 1995). Once story-lines become entrenched and used

often by various actors, they become permanent and tend to structure discussions thereby stipulating a specific approach to the problem (Hajer, 1995).

By reducing complexity and uniting diverse interests, story-lines have the ability to disempower, by drawing attention away from the contextual (situated) or social understandings of a problem (Hajer, 1995)). Vague story-lines which can be interpreted in a variety of ways by different actors, with different social and cognitive commitments, replace complex disciplinary debates. In the process, key issues will get ignored or left out, and debates can be concluded prematurely before these issues have been given sufficient attention (Hajer, 1995). As such, story-lines can promote certain interests while excluding others.

The concept of the story-line is based on Hajer's (1995: 56) claim that discursive understanding is made permanent by the "routinisation of cognitive commitments". This refers to the process whereby a person adopts a specific position and then sees the world from that angle, and in terms of the "images, metaphors, story-lines and concepts of that position" (Davies and Harré, 1990, cited in Hajer, 1995: 56). Routinised forms of discourse can be well entrenched in an institutional context, for example in the institutional arrangements and practices of a municipality. They are particularly effective because they avoid confrontation, as to argue against these routinised understandings is to argue against the institution itself. Discursive interaction within the "walls of routinised institutional structures" (Hajer, 1995: 57) is therefore restricted and limited to the accepted ways of talking about a particular problem.

To explain how story-lines unite a diverse range of actors around a shared issue or problem, Hajer has developed a second key concept - the discourse coalition. This he defines as "an ensemble of (1) a set of story-lines; (2) the actors who utter these story-lines; and (3) the practices in which this discursive activity is based" all organized around a discourse (Hajer 1995:65; 1993). Discourse coalitions are formed if previously independent practices are related to one another through the uniting force of a shared story-line and its associated discourse (Hajer, 1995). The key advantage of the concept of discourse coalition is that it shows how different actors and organizational practices can help to reproduce or entrench a certain perspective, without necessarily sharing core values or co-ordinating their actions (Hajer, 1993). Thus in a municipality, discourse coalitions could be formed around shared story-lines that are relevant to a range of municipal actors, even though these actors may represent a range of municipal functions and perspectives that are not necessarily aligned.

Discourse coalitions are different from political coalitions in the sense that they are linguistically based (story-lines are the foundation, not political interests) and the scope of participants is broader, due in part to the vague nature of story-lines and their ability to draw a wide range of role-players (Hajer, 1995). Unlike political coalitions, a shared understanding of a policy problem does not necessarily mean that members of a discourse coalition share a similar worldview (Bulkeley, 2000). However, this does not mean that the use of a discourse and its story-lines does not have power effects. In fact, the unity of a range of otherwise politically unconnected role-players around a shared story-line can exert considerable political influence.

Using these concepts, Hajer (1995: 65) explains how environmental policy making processes are based on a number of “credible and attractive” story-lines. Some examples include: “sustainable development is the alternative to the previous pathway of defiling growth”, “regulation of the environmental problem appears as positive-sum-game”, “pollution is a matter of inefficiency”, and “anticipation is better than cure” (Hajer, 1995). It is especially the most dominant discourse of the sustainable development discourse and its wide range of story-lines that has drawn together a diverse range of players from around the world to create the “first global discourse-coalition in environmental politics” (Hajer, 1995: 14). This discourse coalition shares a way of talking about the environment and development, but includes members with widely different agendas and worldviews. Because of the diverse nature of the members of this discourse coalition, sustainable development or sustainability as a story-line has become vague and can be interpreted in numerous ways. The paradox is that this coalition can only be held together by the vagueness of its story-line (Hajer, 1995).

Hajer (1993, 1995) has applied the concepts of discourse coalitions and story-lines to explore the politics of acid rain in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. His work indicates that alternative discourse coalitions to the hegemonic status quo, may achieve discourse structuration, but discourse institutionalization is much harder to achieve (Bulkeley, 2000). If discourse coalitions are not aligned to institutionalized policy communities, their impact and therefore their chances of discourse institutionalization are reduced (Hajer, 1995). Another important point raised by Bulkeley (2000: 734) is that actors can “draw on different story-lines in different contexts and therefore move between discourse coalitions” (Bulkeley, 2000: 734). This has important implications for research in that discourse analysis may reveal how actors are aligned with or influenced by elements of different discourses in different contexts. It is therefore not

possible to neatly divide actors into different discourse coalition groupings. Rather, research should focus on illuminating the discourses at play in specific contexts and how actors are grouped in different discourse coalitions depending on the particular issues being debated or discussed at the time.

2.8 Conclusions

The main aim of this thesis is to examine how the discourse of LA21 or other discourses operating within the eThekweni Municipality has been integrated into the IDP. The wide spectrum of weak and strong sustainability literature review provides the theoretical basis for this study. A critique of the ecological modernization discourse further provides desired approaches for strong sustainability. The overview of the LA21 discourse reflects the need for local action and the city level and the call for holistic stakeholder processes for stronger sustainability imperatives.

The key concepts of discourse analysis namely, story lines, discourse institutionalization and discourse coalitions provided by Hajer (1995) is the “lens” used to view the empirical discourse data within the eThekweni Municipality focusing on the municipality’s IDP. Hajer’s discourse analysis provides a filter to understand the key theoretical concepts in the actual institution itself- the eThekweni Municipality. Given the aims and objectives of the study, it is therefore important to ascertain the context within which the municipality operates specifically in respect of its LA21 programme and the IDP.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the international, national and local context for LA21 as well as the context within which the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is located. The main objective of this chapter is to outline these different contexts so that the writer is able to examine the key question of the study i.e. the extent to which the eThekweni Municipality integrates sustainability into its Integrated Development Planning process. In section 3.1 the international context and process of LA21 is described. Here the global status of the LA21 programme is explained. In section 3.2 the national context is briefly explained and how the LA21 programme was implemented at the local government level. Section 3.3 describes the eThekweni LA 21 programme. Here the policy initiatives and projects emanating from the city's LA21 are also highlighted. In section 3.4 the eThekweni IDP process at a metropolitan level is described.

3.2 International Context: LA21

LA21 is a programme run by the United Nations (UN) related to sustainable development. It is a comprehensive blueprint of action to be taken globally, nationally and locally by organizations of the UN, governments, and major groups in every area in which humans' impact on the environment (ICLEI, 1996: i).

LA21 was revealed at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit), held in Rio on in 1992 where 179 governments voted to adopt the programme. The final programme was the result of drafting, consultation and negotiation, beginning in 1989 and culminating at this two-week conference.

The four key local authority oriented LA21 targets which were set in 1992 state that:

- 1) "By 1996, most local authorities in each country should have undertaken a consultative process with their populations and achieved a consensus on a local LA21 for the community;
- 2) By 1993, the international community should have initiated a consultative process aimed at increasing co-operation between local authorities;

- 3) By 1994, representatives of associations of cities and other local authorities should have increased levels of co-operation and co-ordination with goal of enhancing the exchange of information and experience among authorities;
- 4) All local authorities in each country should be encouraged to implement and monitor programmes which aim at ensuring that women and youth are represented in decision making, planning and implementation processes.” (UN, 1993:233).

From November 2000 to December 2001, ICLEI undertook a global survey of Local LA21 processes with the UN Secretariat for the World Summit on Sustainable Development in collaboration with the UN Development Programme Capacity 21. The Survey Report documents the extent to which local authorities had responded to LA21, and the global action plan stemming from the 1992 Rio Earth Summit (ICLEI: *Local Governments' Response to LA21: Summary Report*, 2002).

The purpose of this survey was to evaluate the progress made in the implementation of LA21, to explore the constraints faced by local authorities, and to document the support needed for these processes to grow worldwide. Local authorities and local authority associations completed separate surveys. Some key findings of the survey include:

1. Various local governments' worldwide submitted 633 surveys and various associations completed 146 surveys, representing 113 countries in total.
2. A total of 6416 local authorities in 113 countries have either made a formal commitment to LA21 or are actively undertaking the process.
3. National campaigns are underway in 18 countries accounting for 2640 processes.
4. In 59 % of responding municipalities the LA21 process has been integrated into the municipal system
5. Water resource management is the common priority issue for municipalities in all world regions.
6. LA 21 in all regions, and regardless of economic situation list lack of both financial support and national government political commitment as key obstacles to greater success (ICLEI, 2002).

The survey analysis indicates that the number of LA21 processes has increased dramatically in all regions of the world. Local Governments construct, operate and maintain economic, social and

environmental infrastructure, oversee planning processes, establish local environmental policies and regulation, and insist in implementing national and sub-national environmental policies, hence they play a vital role in educating, mobilizing and responding to the public to promote sustainability (Chapter 28, LA21, 1992).

The survey stated that effective monitoring and evaluation processes responsive to local needs will encourage a focus on action and results. The survey demonstrates that national support, as evidenced by national campaigns, greatly assists in embedding LA21. It was proposed that there is need to increase this support and collaboration worldwide, particularly in middle and lower income countries. In addition to national local agenda campaigns, national policies that strengthen local governments' abilities to pursue sustainability are essential.

Since the 1992 UN conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) known as the Earth Summit, there has been an increasing awareness of the fundamental importance of local governments and their communities in responding to the sustainability agenda. The role of local authorities was recognized at the Earth Summit Chapter 28 of LA21.

Chapter 28 of LA21 (ICLEI, 1992: 3) stated that “because so many of the problems and conditions being addressed by LA21 have their roots in local activities, the participation and cooperation of local authorities will be a determining factor in fulfilling its objectives.

The Localizing LA21 Programme (LA21) together with the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) constitutes UN HABITAT's Urban Environment Unit. The Habitat Agenda, resulting from the second United Nations (UN) Conference on Human Settlements in 1996 (Habitat 11), subsequently encouraged “the involvement of all interested parties at the local level in the formulation of agreements and local measures, progress and actions necessary to implement and monitor the Habitat Agenda, including inter alia LA21 processes” (Habitat Debate: Vol. 8 No. 2, June, 2002: 2). The ways in which human settlements behave and grow determine not only their own degree of health and sustainability, but also that of the larger global community.

In 2002 the United Nations (UN) held the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD-Johannesburg Summit, 2002) to measure global progress on LA21 and to encourage new commitments and specific actions to achieve sustainability. The full implementation of LA21, the Programme for further Implementation of LA21 and the Commitments to the Rio principles, were

strongly reaffirmed at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg, South Africa from 26 August to 4 September 2002.

This process included regional and international consultations and expert meetings as well as the preparation of a dialogue paper submitted to the JHB Summit secretariat. As part of this review, ICLEI, with the support of the UN Secretariat for the JHB Summit and in collaboration with Capacity 21, conducted an international survey of Local LA21. This survey was a follow-up to the 1997 Local LA21 survey and a study of responses by local authorities and their national and international associations to LA21 (ICLEI, Local Governments' Response to LA21: Summary Report, 2002).

The international survey revealed that in South Africa there are only 20 cities, or 0.3% of the world total cities, which have LA21 programmes. Approximately four municipalities have integrated LA21 into their Integrated Development (IDP) processes (LA21 Data Base, 2002). Approximately 92% of South African LA21 initiatives are project based or located outside of the Integrated Development Planning process (LA21 Data Base, 2002). The following section provides insight into how the national programme in South Africa was rolled out and communicated (Todes, 2008).

3.3 National Context: LA21

This section will show how LA21 has been implemented in South Africa. South African cities mirror the global urban crisis in virtually every respect, from the environmental and social impacts of inadequate housing and services, to the impacts of highly developed urban areas (KwaZulu-Natal: Local LA21 Information Pack, 1997). What began as a global initiative at the Earth Summit of 1992 is being implemented through programmes at the national, provincial and local levels. The changes called for, according to the World Commission on Environment and Development, requires a vast campaign of education, debate and public participation. The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) placed much emphasis on the development of educational materials which are a high priority for the department (Urban Econ and Peart, 1997: KwaZulu-Natal LA21 Information Pack, 1997).

South Africa has a plethora of LA21 projects and programmes being implemented in various cities. However ten of these initiatives are formally endorsed as LA21 projects or programmes

and occur in the cities of Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London. These cities are official members of the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI), (KwaZulu-Natal LA21 Information Pack, 1997). The three metropolitan cities, Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg have participated in ICLEI's Model Communities Programme (MCP). The KwaZulu-Natal LA21 Information Pack reflects that for a period of three years, participation in the MCP not only provided an impetus for the development of LA21 projects and programmes but also augmented learning, sharing and networking among these three cities through the Cities Network. This arrangement provided for the development of a national network where many cities in South Africa which were involved with LA21 came together. This in turn gave rise to the South African LA21 Campaign, and contributed to the policy development work arena and redesign of institutional arrangements at the local government level in order to respond to the imperatives of Local LA21, e.g. the Durban Metropolitan Council. It also created a catalytic impact of many other LA21 initiatives in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal.

Accordingly, in 1996, the Province of KwaZulu-Natal developed a strong communication strategy to bring awareness to LA21 in the province and to give impetus to initiatives in this regard. Within this context, KwaZulu-Natal hosted provincial workshops on LA21 in 1997. Nationally the Department of Environment, Agriculture and Tourism initiated a national campaign and this provided for the establishment of the National Coordinating Mechanism in 1998. In order to give effect to the National LA21 Awareness Campaign, a strategy was formulated for execution. One of the main objectives of the strategy was to focus on the politicians in all three tiers of government and to embed the area of awareness and knowledge. In this regard national media developed various publications and guideline materials on LA21 to support this communicative process (KwaZulu-Natal LA21 Information Pack, 1997).

During 1997/1998 Department of Environment, Agriculture and Tourism executed three pilot project studies in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, focusing on the development of a LA21 approach for three medium sized local authorities. Through these projects there has been increased awareness of LA21, building of capacity within the local communities with regard to LA21 programmes and the development of indicators for sustainable development by which LA21 can be monitored and assessed.

Attempts have also been made by some municipalities to integrate the principles of LA21 to some extent into Local Government planning processes including Integrated Development Plans (Luckin, 2003).

3.4 Local Context

3.4.1 eThekweni Municipality: Local LA21

This section describes Durban's LA21 process. It sets the scene for understanding the results of the study in chapter five. Having discussed the international and national context, it is clear to see how the local context evolved. Durban's Local LA21 experience is a unique one and therefore understanding the context in which the programme was implemented is critical. Durban first committed to LA21 due to three critical factors. Chapter 28 of LA21 calls on local authorities to undertake participatory processes to develop a Local LA21 (LA21) programme for their area. Secondly, at the national level the post-apartheid democratization process had commenced, which allowed for new processes, new legislative contexts and new concepts to emerge and develop. Local government in South Africa has been in a continuous state of transformation since 1994. This restructuring of local government has impacted significantly on the development of Durban's LA21 programme and necessitated a phased approach to implementation as a result of transformation processes and the setting of new roles and responsibilities for various municipal departments. Thirdly, Durban was establishing in 1992 an Environmental Management Branch which became the LA21 champion in the city (Diederichs and Roberts, 2002).

Phase One (1994-1996)

Phase one of the LA21 programme covered the assessment and prioritization of Durban's environment. This work aimed to develop an environmental management system (EMS) to ensure that social, economic and ecological concerns are integrated into all planning and development processes within the city. The preparation of Durban's first State of the Environment and Development Report (SOE&DR) was embarked upon which formed the basis for the EMS (Diederichs and Roberts, 2002). Three institutions were involved in the SOE &DR project: Durban City Council, the CSIR and the University of Durban Westville's Institute for Social and Economic Research. Stakeholders were involved in the planning and execution of the project through the three consultative forums: an interim advisory committee to advise on the project brief development, a project advisory committee and forum for local government officials. In addition various case studies were also conducted. The final report was completed in June 1996

and highlighted numerous areas and issues requiring action. A community-based prioritization process resulted in the selection of the five following issues:

- 1) Promoting peace, safety and security in the metropolitan area (DMA);
- 2) Improving water and sanitation management;
- 3) Developing an integrated housing policy;
- 4) Establishing a structure to co-ordinate land use, transportation and environmental planning in the DMA;
- 5) Institutionalizing the integrated environmental management procedure of the National Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (Diederichs and Roberts, 2002).

Phase Two (1997-1999)

Phase two involved the policy formulation and planning process. Several strategic projects were initiated during phase two to address the priorities identified during phase one. These focussed primarily on policy formulation and planning, and aimed to develop a framework within which stakeholders could act or contribute towards improved sustainability. The projects included:

1) *The Durban Metropolitan Environmental Policy Initiative (DMEPI).*

The promulgation of legislation creating metropolitan level environmental management responsibilities highlighted the need for the institutional restructuring of local government structures in Durban. In response the Durban Metropolitan Council approved the development of the first environmental management policy and related institutional framework for the city.

The project was managed by a team with representatives from the Durban Metropolitan Council, the Development Bank of South Africa (co-funders of the project) and an independent consultant group (Common Ground Consulting). A Review Panel was established to represent the interests of all major stakeholders in the process.

A Public Visioning workshop was held at which stakeholders participated in the development of a vision for Durban's environment. A policy brainstorming session followed at which policy options on a range of environmental management issues were generated. These policy options were then reviewed by the Review Panel, before being finalized. A similar participative process was followed in the development of the Institutional and Procedural

Framework. The Framework provided guidance on policy implementation and the establishment of an Environmental Management System for Durban (Diederichs & Roberts, 2002). It motivated for the creation of a small, dedicated environmental management capacity at the metropolitan level to ensure coordination and cooperation between line functions and council structures as part of the city's final restructuring. It also identified the need to increase the interim capacity of the Environmental Branch. This interim restructuring was strongly opposed by some line functions within local government who feared the emergence of a new power base with overlapping and/or controlling functions.

2) *The Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) of the Durban South Basin*

The Durban South Basin is an environmental “hotspot” with a mix of heavy industry and residential land uses located in close proximity to one another in a topographically contained area. It is also the economic “heartland” of the city and South Africa's second most important manufacturing centre. Over a period of many decades it has become a focal point for community mobilisation around environmental quality and justice issues. The aim of the Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) project was to develop sustainable development guidelines to address existing problems in the area and to guide future development.

The findings of the SEA evaluation process suggested that the Durban South Basin was likely to retain an industrial character well into the foreseeable future. On the basis of these findings, a policy planning framework and action plan for the Durban South Basin was developed to assist government in dealing with the existing and anticipated development and environmental changes in the area (eThekweni Municipality, ABM documents, 2004). Although much time and effort was spent on this element of the study, it had a limited impact due to the heightened tensions which existed between local government and local communities as a result of the study's finding that certain future development options would result in the loss of existing residential areas.

3) *The Design of a Durban Metropolitan Open Space System (D'MOSS) Framework Plan*

The third project undertaken during Phase 2 focussed on the long-term protection and management of the rich natural resource base of the city. Although Durban has had an approved open space plan since 1989, there was a need to update and expand the plan following the demarcation of an enlarged metropolitan area in 1996.

The preparation of the Durban Metropolitan Open Space System (D'MOSS) Framework Plan involved a multi disciplinary team. "Urban Open Space" was defined as all vegetated areas or open hard surfaced areas within the urban environment. These spaces were seen as an asset to be protected and conserved and managed. The identification, mapping and classification of the open spaces considered to contribute to the creation of an ecologically functional open space system for the metropolitan region was undertaken.

A review of the relevance of an open space system to the needs of a growing African City demonstrated that open spaces provide services (e.g. water supply, pollution control) that are vital to meeting the basic needs of urban residents, particularly poor and conventionally non-serviced communities. In Durban the total replacement value of the services, delivered by the metropolitan open space asset was estimated, to be R 2.24 billion per annum.

4) *Community Open Space Development*

The majority of projects undertaken in Phase 2 addressed planning and policy development as opposed to focusing on tangible deliverables. A once off allocation of capital monies to the Environmental Management Branch for "greening programmes", however, provided the opportunity to demonstrate the practical advantages of improved environmental management to local communities. The project focused on the creation of usable open spaces in high density residential areas that would contribute to D'MOSS and help address community priorities such as poverty alleviation, improved quality of life, equal access to resources and job creation. Five sites in previously disadvantaged community areas were selected.

5) *An Education and Outreach Initiative*

A problem encountered during the Phase 1 of the Durban's Local LA21 programme was that environmental management and the concept of sustainability concepts were difficult for people to understand. In response to this a Local LA21 Environmental Education and Outreach Initiative was launched to:

- 1) To complement phase 2 projects through the production of a range of media products (i.e. booklets, pamphlets and brochures) that highlighted and discussed environment and sustainable development issues;
- 2) To promote educational and capacity building opportunities within phase 2 projects;
- 3) To undertake sustainable development and environmental management training;

- 4) To explore the use of more innovative educational mechanisms, such as street theatre, for communicating sustainable development concepts (Diederichs and Roberts, 2002).

Phase Three (1999 – 2000)

Phase three dealt with the transition and review process. Following the completion of phase two it became apparent that there was going to be a significant transition period as preparations for the post apartheid democratization process began for the establishment of the new Durban Unicity (Diederichs and Roberts, 2002). It was determined that the most strategic use of this time would be to consolidate work already done and lay foundations for programme development within the future Durban Unicity. The outcome was the initiation of the following five projects:

- 1) Cities Environmental Reports on the Internet (CEROI) project.
- 2) Documentation of Durban's Local LA21 Programme as an International Case Study.
- 3) Awareness and Preparedness for Emergencies at the Local level (APELL) project.
- 4) Education and Outreach Initiative Promotional Event.
- 5) Creation of an Interim Environmental Management Structure (Diederichs and Roberts, 2002).

Phase Four (2000-2002)

Phase four involved the preparation for the Unicity. The projects initiated during phase four were primarily a response to the transition from a metropolitan to a Unicity administration and looked towards building on work undertaken in previous three phases. It essentially comprised the following three initiatives.

1) *The Review of Environmental Performance within Local Government*

This involved advancing the EMS initiative to establish local government's sustainable development performance. During phase 4, the need to review local government's sustainable development performance was identified as the next step in advancing the process of EMS development. Council approval was thus obtained for a project to:

- review existing council policies, actions and decision – making in terms of environmental performance standards and guidelines specified within the Durban Metropolitan Environmental Management Policy and other external systems such as ISO 14001;

- identify strategic projects that will improve this performance;
- prepare business plans for the implementation of these projects and;
- establish public/private partnerships and/or identify funders to ensure implementation of these business plans.

2) *Preparation of a Unicity Environmental Services Management Plan (UESMP).*

This project focused on the extension of Phase two metropolitan open space plans to the new Unicity boundaries. This project focused on the extension of phase 2 metropolitan open space plan to the new Unicity boundaries. Key activities included:

- identifying, mapping and classifying all open space areas in the Unicity area;
- revision of the previous typology used for classifying open space areas; and
- the design of a new Unicity open space system. A detailed case study of the Umgeni River Catchment which refined and updated the open space plan in this area and more clearly identified development pressures and corresponding sources of environmental services was also proposed (eThekweni Municipality, Unicity Environmental Services Management Plan, 2003).

Although the project was completed in June 2001, the Environmental Management Branch is continuing to refine the UESMP during the remainder of Phase 4 (eThekweni Municipality, Unicity Environmental Services Management Plan, 2003).

3) *The Cities for Climate Protection Project*

The final project planned for Phase four has its roots in work undertaken during phase two. Concerns related to open space planning and air quality management suggested that there was a need for a broader focus on the global aspects of these issues. The question of climate change provided an umbrella under which the global impacts of many of these local problems could be addressed. This was given further impetus by a Bilateral Grant Agreement signed between DEAT and USAID to implement a South African programme to address global climate change. One component of this programme is a “Unicity Climate Change Initiative” that aims to engage South African cities in actions that will address both their own urban service priorities and those of the global climate change agenda (eThekweni Municipality, Climate Change documentation, 2002). Durban has been selected as one of the eight local authorities to participate in the project (Diederichs and Roberts, 2002).

3.4.2 Integrated Development Planning in the eThekweni Municipality

Integrated Development Planning (IDP) is a participatory planning process aimed at developing a strategic development plan to guide and inform all planning, budgeting, management and decision-making in a municipality. It views development problems and solutions in an integrated, multi-dimensional way (Department of Provincial and Local Government, (DPLG), IDP Guidelines, 2001). The IDP was first introduced in 1996 in an amendment to the Local Government Transition Act 209 of 1993. Thereafter in preparation for the final phases of local government transformation, government put in place the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000, which provided a stronger legislative basis for the IDP. The main purpose of this planning tool was to assist the newly constructed municipalities to perform their functions and responsibilities in a coordinated, strategic and developmental and financially responsible manner. It seeks to support the appropriate integration of sectoral strategies, in order to achieve the optimal allocation of scarce resources between sectors and geographic areas and across the population in a manner that promotes sustainable growth, equity and empowerment of the poor and marginalized (Department of Provincial and Local Government, (DPLG), IDP Guidelines, 2001). It is therefore a process that is closely aligned with the principles of sustainable development. IDP is the key planning tool in South Africa at present and so provides a vehicle or mechanism through which sustainability principles like that of LA21 can be integrated into the development planning in local areas (Oelofse, et al, 2002).

An IDP is a process through which municipalities prepare a strategic development plan, for a five year period. The IDP is the “principle strategic planning instrument” which guides and informs all planning and development and all decision-making (South Africa, 2000, Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000, S35 (1).” According to the Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) all municipalities (i.e. Metropolitan Councils, District Municipalities and Local Municipalities) have to undertake an IDP process to produce Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). The IDP is a legislated plan that supercedes all other plans that guides local development (DPLG and GTZ, 2001). The Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) lists two fundamental principles to be adhered to in the IDP process, namely:

- a) Firstly planning must be developmentally oriented and planning must support the role of local government as an agent of development. Consequently the IDP is a strategic tool for developmental local government.
- b) Secondly planning must take place within the framework of co-operative governance and in particular, municipal planning cannot take place in isolation. It must be aligned with the plans and strategies of national and provincial government as well as with the respective adjoining municipalities and district councils (South Africa, 2000, Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000).

Within the context of the eThekweni municipality and for the purposes of this study, a description of the four IDPs and their reviews that have been implemented in the eThekweni Municipality up until the time at which this study was undertaken, are presented.

3.4.3 eThekweni Municipality IDP Series (2002-2006)

The LTDF identifies key challenges and attempts to address these by the year 2020. The LTDF is driven by the city's 2020 vision:

“By 2020 the eThekweni Municipality will enjoy the reputation of being Africa's most caring and livable city, where all citizens live in harmony. This vision will be achieved by growing its economy and meeting peoples' needs so that all citizens enjoy a high quality of life with equal opportunities, in a city that are truly proud of” (eThekweni Municipality LTDF, 2001).

The key challenges identified in this IDP are to meet basic needs: unwind the legacy of apartheid, build skills and technology, and strengthen the economy: building on our strengths.

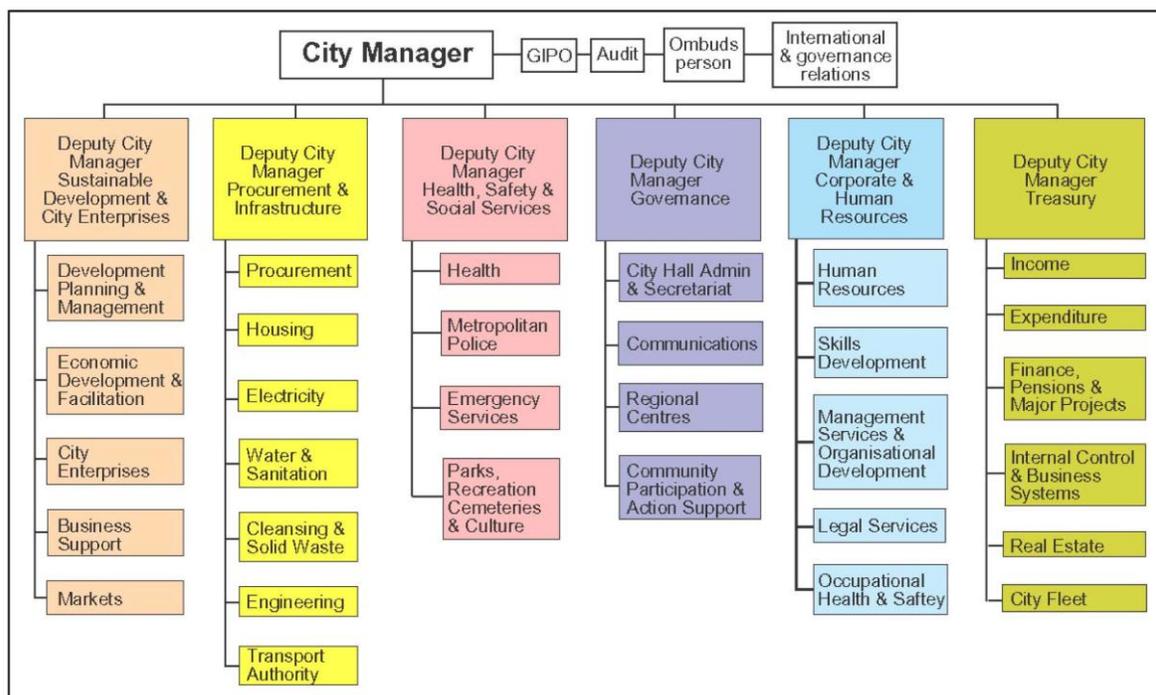
In 2002 an initial IDP was produced in response to the new Council for the eThekweni Metropolitan Area in December 2000 (eThekweni Municipality IDP 2002-2006, 2002). In order to realize the LTDF, the IDP became the key instrument for this realization. The 2003-2007 IDP is based on an institutional arrangement (see Figure 1 below) that is organized around strong strategic management to deliver on the IDP (eThekweni Municipality IDP 2003-2007, 2003). The first review for the 2003-2007 IDP resulted in the production of the 2003/2004 IDP reviewed document. The second IDP review reflected the period 2004/2005. The third IDP review reflected

the period 2005/2006. The scope of this study examined the IDP 2002 and subsequent reviewed IDPs of: IDP 2003/2004, IDP 2004/2005 and IDP 2004/2005.

The organizational structure of the municipality is designed to respond to the IDP. The development of the six strong clusters such as sustainable development and city enterprises, procurement and infrastructure, governance and so forth are designed to integrate service delivery and to “break down” a silo based structure that existed in the past. Although this structure may not have achieved total integrated service delivery, it has however improved the municipality’s approach to integrated service delivery outputs (eThekweni Municipality, 2003). The IDP reflects the City Managers as well as the Deputy City Managers performance measurements and hence, this strategy sits at the highest level of the municipality.

Figure 3.1: eThekweni Municipality Organogram: Aligned with the IDP (Source: eThekweni Municipality IDP-June 2003)

Approved Organogram Aligned with IDP



The various IDP reviews for specific periods in the 5 year IDP cycle are reflected in the Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Table presenting the IDP and Reviews (eThekwini Municipality, 2003), (Adapted from Source: eThekwini Municipality's IDP Review, 2003)

Integrated Development Plans IDP and Review IDPs	5 year Period Covered	Date of Publication of IDP Review Document	IDP Review Period
eThekwini Municipality Integrated Development plan: 2002-2006	2002-2006	December 2002	First IDP
eThekwini Municipality Integrated Development plan: 2003-2007	2003-2007	June 2003	2003/2004
eThekwini Municipality Revised Integrated Development plan: 2003-2007	2003-2007	June 2004	2004/2005
eThekwini Municipality IDP: 2003-2007	2003-2007	June 2005	2005/2006

December 2002 IDP

The strategy that dominated the 2002 IDP was a strategic needs-based approach (eThekwini Municipality Integrated Development plan, 2002). This IDP comprised of a sustainable development, service delivery, community services plan, administration plan, financial plan and a governance plan. The White Paper on Local Government (Department of Constitutional Development, 1998) and the new legislative framework provided a new context for local governance. The municipality is charged with the responsibility of being a developmental local government whose main function is to respond to socio-economic challenges in strategic and developmental ways (Department of Constitutional Development, White Paper on Local Government, 1998). The key challenges identified in the December, 2002 IDP were: unemployment, crime, poverty and HIV/AIDS. This IDP was prepared in the context of the Municipality's new vision that was formulated in preparation of the Municipality's Long Term Development Framework (LTDF) which encompassed a three-pronged strategy. The strategy was

to achieve a balance between meeting the basic needs and building economic development and a skills and technology base for the future (eThekweni Municipality IDP, 2002).

The December 2002 IDP spelt out the municipality's strategic plan of action for the next five years. It was a focused plan with targets, deliverables and timeframes. There was a focus on the relationship of the IDP and the new institutional arrangements. The Plan did include a strategy for sustainability the period 2002-2007. This strategy focused on the following key aspects; regeneration and renewal of existing residential areas; improving the environment for business; rehabilitation of existing infrastructure; and dealing with crime and HIV/AIDS (eThekweni Municipality IDP, 2002).

During this time, there was also a focus on the performance of the municipality which formed part of this plan. The White Paper on Local Government (1998) sets out the vision for developmental governance. The key thrust of the performance management system was to ensure that the municipality can be measured and held accountable for its performance by the community it serves (eThekweni Municipality IDP Review, June 2003).

IDP First Review: June 2003

The June 2003 IDP was the first review of the 2002 IDP. Integrating 'sustainability' into the IDPs of all South African cities had been a key national imperative following the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg in 2002. This imperative brought new challenges and new approaches for municipal functions. Accordingly, the key challenges identified in this IDP were; creating economic growth, jobs and income; meeting basic needs; pushing back the frontiers of poverty; developing our people; managing the HIV/AIDS pandemic; ensuring a safe and secure environment; reversing our unsustainable development path (eThekweni Municipality IDP Review, June 2003).

This plan still related to the LTDF and its key strategic thrust. In response to these challenges, which is specific to this IDP, *the eight point plan* is introduced as a way to ensure city sustainability and is reflected below:

- 1) Creating sustainable economic growth and job creation, as well as building strong and vibrant local economies
- 2) Regenerating existing residential areas to ensure higher quality of life for all citizens.

- 3) Balancing new development with renewal and maintenance
- 4) Mainstreaming responses to crime, HIV/AIDS and poverty alleviation
- 5) Focusing and integrating city delivery
- 6) Developing a financial strategy which balances developmental expenditure with a strategy to grow income
- 7) Ensuring local government is more accessible and accountable, assists citizen action and all spheres of government to ensure coordinated and integrated delivery
- 8) Maintaining the ecological integrity of the city (eThekweni IDP, June 2003).

This IDP comprised of the same plans as the 2002 IDP, but included an economic, planning and environment plan.

IDP Second Review: June 2004-2005

In 2004, the country had reached a historic milestone, the end of the first ten years of a democratic nation. Municipalities were required to integrate and co-ordinate with other spheres of government and stakeholders, in order to maximize social development and economic growth based on the principles of democratization, empowerment and redistribution (eThekweni IDP Review, June 2004). The June 2004 IDP Review constitutes the second review of the 2003-2007 IDP continuum. This IDP reflected key city outcomes that are expected from the city's strategic programmes. The chapters in this IDP were more focused on reflecting the strategic direction, key strategic programmes, key performance areas and indicators and responsibility matrix (eThekweni IDP Review, June 2004). The focus areas for the reviewed chapters are listed in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: The focus areas of the IDP 2003-2007

Chapter	Focus Area
3	Economic development and job creation
4	Quality living environments
5	Safety and security
6	Healthy and empowered citizens
7	Embracing our cultural diversity
8	Sustaining the natural and built environment
9	Local government democratization
10	Financial viability and sustainability
11	Budgeting and implementation of the IDP

This IDP introduced a new section on 16 core values which were to be implemented by the eThekweni Municipality. These ranged from sustainability, non-sexism, non-racialism, poverty alleviation, customer focus to non-discriminatory. These values were to guide the municipality in focusing on developmental local government. The eight main outcomes of this IDP, shown in Table 3.2 above remained more or less the same from the previous IDP with the rewording of some of the plans. A new plan was introduced, titled “Embracing our cultural diversity” (eThekweni IDP Review, June 2004).

IDP Third Review: 2005-2006

This IDP constituted the third review of the 2002 IDP. This IDP Review set out specific goals and links them to time-based targets and maintains the same eight point plan (See Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Key Challenges-IDP June 2004 (Source: eThekweni Municipality IDP, June 2004).

No.	Key Challenges (IDP-June 2004)
1	Low economic growth and unemployment
2	Poor access to basic household services
3	High levels of poverty
4	Low levels of literacy and skills development
5	Sick and dying population by HIV/AIDS

6	Exposure to unacceptable high levels of crime and risk
7	Unsustainable development practices
8	Ineffective, inefficient, inward looking local government

To address these challenges, the eight point plan was reshuffled to include an ‘Empowering our citizens Plan’. It also became more focused by including a section on key strategic choices for more effective delivery (See Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Key Choices: IDP June 2004

No.	Key Choices –IDP –June 2004
1	Logistics infrastructure
2	Zoning to increase densities and reduce sprawl
3	Diverse and sophisticated cultural and heritage offerings
4	Safe and healthy city
5	Good public transport system
6	Ecological and activity tourism
7	Clean air and clean industry
8	Ecological integrity

3.4.4 LA21 and Sustainable Development Planning

The Local LA21 Planning Guide, “An Introduction to Sustainable Development Planning” was developed by the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI, 1996). The Local LA21 Planning Guide outlines the concept of sustainable development and sustainability, the elements of sustainable development planning and makes use of worksheets, matrices, and case studies (ICLEI, 1996).

In many ways the “Sustainable Development Planning Guide”(ICLEI, 1996) is similar to the “Guide Pack” developed during 2001 for Integrated Development Planning in South Africa (DPLG, 2001).

Along with a firm commitment to sustainable development, Local LA21 has been formally adopted by the South African Government. In terms of its principles and process, Local LA21 is closely aligned with the IDP process (Coetzee, 2002). Local LA21 places a strong emphasis on

the creation of partnerships between local communities and local authorities as a means to accomplishing local level sustainability (Urquart and Atkinson, 2002). The formation of partnerships is an important element in the preparation process of an IDP. In its second phase, LA21 focuses on community-based issue analysis. This activity is a useful example of the needs analysis that is undertaken in the first phase of an IDP. Furthermore the formation of objectives, strategies and projects through the IDP is similar to the process of action planning advocated by the LA21 process. The LA21 process places great value on monitoring, evaluation and feedback. These are necessary for appraising progress towards sustainability. The LA21 process itself and the large volume of materials associated with LA21 can be a useful source of information for those developing IDPs. Past experiences with the process of implementing LA21 can provide both good examples and sound practices that facilitate the incorporation of sustainability principles into local government activities. These could contribute to the strengthening of sustainability in the IDPs. It is critical that LA21 and IDP processes are not seen as competing and separate processes, but rather that LA21 or local sustainability principles are incorporated within the various stages of the IDP (Coetzee, 2002).

3.5 Conclusion

This research aims to understand how sustainability was integrated into the eThekweni Municipality IDP and the subsequent IDP Reviews up to and including 2005/2006 IDP Review. In order to examine sustainability within the IDP, this study examines the extent to which the LA 21 principles and approach was integrated in the IDP process and whether the municipality's institutional structure supported the LA21 programme through the implementation of projects and programmes. Within this context the development of the LA 21 process and the essence of the eThekweni IDP-2000 and the subsequent IDP Reviews are described in this chapter to provide a background and context to the selected case study.

Internationally LA21 emerged out of the Rio Summit in 1992, recognizing the importance of local governments in contributing to realizing the goal of sustainable development. Within the South African context, the country was moving towards democracy and a new political order which provided an opportunity to embrace new international programmes and concepts that would aid in this democratization and new post-apartheid development process. In the local government setting these international and national processes resulted in the establishment of the

Environment Branch within the municipality and the LA21 programme was located in this Branch. In this context various LA21 projects were being implemented within the municipal area.

The IDP was instituted via the South Africa: Local Government Transition Act (Second Amendment) Act 67 of 1996. The Local Government Municipal Systems Act (MSA), Act 32 of 2000 calls for the alignment of budgets, performance management, community participation and sectoral planning. The White Paper on Local Government (1998) also calls for integrated planning. In this regard an IDP with its associated reviews should be produced by the municipality for a five year period to guide strategic action and decision-making in the municipality. Chapter four presents the methodological approach to this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The main aim of this section is to describe the guiding research philosophy and the data gathering tools that were used in order to collect the relevant information. This dissertation basically used a descriptive methodological approach and did not attempt to critically analyse discourse. The reason for certain methodological decisions that was taken in this study is also explained. The central element shaping the methodology is the literature surrounding strong sustainability (Duenez, Houghton, Oelofse, and Scott, 2002; Blowers, 2000; ICLEI, 1996) and Hajer's (1995) discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis is best described as the way people speak and write. It examines how language is used within specific contexts. It also provides inroads into understanding the possible meanings that people ascribe to certain discourses (Hajer, 1995; Durheim, 1999). Hajer argues that environmental problems are socially constructed by various social actors and can be found located in language that is used within these settings. Discourse analysis is the main methodology for this study which is to examine how sustainability was integrated into the eThekweni Municipality's IDP.

Discursive data was collected using semi-structured interviews with key eThekweni Municipal officials from the different development clusters and from the IDP and other municipal documentation. The analysis of the discursive data collected was analysed using Hajer's (1995) storyline approach, where similar patterns in the storylines was analysed in a thematic way. Other important concepts that are drawn from Hajer's (1995) discourse analysis approach are 'discourse coalitions' and 'discourse institutionalisation'.

Section 4.2 describes the primary and secondary data sources that were used for this study. Section 4.3 describes the rationale and method of the sampling technique employed for the study. Section 4.4 describes how the analysis of the empirical data was undertaken and discusses the discourse analysis approach, Dey's analysis approach, (1993 cited in Kitchen and Tate) and key

concepts of story-lines. Section 4.5 reflects on some of the limitations of the study and also on the role of the researcher in this study. Section 4.6 draws together some conclusions on this chapter.

4.2 Primary and Secondary Data Sources

The primary data for the empirical research is derived from 18 semi-structured interviews and IDP documentation sourced from the eThekweni Municipality. The secondary data consisted of books, journal articles which provided the secondary data for the literature review.

4.2.1 Primary Source: Semi-Structured Interviews

The main primary data was obtained via semi – structured interviews. Eighteen interviews of key individuals within the Municipality were conducted. The individuals constituted representation from a mix of departments namely: the IDP unit/office, environment branch, and others from the key development sectors/clusters in the Municipality. It must be noted that the researcher currently works in the IDP Unit of the eThekweni Municipality and has been involved in the IDP process for the past seven years. An “insiders” perspective thus contributed to the primary data and the research philosophy.

Although there are various techniques which can be used to collect data, the semi-structured interview was considered the most suitable in order to fulfill the objectives of the study. This qualitative approach allowed the interviewer more opportunity to pose additional or related questions to probe further into the enquiry. This interview style also supports a conversation and hence more freedom for the respondent to become comfortable (Kitchen and Tate, 2000). This also allows for face to face contact to share genuine interest in the information given by the interviewee. However, Kitchen and Tate (2000) caution that certain topics in the interview schedule could be omitted as the researcher concentrates on the conversation. In addition, due to the flexible arrangement of this type of interview, the sequencing and wording of questions to the respondent may not be consistent and hence decrease the level of comparability in the responses received. In this regard the researcher was forced to track the conversation and to carefully steer it to prevent the respondent from being sidetracked to other issues.

In interviewing a critical problem for the interviewers is that, many respondents do not know what the interviewer expects or require of them and, hence lack a clear understanding and conception (Turner and Martin, 1984 cited in Neuman, 2003).

The interview schedule (see Appendix 1) is arranged into five sections. Section A comprised of the details of the type of the interview group ranging from the housing group to finance, respondent number, and designation of interviewee as well as the number of years of experience. Sections B to E have a broad theme question with several sub-questions. Section B concentrates on questions that focus on drawing out information on what the discourses were that influenced the integration of sustainability into the IDP process. Section C places emphasis on how sustainability was actually integrated into each of the IDPs reflected in this study (IDP 2002; IDP 2003; IDP 2004; IDP 2005/2006). Section D poses specific questions on LA21 principles and their integration into the IDP process. Lastly section E concentrates on gathering data on how the institutional structure of the municipality facilitated the implementation of LA 21 principles and approach through projects and programmes.

These interviews were conducted mainly over the period of September to October 2005 at the respondents' offices. The interviews were all conducted by the researcher herself. The research process thus places emphasis on analysing interviews from the following key individuals: staff members of eThekweni (working on the IDP and those that have been involved closely, but not necessarily directly working on the IDP currently); members from the Environment Branch, members from Development Planning and Management Branch and staff members from other Development sectors and clusters. The following people were interviewed and their designations are also reflected in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: List of Respondents

No.	Name of Department	Designation of Person	Date of Interview
1.	Procurement and Infrastructure: Formal Housing	Manager : Research and Policy	23/9/2005
2.	Geographic Information and Policy Office : Corporate Policy Unit	Manager: IDP	23/9/2005
3.	Economic Development and Facilitation	Project Executive	26/9/2005
4.	Sustainable Development and City Enterprises: Development Planning	Area Project Manager	27/9/2005

	and Management		
5.	Procurement and Infrastructure: Transport Authority	Deputy Head	28/9/2005
6.	Geographic Information and Policy Office : Corporate Policy Unit	Principal Planner	29/9/2005
7.	Procurement and Infrastructure: Cleansing and Solid Waste	Head	29/9/2005
8.	Treasury	Deputy City Manager (of Cluster)	30/9/2005
9.	Geographic Information and Policy Office : Corporate Policy Unit	Planner/Researcher: IDP	30/9/2005
10.	Procurement and Infrastructure: Water and Sanitation	Head	4/10/2005
11.	Procurement and Infrastructure: Housing	Head	4/10/2005
12.	Procurement and Infrastructure: Electricity	Head	5/10/2005
13.	Geographic Information and Policy Office	Head	14/10/2005
14.	Sustainable Development Planning and City Enterprises-Planning	Acting Deputy City Manager (of Cluster)	6/10/2005
15.	Procurement and Infrastructure	Deputy City Manager (of Cluster)	11/10/2005
16.	Health, Safety and Social Services: Health	Head	11/10/2005
17.	Sustainable Development Planning and City Enterprises- Environment	Deputy Head	14/10/2005
18.	Office of City Manager	City Manager	23/9/2005

4.2.2 Documentary Data

The most important source documents were the Integrated Development Plans ranging from the period 2002 to 2005/2006. Other documentary sources that were considered, were relevant municipal projects, Long Term Development Framework, key legislation, national documentation on IDPs and LA21 as well as the ICLEI Sustainable Development Planning Guide. In addition important and relevant documents from the Environmental Branch were reviewed.

Table 4.2: List of important IDP documents

No.	Documents	Review	Date of Publication
1.	Long Term Development Framework		2001
2.	eThekwini Municipality Integrated Development plan: 2002-2006	First IDP pre-2002	December 2002
3.	eThekwini Municipality Integrated Development plan: 2003-2007	2003-2004	June 2003
4.	eThekwini Municipality Revised Integrated Development plan: 2003-2007	2004-2005	June 2004
5.	eThekwini Municipality IDP: 2003-2007	2005-2006	June 2005

4.3 Sampling

The Researcher is currently working in the IDP Unit and has been involved in the IDP process over the past seven years. This has provided her the opportunity to identify the important individuals that have been involved in the IDP process. In addition to this however, the researcher consulted with fellow members in the Geographic Information and Policy Office as well as senior officials in the Environment Branch and Development Planning and Management sectors before finalising the list of individuals to be interviewed (see Table 4.1). Although members from the Environment Branch and the other key development sectors (Electricity, Water and Sanitation, Treasury) were not directly involved in the workings of the IDP, the information they articulated assisted to provide an “outsiders” or objective perspective as well as critical information. In addition, in the eThekwini Municipality IDP process, all the development sectors had to contribute to the IDP process and were to some extent aware of the notion of IDP and its legislative requirements. Furthermore the delivery outputs of all the development clusters/sectors were to be in terms of the Municipality’s IDP. The type of sampling method employed was therefore a purposive method. Purposive sampling can be defined as a criterion-based selection in which particular settings, persons, or events and area are selected deliberately in order to provide important information. According to Kitchen and Tate (2000), the logic and power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for in depth study. Rich and well textured information and cases are those from which a great deal about issues of central importance for the purpose of the research can be learnt. Kitchen and Tate (2000) further add that selecting those times, settings, and individuals that can provide the information that is needed in order to answer research questions, is the most important consideration in qualitative sampling decisions. Purposive sampling targets a particular group of people (Kitchen and Tate, 2000).

In this study, purposive sampling was used to select the respondents that were to be interviewed. Furthermore, the researcher was more concerned with times, settings and the individuals, who have rich information rather than the quantity of the respondents. Respondents were therefore purposively sampled as they were the relevant and appropriate people to answer the questions on the eThekweni Municipality IDP process.

4.4 Analysis

The research adopts a qualitative method. This method can be defined in general terms as: “multi-method in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter....Qualitative researcher’s study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, cited in Mottier, 2005). It is important to have theories and concepts made clear in qualitative research. This will avoid the researcher from using his or her own ideas as this is likely to contain some assumptions, for example, like dominant cultural values and biases in this regard (Neuman, 2003). In addition, the researcher’s choice of which documents to use and external criticisms on document sources places numerous challenges on the integrity of the researcher (Novick, 1998 cited in Neuman, 2003). A researcher’s integrity is important in qualitative research where certain assumptions can weave into the areas interjecting personal opinion, not being careful about data gathering or even using the information collected selectively to support his or her own prejudices. Qualitative research involves taking advantage of personal insight of the situation, feelings and human perspectives to understand social life more fully (Neuman, 2003).

Qualitative researchers approach measurement very differently. They develop ways to capture and express variable and non – variable concepts using various alternatives to numbers. They often take an inductive approach so they measure features of social life as part of a process that integrates creating new concepts or theories with measurement (Neuman, 2003). How people conceptualize and operationalize variables can significantly affect social issues beyond concerns of research methodology, for example, different policymakers and researchers conceptualize and operationalize poverty differently (Neuman, 2003). How people measure poverty will determine whether people get assistance from numerous social programmes (e.g. child care, health care, food aid etc.).

Qualitative researchers also reflect on ideas before data collection, but they develop many, if not most, of their concepts during data collection. The qualitative researcher re-examines and reflects on the data and concepts simultaneously and interactively. Researchers start gathering data and creating ways to measure based on what they encounter. As they gather data, they reflect on the process and develop new ideas. The ideas give them direction and suggest new ways to measure. In turn, the new ways to measure determine how the researchers will continue to collect data. They bridge ideas and data through this type of continuing, interactive process (Neuman, 2003).

A discourse analysis has been undertaken in this research into the 'language' used at the different stages of the IDP process and through the different sectors of the eThekweni Municipality. Discourse analysis aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships between discursive practices, texts, and events and wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes. It strives to explore how these non-transparent relationships are a factor in securing power and hegemony, and it draws attention to power imbalances, social inequities, non-democratic practices, and other injustices in hopes of spurring people to corrective actions (Fairclough, 1993).

Discourse has been defined as a set of ideas, concepts and categorizations that is produced and continuously reproduced and then translated into practice with certain meanings given to both the physical and social realities (Hajer, 1995). Discourse analysis can be applied to any text, that is, to any problem or situation. This study draws on Hajer's (1995) discourse analysis methodology and, uses the key concepts such as 'story-lines', 'discourse coalitions' and 'discourse institutionalisation'. The main reason for adopting this method for analysis of the data was to understand why certain discourses emerged and became more dominant than other prevailing discourses within the eThekweni Municipality IDP process. Another reason was to examine how the municipal staff viewed sustainability in relation to the IDP process. The application of the key concepts to the collected data was also a strong point for using discourse analysis.

A key concept used is story-lines. A story-line is a narrative produced which actors can use for discursive categories to ascribe meaning to both physical and social phenomena (Hajer, 1995). Within this methodology the researcher searched for discourses and story-lines in the empirical data using a thematic approach.

To discuss the qualitative data, the researcher employed Dey's approach (1993 cited in Kitchen and Tate, 2000) which provides a useful method for the analysis of the qualitative empirical data. Dey (1993 cited in Kitchen and Tate, 2000) used an 'omelette' metaphor to explain qualitative data analysis, observing that omelettes were made by first breaking eggs followed by beating them together again in order to produce something that was quite different from its original form. In more technical language, the "core of qualitative analysis lies in these related processes of describing phenomena, classifying it, and seeing how our concepts interconnect (Dey, 1993 cited in Kitchen and Tate, 2000).

The description phase comprised the transcribing of all the data (from recorded tapes) that was collected during the interview process. At the end of each day of interview/interviews, the data was transcribed and saved into MS Word documents (Dey 1993 cited in Kitchen and Tate, 2000). This assisted the researcher to be as accurate as possible due to the immediacy of the transcriptions. Failure to accurately capture the interview discussion will weaken the analysis and impact of the validity of the study (Kitchen and Tate, 2000). In this process certain discourses and story-lines were beginning to emerge.

In the classification phase, the researcher used the categories as they appeared in the interview schedule. The response to each and every question in a specific category was then grouped together, with respondent number and category reflected, so as to prevent confusion of which respondent said what and in which category (Dey 1993 cited in Kitchen and Tate, 2000). The assembled responses to each question, in a specific category was then physically glued to large A1 sheets of paper and different coloured highlighters were used to highlight common discourses and storylines. In this process, immediate patterns of common and different perspectives from the text began to emerge clearly. After classifying the data into the respective categories, the relevant IDP, municipal projects, key legislation and the Long Term Development Framework documentation were reviewed.

Turning to the connection phase, the researcher then searched the data for linkages, synergies, connections, relationships among the various pieces of grouped data categories (Dey 1993 cited in Kitchen and Tate, 2000). The connection phase allowed the researcher to understand the dominant discourses and story-lines associated with how sustainability was integrated into the eThekweni Municipality IDP process. The analysis was thus conducted in a thematic fashion, so as to not lose any elements of the data. As a result main themes and sub themes became apparent.

From studying the literature on strong sustainability, the researcher has decided on the main concepts or indicators that would evidence of the existence for strong sustainability. These have been applied to understand to what extent the efforts of eThekweni Municipality towards integrating sustainability into the IDP process can be described as being characteristic of strong sustainability. The main concepts were drawn from the literature review. These concepts provide categories or themes for classifying the data. The empirical data collected via the interviews and in the relevant documents were analysed to determine the existence of the dimensions of strong sustainability. The interview schedule was structured according to these dimensions for strong sustainability in order to facilitate the analysis.

4.5 Limitations of the Research

There were three limitations experienced in the research: human agency and the interview process, possible subjective interpretation of results and possible subjectivity from an ‘insiders’ perspective. Due to human agency being a central part of the research interview process a certain degree of subjectivity as in most research projects, is recognized as part of a qualitative approach to data. The design of the interview questionnaire schedule, the type of questions raised, the choice of which questions to ask and probe, the interpretation of the results all possess the researcher’s subjectivity. In addition, the fact that the researcher currently works in the eThekweni Municipality and in the IDP office also raises issues of subjectivity in the research and providing an ‘insider’s view’.

In this case it is important to acknowledge the positionality of the researcher. Respondents could have also withheld information as a result of the researcher’s position working in the IDP office. This could have posed the limitation of not accessing all the viewpoints of each respondent as they may have not wanted to be too critical. Rose (1997) argues that a researcher places herself and her research subjects in the same ‘landscape of power’, which is the context of the research project itself. She further adds that the subjects must be seen in a different position from the researcher since they are separate and different from the researcher. She concludes by commenting that the difference between researcher and researched are imagined as distances in this landscape of power.

This work was undertaken as part of a coursework masters degree and on a part time basis which posed some time constraints. The fact that the researcher is engaged in full time employment

resulted in the research being conducted on a part time basis in between working schedules and after working hours. Another limitation was that the respondents themselves had time constraints as most of the interviews were conducted during their office hours. There was a tendency to rush through some of the questions.

4.6 Conclusion

Since the focus of the research was to understand the extent to which the municipality has integrated sustainability into its IDP process, only issues of sustainability integration within the ambit of strong sustainability theory was considered closely. The research methodology can be described as a two pronged approach of using both primary and secondary sources for information collection.

The methodology consisted of five steps namely: sampling of the respondents, design of interview schedule, conduct the interviews, analysis of the evidence (primary and secondary) and the interpretation of the results to develop conclusions, recommendations and implications.

Eighteen senior eThekweni Municipality staff from the Electricity, Water, Finance, Environment, IDP office, Development Planning and Management, Housing, Procurement and Infrastructure, Health and Economic Development sections were sampled purposively as respondents. The interview schedule was designed to collect data on discourses influencing sustainability integration into the IDP process, how and where did the integration occur in the different IDPs, integration of the LA21 principles into the IDP process and an examination on the institutional structure that facilitated the implementation of the LA21 principles and approach through projects and programmes. This was done in order to determine to what extent strong sustainability has been integrated into the IDPs. The interviewing by the researcher took place during and after office hours. A discourse analysis was undertaken to determine the discourses employed in the series of IDPs and to what extent these revealed evidence of strong sustainability. Dey's 'omelette approach' which proposed the use of constructing a set of categories or themes was applied to extract the discourses from the data. Chapter 5 presents a discussion of the results of the research.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INTEGRATION OF SUSTAINABILITY INTO THE INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING (IDP) PROCESS OF THE ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY: IDPs FROM 2002-2006

5.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the extent to which sustainability has been integrated into the eThekwini IDP process. In section 5.2, four IDPs have been scrutinized and respondents were interviewed in relation to these documents to understand how sustainability was integrated into the IDP. This section also presents the debates and discussions surrounding sustainability for the IDPs since 2002, namely: IDP 2002-2003, IDP 2003-2004, IDP 2004-2005, IDP 2005-2006. Respondents were interviewed to ascertain their thoughts as to how sustainability has been integrated and what the debates within these IDPs were. Section 5.3 presents the conclusion of Chapter 5.

5.2 Integration of Sustainability into the Integrated Development Plans

The integrated development plan (IDP) was first introduced as a municipal requirement in 1996 in an amendment to the Local Government Transition Act 209 of 1993. The timing of the legislative requirement that all transitional local councils prepare an IDP is significant, as 1996 was the year when the attention of the still-new African National Congress (ANC) government shifted firmly from the reconstruction of national and provincial government to the creation of a new system of local government. The IDP is the leading instrument of local planning in South Africa. It provides municipalities with a tool to align budgeting and project implementation with strategic priorities. It also allows for linkages and coordination across the growing number of sectoral plans, programmes and projects at the municipal level (Donk et al, 2008).

By 2001 the city's Long Term Development Framework (LTDF) was commissioned by the then Unicity Committee (a committee that had representation from the seven local councils that operated in the Durban Metropolitan Area). The LTDF was produced by the planning team in conjunction with the consultants, Monitor Company Monitor Group and Durban Unicity, 2000). In 2001, a strategic planning workshop with the then 200 councilors and 50 senior officials was held over a three day period in the Drakensberg at Alpine Heath. It was agreed at that workshop and expressed by Mayor Obed Mlaba that the LTDF was to be used as a basis to assist in the strategic planning workshop. The workshop was highly participatory and drew in much discussion and debates on the key development challenges facing the city and a host of other issues. The strategic planning workshop discussions held at Alpine Heath and the outcomes from those deliberations set the departure point for the formulation of the city's Long Term Development Framework (LTDF) which was compiled by Kisa Dlamini's¹ Transformation and Restructuring Team (TRT) and this framework was adopted by the city's executive committee in June 2001 (eThekweni Municipality: Corporate Policy Unit publication, 2004). This section presents a discourse analysis of the four IDPs produced between 2002 and 2005.

5.2.1 Sustainability and the 2002 IDP

This section examines the context in which the first 2002 IDP for the eThekweni Municipality was developed. The dominant storyline/discourses in the 2002 IDP are: 'a broad and strategic approach'; 'a people centered approach'; 'what is the meaning of sustainability'; 'conventional planning processes too detailed and slow and can be done by sectors'; 'a holistic development model'; 'sector inclusivity within the municipality' and 'detailed approach'.

For the early 2002 IDP, the eThekweni Municipality concluded that a broad level approach as opposed to a detailed comprehensive IDP approach as stipulated in the IDP Guidelines 1 to V (2001) will be used to produce the IDP. The approach to the IDP was broad and strategic and was based on the LTDF. It was contended that a conventional planning process involves a process of analysis, strategy development, project packaging, integration and approval (national IDP guidelines followed this phased approach), (Department of Provincial and Local Government, IDP Guide Packs I-V, 2001 followed this phased approach). The approach devised by the

¹ Kisa Dlamini was the then Head of the Transformation and Restructuring Team in the Municipality.

planning team (TRT) was one grounded in a more ‘holistic development’ model (eThekweni Municipality: Corporate Policy Unit publication, 2004). The new methodology consisted of seven steps: assessment of citizens needs, strategic prioritization, strategic budget allocation, project or programme prioritization, approval by city’s executive committee, implementation and monitoring/evaluation (eThekweni Municipality: Corporate Policy Unit publication, 2004). The city chose not to follow the national IDP guidelines in detail. Much of the detailed planning and sector data were left out of this document and it was decided that this detail would be incorporated into the projects or programmes.

Although the municipality departed from the national IDP guidelines, the principles of integration of social, economic and environmental were still woven in the aforementioned seven step process. The process of the municipality calls for a strategic and integrated process. Considering the limited resources available, only through integration would savings and service delivery for most of the citizens’ needs be realized for the municipality. The consideration of citizens’ needs, strategic prioritization, strategic budget allocation, project or programme prioritization, is in line with the LA21. The implicit approach to the integration of an approach that places people at the centre is interpreted in a variety of ways by different actors, with different social and cognitive commitments. These can replace complex disciplinary debates.

This can be seen in the response of Respondent 1 who noted that the creation of the first IDP “did not involve specialists departments within the municipality to add details to IDP but it included more general statements. People who took over the formulating and writing-up of the 2002 IDP did not have the knowledge themselves and did not involve people that had that knowledge of detail from the previous process, hence – a coup de tat happened” (Respondent 1, Housing, 2005).

Respondent 1 is referring to the prior process where different sectors of the municipality were engaged in the IDP formulation process and produced detail information relevant to their sector. However when the Transformation and Restructuring Team (TRT), where the Head of the team came from a background of Organisational Management. The TRT took over the process of actually writing up the document, and only a few individuals from the TRT were involved and the other sector people were left out.

He also argued that in the process “key issues will get ignored or left out, and debates can be concluded prematurely before these issues have been given sufficient attention” (Respondent 1, Housing, 2005). This reveals that certain story-lines can promote certain interest groups while excluding others. The use of the words “a coup-de-tat happened” is a very strong statement reflecting just how powerful story lines can be.

The two opposing storylines of ‘a broad strategic approach to IDP’ called for by the TRT and some respondents and ‘a detailed IDP approach’ called for by the sectors challenges the notions of strong sustainability, due to there being two factions. In the 2002 IDP, it appears that there was little cohesion in the approach within the municipality itself. It is important to note that sectors get involved in actual project/programme implementation of the strategy and their participation is crucial for sustainability.

The following response supports the storyline of ‘a multidisciplinary approach’ and an inclusivity of the sectors within the municipality to support an integrated approach to the IDP. The response also reflects the power of a few individuals to champion key municipal processes.

“There is a need to fundamentally change in developing our IDP to have a greater level of inclusivity and we can’t just discuss it with top management and politicians. No way a couple of individuals can know everything about healthy, environment water etc” (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005).

According to the respondents, there was strong debate among officials on what was relevant to be included in the IDP. There were respondents that stated that there was a need for a certain level of detail, not necessarily project/programme details but a bit more substance on the strategy. The technical infrastructural departments that have huge environmental impacts in their programmes and projects were calling for more detail. Hence it can be said that sustainability at the project and programme implementation level was compromised to some extent by this broad approach. This is also evident in the following comment:

“But there were tensions in the different camps on how detailed it should be, and we ran out of time and could not do more” (Respondent 10, Water and Sanitation, 2005).

Despite the above responses, an overwhelming majority of respondents supported a broad strategic approach at the time of the 2002 IDP development. The approach identified here as a

'broad strategic approach' storyline. It was felt that the city is of a significant size and planning at the scale of projects and programme details at this stage was not viable. One respondent argued that the main reason that the municipality took a strategic approach was that, there was only an initial consciousness among people about the ethos and thinking of the main intentions of the IDP. "Having a manual that explains how you solve every problem would not help at this stage rather to allow decision-making within a broad framework" (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005). The second reason the strategic approach was taken is simply that the scale of the city is large.

Harrison et al (2008), notes that when the IDP requirements were first introduced, there was considerable confusion as the IDP competed with other planning instruments like the land development objectives and other provincial planning instruments. It must also be noted that the city was in a state of flux as the then city manager (Mr. Felix Dlamini) had passed on. An acting municipal manager (Mr. Sbu Sithole) filled in this leadership gap. Communities had high expectations, post the December 2000 local government elections. Notwithstanding this, it must also be noted that this was the city's first IDP and local government at that specific time was requested to fulfill many mandates, for example, the mandate of developmental local government (Harrison et al, 2008).

If the IDP has to serve as a tool to strengthen sustainability in the IDP, then IDP guidelines on projects and programmes needs to be provided. Provided with detailed implementation guidelines, projects and programmes can then be viewed through a sustainability lens to bring about sustainable implementation. Guidelines would provide sustainability strategy closer to sustainable implementation. This storyline for not including the detail as requested by the sectors and keeping the document broad does not hold much weight for stronger sustainability.

In addition the use of international consultants (Monitor Company) to produce the first LTDF, on which this IDP was based on, raises a question around the kind of development approach used. Muller (2006) argues that whereas many of the more innovative cities around the world have over the past decade experimented with sustainability and dematerialization, South African local governments have used conventional modernist conceptual frameworks inspired almost entirely by American neoliberal planning traditions.

Another storyline from most of the respondents was that sustainability was strongly evident in this IDP. It was stated that sustainability was introduced via the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) which had a dedicated chapter called “Our Sustainable Development Plan” (IDP, 2002). Essentially the message of the SDF was that all plans flowing from the SDF should be based on the premise of sustainable development. It proposed that where development happens and how that development happens must be seen through a sustainability lens. Embedded in this was for all sectors to see how sustainability should also permeate their sector plans, hence the call for the integration for sustainability was paramount. However for sector buy-in, their participation and inclusivity is paramount. It appears that there are different views that exist in the municipality in the understanding of sustainability. An opposing storyline is reflected in the following response:

“The SDF does not say much; essentially it is a pretty picture. The details count and it is too broad to be of value” (Respondent 10, Water and Sanitation, 2005)

Storylines allow different actors to expand their own understanding of a problem beyond their own discourse of expertise or experience (Hajer, 1995). Storylines provide narratives that allow a variety of actors to illustrate where their work fits into the broader context of a particular problem (ibid). In this case the sectors were to look at their work using the sustainable development chapter of the IDP and the SDF. This was a difficult process, as noted by one respondent:

“Difficult process as it requires careful thinking to put an IDP in place that breaks down silos as the reality is that in the organization water and sanitation, audit and finance, traffic and transportation specifically work in their sectors in a sectoral manner. Their training is peculiar to their sector, so there was need to influence hearts and minds of officials and tell them what the IDP intentions are and what outcomes we are striving for” (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005).

The 2002 SDF called for efficiency, equity and sustainability but this was rather difficult to achieve in the absence of detail sustainability guidelines or a Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA).

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) document points out that the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management, published by the Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs in 2001, states that each municipality must compile a spatial

development framework, and that one of the components of this framework must be a Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA), (DEAT, 2002).

However, Muller concludes that none of the IDPs was informed by such an SEA (Muller 2006). The absence of an SEA to underpin the SDF does not augur well for strong sustainability within the context of the IDP. This links to the tensions identified earlier on levels of detail that an IDP should contain and this in turn impacts on what basis or level of information is available in order to make informed sustainability decisions. In line with this Sowman argues that integrating environmental issues requires an understanding of the project management cycles and systems operating within line departments and programme areas. She adds further the information needed at the different stages of the process needs to be identified. Although a variety of tools exist, it may be necessary to borrow and adapt tools from other disciplines, or design new tools to assist in the environmental integration process (Sowman, 2002). In this light the integration of sectors into the IDP process is important for sustainability. It also must be noted that the 2002 IDP was developed with huge time constraints in terms of meeting provincial deadlines. In addition the leadership in the city was in a state of flux with the city manager. Soon after this, a new city manager was appointed in 2002. In this state of flux legal requirements in terms of the IDP had to be met, hence a detailed SEA which is paramount for the SDF could have been comprised and thus the detailed integration of sustainability issues comprised

The use of sustainability concepts like ‘integration’ and ‘spatial development framework’ in this IDP does not necessarily mean that sustainability was actually implemented as mandated in the IDP. At this stage, the municipality was undergoing capacity skills issues on how to weave sustainability integration components into the IDP (eThekweni Municipality, IDP, 2002). Local government is further tasked with fulfilling national economic objectives. Understanding the national economic context reveals a dominant neo-liberal agenda of strong pro-growth, as well as a mandate to promote ‘pro-poor’ goals (Nel, et al 2003). As a result of the neo-liberal approach the IDP was developed as a “managerial approach” which is evident in the following comment:

The overwhelming response stating that sustainability was integrated into the 2002 IDP could also be construed as rhetoric. The sustainability agenda has succeeded in bringing opposing groups together within a single discourse coalition despite different motivations and priorities (Patel cited in Parnell, et al, 2008). Rossouw and Wiseman argue that environmental policy and legislation in South Africa contain democratic principles, but the opposing groups come unstuck

at the levels of implementation, enforcement and compliance (Rossouw and Wiseman, 2004, cited in Parnell, et al et al, 2008).

In respect of debates around sustainability, more than half of the respondents stated that there were many debates surrounding sustainability. The debates centered on whether sustainability is a plan that stands on its own or whether it reflects an overarching plan linking aspects of location and land for housing, key environment debates, linking economic opportunities to environment and transport nodes etc. Sustainability was also viewed from a financial perspective. Another storyline is the different conceptions of sustainability within the municipality. It is seen and is reflected broader than the 'green' environment and encompasses sustainable finance for the city and the need to collect property taxes from a broader tax base area. This is reflected in the following comment by respondent 14:

“Many see sustainability being about space and environment and they don't see beyond that. But sustainability can also be seen around the city's collection of taxes every year, but only from the same areas” for continued fiscal generation, a wider area is needed, hence financial sustainability” (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005).

This section has shown that the context influencing the establishment of the IDP was institutional instability with an acting city manager, lack of capacity in the Municipality to engage in the integration of sustainability into the IDP in a detail manner and time pressures experienced by the municipality to meet mandates. The dominant discourse was 'a broad and strategic approach'; 'what is the meaning of sustainability'; 'sector inclusivity within the municipality in the IDP process' and 'detailed IDP approach'.

5.2.2 Sustainability and the 2003 IDP

This section explains how sustainability was introduced into the 2003 IDP. The dominant discourses that appeared strongly in this IDP were: 'sustainability is everybody's business'; 'eight point plan'; 'environment seen as economic asset'; 'environmental protection via EIA regulations'; 'multisectoral approach for sustainability'; 'definition of sustainability'; 'shifting function of Environment Branch to focusing on biophysical environment'; and 'standards setting'. The majority of the respondents noted that sustainability had a stronger focus in the 2003 IDP. The June 2003 IDP contained a number of sustainability phrases such as "sustainability is

everybody's responsibility"; maintaining the ecological integrity etc. (eThekweni Municipality, IDP, 2003: 6). Sustainability was also evident in the internal processes that took place to develop the 2003 IDP which is evident in the following comment:

“But I think it was probably more our own engagement with saying that sustainability is a critical issue. It certainly was not a mass movement and even today, there is still not as many people as you would expect, thinking about sustainability – but far more than before” (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005).

The “sustainability is everyone's responsibility” story line also came about as a result of national government calling for inclusion of sustainability into the IDP process in all municipalities (eThekweni Municipality, IDP, 2003). In addition, sustainability was getting more coverage globally. This story line was also woven in national legislation such as the South African Constitution, NEMA and the Municipal Systems Act (RSA, 2000) but was only becoming implemented at this stage. The language of the IDP framed the strategic imperatives that the city should focus and consequently sustainability as a concept started to become more evident in this document. The story line of the need for sustainable development was emerging in various areas. It emerged as a result of increased awareness of civil society in sustainability issues as seen in the IDP Big Mamma Workshops, where strong sentiments for sustainability issues were expressed by members of the public (eThekweni Municipality, IDP, 2003). This is reflected in the following comment of a participant in the IDP Review Workshop “Big Mamma 4,” held on 22 February 2003:

“...but surely the issue of sustainability is everybody's responsibility, and does not just lie with a single cluster/department within the council and only in a single chapter of the IDP...” (eThekweni Municipality, IDP, 2003).

Hajer's (1995) idea of the need to gain sufficient public support in order for a new storyline to penetrate policy making institutions may therefore be true, which suggests that those subscribing to the ‘sustainability does not lie in one council department’ are yet to achieve this. Emotive appeals such as the emphasis of ‘sustainable development, forms the life breath of our IDP’ (eThekweni Municipality IDP, 2003) are representations that can be seen as an attempt to gain such public support for sustainability to be integrated into the IDP.

The municipality was aiming at this stage to embed the notion of sustainability into its new organizational structure by arranging into clusters to achieve horizontal linkages among the clusters (eThekweni Municipality, IDP, 2003). The IDP was also being tied to the city budget and the performance management system and sustainability was moving to a more corporate level than only being in planning and environment sections. This is evident in the 2003 IDP which is the most strategic document and often gets referred to as the Municipality's business plan which in turn is located in the City Manager's Office (eThekweni Municipality, IDP, 2003). The horizontal linkages were also an attempt to break down silos and to get, for example Water and Sanitation to work with Health and Health to work with Skills Development. In this regard a movement towards multi-sectoral approach was beginning to emerge which reflects an attempt towards a more sustainable approach within the municipality (eThekweni Municipality, IDP, 2003). A multi-sectoral approach across the development clusters was an attempt to dismantle the silo-based approach to service delivery and for the Municipality to operate with strong vertical and horizontal linkages in respect of the modus operandi of the clusters (eThekweni Municipality, IDP, 2003). In this regard the municipality was aiming to achieve integrated implementation and prevent duplication which augurs well for sustainability, especially at the project implementation level and integrated programme and strategy formulation initiatives of the municipality. This in turn lays the foundation for strong interdisciplinary collaboration, hence supporting strong sustainability.

IDPs are the business plans of the municipality and the municipal manager plays a big role in managing the review and implementation of the IDP process (Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000). This ensures municipal ownership and management of the IDP at the highest level and thus establishes a strong basis to call for the integration among the different sectors within the municipality. It is a municipal plan and is not located in any one department. The multi-sectoral ownership is central to IDP and this aligns with LA21 approach because the main aim of LA21 is to ensure that the social, economic and ecological concerns are integrated into all planning and development processes within the city (Diederichs and Roberts, 2002).

The 2003 IDP involved the development of an 'Eight Point Plan' (eThekweni Municipality IDP, 2003). The narrowing down to an Eight Point Plan promoted an environmental focus, since one of the plans was to "maintain the ecological integrity of the city" (eThekweni Municipality IDP, 2003). Most of the respondents were not sure as to the origins of the Eight Point Plan. More than

fifty percent of the respondents stated that the IDP was becoming more focused on delivering against these eight plans which were in fact the critical areas of challenge in the city. It is important to note that trying to maintain the ecological integrity of the city was one such challenge at that time. The environment was identified as a ‘strategic opportunity’ (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005). Environment was starting to gain more focus at the strategic level and was equated with challenges like economics, safety, HIV/AIDS etc. This is indicated in the following comment:

“I think that sustainability was then introduced as the 8th key strategic opportunities that we had to deal with. So I think as result of that, that it started coming in. But then there was also a recognition that it should be as one of the programmes together with economics and the like (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005).

It must be noted here that although “maintaining the ecological integrity of the city” was the eighth plan of the sustainability strategy of the city, the environment was largely conceived of as the natural resource base of the city and providing the city with ‘environmental services (eThekweni Municipality IDP, 2003). By 2003 the services that the environment provided had undergone a full cost accounting to arrive at a value of R3.2 billion (eThekweni Municipality IDP, 2003). On this basis it was argued that the natural resource base be protected in order to continue to be able to provide this service. This represents a form of weak sustainability where the environment is seen as an economic asset so that economic development can continue. This interpretation of the environment as a stock of environmental assets is a narrow definition of the environment and neglects the inclusion of the social and economic environment. This falls within the ambit of the ecological modernization approach suggesting that environmental protection is perceived as a source of economic growth by emphasising the mutually reinforcing benefits of resource efficiency and waste minimization (Pepper, 1999; Christoff, 1996).

The 2003 IDP was focusing more on sustainability and there appeared to be an increased awareness of the notion of sustainability. The use of the term was growing both inside the municipality and in the external Big Mamma workshops² with communities as mentioned earlier in the text. Consequently the definitional aspects of sustainability emerged once again as a discourse in the 2003 IDP. With regard to the definition of sustainability, one respondent stated:

² Big Mamma workshops refer to large public participation gatherings, facilitated by the Municipality, where the public gives input into the IDP process

“Sustainability is a word like IDP. I think everybody is giving a different definition of the word sustainability (Respondent 10, Water and Sanitation, 2005). Whilst there were degrees of variation to understanding and defining sustainability, the majority of respondents supported a definition of sustainability as behaving now in a way that does not compromise future generations in terms of the utilization of the earth’s natural resources. However, this is a relatively narrow definition of sustainability.

Sharp (1999) argues that actors can and do draw their arguments from more than one discourse at a time. A policy document on a certain issue may draw discursive elements from a variety of discourses. In the municipal context, specifically, influential sources of discourses will include national policy guidelines, legislation and even political party directives (Sharp, 1999). These discourses will compete for influence over the municipality, and this discursive competition will be “played out in terms of many small struggles (or non-struggles) over policy wording, decision-making structures, policy monitoring devices, resource allocation, and the detail of policy initiatives” (Sharp, 1999: 149). Similarly, municipalities produce and reproduce a range of discourses. Due to the volume of discourses produced and reproduced by institutions, the potential for discursive inconsistency, or contradictory discourses, is heightened (Sharp, 1999).

The multiple definitions of sustainability and the environment, held by the range of municipal staff leads to struggles over meaning and contradictions. This has major implications for promoting strong sustainability, because it depends largely on the way that sustainability is interpreted in the municipality. As the global, national and provincial debates and discussions on sustainability were emerging, the concepts and discourses that emerged for example from the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002, the IDPs responded to those specific events, discussions and issues by drawing attention to these discourses in the IDP at that point in time. The Johannesburg Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development recognized the achievements made since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and agreed to expedite the realization of the remaining goals. There was commitment again to the Rio principles (Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, 2002). Evidence of some of these discourse and concepts that were integrated into the 2003 IDP are discussed below.

LA21, Principle 4 states that: “In order to achieve sustainable development, environmental protection shall constitute an integral part of the development process and cannot be considered in isolation from it.” (ICLEI, 1993).

Majority of the respondents have reflected a storyline that environmental protection has been integrated via strong EIA legislation and entrenched in the municipality via law (For example, Respondents 10, 17, 13, 15, September 2005). This reflects that the municipality has embraced an EIA approach which is largely a scientific approach with experts conducting the EIAs, to ensure environmental protection.

A reliance on EIA legislation and practice to bring about ‘environmental protection’ has led to increasing reliance on scientific knowledge (Oelofse et al, 2003). Hajer (1995) argues that the growing influence of the ecological modernization literature has led to a more dominant role for science and scientific experts. Science has taken the role of identifying environmental problems and solutions. Debate surrounding environmental issues is “conducted via scientific evidence and counter-evidence in a culture of expertise” (Blowers, 1997:851). According to Sowman (2002) the way that EIAs are currently conceptualised means that they have limited usefulness in contributing to sustainability. In this regard Respondent 15 stated:

“the EIA is a lengthy process and professionals understand the documents, which are often too large and very technical in nature. As a municipality we need to understand the people’s needs also and deliver to protect social needs” (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, 2005).

Whilst EIAs is a dominant approach by the municipality for achieving environmental protection, sustainability, overall in the municipality was gaining momentum. For example concerted effort was applied in writing up the 2003 IDP document reflecting and capturing other aspects of sustainability. As stated in the June 2003 IDP, that sustainability is not just about environmental protection. In essence, sustainability is about realizing good change in all aspects of development. It has to do with rising levels of income, having clean water etc. It is about building sustainability into economic development, the way we provide infrastructure services etc.” (eThekwin Municipality IDP, 2003).

In comparison with the previous IDP of 2002, some respondents stated that the 2003 IDP was continuing to build on sustainability aspects from the previous IDPs. The 2003 IDP honed into the most critical and necessary challenges that were facing the city and gave more attention to these areas rather than the broader approach of the previous IDPs. From the IDP documents (IDP 2002, IDP 2003, IDP 2003 and IDP 2005) and the interviews it is evident that sustainability as a concept was certainly discussed and written about more frequently and imbibed by departments into their thinking. The sustainability discourse was beginning to be entrenched in the different sectors each with their own certain slant, priorities and motivations. Even more officials and councilors were picking up on these ideas of sustainability irrespective of whether it was weak or strong sustainability, for example, one respondent stated the following:

“EIAs are needed because people do not care about the environment. The enforcement EIAs is the way to bring people to protect our environment” (Respondent 8, Finance, 2005).

In support of this, Hajer (1995) argues that the institutional structure and dominant practices and procedures of a municipality can indicate whether a particular discourse has been institutionalized. He further notes that a discourse can be considered hegemonic when both discourse structuration and institutionalization are achieved. An institutionalized discourse can exert considerable power in the municipal context. Actors working within the frame of an institutionalised discourse can use their positions to persuade or force others to interpret and approach reality as they do (Hajer, 1993). Once institutionalised, however, a discourse still needs to be continually drawn upon (or reproduced) to retain its power. Hajer further draws from Davies and Harré, “discourse is reproduced through a sequence of speech situations” (Hajer, 1995: 55). The rules and conventions that constitute the social order need to be confirmed and reproduced in actual speech situations, for example, in documents and debates. It is evident from the discussions with the respondents that sustainability was being entrenched into the IDP, at least at this stage through the use of language as evident in the IDP documents, through speech and generally in raising awareness and consciousness within the broader municipality. It can therefore be said through the 2003 IDP ‘discourse structuration and institutionalization’ had taken place and the discourse of sustainability had gained power through this process.

Whilst this was happening within the municipality, it is important to note that there was a shift in the function and focus of the municipality's Environment Management Branch. This is reflected in the comments below”

“Must remember after this document had come out our function had changed fundamentally. So pre 2002 we were broad sustainability, broad environmental management and we were working with broad sustainability management system. Post 2002 we started the biodiversity planning function. Our mandate changed dramatically at that time.” (Respondent 17, Environment Branch, 2005).

“At this point in time the call for Environmental Impact Assessments was getting stronger for almost every project” (Respondent 8, Finance, 2005).

This shift is a reflection of an adoption of the ecological modernization approach. What was happening was with the shift to biodiversity planning as the focus of environmental activity, the biophysical environment was highlighted and social issues were sidelined within this sector specifically. Freund (2001) highlights two serious implications for achieving sustainability at the local level. Firstly “environmentalism” operates as a conservation strategy that engages little with needs of poor people. Secondly the divide between green and brown remains strong conceptually, but he notes that there is an absence of champions who understand the need to integrate the two (Patel cited in Parnell, et al, 2008; Freund, 2001). Consequently, (Patel cited in Parnell, et al, 2008; Freund, 2001) maintains that environmental policy at the local level is far from functioning in terms of the more holistic and integrated kind of development that represents the real environmental challenge. Similarly, in respect of sustainability standards established for monitoring and evaluation purposes, sustainability is used interchangeably with environment (understood as ‘green environment’). Hence benchmark setting for social and economic setting is sidelined. An example of this is the municipality's ‘catchment project-a strategic tool’ where only the biophysical aspects were examined whereas, the catchment serves to fulfill many livelihoods activities for many of the municipality's poor. In this regard attention is drawn to holistic standards development with reference to LA21 Principle 11 which states that:

“States shall enact effective environmental legislation. Environmental standards, management objectives and priorities should reflect the environmental and developmental context to which they apply. Standards applied by some countries may be

inappropriate and of unwarranted economic and social cost to other countries, in particular developing countries.” (ICLEI, 1993).

There are an overwhelming total of all the respondents that indicate that this principle regarding the implementation of environmental standards has been reflected in the 2003 IDP. However, they did not highlight precisely how this is reflected in the 2003 IDP and it appears to be more of a general statement by the respondents. In respect of the municipality it was stated, a respondent from the City Management of the municipality has led the way in terms of cities, probably in the world, in terms of initiatives like climate change, LED, LA21, (Respondent 18, Office of City Management, September 2005). He stated further that the city has an Environmental Services Management Plan in place and certain standards in terms of impact analysis. It also has in place standards on efficient levels, emission levels. Even though standards are in place, it is largely around the biophysical environment, whilst the LA21 principle calls for socio-economic standards also.

A Planning respondent noted that nationally there has been a call from DEAT and DPLG for integrating sustainability into the IDP. One possible framework for this activity was to use the LA21 framework. Therefore in accordance with this the development of socio-economic standards is imperative to embrace sustainability in the municipality (Respondent 14, Planning, September 2005).

Turning now to programme sustainability within the municipality, the majority of the respondents stated that the programmes identified in the 2003 IDP were identified internally and were built on past external community needs assessments and current internal sector foci. This is significant for sustainability because actions at the sector level should follow strategy. If the strategy embeds the notion of sustainability, then ideally it should translate this concept to sector level implementation of programmes providing sustainability criteria for these programmes. As captured in the following comment, whether the strategy informed the programmes or vice versa, the IDP and its implementation has been an iterative process:

“If we took the purist view that strategy should check what we doing – we had the strategy but then the strategy got populated or detailed with actually what we were doing at the implementation level” (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005).

Harrison (2002) contends that a simple analysis of pre-defined intentions against actual outcomes is not possible as integrated development planning is a complex, ongoing, interactional process in which capacities for decision-making, joint action and coordinated implementation are built over time, and in which there are multiple intervening variables. Hajer's storyline idea is that the new sustainability storyline has not penetrated deep enough to properly affect policy-making in the municipality. The 2003 IDP had an increase in the storylines associated with environment and sustainability issues than the 2002 IDP. The next section continues to examine the new additions to the 2004 IDP to see if further attempts have been made to incorporate sustainability into the IDP. The 2003 IDP encompassed a range of storylines and the dominant discourses that filtered through were: 'sustainability is everybody's business'; 'environment seen as economic asset'; 'environmental protection via EIA regulations'; and 'standards setting'.

5.2.3 Sustainability and the 2004 IDP

This section examines the 2004 IDP to determine the range of discourse that emerged during the formulation of this IDP. The discourses apparent are: 'core values'; 'embracing our culture'; 'indigenous knowledge systems'; 'culture introduced via the Area Based Management Programme'; 'entrenchment of sustainability in 2004 IDP'; and 'consciousness raising of sustainability in the municipality'.

The 2004 IDP had introduced some new ideas and concepts. These include a section on 'core values' and a new plan on "embracing our culture". In respect of the notion of 'core values' idea, the majority of the respondents stated that they did not know the origin of this discourse. The core values identified were: sustainability, customer focus, citizen action, partnerships, mainstreaming key priorities, learning organization, information driven organization, thinking local and supporting local, strategically led municipality, outcomes based planning, poverty alleviation, Black economic empowerment, non-racialism, non-sexism, democratic and non-discriminatory. However, one of the respondents who work in the office responsible for the IDP stated the following:

"The core values came from the Head of the unit wanting to inculcate a sense of how to internalize principles in the city. Sustainability was the first core value." (Respondent 2, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005).

Despite the fact that the discourse of ‘core values’ emanating from one individual, most of the respondents elaborated that the notion of core values was a good addition as it reminded the city that these values should be embedded in all aspects of their work and there was overall support for such values by the respondents. The embracing of ‘sustainability as a core value’ and general support for this discourse suggests that the sustainability concept had become more entrenched in the municipality by 2004. It was also indicated by the respondents that by creating the discourse of ‘sustainability as a core value’ then sustainability would cut across all sectors. This reflects that the attempt to institutionalize sustainability was beginning to take place. This is reflected in the following comment:

“These values and including the issue of sustainability was taken as a value to be embedded in everything we do. If you run a finance unit, sustainability should be embedded. It should be embedded in spatial planning, in human resource development, in Black Economic Empowerment etc” (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005).

One respondent added that by imbibing the core values of sustainability, being customer focused, citizen action, and partnership, in this way, the municipality can begin to understand them in a deeper way. It was further added that these values could form a pre-requisite template upon which all plans would hinge (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, 2005).

The addition of core values to the IDP took place with limited consultation and it appears that there was a tendency for the office responsible for the IDP, to include new sections each time the IDP was reviewed without widespread consultation. There also appears, as stated by one respondent (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005) a tendency to liaise only with top management, obtain approval and publish the reviewed IDP thereafter. Notwithstanding this, some respondents suggested that ‘core values’ could have been derived from the Constitution and other national development legislation as values and principles were being discussed nationally at that time with suggestions that principles and values should underpin new legislation and policy initiatives (Respondents 18 and 14, city management office, Planning respectively, 2005) . Much of the newer pieces of post apartheid legislation do incorporate the notion of “principles”, for example the Development Facilitation Act 67 of 1995 and National Environmental Management Act, 107 of 1998.

In this light, Sharp argues that individuals may be both “structurally influenced by the discourses to which they are exposed, but also to exercise some of their own agency in the reproduction of discourses” (Sharp, 1999: 148). Individuals’ particular circumstances will determine which discourses they are exposed to, and therefore the discourses that they may reproduce in their personal and professional capacity. However individuals still do have a choice as to which discourses to subscribe to or appropriate, and which to dismiss, even though this is generally done unconsciously. These acts of human agency therefore make an important contribution to discursive reproduction (ibid). It follows that individuals in the municipal context play a key role in the reproduction of multiple discourses. It is also possible for individuals to reproduce contradictory discourses in different contexts or circumstances (Sharp, 1999).

Turning now to another discourse that was added to the 2004 IDP, which is the “embracing our culture” discourse. The respondents’ reflected that this discourse formed the basis of a tourist plan for the city which was based on the rationale that the diverse culture in the eThekweni Municipality provided the potential for increased tourism to the city. This discourse was therefore integrated into the city strategy in the 2004 IDP. This introduced a broader appreciation and value for sport, arts and culture was beginning to emerge as part of the ‘embracing our culture’ discourse.

The vision of the city was that it was a ‘caring’ city and one that offered its citizens a certain lifestyle. The explicit inclusion of the ‘embracing our culture’ discourse (Long Term Development Framework, 2001). It was argued through the ‘embracing our culture’ discourse that lifestyle is about arts, culture and sport (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005). Respondent 15 mentioned that many of the ‘great soccer players came from Clermont, Durban. It was argued therefore in the formulation of the 2004 IDP that a special ‘embrace our culture’ plan would be created and that we would have to separate this issue and give it a private place within the IDP, (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005; Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, 2005).

Usually issues of sustainability are linked to economics and the green environment (Blowers, 1997). In the case of the ‘embrace our culture’ discourse the inclusion of the special embracing our culture plan illustrates a focus on the social aspects of sustainability. This augurs well for strong sustainability being built into the strategic thinking of the municipality. Cultural tourism is

recognized as 'soft' tourism as opposed to tourism initiatives that have huge environmental impacts, for example casino development. One respondent argued that if Durban strives to become a tourist city then cultural diversity is important (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005). It was further added that "Durban has people who serve as an asset, and there is a tourist asset base around culture and diversity, this stands out, we have a priority here" (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005).

It must be noted that there are international debates on issues surrounding the co modification of cultural issues (Schafer, 1989). This study does not delve into how the tourism initiatives are designed, hence beyond the scope of this work.

A story line that is part of the "embrace our culture" discourse is that of 'culture seen as a major force for change' in South Africa (Respondent 4, Area Based Management Office- Planning, INK, 2005). The respondent from the Area Based Management Office noted that this storyline is associated with encouraging the youth to participate in sport in the hope of reducing youth instigated crimes and to develop citizens in a holistic way (Respondent 4, Area Based Management Office- Planning, INK, 2005).

To some extent, if the Principles of LA21 are examined, the "embracing our culture", discourse which is embedded in the cultural plan supports to some extent Principle 22, which states that:

"Indigenous people and their communities and other local communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognise and duly support their identity, culture and interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development." (ICLEI, 1993).

The majority of the respondents indicated that culture has been integrated into the IDP via the rural Area Based Management programme, but indicated that more work needs to be done in this area. A respondent from the Geographic and Information Office stated that there is potential for the city to examine the role of local indigenous knowledge in sustainable harvesting as part of the cultural programme. With large numbers of people engaged in the muthi trade stocks of natural resources used for medicinal purposes are being over harvested (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005). A respondent from the Transport office noted that there

needs to be work on the part of the city in determining the use of indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) and to what extent this knowledge is being eroded with urbanisation, “we are not doing enough of environmental stuff in rural areas” (Respondent 5, Transport, September 2005).

This view was supported by a respondent from the Economic Unit- Sustainable Development cluster who stated that the indigenous knowledge base and indigenous practices are not well recognised and not incorporated into the environment plans of the city.” There is talk of rural and degradation of agricultural land, in terms of rural people degrading the land because of over – farming. But at the same time the city does not recognise enough their roles and important lessons to be learned from local cultural beliefs” (Respondent 3, Economic, September 2005).

The majority of the responses reflected that sustainability was more entrenched in the 2004 IDP and that it was reflected more strongly than in previous IDPs. The following two responses support strong sustainability as in these responses sustainability is conceived of sustainability as a path of action with the intention to continue to conscientise more people (Oelofse et al, 2002).

“...this IDP has begun to raise the consciousness of the people, not at the level that we can be satisfied with, but the process has started” (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005).

“...this document covered sustainability in more detail in terms of linking the actual plans to sustainability” (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005).

The 2004 IDP furthermore, present more detailed programmes to achieve sustainable development and incorporates the notion of long term sustainability. In addition, the majority of the respondents reflected that there were a range of areas in which that they saw sustainability emerging in this document. They indicated that sustainability in this IDP is much more a driving force. This is supported by the following response:

Respondent 18 noted that “I think this was a cornerstone document in terms of setting the sustainability issues particularly in respect of long term sustainability” (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005).

However, some respondents expressed some reservations as to the vagueness of the concept of sustainability in the 2004 IDP. They reflected that the city is still only “talking” about sustainability and that the concept of sustainability is still open to interpretation (Respondent 17, Environment, 2005; Respondent 1, Housing, 2005). Respondent 1 made the following comment:

“There is not much detail in the plan to allow for the assessment of sustainability and without the detail, sustainability cannot be measured. We have become more and more distance from this and it seems to be a generic document in many facets. This is the problem because line function is now working to time specific, performance plan” (Respondent 1, Housing, 2005).

The discourse of core values, embracing our culture, and consciousness raising of sustainability as well as the storylines of ‘entrenchment of sustainability in the 2004 IDP, culture introduced via the ABM programme within the sustainability discourse of the eThekweni Municipality emerged from the 2004 IDP and are outlined in this section.

In respect of the storyline ‘core values,’ sustainability emerged as the first core value. As reflected by Respondent 2, the Head of the IDP Unit suggested this idea and it “caught on”. In addition, it must be noted that discussions and debates at the national level on principles, values were taking place and had filtered to the local government level. However, the majority of respondents did not know where this idea came from. This also reflects a lack of communication of new ideas and concepts within the municipality’s IDP process which challenges the notion of strong sustainability. A buy-in to these new ideas is highly dependent on the practice of that specific core value. This reflects Hajer’s (1995) position that individual activities reflect certain types of knowledge and produced by individuals who undertake certain activities and describe the world in certain ways. At the same time he states that discourse provides parameters within which people act and influence the world around them (Hajer, 1995).

The discourse of ‘embracing our culture’ was tied to the potential of increasing tourism in the city. An economic value is assigned to culture in this instance which challenges strong sustainability that calls for local communities to decide on matters that affect their living environment (Blowers, 1997). It is unclear as to how the embracing our culture plan would be implemented in respect of projects and programmes, particularly in respect of participation and

inclusion of local communities. However, the ABM programme was identified as supporting cultural components in a more dedicated way.

The raising of consciousness of sustainability and the entrenchment of the sustainability appeared to be more distinct in the 2004 IDP, to most respondents.

These story lines reflect that the municipality is still looking at sustainability from a vague, broad and general level and introducing new ideas and concepts in an ad-hoc manner with little consultation and communication to other sectors in the municipality. It appears that senior officials in the IDP unit introduce new ideas for every IDP review. It is unclear on the depth and roll out of such ideas, and it appears that as soon as issue is new, it gets included in the IDP. It must be noted that strong sustainability is less well defined. It may even be argued that there is no cohesive strong sustainability discourse as this discourse is continuously evolving. Part of the strong sustainability discourse emanates from the critique of weak forms of ecological modernization approaches (Blowers, 1997). The June 2004 IDP does not display strong sustainability as the approach to introducing new ideas is not reflective of strong participatory, communicative and consultation processes. However the language used in the IDP documents embodies various aspects of sustainability thinking, but the level of commitment to these ideas to enhance strong sustainability cannot be identified in the 2004 IDP.

The dominant discourses in the 2004 IDP are: ‘core values’; ‘embracing our culture’; and ‘consciousness raising of sustainability’.

The next section looks at the 2005-2006 IDP to understand how sustainability has been incorporated into that IDP.

5.2.4 Sustainability and the 2005 IDP

In the 2005-2006 IDP, four new additions of discourses were introduced, namely ‘key choices’; ‘empowering our citizens’; ‘dedicated budgets for each outcome’; and ‘aligned planning/monitoring/evaluation’. An overwhelming majority of the respondents reflected that it was important to have choices so that the activities of the municipality can be geared to those choices. An element of a sharper focus emerged in this plan arguing that the city has to make conscious choices about what kinds of development it wants to support its vision and core

business. In this regard the respondents provided a range of inputs on the story line of key choices. One respondent reflected the following important comment, reflecting the rationale for choice-making:

“It’s coming full cycle. What was wrong with the LTDF is it said this is what we want to do and then just do these three things i.e. basic needs, skills and building the economy. Each of these requires choices to be made. You can have basic needs that do not help the economy. If you put working class people far from employment, employers won’t employ them. The only viable way is for people to use public transport, and this could be expensive and that is not sustainable” (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005).

From the above response it can be seen that the challenge of strategic planning are numerous. Often it is institutional political challenges. Prioritizing, focusing, and making choices require a debate on distribution and allocation of scarce resources, between departments, population groups and locations (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, 2005). Another storyline is that choice-making is relevant for linking the IDP to the budget (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, 2005). Another significant response argues that the choices that the city makes were to support the vision (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005). It was further added that “it’s alright to make choices about pro economic growth but it’s a different story to choose what kind of economic growth we want to grow” (Respondent 10, Water and Sanitation, 2005). For example we want to grow economically but we also want clean industry as opposed to dirty industry. It was further argued that “people won’t choose a lifestyle city if their security is compromised, so safety and security is a choice the city has to make. Similarly they don’t choose a lifestyle city if it does not have an ecological backbone, so beaches must be clean and free” (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005).

Another story line relates to sustainability and effectiveness. It is argued that the city has made some valuable advances in this regard to pull in sustainability and integration (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005). With all the criticisms that the city has received, there was a sense that “key choices had to be in the IDP – for example what is the city’s view on Dube Trade port- are we supporting it or not – that’s a choice that needs to be made” (Respondent 5, Transport, 2005).

It can be seen that the shift from a broad IDP to getting the IDP more focused with the addition of the 'choices section' can assist the City into entering into debates as to what are the choices. The key choices provided the opportunity for a more focused debate on whether a choice is sustainable or not.

On the other hand, Respondent 10 argued that the City's choices are not tied to anything. The respondent questioned on what basis are the choices made. He stated that it appears that whilst there are discussions, there is a lack of depth in the detail of what kinds of land uses get located where. Locational debates are crucial for sustainability in respect of housing, industry and transport planning. Respondent 10 further added the following statement "perhaps the City does not go far enough with choices in actually stating the 'no go areas'". The Respondent added, "for example, is the City in support of environmental protection or does it allow development in certain areas or does it not allow certain types of development in certain areas. In addition, because development is spatially located it may have environmental impacts (Respondent 10, Water and Sanitation, 2005).

This response brings into question the link between the spatial development framework (SDF) and choice-making. There was a tendency for the SDF to be neglected since 2002, where it was argued that the SDF was an element used to strengthen sustainability in the IDP. The SDF has from 2002 to 2006 become somewhat marginalized in the IDP and has not undergone extensive review or debates. The IDP had focused largely on ensuring a participative approach, with all the "Big mamma community workshops", and within this process there has been a tendency to sideline the SDF (Respondent 4, Planning-INK, 2005). Due to this, the SDF was either only slightly updated in the 2005-2006 IDP and its close review was postponed for the next IDP review process (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005). Debates on reversing the spatial legacy of the past could not be realized as the SDF was not used as a point of reference for project prioritization and spatial policy guidelines have been neglected (Respondent 7, Solid Waste, 2005). However, since 2007 attention has been drawn to the SDF and the formulation of spatial development plans (SDPs) and Local Area Plans (LAPs) within the context of the SDF and platform extension infrastructure work. This insufficient attention to the SDF has marginalized sustainability to a large extent (eThekweni Municipality IDP, 2005/2006).

Turning to the next addition in this IDP, the plan on "Empowering our citizens," the research reveals the following. Around 2005/2006 the President was focusing on the second economy.

There was a realization that the second economy was being sustained by unemployable people who cannot get jobs in the modern economy because they are unskilled. The Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) area in Durban is a case in point with high levels of unemployment. In this regard the majority of respondents felt that it was an important plan and issue to be included in the IDP. All, except one respondent (Respondent 17, Environment, 2005) knew how and why this plan emerged. The majority of respondents saw the relevance of empowering the citizens for the betterment of the city and moving towards greater sustainability by increasing skills and capacity levels. Respondent 17 stated that “no idea, closed box, black box on where this idea came from”.

In support of empowering citizens in the development process, Blowers argues that in broad terms strong sustainability discourse contends that “nothing less than fundamental social and economic changes” are required to cope with the global environmental crisis (Blowers, 1997: 846). Current global economic and social systems based on a capitalist approach to development need to be substantially altered to achieve sustainable development. Institutional and social arrangements require restructuring and economic thinking needs to be transformed (O’Riordan, 1993; Gibbs et al., 1998). How exactly this is to be achieved is the subject of much debate, and some radical perspectives would even argue for a stateless, moneyless and marketless economy (Pepper, 1999). Others argue for an increased role of the state to ensure that the poor and disadvantaged receive protection and assistance from the state, particularly in light of the increased vulnerability of these groups in a global economy. The provision of state support structures, including welfare, housing, social services, education and health are still vital to ensure that environmental conditions do not deteriorate further (Blowers, 1997).

The IDP is also based on the principles of inclusive and representative consultation and participation of all residents, communities and stakeholders within a municipal area. It also involves representatives from other spheres of government, sector specialists, and other resource persons (Department of Provincial and Local Government, IDP Guide Pack, 2001). All these parties need to be empowered by being included in making choices in the city.

Further supporting this argument, the respondent from the City Management Office stated that if the city is making choices, it is important for people to understand why the city is making those choices. Many people have no education because they were locked into an apartheid, particular geographic location, economic and racial framework. He argued that if there is no empowerment, then the city cannot give effect to its plans. Further to this argument, it was stated that:

“if one looks at environmental sustainability, the city can’t police and look after every green lung in the city. How does the city make sure that people understand that land invasion on a particular piece of land will be detrimental to the future growth of the city-economic growth as well” (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005).

In order for the municipality to move towards strong sustainability, empowering its citizenry is critical. Central to strong sustainability is the need to address issues of social inequality, which are intricately linked to issues of power, through environmental and social justice (Blowers, 1997; Taylor, 2000). The poor are the most vulnerable to environmental impacts and change, and are unequally exposed to environmental hazards. The environmental justice movement, which originated in the USA, has politicised these inequalities, drawing attention to the need to ensure justice in all development decision-making (Blowers, 1997).

Another major story line related to the empowering of citizens, centres around the idea that if people are not skilled to be able to partake in the economy, then the city is losing the fight against poverty and unemployment. Respondents felt very strongly about the ‘empowering of citizens’ plan and fully supported it as a critical necessity in the development process in the city. The key storyline in this instance is that the city must support the development of strong skills in its citizens to empower them, thereby strengthening the development process in the city.

From this evidence, the respondents have supported the notion that there is a need to promote the participation and empowerment of affected individuals in any development context. While ecological modernization discourse promotes the participation of all stakeholders in environmental decision-making, it tends to depoliticise the environmental debate (Patel cited in Parnell, et al et al, 2008). However, in reality, many environmental impacts are the direct result of unequal power relations, and participation approaches are not adequately applied to deal with these issues of power. Strong sustainability therefore argues for the redistribution of power, allowing for local communities to take control of, or at least contribute to, decision-making that affects their livelihoods and living environment. This requires a commitment to “a participatory framework of decision-making which provides people with effective power” (Blowers, 1997: 867). While participatory democracy is not without its difficulties, including lengthy and contradictory decision-making and participation fatigue, sustainable change requires that people are given greater freedom and responsibility (Blowers, 1997; Oelofse, et al., 2002).

In this regard LA21, Principle 5 states that:

“All States and all people shall cooperate in the essential task of eradicating poverty as an indispensable requirement for sustainable development, in order to decrease the disparities in standards of living and to meet the needs of the majority of the people of the world.” (ICLEI, 1993).

Most of the respondents have reflected that there is an attempt to integrate this principle in the IDP as it is critically important to the municipality (Respondents 2, 15, 5, 12, 11, 9- Geographic Information and Policy Office, Procurement and Infrastructure, Transport, Electricity, Housing and Geographic Information and Policy Office respectively, September 2005).

This 2005/2006 IDP also focused on the notion that each outcome was to have a dedicated budget (Respondent 1, Housing, 2005). Respondents articulated the storyline that it is critical to have budgets associated with the IDP so as to make the IDP happen (Respondent 3, Economic Unit, 2005). For the plans in the IDP to be realized, budget linkages are crucial. Plans integrated with budgets are crucial for sustainability (Respondent 10, Water and Sanitation, 2005). Integrated planning with strong budget support can be seen to support strong sustainability, not just economic planning, or physical planning, or environmental planning (Respondent 12, Electricity, 2005).

Set in a favorable institutional framework, integrated planning and action can deliver efficiency and effectiveness by adding value through policies that support, rather than undercut, each other. In order to ensure this integration, plans need mechanisms that ensure effective linkages to private and public budgetary processes. Neither plans by themselves, nor unregulated market processes, can deliver more sustainable settlements (Parnell, et al, 2008).

This is supported by the following comments, where it is stated that “when you prioritize and make choices, part of those choices is what funding you allocate to these choices” (Respondent 13, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005). Increasingly there is a need to think of ways of budgeting that links strategy and operational action” (Respondent 4, Area Based Management- INK, Planning, 2005).

The following comment is a critical one in that it presents a holistic view of the city's approach from the LTDF to the IDPs and its development trajectory and the search for constant integration thereby moving towards increased sustainability in a multi-dimensional way:

“First the LTDF said these are the big things we need to do. The second was the strategic framework where we sort to align within that the administrative framework. Now the third is to bring the budget and the performance framework to marry with the strategic and the administrative and the LTDF” (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005).

The story line of ‘aligned planning and monitoring and evaluation in the IDP’ was supported by numerous respondents. It was stated that examples of the call for aligned planning and monitoring and evaluation in the IDP ranged from integrated work teams on projects, programme owners have been the assignment of accountability for programmes to the respective programme owners and linked to the overall performance management system (Respondent 2, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005). However, more than fifty percent of the respondents stated that more work still needs to be undertaken in both the areas of alignment and performance management. Aligned planning and monitoring and evaluation of the IDP are critical for sustainability in order to attain efficiencies and effectiveness particularly to achieve integrated implementation (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005). As indicated above more attention needs to be given to this area of aligned planning and monitoring and evaluation and it appears that progress is being made in this field. This is supported by the comments from Respondent 14 who stated that “it’s not only through performance, the city seeks alignment and monitoring but will be other things over time” (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005). “The issue of how sectors are aligning to the IDP and who is aware enough to do this is also another challenge the municipality has to deal with in order to seek greater sustainability within the IDP” (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005).

In respect of sustainability integration in the 2005-2006 IDP, an overwhelming majority of respondents reflected that sustainability was certainly more apparent in this document and was getting stronger and stronger over the years as the IDP process evolved. This is supported by Hajer's (1995) view that an institutionalised discourse can exert considerable power in the municipal context. Actors working within the frame of an institutionalised discourse can use their positions to persuade or force others to interpret and approach reality as they do (Hajer, 1993). Once institutionalised, however, a discourse still needs to be continually drawn upon (or

reproduced) to retain its power. As Hajer notes and draws from Davies and Harré, “discourse is reproduced through a sequence of speech situations” (Hajer, 1995: 55). This is a theme that can be seen clearly in the evolution of the eThekweni IDPs from 2002 to 2006.

On the other hand, Healey (1999) argues that the introduction of a new policy discourse may appear successful in that it begins to be drawn upon by a range of actors. However, unless it filters down from the conceptual level of discourse structuration to the level of policy practices and/or structures, i.e. institutionalisation, it cannot be said to have achieved its intentions (Healey, 1999). Whether sustainability has been fully integrated into projects and policies is beyond the scope of this work, but there is a sense from the interviews that a certain level of integration is occurring which can be characterised here as a form of weak sustainability. The following comments show some evidence of this:

Respondents argued that sustainability was more fundamental in this document, and was just not an abstract value. The core values were now covered in this document. The issues of finance and sustaining the natural and built environment, were evident in certain programmes, and have been brought in through the eight point plan. It was also stated that there was a ‘maturity’ in terms of the issue of sustainability from an environmental point of view (Respondent 8, Finance; Respondent 18, City Management Office; Respondent 5, Transport; Respondent 4, Area Based Management, INK, Planning; Respondent 14 - Planning, 2005).

Still looking at the integration of sustainability within the IDP, it is important to note that sustainability is viewed by the majority of respondents as having many dimensions. This is clearly articulated in the following comment:

“For me sustainability is first having a dedicated plan but also sustainability entrenched through institutional mechanisms. Sustainability also gets addressed in finance. So I think one must be careful, it belies the fact that sustainability might not be written big and bold, but when one looks at the plan and its additions, like empowering our citizens, embracing cultural diversity, we can easily say sustainability issues are present” (Respondent 2, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005).

Respondents also saw sustainability being about embedding economic development, job creation, quality living environments, safety, health, secure environments, empowering citizens, embracing

our cultural diversity, good governance and financial viability, performance management in the IDP. They also saw sustainability interwoven into everything that is being done in the municipality (Respondent 4, Area Based Management, INK, Planning; Respondent 18, City Management Office; Respondent 14, Planning; Respondent 5, Transport 2005).

Whilst there is overwhelming agreement that sustainability is much more entrenched in the 2005/2006 IDP, a few respondents reflected some dissent on the issue of the integration between different plans and how this was being evaluated. Respondent 10 stated that he queried how far the Municipality had gone in testing “if integration aspects between sectors are being properly defined, whether the choices are really unpacked and analyzed and if prioritization actually takes place” (Respondent 10, Water and Sanitation, 2005). The unpacking and analysis of choices as well as the prioritization of choices are critical components for ascertaining levels of sustainability in the municipality as these concerns go beyond the rhetoric of sustainability, which is evident in parts of the eThekweni IDPs.

This section has examined the key discourses apparent in the 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005-6 IDPs and found that through time these IDPs have become more refined and focused and have had additional discourses and plans added to them contributing to the sustainability of the IDP. The dominant discourses in the 2005/2006 IDP are: ‘key choices; ‘empowering our citizens’; and ‘dedicated budgets for each outcome’. This 2005/2006 IDP reflected some strong elements for sustainability such as empowering our citizens’ plan, but it appears that this IDP also did not move beyond the rhetoric of sustainability. This IDP also lacked the necessary detail to communicate the new ideas that were introduced to this IDP and essentially dealt with the notion of sustainability in a superficial way. The following section sets out to explore whether there are alternative discourses within the eThekweni Municipality influencing the integration of sustainability into the IDP process.

5.3 Conclusion

From the data it can be seen that sustainability was integrated into the Integrated Development Planning Process in different ways. In the 2002 IDP, the main mechanism for integrating sustainability has been the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) and a dedicated chapter called “Sustainable Development Plan”. The SDF was used for cross sector linkages, however the SDF was not very directive in terms of where development should take place as it covered the issues

very broadly as this was a broad as opposed to a comprehensive strategy for the City. The dominant discourses in the 2002 IDP were ‘a broad and strategic approach’; ‘what is the meaning of sustainability’; ‘sector inclusivity within the municipality in the IDP process’ and ‘detailed IDP approach’.

In the IDP - June 2003, (IDP period 2003-2007), the notion of sustainability was becoming more entrenched, for example, by including the phrase “sustainability being everybody’s business”. The IDP was becoming more focused with the introduction of an 8 point plan with one of the plans being “maintaining the ecological integrity of the city.” More and more people were beginning to refer and talk sustainability in different ways within the institution such as financial sustainability and social sustainability. There were still debates on whether the strategy was built enough to be able to translate to sustainable programmes and projects. In this period the Environment Branch was shifting focus to a greener sector driven approach of biodiversity planning as their core function and not broad sustainability. The dominant discourses that filtered through were: ‘sustainability is everybody’s business’; ‘environment seen as economic asset’; ‘environmental protection via EIA regulations’; and ‘standards setting’.

In the IDP -June 2004, (IDP period 2003-2007), new concepts and plans were being introduced such as, “embracing our culture plan” and the core values section. One of the core values was sustainability and longer term issues were being linked to sustainability. The dominant discourses in the 2004 IDP are: ‘core values’; ‘embracing our culture’; and ‘consciousness raising of sustainability’.

In the IDP of 2005-2006, the emergence of the “choices” section is evident. It is evident that from a broad IDP in 2002 to a more focused IDP in 2005/2006 of making actual conscious choices reflects the sustainability path that the municipality had come through. In the plan there was a realization that all three dimensions of meeting basic needs, building skills and technology and strengthening the economy, referred to in the LTDF had to take place for a balanced approach. There was a call for budgets to be linked to the choices and careful consideration of the location of certain land uses, like dirty industry. The Dube Trade Port³ was, for example, the focus of

³ The Dube Trade Port (DTP) is a public private partnership project of the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government through the Department of Economic Development. The DTP is envisaged as Africa’s first inter-modal export platform serving as a catalyst for economic development and sustainable job creation in KwaZulu-Natal. It consists of an international airport, a Trade zone, Airfreight Terminal, Perishables Centre and Cyber sport centre.

much more intensive debates and discussions. This plan also included the “Empowering our citizens plan” to enable people to be more empowered in the IDP Planning process. The dominant discourses in the 2005/2006 IDP are: ‘key choices; ‘empowering our citizens’; and ‘dedicated budgets for each outcome’. The following chapter presents the second set of results.

CHAPTER SIX

THE INTEGRATION OF SUSTAINABILITY INTO THE INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING (IDP) PROCESS OF THE ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY: ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSES

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 presented the first section of the results by examining the integration of sustainability into the IDPs from 2002-2006. However there have been other ways in which sustainability has been integrated in a more implicit manner and through other channels. Chapter 6 presents the second set of results focusing on alternative discourses influencing the integration of sustainability into the IDP process. These are presented in 6.2 and the extent to which LA21 principles in Section 6.3. Section 6.4 outlines how the institutional structure has facilitated the implementation of LA21.

6.2 Alternative Discourses Influencing the Integration of Sustainability into the IDP process

Chapter 5 examines the explicit ways in which sustainability was integrated into the IDPs. This section goes further and presents an analysis of alternative ways in which sustainability was integrated. The Local Government elections held in December 2000 set the direction for municipalities country-wide to embark on the formulation of their City Strategies. It is within this context, that the eThekweni Municipality established a Transformation Office to drive this process and to produce a Long Term Development Framework (LTDF) and the five year IDP as the city's development strategy. Municipal staff from a range of different disciplines such as planning, training, economic and community facilitators were drawn into this office to be part of the working team. This team was headed by a management services expert from within the municipality.

It must be noted that at this time there was also a range of national legislation being produced and one such piece was on 'developmental local governance'. This discourse is reflected in the 1998 White Paper on Local Government where it states that: "developmental local government (DLG) is local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find

sustainable ways to meet their social, economic, and material needs and improve the quality of their lives” (DPLG 1998:38).

The National Department of Provincial and Local Government enacted the Municipal Systems Act (MSA), (RSA, 2000). Its aim was to provide for the legislative framework through which the new developmental role for local government would be enabled and exercised. One of these roles of local government is strategic planning. The IDP is meant to be an inclusive and strategic plan for the municipality. The Municipal Planning and Performance Management Regulations were also promulgated under the MSA to provide detail requirements for SDFs. SDFs are intended to serve as indicative land use and planning instruments that focus on the spatial aspects of development. Two respondents noted that the prevailing discourse embedded in the MSA and DLG was influenced by national political imperatives and in particular, the ruling party African National Congress (ANC), and the need to respond to basic needs and the economy (Respondent 14, Planning; Respondent 11, Housing, 2005).

The process for drafting the LTDF began in 2001 based on the work that was produced by the internal transformation office and external consultants. From the interviews conducted it can be seen that although many of the respondents of this study were part of the process and made some inputs, the process was not all inclusive in respect of municipal sector involvement. Respondents commented that there was confusion with some meetings and processes and stated that certain departments were peripheral to this process (Respondent 1, Housing, 2005). The organizational structure comprising the different sectors, units and clusters at that time were highly divided and work under the previous joint processes for the IDP set by the then Unicity Committee was ignored. It was also identified that there was two factions in council and within the ANC and among officials. One approach to formulating the LTDF was deliberative and scientific trying to evaluate different inputs by different departments and the other was a more populist and less scientific. Thus both a scientific and a political discourse were evident (Respondent 17, Environment; Respondent 16, Health, 2005).

Respondents identified a range of discourses operating at the municipal level namely a political discourse, pro-growth economic discourse, basic needs, developmentalist, under-development versus development, quality of life and service delivery around the period 2001. However, most of the respondents identified the dominant discourse as an ‘outcomes based thinking discourse’

which represented a fundamental shift away from activity based thinking around local government which was continuously engaged in doing different activities.

The dominant feature of the main paradigm sought to communicate that fundamental change in people's lives lies in the restructuring of the economy. This in turn would impact positively on other facets of a citizen's life (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005). The fundamental paradigm here was a shift arguing that the city needs to change the way we do business as a Municipality (Respondent 13, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005). We need to look at silo's and how silo's are presenting a huge challenge in terms of moving the country and city forward (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, 2005).

This discourse emanated largely from the transformation office which was headed by a management services person and this discourse underpinned the LTDF document. It is interesting to note that this document was criticized in the following manner by Respondent 18:

“What I am saying, what that document lacks is any understanding of development thinking, so what I'm saying there is no clear framework. If I was an academic I would say no epistemology framework that underpins what they were trying to get at. So the result is that all it did was said must improve the economy, must improve skills and must improve basic needs, not actually arguing that those three things must be done in an integrated way. So whenever we improve basic needs, it must be with building the economy and building skills base as well. Whenever we building the skills base, it must be within building the basic needs and building the economy. So in that sense those three must be coming together.” (Respondent 18, City Management, 2005).

This opposing thinking is supported by Sharp's argument that actors can and do draw their arguments from more than one discourse at a time. A policy document on a certain issue may draw discursive elements from a variety of discourses. In the municipal context, specifically, influential sources of discourses will include national policy guidelines, legislation and even political party directives (Sharp, 1999). These discourses will compete for influence over the municipality, and this discursive competition will be “played out in terms of many small struggles (or non-struggles) over policy wording, decision-making structures, policy monitoring devices, resource allocation, and the detail of policy initiatives” (Sharp, 1999: 149). Similarly, municipalities produce and reproduce a range of discourses. Due to the volume of discourses produced and reproduced by institutions, the potential for discursive inconsistency, or

contradictory discourses, is heightened (Sharp, 1999). This has huge implications for promoting strong sustainability.

There were many drivers in this process. As leadership changed so did the key drivers. The transformation office became the key player driving the process forward as identified by most respondents. Some previously involved individuals were playing a secondary role and some had left the municipality. Most respondents identified the Transformation office as the key driver that championed the LTDF process in the Municipality. Politicians and a core of senior management were also involved. It appears when the balance of power shifted in terms of leadership of the strategy, certain individuals and sectors were “left out”. This is reflected in the following comments:

“There was actually a coup-de-ta! We had some guerillas amongst the mist. There was a presence of consultants-but I think they just went along with it-if that’s what the people in the organization want then that’s fine” (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005).

Other respondents argued that they were on the outskirts of this process. New leadership was put in place after the formulation of the LTDF and was involved in the IDP formulation from 2002 only. One respondent argued that it was a process that did not really get the whole municipality together (Respondent 17, Environment, 2005). It was also noted that big departments like water, engineering, electricity did not play a fundamental role in that LTDF process (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005). This depicts a stratified process that potentially alienated many key departments. This approach is detrimental for strong sustainability. It appears that there was not even a form of weak sustainability during the time of formulation of the LTDF. At this point it is critical to note that if there is no buy-in in the process of strategy formulation, different departments would act individually from their sector silo based perspective thereby working against the notion of integration, systems thinking and this situation highly threatens sustainability within the city.

The above analysis is supported by Hajer’s story lines and discourse coalitions. Hajer (1995) defines story-lines as “narratives on social reality through which elements from many different domains are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding” (Hajer, 1995: 62). The great power of story-lines is their ability to regulate conflict by providing common ground between discourses, and therefore to suggest unity

despite the variety of separate discursive components of a problem or issue. The concept of the story-line is based on the assumption that “the potential power of a text is not derived from its consistency but from its multi-interpretability” (Hajer, 1995: 61). Story-lines act as “discursive cement” that creates communicative networks among actors with different or overlapping perspectives (ibid: 63).

The strength of the transformation office and its associated discourses reveals Hajer’s following point on discourse coalitions and their power and might to swing action in terms of their particular discourse and suggested above this discourse that underpinned the LTDF had lacked a ‘development thinking’ angle to it.

6.3 The extent to which LA21 principles have been integrated into the IDP process

This section attempts to examine a key objective” To examine the *extent* to which the LA21 principles have been integrated into the IDP process? The LA21 programme represents a form of strong sustainability as discussed in the literature review section. By understanding whether the LA21 Principles have been integrated into the IDP process will reflect whether the municipality is moving towards stronger sustainability within its IDP process. Respondents were asked their views on whether the twenty seven Principles of Agenda 21 was considered or thought about when formulating the IDP. The researcher collected responses from each of the Respondents on each of the Principles and is discussed in this section. This section also attempts to understand whether the different units and sectors within the municipality were closely involved in the municipality’s LA21. This would assist in understanding whether an integrated approach to LA21 was evident which could have provided a strong platform for the incorporation of strong sustainability within the IDP process.

The Local LA21 is a programme for implementing sustainability at the local level and was introduced at the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Nearly all respondents were aware of the LA 21 programme within the municipality. Some authors have suggested that the underlying philosophy, goals and processes of the IDP approach has much in common with the local LA21 (LA21). For example central to LA 21 is the notion of partnership building with various stakeholders and communities in the planning process and people are encouraged to input and own the process (Urquhart et al, 2002). Similarly the MSA calls for municipalities to include

communities in the IDP planning process and this is statutory (Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000).

Coetzee (2002:11) suggests that “integrated development planning can be viewed as the South African planning and development response to Local LA21 (LA21)”. This may be overstating the significance of the influence of sustainability, but there is an important coincidence. For Todes (2004:858), however the idea of integrated development planning did not necessarily flow from ideas of sustainability, but the notion of integrated development planning, with its emphasis on understanding development issues in a complex, multi-dimensional way, and by formulating territorially appropriate integrated, multi-sectoral strategies, which is interpreted here as being consistent with sustainability thinking.

More than fifty percent understood it as mainly an environmental programme, i.e. the biophysical environment, with the Environment Branch playing a key role. The following discussion examines in what way the LA21 programme was communicated within the municipality for it to be essentially understood as a purely environmental programme.

From the evidence derived from the open-ended interviewees, it appears that there exist many story lines about what the ‘environment’ means to city officials. The first minor story line is that LA21 is about ‘open spaces’ and Durban’s Metropolitan Open Space System (D’MOSS) which has generated much a conflict between environment and land for housing (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, 2005). It was also argued that “LA21 for me was a puff in the air” and did not touch us in any significant way. Respondent 7 further added that their department saw the LA21 process as a fulfillment of the international requirement but at the implementation level it was not designed to obtain maximum support from all the relevant departments within the municipality (Respondent 7, Solid Waste, 2005). This is a reflection of how important internal support is needed for effective sustainability to be entrenched within the municipality or else it would take the form of tokenism.

However the majority of the responses imbibed the dominant story line that LA21 is a programme that is broader than the biophysical environment and also included a broad spectrum of sustainability issues ranging from social issues, environmental justice issues, bringing awareness of environment to communities and other sector issues. Despite this opinion amongst the stakeholders, in the creation of the IDP, the municipality took on a strong ‘green’

environment and ecological flavor. Unlike South Africa, other countries on the African continent had dedicated LA21 offices, hence much of the LA21 had to be integrated into the IDP, (Respondent 4, Area Based Management, INK-Planning; Respondent 5, Transport; Respondent 14, Planning; Respondent 11, Housing; Respondent 2, Geographic Information and Policy Office; Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005). From these responses it can be seen that the way the LA21 programme was executed and communicated in the municipality displays a weak ecological modernization approach to the environment due to its strong ecological/environment focus in the programme (Buttel, 2000).

It was proposed by one respondent that during the time of the municipality's LA21 programme (1994-2002), it was difficult to get anything done because of the political context where there was much contestation between ANC and IFP. LA 21 was a new idea and no one owned it. Ultimately because no one owned it, it was going to be a huge challenge for implementation (Respondent 17, Environment, 2005). This reveals that in a state of political turmoil, issues of the environment can be easily sidelined. This sidelining is understandable given that the South African context, the environment was also used by the apartheid government as an instrument to perpetuate racial divides by means of green buffer strips (Respondent 2, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005). In this regard, the untimely execution of the LA21 programme within the municipality was problematic (Respondent 17, Environment Branch, 2005).

The second story line was that LA21 is about implementation at the local level to bring a better understanding of utilization of resources at the local level and primarily within an ecological framework. Despite the numerous interactions of world leaders in global discussions, LA21 was focused on the local action. The local implementation was not to be construed narrowly as LA21 being an environmental focus, but to consider holistic development and the utilization of resources incorporating the economic, social and institutional components as well for a better quality of life for all citizens (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005). As a third world country, many other demands exist which the city tries to balance within the long term strategic framework. (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005). This issue of how development priorities are decided upon depends on the pressing issues that a country faces. In South Africa, the democratic process began in 1994. Consequently issues of economic development, equity, redistribution were high on the development agenda, hence not much attention was given to a "green focused programme" (Respondent 3, Economic Development, 2005). Had the programme being rolled out as a multi-dimensional model, the outcomes could have been different and

interest levels, ownership as well as participation could have been higher (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, 2005).

Looking at the involvement of municipal officials in the LA21 programme, an overwhelming majority of the respondents said that they were not involved in the process. Some said they attended one or two workshops. One respondent stated that “It was not mainstreamed enough” (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005). This is highly problematic at the municipal level when critical programmes like the LA21 get driven by some sectors alone (Respondent 1, Housing, 2005). This represents a form of weak sustainability, when sectors alone drive a multi-dimensional initiative (Dryzek et al., 2003; Barnett & Scott, 2004). It is also dangerous in a way that others see the programme as belonging to specific sections and hence do not feel a sense of ownership of the programme (Respondent 7, Procurement and Infrastructure, Cleansing: Solid Waste Management, 2005). It was argued by respondent 14 that the same thing is happening about climate change as happened with LA21, which is driven by one sector, the Environment Branch, hence sustainability overall within the municipality is compromised (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005). Therefore it is critical for the municipality to decide to appropriately locate initiatives before their inception, if they are not to become sidelined. It was argued that perhaps the programme should have been located at the corporate level (Respondent 14, Planning, 2005).

A third story line was that in the late 1980s and early 1990s “during the restructuring process the environment was only considered from a compliance perspective and it was difficult to get approval for strategic intervention in terms of the environment” (Respondent 17, Environment, 2005). Within this context LA21 did not gather enough attention and was located within one sector to champion, hence the issue of ownership of LA21 was not owned by the municipality as a whole. Furthermore this was a new concept for the municipality. So LA21 was a new idea and no one owned it. Ultimately because no one owned it, was going to be a huge challenge. Within this context to place LA21 at a strategic level was a challenge as the organizational design, functions and responsibilities was geared towards responding to socio- economic inequities of the past apartheid government. (Respondent 17, Environment, 2005).

Whilst LA21 was a new idea at the time, there was little ownership of it across the municipality and thus ‘the environment’ got squarely located within the Environment Branch. It is evident that for sustainability to be integrated into the municipality a multi-sectoral approach is needed, with widespread and well thought out education and communication processes (Respondent 18, City

Management Office, 2005). The location in one section therefore leads to a weaker form of sustainability (Pieterse, 2008) because sustainability needs to be an ‘integrated approach’.

The discussion now turns to the question of to what extent Local LA21 was considered when formulating the IDPs. The majority of the respondents indicated that sustainability did get considered but in many different ways in the formulation of the IDP, but not necessarily through LA21 per se. The respondents argued that sustainability was integrated into the IDP in a more implicit manner (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, 2005). This reflects that the IDP is a critical tool used to strengthen sustainability in the municipality and intentionally or not, it served this purpose. There are interesting story lines linked to this implicit process. They are: need for a multi-dimensional approach; implicit integration of sustainability into the IDP process and the ownership of the concept of sustainability and will be discussed below.

The first story line is reflected in the following comment which once again calls for a multi-dimensional approach in order to successfully execute a programme like LA 21 programme:

“The failing of LA21 is that it was driven by environmentalists and it is always a difficulty when sustainability gets narrowed down to being environmental and ecological only. In the city from my side what has become important is not the environmental issue. If I had my own way, I would scrap the environment department and get every department to look at sustainability. In social sustainability we are striving to build it and it is a core value. I think the difficulty is that LA21 and many of the other initiatives get ghettoized and the result then was that people were not able to see that even the butterflies flapping those wings, to changing weather systems can impact on your city in a particular way” (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005).

The second story line about the implicit integration of sustainability into the IDPs argued that if environment is to be everybody’s business then ‘everybody needs to feel responsible for the environment’. One respondent stated that the Environment Branch assumes a gate-keepers role when it comes to ecological issues and “when it comes to broader environmental issues like sustainable consumption, sustainable production, looking at the economic value chain, then they palm this off to other departments” (Respondent 3, Economic, 2005). It was argued that the real focus of sustainability should be in all areas of the IDP.

The third story line is centred around who owned the concept of sustainability. It is evident that a set of power dynamics was at play. There were tensions between the Environment department and the IDP office as to who deals with sustainability in the municipality. It was argued that if the IDP office centralizes sustainability, then the Environment Branch cannot lay claim to it. Respondent 16 stated that: “So who actually has the intellectual property rights around this concept in the city was an issue. There are also tensions with Environment and Health as to who co-ordinates what” (Respondent 16, Health, 2005).

In this regard, Hajer (1995) argues that a story-line is adopted and used within a certain context because it “sounds right”, based on the reasonableness of the argument, the validity and power of the author of that argument and the acceptability of the situation in which it is produced. Story-lines serve as powerful tools for political mileage and buy-in. They help construct problems, and play an important role in the creation of the social and moral order in a particular domain (Hajer, 1995). Through story-lines, actors are placed, and roles and responsibilities are defined. Hajer further states that acting as metaphors, story-lines allow for the discursive complexity of a problem to be reduced, thereby creating opportunities for problem closure. Within this context, they also allow different actors to expand their own understanding of a problem beyond their own discourse of expertise or experience. In other words, story-lines provide narratives that allow a variety of actors to illustrate where their work fits into the broader context of a particular problem. Once story-lines are accepted and used by more actors, they get a ritual character, giving permanence to a debate and rationalising a specific approach to the problem (Hajer, 1995).

The following discussion focuses on the actual Agenda 21 principles and how they have been integrated and translated into the local level IDP process for action. It must be noted that given the nature of the IDP which has both a local and international context (in terms of global city planning needs and addressing local developmental needs), all the Agenda 21 principles were used to obtain a broad understanding of their integration into the IDP. In this way, an understanding the municipalities move towards sustainability integration into the IDP process, can be ascertained.

“Principle 1: Human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature.” (UN 1992:9-11).

The majority of the respondents stated that Principle 1 was one way or the other incorporated into the IDP as the municipality has always tried to put people first. For example, one of the responses indicated the following:

“I mean certainly in Durban, human beings centre of everything-that’s thought of as our output, part of our history, particularly strong focus, so I don’t think it has anything to do with LA21, I think it has everything to do with apartheid – core to South Africa and not to do with LA21” (Respondent 17, Environment, September 2005).

Respondent 2 indicated that the putting humans at the centre of the plan was critical and goes right back to the development of the LTDF around ‘putting people first’. He added that this has been incorporated into the IDP and recently included the issue of empowering citizens. Empowering citizens can also be included as an issue that fall under LA21 Principle 1. (Respondent 2, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September 2005).

However, Respondent 17 argued that “Durban had always put human beings at the centre of everything as a result of apartheid history, hence, ‘that’s thought of as our output and part of our history” (Respondent 17, Environment, September 2005). It was further argued that the people focus has been a particularly strong focus, but that it does not have anything to do with LA21. Instead it has everything to do with apartheid which was core to South Africa (Respondent 17, Environment, September 2005).

Once again from these comments it can be seen that while the majority of respondents have indicated that this principle has been integrated, they maintain that this has been via the IDP process and not through the LA21 process. The national post apartheid policies of the country were aimed at achieving a transformation agenda under the new democratic government placed people at the core of the development process. This environment encouraged the IDP to make people a central component of the IDP process (eThekweni Municipality, IDP, 2002). Most respondents indicated that they were not involved in the LA 21 programme of the municipality, as

will be seen in section 5.5. However these respondents argued that the integration of Principle 1 is occurring in the municipality via the IDP process.

Strong sustainability argues for the redistribution of power, allowing for local communities to take control of, or at least contribute to, decision-making that affects their livelihoods and living environment. This was also further supported by the evidence that the municipality attempts to put people at the centre of the plan and this has been done as far back from the LTDF (LTDF, 2001). Concerns for people have been incorporated into the IDP. Respondent 2 stated that “Recently around the issue of empowering citizens-it has reared its head and resurfaced in terms of this first principle (Respondent 2, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September 2005).

An opposing view reflected that people were not in the centre in the early IDP. It was more focused on protecting the environment, but not entitling people to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature (Respondent 3, Economic, September 2005).

From this evidence it can be seen that whilst the majority have indicated that the principle of people being at the centre of concerns has been integrated into the IDP, the evidence does not reflect whether it was through LA21 or the national situation of the country that was transforming with a new democratic government in place and where people were considered a significant aspect of the development process. It must also be noted that in previous discussion many respondents stated that they were not entirely involved in the LA21 process and saw it essentially as an environment programme (Respondent 1, Housing, 2005). Therefore it can be concluded that the integration of Principle 1 is happening as a result of national transformation processes and legislation, and hence through the IDP process.

“Principle 2: States have, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental and developmental policies, and the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other States or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.” (UN 1992:9-11).

The majority of the respondents have indicated that Principle 2 is a state and international level principle, but nevertheless at the local municipality level, attempts have been made not to exploit our resources. This is reflected in the following comment:

“Certainly in the IDP and in our practice we try and deal with that within the continental development programmes and initiatives in a collaborative manner. In the future the issue of trans-boundary cooperation will be a high priority” (Respondent 18, Office of City Management, September 2005).

“Principle 3: The right to development must be fulfilled so as to equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations.” (UN 1992:9-11).

All the respondents stated that the municipality was integrating Principle 3 into the IDP process. Respondent 17 argued that “this is a generic sustainability principle that’s everywhere and everyone trying to do. The tension is between the document (IDP) and reality that is critical” (Respondent 17, Environment, September 2005).

A key criticism with regard to the conditions of the ‘right to development’ is that the municipality does not have sustainability tools in place to measure its sustainability performance. This point is supported by Swilling (2008) where he argues “No-one involved in the IDPs, the EIA or the housing projects is required to ask how to reuse the effluent in order to reduce water consumption while meeting the needs of the un(der) serviced, or how to capture the nutrients for food production. Efficient uses of resources are not requirements when it comes to IDPs and EIAs. This has negative implications for financing poverty eradication and sustainable resource use.” Thus while there is support for Principle 3, there is concern that it is not possible at present to measure to ascertain whether the environmental and development needs are being met now.

“Principle 4: In order to achieve sustainable development, environmental protection shall constitute an integral part of the development process and cannot be considered in isolation from it” (UN 1992:9-11).

The majority of the respondents have reflected that Principle 4 has been integrated via strong EIA legislation. They indicated that it has been sufficiently entrenched in law. (Respondents 10, 17,

13, 15- Water and Sanitation, Environment, Geographic Information and Policy Office, Procurement and Infrastructure respectively, September 2005).

This gives an indication that the municipality has to some extent embraced a weak ecological modernisation approach towards environmental management with the reliance on EIAs supported by scientific knowledge, as reflected by Hajer (1995) who states that: “The growing influence of the ecological modernization literature has led to a more dominant role for science and scientific experts” and Blowers (1997) supports this statement by saying: “Science has taken the role of identifying environmental problems and solutions. Debate surrounding environmental issues is conducted via scientific evidence and counter-evidence in a culture of expertise” (Blowers, 1997:851).

“Principle 5: All States and all people shall cooperate in the essential task of eradicating poverty as an indispensable requirement for sustainable development, in order to decrease the disparities in standards of living and to meet the needs of the majority of the people of the world” (UN 1992:9-11).

Most of the respondents have reflected that there is an attempt to integrate specifically Principle 5 in the IDP as it is an important principle, given the fact that South Africa is a developing country. This is supported by Respondents 2, 15, 5, 12, 11, and 9 and encapsulated in the following statement:

“Certainly the municipality is trying to push back the frontiers of poverty.” (Respondent 12, Electricity, September 2005).

This requires a commitment to “a participatory framework of decision-making which provides people with effective power” (Blowers, 1997: 867). In accordance with this, a major theme of LA21 is the need to eradicate poverty by giving poor people more access to the resources they need to live sustainably. Only one respondent stated that this Principle 5 is not important to LA21 but important to South Africa because of its apartheid background (Respondent 17, Environment, September 2005).

“Principle 6: The special situation and needs of developing countries, particularly the least developed and those most environmentally vulnerable, shall be given special priority. International actions in the field of environment and development should also address the interests and needs of all countries” (UN 1992:9-11).

Most of the respondents have reflected that Principle 6 is not integrated in the IDP as it lies at the level of the national state and international decision-making. One of the respondents stated specifically that the needs of developing countries have not been addressed. “In the last IDP (2005-2006), the city took cognisance of Africa and SADC region in line with the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). The NEPAD imperatives have not been done from the international perspective or from any world economic forums” (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, September 2005). NEPAD’s primary objectives are to eradicate poverty; to place African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development; to halt the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process and enhance its full and beneficial integration into the global economy and to also accelerate the empowerment of women (NEPAD website).

“Principle 7: States shall cooperate in a spirit of global partnership to conserve, protect and restore the health and integrity of the Earth’s ecosystem. In view of the different contributions to global environmental degradation, States have common but differentiated responsibilities. The developed countries acknowledge the responsibility that they bear in the international pursuit of sustainable development in view of the pressures their societies place on the global environment and of the technologies and the financial resources they command” (UN 1992:9-11).

More than half of the respondents have indicated that this principle has been integrated into the IDP. Examples of ways in which this has been done are as follows: In terms of participation of developing countries, “the sharing of resources, carbon projects, obtaining grants for developing countries and the carbon extraction efforts reflects the developing countries participation” (Respondent 13, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September 2005).

Some of the city’s responses in terms of ecological, spatial, transport and coastal efforts tie back to global ecosystems. Respondent 14 stated that, “currently there is a strong call for climate change responses in terms of mitigation and adaptation measures”. The move towards working to

the goal of zero carbon is also an international objective and as a city there will be contributions that must be made from the municipality side (Respondent 14, Planning, September 2005). Only a few respondents stated that this was not applicable to a local level and thus not integrated into the IDP.

“Principle 8: To achieve sustainable development and a higher quality of life for all people, States should reduce and eliminate unsustainable patterns of production and consumption and promote appropriate demographic policies” (UN 1992:9-11).

The majority of the respondents have indicated that this principle is inherent in the IDP, but more work needs to be done in this arena in order to make a greater impact. It is argued that in this regard, interesting sustainable spatial development about limiting sprawl and promoting public transport and mixed use has been integrated in this field. Production and consumption patterns need to be understood in spatial terms to eliminate unsustainable patterns.

It is argued by Respondent 14 that “the municipality has not done enough to create sustainable patterns of production and consumption” (Respondent 14, Planning, September, 2005). Respondent 18 added that, “to some extent the production side has had some efforts applied to it (Respondent 18, Office of City Management, September 2005). In respect of renewable energy sources, research work is still underway to ascertain best ways for implementation within the municipal context (Respondent 2, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September 2005). Some successes of the municipality include the following as articulated by Respondent 13, “decrease in emissions, like clean industry and the Multi-Point Plan are finding itself into spatial planning and environment in a more dedicated way” (Respondent 13, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September 2005). While there are all these principles, they might not squarely fit in the IDP, but most of the Principles have been responded to in more than one way in various aspects of the municipality’s projects and programmes (Respondent 14, Planning, September 2005). Respondent 18 argued that, “it must be noted that if the IDP is not comprehensive, it does not mean that some of these imperatives are not picked up in other areas of city work or that it’s not getting done at all (Respondent 18, Office of City Management, September 2005).

Among the Respondents there was an alternate view about the integration of Principle 8 into the IDP. Respondent 3 said that the city is a long way from this principle. It was further added that, presently the city is only dealing with eco-procurement and this is not even in the department’s

scorecard. There has been some initiatives coming through slowly for example the materials recovery project and the renewable energy technology but as part of the IDP, it has not come out strongly (Respondent 3, Economic Unit, September, 2005). Respondent 17 added that, “the issue of unsustainable patterns of production and consumption has not been addressed locally” (Respondent 17, Environment, September 2005).

“Principle 9: States should cooperate to strengthen endogenous capacity building for sustainable development by improving scientific understanding through exchanges of scientific and technological knowledge, and by enhancing the development, adaptation, diffusion and transfer of technologies, including new and innovative technologies” (UN 1992:9-11).

Most of the respondents agree that this principle has been integrated in the IDP but only to some extent and more work needs to be undertaken in this arena. It has been indicated that Principle 9 is an important LA21 principle. Respondent 6 stated that the city has not built an adequate knowledge base yet, but has started to do so. With regard to the adoption of new technologies, there has been some pioneering work in terms of cleaner industry and this may not be reflected in the IDP, but work has been in that direction (Respondent 14, Planning, September 2005). The multi point plan was also cited as the introduction of innovative technology and the development of an important air quality knowledge system (Respondent 18, Office of City Management, September 2005).

In respect of the technological aspect, Respondent 10 stated that this has not happened through the IDP and there has been no transfer of technology focus in the IDP. Respondent stated that it was ironic because, although not in the IDP, the Department of Water and Sanitation has a large programme for technology transfer: “There are about 79 different research initiatives with universities that we are working at in terms of transfer of technology. The department has received funding from the Development Bank. These are all not reflected in the Council’s balance sheet because Council won’t put money into it as is not in the IDP, but it is happening in the units” (Respondent 10, Water and Sanitation, September 2005).

“Principle 10: Environmental issues are best handled with the participation of all concerned citizens, at the relevant level. At the national level, each individual shall have appropriate access to information concerning the environment that is held by public authorities, including information on hazardous materials and activities in their communities, and the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes. States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available. Effective access to judicial and administrative proceedings, including redress and remedy, shall be provided” (UN 1992:9-11).

Most of the respondents reflected that Principle 10 is well integrated into the IDP processes by way of participation at a national, provincial, and local level and in terms of the interaction that occurs at public meetings. EIA forces the municipality through scoping to fulfill this principle. The municipality has also adopted a Participatory Local Government model and there are linkage of the IDP to budget and mass participation in this regard (Respondent 2, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September 2005). Access to information is critical and the municipality has to work in a transparent way and people have right to appeal (Respondent 5, Transport, September 2005). This issue may not be covered directly in IDP, but there is definitely a response (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, September 2005).

It was also indicated that in terms of hazardous materials waste, the illegal dumping in undesignated areas is still occurring and companies are not honest about their disposal methods. It is contended by Respondent 8 that the city has not imposed adequate sanctions or that sanctions are not punitive enough to arrest this type of behavior by large companies. It was further argued that strong enforcement measures with close monitoring should be developed in this regard. For example the asbestos issues are hazardous substances and close monitoring of this substance and its use should be put in place by the City. Should dumping continue to occur, then the responsible company should be sequestrated and held accountable to the public (Respondent 8, Finance, September 2005).

“Principle 11: States shall enact effective environmental legislation. Environmental standards, management objectives and priorities should reflect the environmental and developmental context to which they apply. Standards applied by some countries may be inappropriate and of unwarranted economic and social cost to other countries, in particular developing countries” (UN 1992:9-11).

All the respondents indicate that this principle has been reflected in the IDP and at state level. Respondent 18 stated that “The city led the way in terms of initiatives like climate change, Local Economic Development and LA21 (Respondent 18, Office of City Management, September, 2005). But due to South Africa’s past the city had to play “catch-up” on the global stage (Respondent 17, Environment, September 2005).

It was also reported by Respondent 17 that the Environmental Services Management Plan is in place and certain standards in terms of impact analysis are in place (Respondent 17, Environment, September 2005). The city has also developed standards on efficient levels, emission levels and also at the national level there are legislation pieces on this regard (Respondent 14, Planning, September, 2005).

“Principle 12: States should cooperate to promote a supportive and open international economic system that would lead to economic growth and sustainable development in all countries, to better address the problems of environmental degradation. Trade policy measures for environmental purposes should not constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination or a disguised restriction on international trade. Unilateral actions to deal with environmental challenges outside the jurisdiction of the importing country should be avoided. Environmental measures addressing trans-boundary or global environmental problems should, as far as possible, be based on an international consensus” (UN 1992:9-11).

All of the eThekweni officials indicated that this principle refers to the national and international levels of government. The municipality has not dealt with Principle 12 directly and in detail in the IDP. The municipality has responded via the south basin and polluters in that area but not at the level of this principle.

Respondent 14 argued that in respect of this principle, perhaps not any country has dealt with this matter adequately, given the unfair trade liberalisation issues and also because it's a strong socio-economic and political-economic issue that cuts across many development issues such as North South divide, trade laws, illegal dumping in international waters and so forth (Respondent 14, Planning, September 2005). Respondent 18 stated that, "At a city level, there can be some fiddling on edges but unsustainable consumption and production continues at a global scale and the impacts are felt locally, consequently there is a limited response in this regard as the city is also dependent of national responses (Respondent 18, Office of City Management, September 2005).

"Principle 13: States shall develop national law regarding liability and compensation for the victims of pollution and other environmental damage. States shall also cooperate in an expeditious and more determined manner to develop further international law regarding liability and compensation for adverse effects of environmental damage caused by activities within their jurisdiction or control to areas beyond their jurisdiction" (UN 1992:9-11).

The majority of the respondents have indicated that Principle 13 has been integrated into the IDP via initiatives in the South Durban Basin and via national law. For example the Multi-Point Plan was put in place in consultation with the National Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism with close involvement with the then Minister, Mr. Valli Moosa. Although the municipality is not responsible for writing national law, it has worked in collaboration with the national department in order to put in place relevant legislation to give effect to laws to deal with local problems at the municipal level. This augurs well for inter-governmental cooperation as well. This initiative has subsequently been interwoven into the IDP as part of the South Durban Basin Area Based Management Programme (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, September 2005). Respondent 18 added that, "as a city there this is still much work in progress for example in the South Basin." International innovative work in this area must be incorporated and build the knowledge base of such environmental management imperatives. There has been mechanisms put in place, but now it is critical to build up a knowledge base and then use that knowledge base of making changes in the South Basin and to follow the Multi-Point Plan in moving towards more sustainable development in the city (Respondent 18, Office of the City Management, September, 2005).

“Principle 14: States should effectively cooperate to discourage or prevent the relocation and transfer to other States of any activities and substances that cause severe environmental degradation or are found to be harmful to human health” (UN 1992:9-11).

Most respondents indicated that this is a higher level principle and not directly applicable at the local level. However two respondents indicated that such activities relating to environmental degradation will not be encouraged at the local level. Respondent 14 stated that the city is responsible for controlling its own issues and the solid landfill site is a case in point. In this respect the health risks associated with landfills will be the responsibility of the municipality and all the necessary precautions should be put in place by the municipality. The issue relating to “garbage pickers” on landfill sites should also be managed and the city and the safety of these sites should be an imperative for the municipality. “We have taken the responsibility of reducing it, whether its landfill or getting compacted as opposed to transporting it. The city has subscribed to BASAL Convention” (Respondent 18, Office of the City Management, September 2005).

“Principle 15: In order to protect the environment, the precautionary approach shall be widely applied by States according to their capabilities. Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty shall not be used as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental degradation” (UN 1992:9-11).

More than half of the respondents reflected that Principle 15 has been integrated into the IDP via the precautionary approach in terms of EIAs and waste water treatment works has incorporated the precautionary appeal. Respondent 10 indicated that, “This is the kind of detail we should have in the IDP, but it’s not in plan and yet it is a national law (Respondent 10, Water and Sanitation, September 2005). Respondent 6 argued that “many developers for example do not rehabilitate sandunes and surrounds after construction that occurs close to the beach areas as the city’s monitoring systems are not adequate enough to timeously arrest this situation (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September 2005). Respondent 14 argued that although Principle 15 refers to environmental degradation, there could also be irreversible social damage and all precautions should be taken by the city and the relevant stakeholders. The city should lead this process (Respondent 14, Planning, September 2005).

“Principle 16: National authorities should endeavour to promote the internalisation of environmental costs and the use of economic instruments, taking into account the approach that the polluter should , in principle, bear the cost of pollution, with due regard to the public interest and without distorting international trade and investment” (UN 1992:9-11).

The majority of respondents indicated that this principle is integrated via the Multi-point plan in the South Basin. The South Durban Multi-Point Plan is a response to growing concerns over health and the quality of life in the South Durban Basin. This plan has been drawn up taking into account the needs and concerns of industry, community and the government (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, September 2005). The plan covers various issues ranging from health risk assessments to vehicle emissions reviews. The greatest achievements in this initiative: intergovernmental co-ordination has been established, a sophisticated air quality management system has been put in place and specific health studies relating to air pollution have been undertaken. (Respondents 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September, 2005).

“Principle 17: Environmental impact assessment, as a national instrument, shall be undertaken for proposed activities that are likely to have a significant adverse impact on the environment and are subject to a decision of a competent national authority” (UN 1992:9-11).

All 18 of the respondents indicated that this principle has been integrated into the IDP via EIAs through national legislation, thus this has been subscribed to.

“Principle 18: States shall immediately notify other States of natural disasters or other emergencies that are likely to produce sudden harmful effects on the environment of those States. Every effort shall be made by the international community to help States so afflicted” (UN 1992:9-11).

The majority of the respondents indicated that this is covered in the Disaster Management Plan. However, one respondent indicated that there is no disaster management plan for the city. Respondent 10 clarified the existing situation with regard to the city’s Disaster Management Plan: “The IDP says we need one but we don’t have one. It is just an intention. It has been abandoned

in 2001 and then collapsed all together. The city had one up to 2001” (Respondent 10, Water and Sanitation, September 2005).

“Principle 19: States shall provide prior and timely notification and relevant information to potentially affected States on activities that may have a significant adverse trans-boundary environmental effect and shall consult with those States at an early stage and in good faith” (UN 1992:9-11).

A number of respondents stated that Principle 19 is a higher level principle and is not integrated into the IDP as it does not apply at the local level. (Respondents 2, 3, 9, 11, 17- Geographic Information and Policy Office, Economic, Geographic Information and Policy Office, Housing, Environment respectively, September 2005).

The remainder of the respondents indicated that they were not sure in terms of this principle, whether it was integrated or not in the IDP.

“Principle 20: Women have a vital role in environmental management and development. Their full participate on is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development” (UN 1992:9-11).

Majority of the respondents indicated that this principle has been integrated in the IDP, (Respondents 2, 4, 5, 6, 16, 12 – Geographic Information and Policy Office, ABM: Planning: INK, Transport, Geographic Information and Policy Office, Health, Electricity respectively, September 2005).

However, some respondents indicated that this has not really been done to a large extent. There has been no serious thrust to empower women (Respondent 14, Planning, September 2005). Respondent 15 has stated that women issues have come through in terms of poverty and not specifically on environmental management and development (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, September 2005).

“Principle 21: The creativity, ideals and courage of the youth of the world should be mobilized to forge a global partnership in order to achieve sustainable development and ensure a better future for all” (UN 1992:9-11).

All respondents indicated that Principle 21 has to some extent been integrated in the IDP around schools, environmental health and education, but the city can do more in this regard in a more extensive way (Respondent 16, Health; Respondent 14, Planning; Respondent 5, Transport; Respondent 8, Finance, September 2005).

“Principle 22: Indigenous people and their communities and other local communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognise and duly support their identity, culture and interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development” (UN 1992:9-11).

The majority of the respondents indicated that Principle 22 has been integrated into the IDP via the rural Area Based Management programme, but more work needs to be done in this area. The city needs to play a role in collecting and understanding the role of local indigenous knowledge in sustainable harvesting. Large numbers of people in the city are in the informal muthi trade, and muthi stocks are being over harvested. Respondent 6 stated that “Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) and to what extent it is being eroded with urbanisation, is not clearly understood. The city is not doing enough of environmental work in rural areas” (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September 2005).

Respondent 3 furthermore indicated that the support of local indigenous knowledge systems has been a weak point for the city. It was felt that the whole indigenous knowledge base and related indigenous practices are not well recognised and not incorporated into the city’s environmental plans (Respondent 3, Economic Unit, September 2005). Respondent 5 stated that, “there is talk of the rural areas and the degradation of agricultural land. In this instance, there is a tendency to imply rural people degrade the land because of over-farming. However, there is failure to recognise that rural communities have critical roles to play and there are important lessons to be learned from their cultural practices and sustainability patterns” (Respondent 5, Transport, September 2005).

“Principle 23: The environment and natural resources of people under oppression, domination and occupation shall be protected” (UN 1992:9-11).

All respondents indicated that this is not integrated into the IDP as it does not apply at the local municipal level.

“Principle 24: Warfare is inherently destructive of sustainable development. States shall therefore respect international law providing protection for the environment in times of armed conflict and cooperate in its further development, as necessary” (UN 1992:9-11).

All respondents indicated that it is a higher level principle for national government. However, in terms of Principle 24, Respondent 14 commented on the following short coming in LA21 Principle 24:

“Does not really affect us, but I can see the limitations of LA21. This Principle is not reflected in a holistic way as it implies that during warfare, it is important to save grasslands whereas in warfares, many people get killed. This is ridiculous as it talks only of protection of the environment and excludes protection of people” (Respondent 14, Planning, September 2005).

“Principle 25: Peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible” (UN 1992:9-11).

Most respondents reflected that this was a national level principle. Some respondents indicated that it was partially covered in the IDP under safety and security, (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September 2005).

Respondent 3 stated that “The IDP talks of security, but peace from this angle as in war is a higher level issue. Development and environment protection are inter-dependent and this aspect is recognised” (Respondent 3, Economic, September 2005).

“Principle 26: States shall resolve all their environmental disputes peacefully and by appropriate means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations” (UN 1992:9-11).

Most respondents indicated that this principle is more a national level principle and is not directly integrated into the IDP. However it was noted that the city inputs into the EIA process, but does not control this process as it is a provincial competency. Respondent 6 noted however, that while

Principle 26 is not relevant in terms of UN but co-operative governance between provincial, national, and local is evident in the South African context and there are mechanisms in place for conflicts and disputes to be resolved as it comes through the legislative process (Respondent 6, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September 2005). Respondent 5 added that “There is the Environment Department of the Province that has mechanisms to handle disputes” (Respondent 5, Transport, September 2005).

One respondent indicated that Principle 26 is more relevant at a national level, “but is ridiculous as it refers only to environment disputes and what about where people end up dead” (Respondent 14, Planning, September 2005).

“Principle 27: States and people shall cooperate in good faith and in a spirit of partnership in the fulfillment of the principles embodied in this Declaration and in the further development of international law in the field of sustainable development” (UN 1992:9-11).

Most of the respondents indicated that Principle 27 is a high level national principle and the municipality has tried to subscribe to this principle. The Environment Branch always participates at an international level (Respondent 3, Economic, September 2005). Respondent 14 stated that “It also depends on individuals if principles of IDP are taken to heart” (Respondent 14, Planning, September 2005). Table 6.1 indicates which principles have been integrated into the IDP process.

Table 6. 1 Overview of the incorporation of Agenda 21 Principles into the IDP Process

Principle No.	Incorporated	Not Incorporated	Partly Incorporated	Unsure
1	x			
2			x	
3	x			
4	x			
5	x			
6		x		
7	x			
8			x	
9			x	
10	x			

11	x			
12		x		
13	x			
14			x	
15	x			
16	x			
17	x			
18	x			
19				x
20	x			
21	x			
22	x			
23		x		
24		x		
25			x	
26		x		
27			x	

6.4 The facilitation of the implementation of LA 21 principles through institutional structure

In terms of the way the institutional structure of the municipality is designed and how it allows for integration, an overwhelming majority of respondents state that the structure does not allow for integration. Most respondents also agreed that the structure is still very ‘silo based’ and more work still needs to be done to work on integration across clusters. This is reflected in the following comments:

“I don’t think the structure is sustainable or leads to integration and all departments have their own specialists and this won’t change” (Respondent 15, Procurement and Infrastructure, September, 2005); “In addition all departments have their Specialists and they operate in their silos. You not going to change that” (Respondent 17, Environment, September 2005).

Although the City's internal institutional structure is a 'silo' based one, the majority of respondents highlighted that the institutional structure itself does not allow for integration to occur, but rather it is integrated teams within the institution, made up of officials from different sectors that bring about the integration in projects. Individuals that are committed to working across sectors enhance the integration at projects and programme levels. Individuals with a common understanding of the imperatives of integration for sustainability at the project and programme levels are the main triggers for sustainable project delivery. This is supported by Hajer's (1995) argument that the way in which discourses interact with individuals can be applied to institutions. In fact, Hajer (1995) argues that institutional arrangements are a precondition for the process of discourse formation and change. Institutions and their associated practices (whether they be policies, programmes or structures), require discursive "software" to operate and produce effects. It is the interaction of individuals within the institutional context that is key to Hajer's (1995) argumentative discourse analysis. As with individuals, the political realm of institutions is influenced and characterised by a plurality of discourses, particularly in environmental politics in municipalities, where problems are complex and comprise of many different aspects (Hajer, 1993). This is reflected and reinforced in the following comments:

"It is argued that the concern for silo-based modus operandi within the municipality is not necessary" (Respondent 5, Transport, September 2005). The critical component is how the plan owners are setting up new teams with committed programme managers, project managers to implement the IDP from different clusters in Council to make a programme happen is more the central issue (Respondent 13, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September 2005). The emphasis on getting the "right people" as opposed to having correct service delivery mechanisms in place is paramount in this debate. It is stressed again that structure don't create integration and structures don't drive delivery (Respondent 2, Geographic Information and Policy Office, September, 2005).

With regard to whether there are any internal/external forums that are set up to discuss IDP issues, half of the respondents reflected that interactions with various stakeholders like business, NGOs, tertiary institutions do take place. However this is part of the legislated community participation process. In addition, there are interactions at the ward and sector levels (Respondent I, Housing, September 2005).

The other half indicated that no internal/external forums were formed and the discussions are mainly internal with senior management and that the process is insular. There is no platform structure for debates and discussions for views to be heard (Respondent 18, City Management Office, September 2005). There have been interactions at the level of information sharing. Respondent 3 noted that “This is a lost opportunity as it limits the generation of ideas, innovations, partnerships and relationship building which all play a critical role in terms of sustainability” (Respondent 3, Economic, September 2005). There is a strong response in this regard reflected below:

“External people don’t know who they can talk to on sustainability in the municipality and the frustration is growing” (Respondent 17, Environment, 2005).

In reality, many environmental impacts are the direct result of unequal power relations, and participation approaches are not adequately applied to deal with these issues of power. Strong sustainability argues for the redistribution of power, allowing for local communities to take control of, or at least contribute to, decision-making that affects their livelihoods and living environment. This requires a commitment to “a participatory framework of decision-making which provides people with effective power” (Blowers, 1997: 867). While participatory democracy is not without its difficulties, including lengthy and contradictory decision-making and participation fatigue, sustainable change requires that people are given greater freedom and responsibility (Blowers, 1997; Oelofse, et al., 2002). From the responses above, the evidence is reflected and shows that more work in this arena needs to be done to strengthen sustainability by enhancing the participation of various sectors of civil society in the IDP process.

In terms of where sustainability had been integrated in the context of institutional formation process is reflected in the following discussion. More than half of the respondents reflected that sustainability was not part of the debate. “Whilst structure may not be critical for sustainability within the organization but rather that key individuals coming together to work to strengthen sustainability, it is still important to plan institutionally, should these key individuals leave the organization, there would be severe impacts for continued sustainability” (Respondent 17, Environment, September 2005). It was also mentioned by one respondent that Durban is based around “personalities” to foster sustainability and this is not sustainable. This is reflected in the following comment:

“Not sure if people are looking at sustainability the way we are. I have succession planning taken care of in terms of treasury. Not enough succession planning in the clusters. We have shortage of capacity and skills in engineering. This is cause for concern.” (Respondent 8, Finance, 2005).

It was argued that sustainability is not dependent on rigid structure and is independent in essence of the structure, but depends on the individuals within these structures that can contribute to sustainability. Respondent 12 noted that “whatever the structure is, you want sustainability. It is a soft organizational issue and it must be adopted as a value and it must be performance and resource based” (Respondent 12, Electricity, September 2005). Respondent 14 added that “Sustainability is more an approach and the importance we give to that approach. For example electricity when given a budget should have various sustainability principles and performance in respect of that (Respondent 14, Planning, September, 2005).

6.5 Conclusion

There were alternative discourses influencing the integration of sustainability into the IDP process. At a national level and due to our history of apartheid, there was a call for developmental local governance, building of the economy and the provision of basic services to the people. The aforementioned discourses were entrenched in different pieces of legislation like the Local Government Transition Act, Municipal Systems Act, Water Regulations etc. Other discourses identified were the then prevailing political and economic, development theory discourses, under-development versus development discourses, outcomes based thinking, quality of life discourse. From the data it can be seen that the driving discourse that shaped the IDP processes emerged from the then transformation office and was then reshaped post 2002 IDP with the change of a new administrative leadership in the municipality.

The extent to which LA21 principles have been integrated into the IDP process was not through the actual understanding and debates of LA21 programme itself. More than half of the principles have been embraced within the IDP from a broader understanding of development issues in the city, from various pieces of legislation and from debates at the national and international levels. More than half the respondents saw the LA21 programme as essentially a green programme to be handled by the Environment Branch.

The facilitation of the implementation of LA21 principles through the institutional structure reveals that majority of respondents commented that the structure was not critical for sustainability, as opposed to having the “right” people working towards projects and programmes in an integrated way to achieve sustainability. The internal forums to discuss the IDP were largely centered on senior management, while there was no formally constituted external forum set-up to discuss the IDP issues.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to ascertain to what extent the eThekweni Municipality is integrating sustainability into the IDP process. The objectives of the study are:

1. To understand *how* and *when* sustainability was integrated into the IDP process via adoption of the LA21 programme or discourse?
2. To understand how *other discourses* have influenced the integration of sustainability into the IDP process?
3. To examine the *extent* to which the LA 21 principles have been integrated into the IDP process?

In order to understand this complex and dynamic process, an extensive literature review was undertaken of the theories of ecological modernization, strong sustainability and LA21. Hajer's (1995) discourse analysis is used as a framework to understand the data collected. Key concepts from this framework include 'discourses', 'story lines', and 'discourse coalitions'. 'Discourse' is considered to be an institutionalized way of thinking that emerges from language, vocabulary and expressions. It represents sets of ideas and concepts that is produced and reproduced through practice to give meaning to social realities (Hajer, 1995). 'Storylines' represent the clustering of certain knowledge bases to form narratives where each thread of the narrative of each character contributes to the story as a whole (Hajer, 1995). 'Discourse coalitions' refers to a set of story lines, produced by actors and the actual practices that align to these story lines, all organized around a discourse (Hajer 1993: 47).

To understand the context of the study, background materials constituting the various IDPs were presented together with various pieces of relevant legislation. The IDPs were first introduced in 1996 in an amendment to the Local Government Transition Act 209 of 1993. The timing of this legislative requirement for all transitional local councils to prepare IDPs is important, is significant as in 1996 the focus of the ANC led government shifted from reconstruction of national and provincial government to the creation of a new system of local government

(Parnell, et al et al, 2008). The IDP then became the key planning response to developmental local government. One of its central foci of the IDP is to build the capacity of local government to improve the quality of life by creating better conditions for disadvantaged communities (Harrison et al, 2008). Hence it has become a key tool to guide the actions of the municipality. In respect of this thesis, the following IDPs and Reviews were analysed: December 2002 IDP; June 2003 IDP; June 2004 IDP and June 2005/2006.

A qualitative methodology was adopted. Hajer's (1995) methodology of discourse analysis was used for the study. A total of eighteen open-ended, semi-structured interviews with senior management municipal staff from different sectors were conducted. These interviews are qualitative in nature so as to obtain a set of richly textured responses for the complex and multi-faceted notion of sustainability. Purposive sampling was used to select the respondents that were to be interviewed. In order to produce richly textured data the researcher identified key municipal officials that were closely involved with the IDP process. Some general conclusions to the study will be presented and thereafter some broad suggestions emanating from evidence in the findings on how to strengthen sustainability in the eThekweni Municipality Integrated Development Planning Process will be provided.

7.2 Key Results

The integration of sustainability into the IDP process

The 2002 IDP adopted a broad approach to formulating the IDP. This approach presented vague story lines in respect of sustainability within the content of the document and responses from the interviews conducted. There was a call for more detail to the plan in order to address the issue of sustainability from sectors such as housing, water and sanitation. These sectors reflected their strong disappointment to the new office (transformation office) that had taken over the formulation of the IDP and one respondent referred to the process as a 'coup de tat' (Respondent 1, Housing, September 2005). However an overwhelming majority indicated that it was necessary to adopt a broad strategic approach.

The majority of the respondents noted that sustainability featured more in this document than in previous IDPs and this came through via the sustainable development plan and the spatial development framework. However these were contested as they did not have enough detail to give direction and thus impacted negatively on sustainability.

The dominant discourses in the 2002 IDP were: ‘a broad and strategic approach’; ‘a people centered approach’; ‘what is the meaning of sustainability’; ‘conventional planning processes too detailed and slow and can be done by sectors’; ‘a holistic development model’; and ‘sector inclusivity within the municipality IDP’. The ‘broad and strategic approach’ storyline was supported by several respondents. However key sectors such as Water and Sanitation, Housing, Environment called for a more detailed IDP approach. These sectors also felt sidelined over time as the various IDPs were being formulated. The strategic aspect of this storyline was that the IDP as a strategy was to contain the essence of the plan and details were to be incorporated in sector plans. The argument from the sector contingent was that to measure and entrench sustainability much more detail was needed than what was in the 2002 IDP.

The ‘people centered approach’ emanated from past imbalances and the municipality wanted to ensure that people were placed at the centre of the development process. The ‘meaning of sustainability’ storyline was an issue within the municipality as different sectors and individuals held different conceptions of sustainability. This impacted on the position of different sectors and individuals on the level of detail that was needed for the 2002 IDP. The level of detail also had impacts on achieving stronger sustainability with the 2002 IDP.

It was argued in the storyline ‘conventional planning processes are too detailed and slow’ that the details for the 2002 IDP were to be generated by each sector. The ‘sector inclusivity within the municipality IDP’ storyline is an important storyline for stronger sustainability and key sectors were being excluded from the IDP process with the storyline that, the sectors are to engage in their own detail planning within the parameters of the IDP. It must be noted that the strategic medium to long term planning for sectors such as water resources should be located at the highest level of strategy. The same can be said for energy planning etc. These are current challenges that face most cities in the today. The ‘holistic development model’ storyline largely emanated from the Restructuring and Transformation (TRT) office together with the International Monitor Company. TRT was set up to deal with the City’s post-apartheid transformation process in the municipality. This work lasted only during the timeframe of the TRT office from 2000 to 2002 and is currently not referred to.

The June 2003 IDP had developed stronger sustainability story lines suggesting that sustainability should be everybody’s business and that the Eight Point Plan in this document will give direction to address the eight challenges facing the city. At the same time a momentum at the national and

international levels was developing at this time, calling for nations to embrace sustainability and follow the outcomes of the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg in 2002. Consequently the use of the sustainability language was becoming grounded in the IDP document. This supports the following argument made by Sharp (1999) actors can and do draw their arguments from more than one discourse at a time. A policy document on a certain issue may draw discursive elements from a variety of discourses. In the municipal context, specifically, influential sources of discourses will include national policy guidelines, legislation and even political party directives (Sharp, 1999).

At the same time the municipality's Environment Branch was reorienting its function to deal only with Biodiversity Planning as opposed to sustainability issues within the municipality. This reflects an Ecological Modernization approach to the environment as the focus was totally placed on the 'green' environment. The key initiatives encompassed the environmental services plan and monetary quantification of the plan, EIAs, biodiversity planning and climate change. Given the thinking behind IDP, it then became the tool where social issues by way of developmental local governance were located, thereby moving towards a stronger sustainability approach for the broader municipality.

The dominant discourses that appeared in the 2003 IDP were: 'sustainability is everybody's business'; 'eight point plan'; 'environment seen as an economic asset'; 'environmental protection via EIA regulations'; 'multisectoral approach for sustainability'; 'definition of sustainability'.

This storyline 'sustainability is everybody's businesses emanated from a participant present at the municipality's external Big Mamma Workshop on 22 February 2003. During this early 2003 period, sustainability was high on the agenda of national government and the WSSD had taken place in August 2002, hence the 2003 IDP started to focus on including language that reflected sustainability in the IDP. Respondents reflected that the municipality was beginning to build more awareness around the issue of sustainability.

Accordingly the storyline of the 'Eight Point Plan' was developed, reflecting 'maintaining the ecological integrity' as one of the eight points for city sustainability (eThekweni Municipality IDP, 2003) thereby giving more prominence to the environment ('green' environment). However, the focus of this storyline was Urban Environmental Services Plan (UESP) and quantification of the Natural Resource Base (NRB) which aligns with the storyline of 'environment seen as an

economic asset'. This reflects an ecological modernization approach to the environment and represents a weak form of sustainability.

The 'multi-sectoral approach for sustainability' storyline emerged as a result of the municipality's restructuring process for cross sector integration to occur for the new focus on sustainability. This design was an attempt to break down department 'silo's' which pose a threat to strong sustainability. However, it was a continuous challenge to get a collaborative arrangement and actually depended on individuals from each of these sectors coming to work together in an informal arrangement manner.

The 'environmental protection via EIA regulations' storyline is reflective of an ecological modernization approach to environmental protection which is dependent on scientific experts. Hajer (1995), states that the growing influence of ecological modernization has given science a more dominant role. The storyline 'definition of sustainability' is still a challenge to the municipality in attaining stronger sustainability. The various conceptions of sustainability have led to differing meanings and significance of sustainability. For example the TRT viewed sustainability as an overarching principle that underpins the IDP and did not see the value of including greater detail in the IDP. The sectors, on the other hand, saw detail as relevant to achieving sustainability and for measuring sustainability.

The June 2004 IDP introduced sustainability as a core value further embedding it into the consciousness of the municipality. This IDP also introduced the Culture Plan, thereby forcing the municipality to now look at issues of social sustainability.

The discourses apparent in the 2004 IDP were: 'core values'; 'embracing our culture'; 'indigenous knowledge systems'; and 'consciousness raising of sustainability in the municipality'.

The storyline of 'core values' was to raise the prominence of values that would serve as filters for all work undertaken in the municipality whether finance or transport. Sustainability was the first core value and in this way sustainability was to be embedded. However, many respondents reflected not knowing the origin of this concept but nonetheless accepted it as being important for the municipality.

The storyline of ‘embracing our culture’ focused on using culture as part of tourism to reflect the city’s various cultures. The storyline did not provide a detailed approach and was somewhat generic in nature. It did not reflect how the city will interact with communities on this issue to obtain buy in an agreement on the various cultural issues. Whilst it recognized art and sport as part of the culture of the city, few respondents highlighted the issues of deep cultural aspects of the various communities that live in the municipal area, each with its unique attributes.

The area based management programme was seen to successfully integrate cultural aspects and the ‘indigenous knowledge systems’ storyline but it was highlighted that more work needs to be undertaken in this area for proper integration, particularly in the rural areas. The ‘consciousness raising of sustainability in the municipality’ storyline was an important discourse and reflected by Respondent 18 as a cornerstone document for the municipality in terms of linking actual plans to sustainability. This reflects some level of the implementation linkages of sustainability and also reflects a deepening of the sustainability concept. However respondent 17 reflected that the city is only ‘talking’ about sustainability and the concept of sustainability is open to various interpretations.

The 2005-2006 IDP introduced the idea of the need to make “choices” within the IDP to address the challenges covering issues of where dirty industry gets located and calling for discussion and debates on these issues. It also brought in the ‘Empowering our Citizens Plan’ strengthening the aspect of social sustainability particularly in the context of South Africa’s historic past of apartheid. It can be seen from 2002 to 2006 the IDPs were beginning to entrench the notion of sustainability in various ways in the IDP.

The dominant discourses introduced in the 2005 IDP were: ‘key choices’; ‘empowering our citizens’; ‘dedicated budgets for each outcome’; and ‘aligned planning/evaluation’.

The storyline of ‘key choices’ suggests that the city was becoming more focused on its priorities in order to sharpen the delivery process. The choices were logistics infrastructure, zoning to increase densities and reduce urban sprawl, diverse cultural and heritage offerings, safe and healthy city, a good public transport system, ecological and activity tourism, clean air/clean industry and ecological integrity (eThekweni Municipality, 2005 IDP). This is reflective of the shift in significance placed on the ‘green’ environment. It is also interesting to note that broad economic development and job creation did not appear as a choice (eThekweni Municipality,

2005 IDP). The storyline of ‘empowering our citizens’ was highlighted as being significant by Respondent 18 (City Management Office, 2005) where it was argued that if citizens are empowered, they can participate in the economy, hence skilling citizens is crucial for economic sustainability (Respondent 18, City Management Office, 2005)

The storyline of ‘dedicated budgets for each outcome’ reflects commitment to the outcomes and ensures the implementation of the IDP. It becomes clear that perhaps there is a move from just “talking” of sustainability to implementation. However, there are no detail measurements or indicators within the context of the IDP to understand overall sustainability progress. The storyline of ‘aligned planning and monitoring and evaluation,’ reflects a dedicated system of accountability with integrated working teams, individuals that are responsible for different programmes (programme owners) which is then tied back to the overall performance management system of the municipality.

Alternative discourses influencing sustainability into the IDP process

Alternative discourses influencing sustainability into the IDP process range from political and economic discourses, given the current transformation of the country into a new democracy, to under-development versus development, development theory thinking, sustainability discourse, discourses surrounding the Local Government Transition Act and the Municipal Systems Act, outcomes –based discourse, and service delivery discourse. However, the dominant discourse of ‘developmental local government’ which mandated local government to work with citizens to meet their social, economic and material needs for a better quality of life (DPLG, 1998), emanated from the transformation office which housed the TRT and this office was headed by a management services expert. The establishment of this office was a new formation and part of the restructuring and transformation process. This office was responsible for producing the IDP. This resulted in many individuals that were involved in the previous IDP processes being excluded. This resulted in factions emerging within the municipality which compromised a collaborative and multidisciplinary approach, thus rendering a weak sustainability approach. Whilst the legislative framework was in place and would strengthen sustainability within the municipality, the approach to producing the IDP did not demonstrate inclusivity, thereby compromising sustainability.

Hajer (1995) notes that an institutionalised discourse can exert considerable power in the municipal context. Actors working within the frame of an institutionalised discourse can use

their positions to persuade or force others to interpret and approach reality as they do. Once institutionalised, however, a discourse still needs to be continually drawn upon (or reproduced) to retain its power.

The discourse emanating from the Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) and the Municipal Planning and Performance Management Regulations calls for detail SDFs to be prepared to redress past spatial imbalances. The city's spatial development framework has not been reviewed in detail and only minor adjustments have been made. Since 2002 the SDF has not provided a deeper level of detail as articulated by the various sectors and called for by the sectors (Respondent 10, Water and Sanitation, 2005). This arrangement has led to a weak form of sustainability.

The lack of detailed Spatial Planning and the inclusive and participatory imperatives of the developmental local governance have led to weak forms of sustainability. However, these tools can be developed to set the city on a stronger sustainability path.

In respect of formulating the LTDF, two major discourses were identified: 'a populist and less scientific' discourse executed by the TRT and a more 'deliberative and scientific' discourse calling for inputs from various line departments. This reveals the presence of both a political and a scientific discourse in operation.

The extent to which LA 21 principles have been integrated into the IDP process

The extent to which LA 21 principles have been integrated into the IDP process provides an understanding of whether the municipality has embraced weak or strong sustainability approaches or whether it is on a path to entrenching strong sustainability. The majority of the LA 21 principles have been integrated into the IDP process in one way or the other. It must be noted that Principles 6, 12, 14, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, are principles that apply at the national level and were therefore not discussed in the results. In the discussion of the locally applicable principles with the respondents, the evidence shows that more of the social, financial, economic and governance aspects of sustainability were being entrenched in the IDP leading to a stronger sustainability within the process. To date a strong consciousness around sustainability has been developing via the IDPs by way of the various IDP review documents and the use of the sustainability terminology. It must be noted that sustainability is being understood within the IDP which is the overall strategic document of the municipality. The sustainability of projects and programmes has

not been interrogated for sustainability. However, the evidence shows that what was emerging that in terms of projects and programmes was that individuals with similar thinking around sustainability were forming teams to deal with sustainability issues at that level. It is therefore evident that piece-meal initiatives within the municipality were beginning to emerge.

With regard to the facilitation of the implementation of LA 21 principles through institutional structure, there was a general view that sustainability was not dependent on structure and that the coming together of individuals with the same thinking and ideals could strengthen sustainability in the municipality through their various initiatives.

It must also be noted that the eThekweni municipality has not used the IDP guidelines to structure, write and produce the IDP documents. Instead it has developed its own approach with homegrown ways to manage city performance and budgeting and strategically tried and tested ways as the city's implementation programme rolls out. Although mainstream environmental approaches still dominate environmental policy, there is a move to alternate approaches that challenge the dominant technical and scientific discourse of ecological modernization (Oelofse, 2006). In this instance the IDP is one such tool that can assist with strengthening sustainability within the municipality, but has to undergo several changes itself within its processes to ensure sustainability becomes integrated. Mainstream sustainability tools such as strategic environmental assessment (SEA), integrated environmental management (IEM), and environmental management system (EMS) are being used in South Africa. However, as Sowman states (2002: 6), "despite the existence of formal environmental management assessment tools, it may not be suitable or effective to ascertain environmental implications of higher order activities in the South African context."

Oelofse et al (2006), argue in their paper for a change in approach to move towards stronger sustainability. The difficulty in shifting to stronger sustainability stems from both difficulties and inequities experienced in applying the mainstream approaches to environmental management in a developing country, and the influence of alternative approaches proposed through global environmental programmes such as Local LA21. Alternative approaches are recommended via the use of case studies looking at environmental management. Perhaps the eThekweni municipality can begin to draw on some of these lessons from practice and begin to integrate them into the IDP process to move towards stronger sustainability. The recommendations emerge from interrogating the various IDPs, legislation and policies and reflections of the interviews.

Policy Formation for stronger sustainability

Central to the any policy implementation strategy is that the implementing mechanism for the IDP lies in the execution these detailed strategies located in the IDP. The cornerstone to the implementation strategy is the principle that all strategies must include monitoring and measurement through the use of indicators facilitating annual review of both the policy and strategies to ensure continual improvement. Integration must be a central principle; hence multidisciplinary task teams should develop detailed strategies through the IDP (Oelofse et al, 2006).

The intention of this approach is to begin to move environmental strategies away from environmental managers and to locate it within the responsibility of the line function departments. This also fulfils the need identified by many respondents to have sustainability as a cross cutting issue embedding horizontal linkages.

The need to expand on the sustainability value within the eThekweni IDP is an important one. This can include higher order principles such as identified by Oelofse et al,(2000) and is reflected below. The principles include:

- open transparent and effective environmental governance
- collective environmental responsibility;
- the integration of environmental issues into local government decision-making at all levels;
- protection of the Constitutional rights to a healthy environment
- the commitment to a holistic approach to environmental issues
- a commitment to responsible stewardship of the resources within local governments charge
- the involvement of partnerships with civil society

In conclusion, the intention of the Local LA21 programme is to create an impact by applying the LA21 principles to bring about environmental and social justice by local environmental experts; hence a deeper understanding and application of Local LA21 by different sectors within the municipality can contribute to achieving stronger sustainability and support stronger environmental decision-making. It has been indicated by several respondents in the results that

they saw the Local LA21 programme as essentially a green programme for the environmental branch only. Finally much of the findings of this research point in the direction that the eThekweni Municipality has made several dedicated attempts to integrate sustainability into its Integrated Development Planning Process. This therefore places the municipality on a Development path that is geared towards a journey to try and entrench sustainability into the IDP. It is also evident that there is a mixture and a blend of both ecological modernization approaches to sustainability and some integration of strong sustainability imperatives as displayed in the municipality's community participation process with the context of the IDP. More research in the near future should be undertaken to track the evolvement of sustainability and to understand whether the municipality is further strengthening and moving towards strong sustainability especially within a changing political context of local government.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire Schedule

TITLE OF STUDY: “Towards Integrating Sustainability into the Integrated Development Planning Process”

INTRODUCTION

My name is Theresa Subban and I currently work at the Corporate Policy Unit of the Municipality. I am presently undertaking a Masters degree in Environmental Management at the University of KZN. The aim of this study is to explore to what extent the eThekweni Municipality has integrated sustainability using Local LA21 principles and approach into the Integrated Development Planning Process?

SECTION A

1. Type of Interview Group:
2. Respondent No. :
3. Designation of Member:
4. Experience:

SECTION B

WHAT DISCOURSES HAVE INFLUENCED THE INTEGRATION OF SUSTAINABILITY INTO THE IDP PROCESS?

- 5) What do you understand by the term sustainability?
- 6) Would you value that the ecological, social and economic dimensions of sustainability all be integrated in the IDP process. Please explain.
- 7) Please describe the process that was followed in developing the City’s Strategic Long Term Development Framework.
 - 7a) How were the three pillars of the strategy arrived at? The three pillars are basic needs/strengthening economy/building skills and technology. Please explain.
 - 7b) What was the dominant thinking/discourse in the process for developing the strategy?
 - 7c) Who were the main drivers of this process? (sectors/professionals) Please explain.

7d) What degrees of support/disagreements were there for this approach from various quarters?
Please explain.

7e) How do you think sustainability was integrated in the strategy formulation process?

7f) Was this same approach/thinking carried forward in the formulation of the IDP?

8) What process was employed to develop the city vision?

SECTION C

HOW AND WHERE WAS SUSTAINABILITY INTEGRATED INTO THE IDP PROCESS?

9) How were the needs from the different stakeholders ascertained and prioritised?

10) How were the needs analysed?

December 2002 IDP

11) This IDP concluded that a broad and not comprehensive approach was adopted. What influenced this approach to be broad as opposed to a comprehensive IDP?

12) How and in what sections of the 2002 IDP was sustainability integrated?

13) Were there any debates/discussions on the inclusion of sustainability? Please explain

IDP 2003-2007 (published June 2003)

14) In the 2003-2004 IDP there was a stronger focus on “sustainability being everybody’s business”. How did this revision to the strategy come about?

15) How did the 8 point plan emerge with reference on the focus on “maintaining the ecological integrity of the city”

16) How were the programmes identified for each of the plans in the June 2003 IDP? (internal/external forums – stakeholders).

17) Were there sustainability criteria formulated for programme identification? E.g. Spatial alignment, job creation, poverty alleviation, gender equity etc.

18) How and where was sustainability integrated in the June 2003 IDP process?

IDP 2003-2007 (review period 2004-2005)-published June 2004

19a) The 2004-2005 review document includes a section on “Municipal core values. Where did this idea come from?

19b) Was there consultation? Please explain

- 20) How did the “embracing our culture plan” emerge? Please explain
- 21) How and what sections was sustainability integrated in the 2004-2005 IDP review process?

IDP 2005/2006

- 22) How did the new section on “choices” in the 2005-2006 IDP emerge”?
- 23) How did the plan based on "empowering our citizens" come about?
- 24) In this review, why was there a focus on each outcome having a dedicated budget for implementation?
- 25) What mechanisms are put in place for the Heads of departments to ensure aligned planning/monitoring and evaluation of IDP?
- 26) How and where was sustainability integrated in this IDP process?

SECTION D

TO EXAMINE THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE LA 21 PRINCIPLES AND APPROACH HAVE BEEN INTEGRATED INTO THE IDP PROCESS?

- 27) What is your understanding of the Local LA21 programme that council has adopted?
- 27a) Were you involved in that process? Please explain how?
- 28) Was the local LA21 approach or elements of it considered when thinking/formulating the IDP? Please explain
- 29) How have the LA21 principles been integrated into the IDP process? (refer to principles) (Go through list).

SECTION E

TO EXAMINE HOW THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE FACILITATES THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LA 21 PRINCIPLES AND APPROACH THROUGH PROJECTS AND PROGRAMMES.

- 30) How does the current institutional structure allow integration across sectors to easily occur in terms of projects and programmes?
- 31) Are there any internal or external forums, for stakeholders/sectors which have been set – up to discuss and debate IDP issues?
- 32) How and where was sustainability integrated in the institutional formation process?

Appendix 2: LA21 Principles

PRINCIPLE 1

Human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature.

PRINCIPLE 2

States have, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental and developmental policies, and the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other States or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

PRINCIPLE 3

The right to development must be fulfilled so as to equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations.

PRINCIPLE 4

In order to achieve sustainable development, environmental protection shall constitute an integral part of the development process and cannot be considered in isolation from it.

PRINCIPLE 5

All States and all people shall cooperate in the essential task of eradicating poverty as an indispensable requirement for sustainable development, in order to decrease the disparities in standards of living and to meet the needs of the majority of the people of the world.

PRINCIPLE 6

The special situation and needs of developing countries, particularly the least developed and those most environmentally vulnerable, shall be given special priority. International actions in the field of environment and development should also address the interests and needs of all countries.

PRINCIPLE 7

States shall cooperate in a spirit of global partnership to conserve, protect and restore the health and integrity of the Earth's ecosystem. In view of the different contributions to global environmental degradation, States have common but differentiated responsibilities. The developed countries acknowledge the responsibility that they bear in the international pursuit of sustainable development in view of the pressures their societies place on the global environment and of the technologies and the financial resources they command.

PRINCIPLE 8

To achieve sustainable development and a higher quality of life for all people, States should reduce and eliminate unsustainable patterns of production and consumption and promote appropriate demographic policies.

PRINCIPLE 9

States should cooperate to strengthen endogenous capacity building for sustainable development by improving scientific understanding through exchanges of scientific and technological knowledge, and by enhancing the development, adaptation, diffusion and transfer of technologies, including new and innovative technologies.

PRINCIPLE 10

Environmental issues are best handled with the participation of all concerned citizens, at the relevant level. At the national level, each individual shall have appropriate access to information concerning the environment that is held by public authorities, including information on hazardous materials and activities in their communities, and the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes. States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available. Effective access to judicial and administrative proceedings, including redress and remedy, shall be provided.

PRINCIPLE 11

States shall enact effective environmental legislation. Environmental standards, management objectives and priorities should reflect the environmental and developmental context to which they apply. Standards applied by some countries may be inappropriate and of unwarranted economic and social cost to other countries, in particular developing countries.

PRINCIPLE 12

States should cooperate to promote a supportive and open international economic system that would lead to economic growth and sustainable development in all countries, to better address the problems of environmental degradation. Trade policy measures for environmental purposes should not constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination or a disguised restriction on international trade. Unilateral actions to deal with environmental challenges outside the jurisdiction of the importing country should be avoided. Environmental measures addressing trans-boundary or global environmental problems should, as far as possible, be based on an international consensus.

PRINCIPLE 13

States shall develop national law regarding liability and compensation for the victims of pollution and other environmental damage. States shall also cooperate in an expeditious and more determined manner to develop further international law regarding liability and compensation for

adverse effects of environmental damage caused by activities within their jurisdiction or control to areas beyond their jurisdiction.

PRINCIPLE 14

States should effectively cooperate to discourage or prevent the relocation and transfer to other States of any activities and substances that cause severe environmental degradation or are found to be harmful to human health.

PRINCIPLE 15

In order to protect the environment, the precautionary approach shall be widely applied by States according to their capabilities. Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty shall not be used as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental degradation.

PRINCIPLE 16

National authorities should endeavor to promote the internalisation of environmental costs and the use of economic instruments, taking into account the approach that the polluter should, in principle, bear the cost of pollution, with due regard to the public interest and without distorting international trade and investment.

PRINCIPLE 17

Environmental impact assessment, as a national instrument, shall be undertaken for proposed activities that are likely to have a significant adverse impact on the environment and are subject to a decision of a competent national authority.

PRINCIPLE 18

States shall immediately notify other States of natural disasters or other emergencies that are likely to produce sudden harmful effects on the environment of those States. Every effort shall be made by the international community to help States so afflicted.

PRINCIPLE 19

States shall provide prior and timely notification and relevant information to potentially affected States on activities that may have a significant adverse trans-boundary environmental effect and shall consult with those States at an early stage and in good faith.

PRINCIPLE 20

Women have a vital role in environmental management and development. Their full participation is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development.

PRINCIPLE 21

The creativity, ideals and courage of the youth of the world should be mobilized to forge a global partnership in order to achieve sustainable development and ensure a better future for all.

PRINCIPLE 22

Indigenous people and their communities and other local communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognise and duly support their identity, culture and interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development.

PRINCIPLE 23

The environment and natural resources of people under oppression, domination and occupation shall be protected.

PRINCIPLE 24

Warfare is inherently destructive of sustainable development. States shall therefore respect international law providing protection for the environment in times of armed conflict and cooperate in its further development, as necessary.

PRINCIPLE 25

Peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible.

PRINCIPLE 26

States shall resolve all their environmental disputes peacefully and by appropriate means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

PRINCIPLE 27

States and people shall cooperate in good faith and in a spirit of partnership in the fulfillment of the principles embodied in this Declaration and in the further development of international law in the field of sustainable development” (UN 1992:9-11).