

✓

7

Name: Xolani Mathews

Surname: Shange

Reg, No.: 9405963

Course : Masters in Social Policy

**Topic of dissertation: The Rise and Fall of Inanda
Development Forum during the period of 1996-
1998**

Supervisor: Dr Ivan Manzaris

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my humble and sincere appreciation to my Father, Mother, brothers and sisters, my daughter, son and my twin nieces, friends as well as my soul partner, for their constant support, assistance and encouragement. I would also like to express my special appreciation to Dr. Ivan Manzaris for his expertise in supervision of my thesis till the end. I would also like to recognise Prof. Doug Hindson for laying the foundation of this thesis.

Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction	1
Aims of dissertation and central question	2
Objectives-subordinate question	2
Motivation of the study	3
Methodology	3
Structure of thesis	5

Chapter2- theoretical search (literature review)

Forums	7
Legislature that provides the establishment of forums	8
Functions of development forums	9
Role of forums	10
International experience on forums and civil society	11
National experience on forums	15
Forums in Durban	15
Types of forums	16
A theoretical context	17
Integration	18
Integrated Development Planning (IDP)	19
Benefits of the IDP	20
Conclusion	21

Chapter 3-Community Participation

What is community participation	24
Development	25
Community dilemmas relating to the definition	26
Why community participation important	27
Integrated service delivery	29
Public, Private partnership	32
The role of local government	33
The responsibility of local government	33
Land	34
Housing	35
Water	35
Sanitation	36
Roads	36
Economic and development hindrance	36
Conclusion	37

Chapter 4 -Historical Background of the Inanda Development Forum

Inanda's location and brief history	39
Socio-economic conditions of Inanda	44
Migration to the greater Inanda	45
State of Inanda's environment	46
Spatial planning of Inanda	48
Record of Inanda's violence	49
Formulation of the IDF-Overcoming of Obstacles	54
Background of the IDF	55

Chapter 5-The role of the IDF

The role of IDF	57
IDF set up its funding	58
IDF's aims	59
IDF's results-IDFramework and Inanda Spatial plan	60
The role of women, youth and the aged in the IDF	62

Chapter 6- The Decline of the IDF During the period 1996-1998

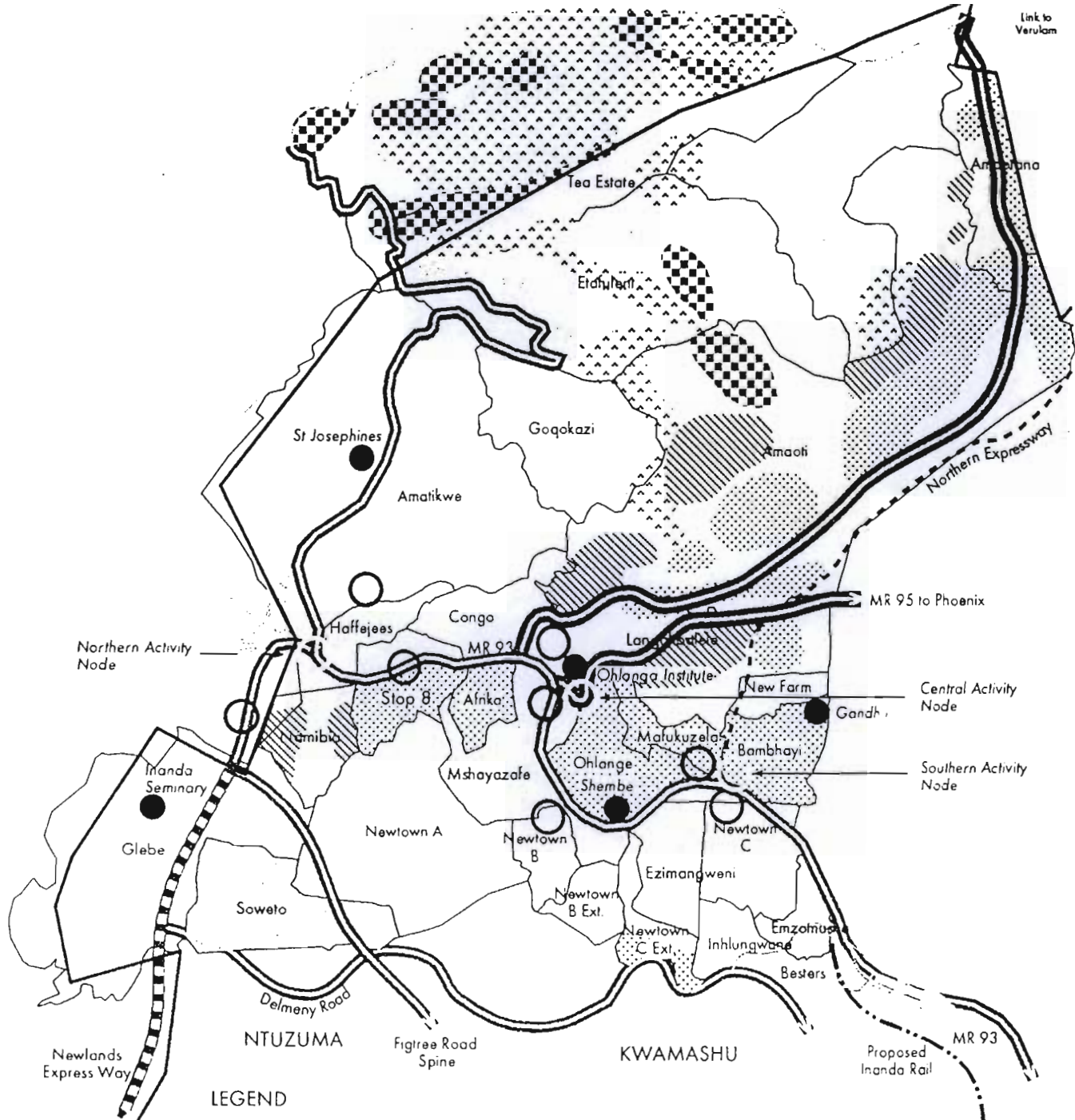
The decline of finances	64
The IDF elections	68
The rise of Ncwane	72
The local government elections	74
Other reasons contributing to the decline	75
The aftermath	80
The future role of the IDF	82
Development workers	83
Conclusion	84
Recommendations	89

Interview schedule	90
Interview list	92
Acronyms	1st pages
Maps and diagrams	1st pages
Table	53

Map of Inanda



Portion of the Greater Inanda Region showing the survey areas and neighbouring settlements.
 (Source: Wassell et al., 1983; Inanda Development Project, 1990; Jenkins et al., 1991)

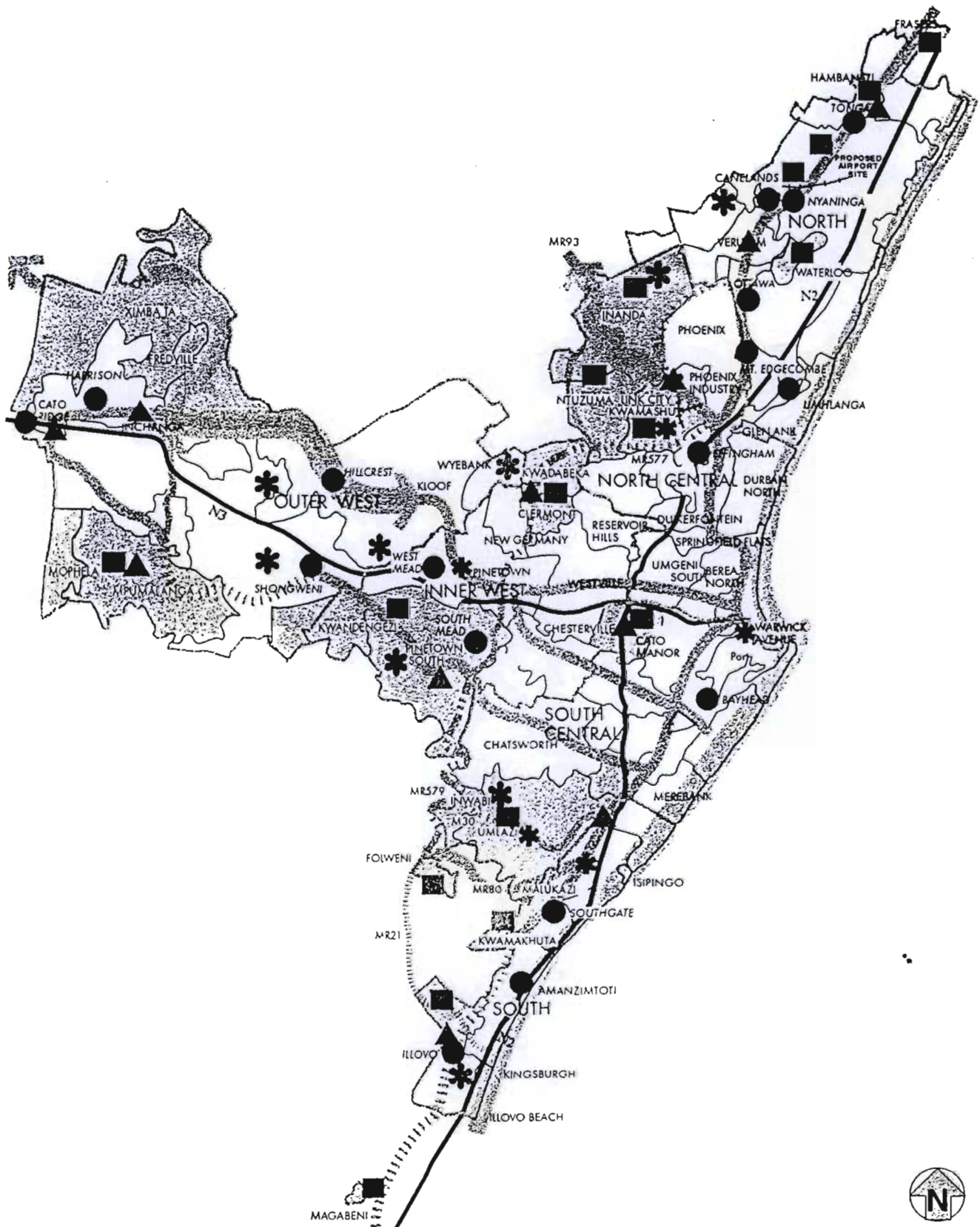


LEGEND

- Local Council Boundary
- Settlement Boundaries
- Formal Residential
- High Density Redevelopment
- Dense Informal
- Upgraded Informal
- Sparse Informal

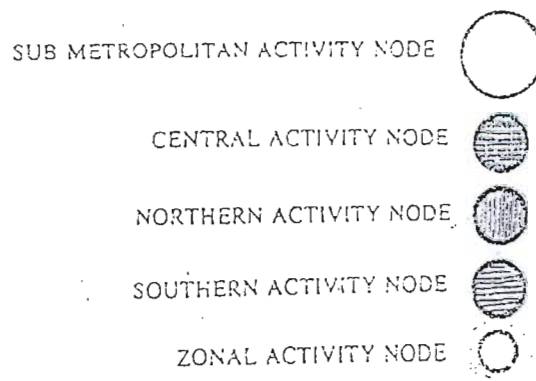
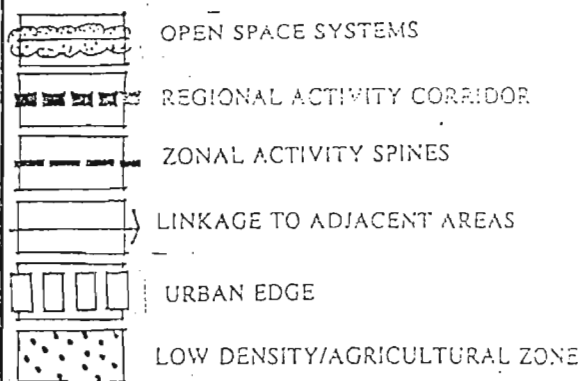
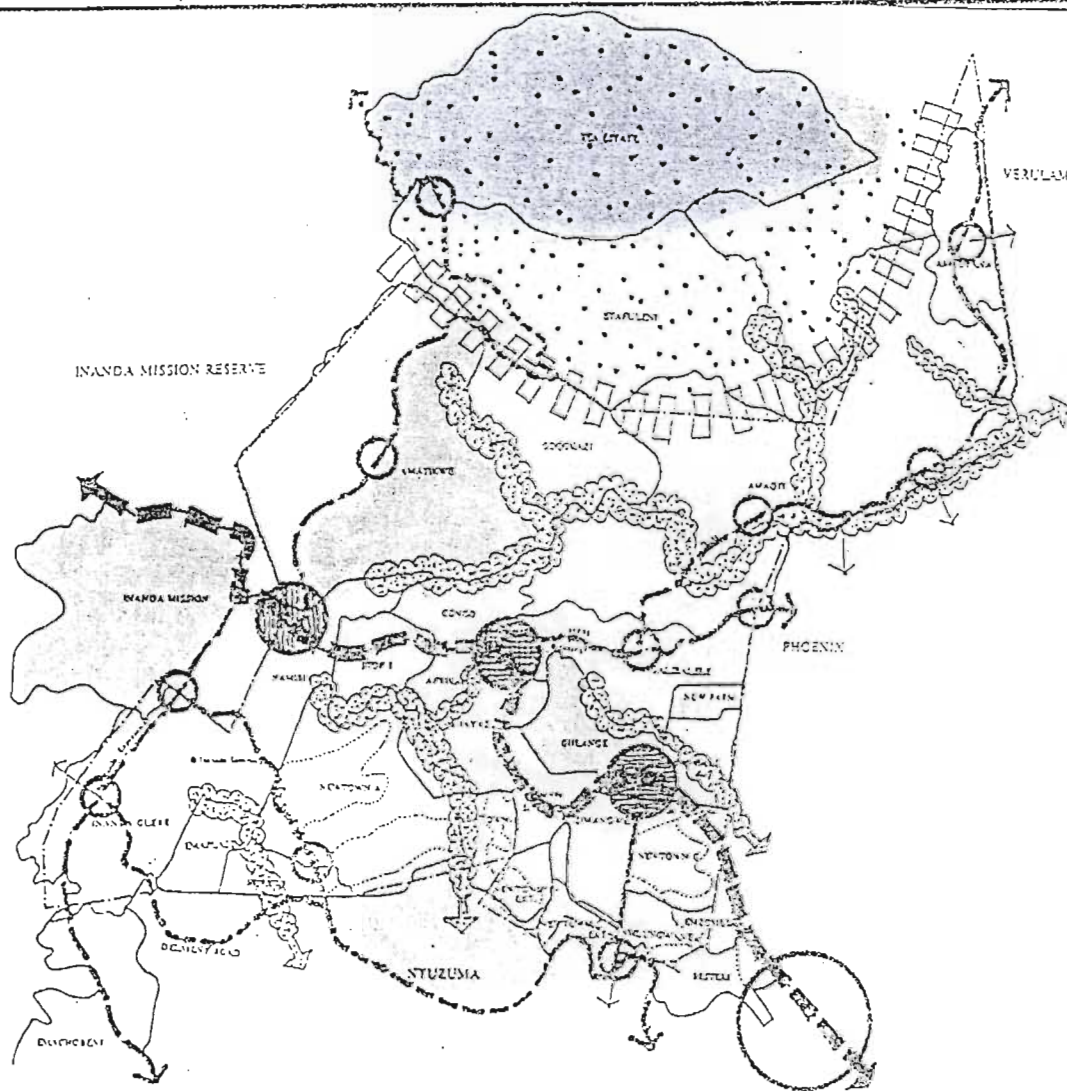
- High Density Mixed Use Infill
- Low Density Urban Agriculture Settlements
- Vacant Land Opportunities
- Nodes along MR 93 - mixed use
- Cultural Nodes
- Activity Spines

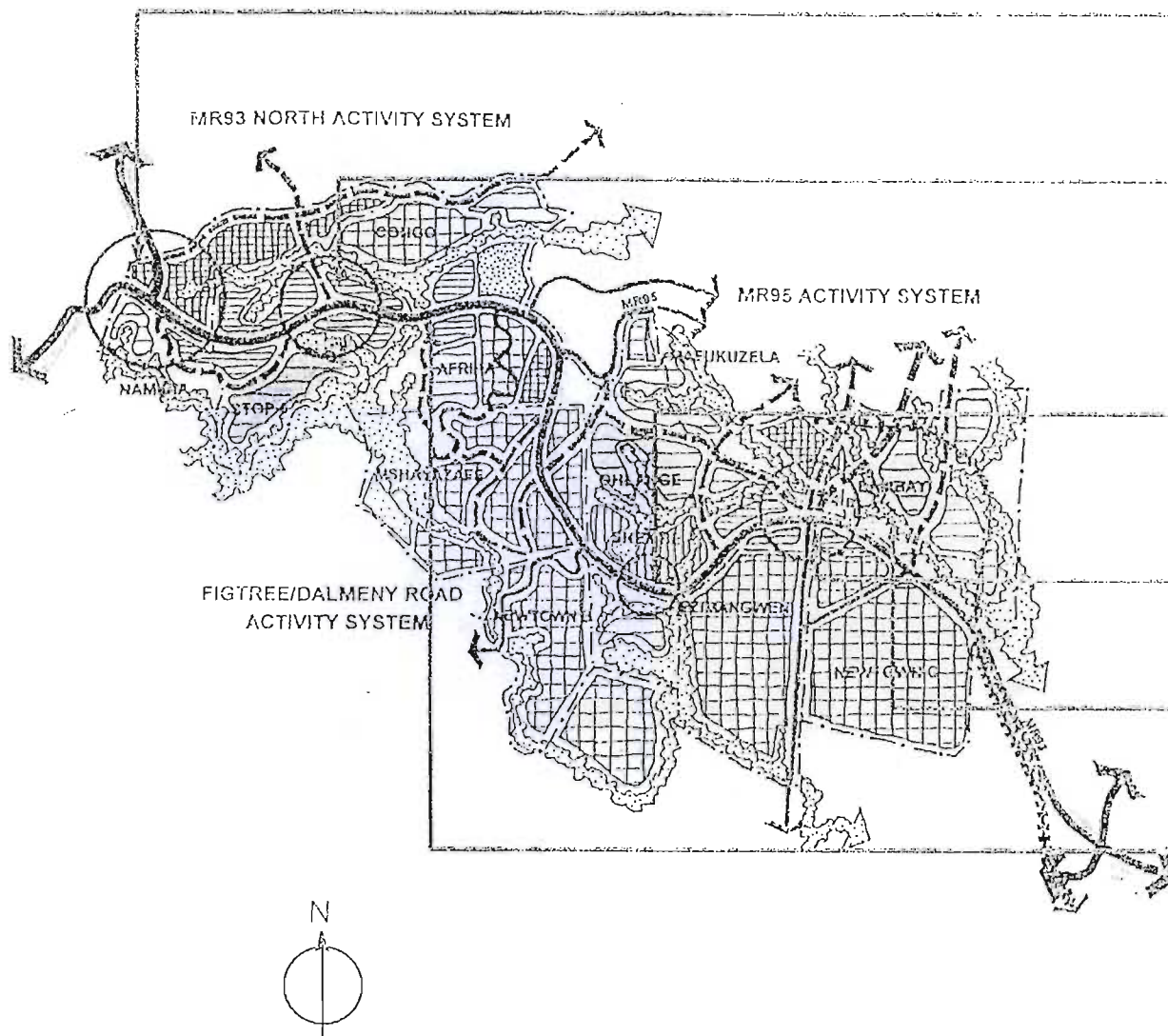
INANDA - STRATEGIES



	Residential Upgrade and Infill		Future Regional Corridor
	Low Cost Housing		Existing Sub - Regional Corridor
	Social Service Nodes		Regional Accessibility
	Urban Agriculture		Future Regional Accessibility
	Transport Hubs		Existing Local Accessibility
	Tourism Corridor		Future Local Accessibility
	Potential Rail		Local Council Boundaries
	Business Expansion Path		

Durban Metropolitan Area:
Areas of Greatest Need in
Relation to the
Spatial Development Plan





Reinforce the existing Inanda-scale Northern Activity Node by developing higher order community facilities, major commercial and industrial activities and economic support services, including an informal market, shops, a taxi rank, an enterprise training centre and an S.M.M.E. Service Centre etc.

Promote the clustering of community facilities along MR93 and at important intersections.

Promote the development of community-scale nodes to serve more localised social services and shopping needs.

Utilise the tourism potential of Shembe's Village by linking this cultural node into a tourist route incorporating other important cultural sites and scenic elements.

Develop the potential Inanda-scale Southern Activity Node by locating a collection of community facilities, commercial and industrial activities and entertainment opportunities adjacent to MR93 and on the vacant land parcel within Mafukuzela.

Develop a mixed-use activity spine within Bambayi parallel to the MR93 spine.

Reinforce the role of MR93 as an Inanda-scale mixed-use activity corridor which links the area to the DMA and which supports a range of major commercial, community and public transport facilities and services.

MR93 ACTIVITY SYSTEM

PROPOSED ACTIVITY SYSTEM

1:40 000

Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
BESG	Built Environmental Support Group
CAD	dept. of Corporation and Development
CCLS	Center for Community and Labour Studies
CCW	Community Consultant Workshop
CDW	Community Development Workers
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DCC	Durban City Council
DFA	Development Facilitation Act
DFR	Development Framework Report
DMA	Durban Metro Area
DMC	Durban Metro Council
DSF	Durban Social Forum
EMIDP	Ethekewini Municipality Integrated Development Plan
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
ICA	Inanda Civic Association
IDP	Integrated Development Planning
IDASA	Independent Development Association of South Africa
IDFR	Inanda Development Framework
IDT	Independent Development Trust
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IYC	Inanda Youth Congress
INAYO	Inanda Youth Organisation
ISES	Institute for Social and Economic Studies
ISP	Inanda Structure Plan
KNPA	Kwazulu Natal Provincial Administration
LDOs	Land Development Objectives
LED	Local Economic Development
LG	Local Government
LGTA	Local Government Transitional Act
LGWP	Local Government White paper
LOA	Land Owners Association
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NPA	Natal Provincial Administration
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
MSA	Municipal Structures Act
MSYA	Municipal Systems Act
MWPP	Malawi Water Pipe Project
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACP	South African Communist Party

SANCO	South African National Civic Organisations
SECC	Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee
SMMEs	Small Micro and Medium Enterprises
SPP	Social Policy Programme (M.A. development studies)
TIDPI	Towards Integrated Development Planning of Inanda
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDFR	Urban Development Framework
UDW	University of Durban Westville
USAID	United States Aid
USD	Urban Strategy Development

Chapter one

1.1 Introduction

The township of Inanda was isolated from the Durban Metro Council in terms of development and had relatively no form of Local Government for many years. Therefore the IDF was founded on the basis of bringing together an integrated development planning, community participation and integrated service delivery in the area.

The Act that made provision for the creation of such forums was the Local Government Transitional Act of 1993. At a later stage this Act was amended (LGTA) Act of 1998, and was supplemented with the Municipal structures Act of 1998 and the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 which pronounced about community involvement on municipal issues.

The constitution of the country provides the background and context within which the Local Government should function. This includes the encouragement and involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government (South African Constitution: 1994). The Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994 also spelled about 'integrated service delivery' and the local communities involvement (RDP: 1994).

Development of the previously marginalised communities had to follow the guidelines that had already been set through the policy-making by the ruling party. Inanda was not immune from the kind of development which was performed on a piecemeal basis, thus uncoordinated and fragmented.

1.2 Aims of the dissertation and central question

The dissertation aims to study and examine the social, political and other factors that led to the rise (1994-1996) and fall (1996-1998) of the IDF as an element of civil society in a transitional situation.

Another focus of this study is a critique of the IDF's intervention regarding housing and service delivery in Inanda.

The IDF has produced a number of documents, one of which is the Inanda Development Framework. Such frameworks guided IDF when it dealt with development in the area. This study will therefore assess whether the IDF stood by its development schedule and priorities when it dealt with development in Inanda and to what extent?

Other interlinking questions are also of significance :

- Was community participation and integrated planning in Inanda achieved?
- What planning came to play after the realisation of the IDF's decline?

The study will examine and assess whether other development initiatives are possible in the area judging the existing terrain of possibilities and realities of the developmental arena.

Several lessons might be drawn from such a study, thus recommendations need to be based on solid empirical findings. Other struggling and/or successful development fora may draw serious conclusions from this study, regarding the realities of the neo-liberal era relating to development of less affluent communities.

1.3 Objectives –subordinate question

There could be prospective development forums that would ask themselves serious

questions such as :

- What are the reasons that made the IDF became dysfunctional ?
- Why while there was a continuation of a process whereby development forums were readily sprawling throughout the country , the IDF had in fact declined and buried in the end?

South Africa is a country where political violence was once very prominent and it could have had a gross negative impact towards the development agenda in places such as Inanda . This study will attempt to unpack and examine the impact of violence on local development.

How important was the question of finances and what were the consequences of the lack of finances at the latter part of the forum's existence?

1.4 Motivation

IDF was seen as the role model of development forums in the post-apartheid era. It was said that 'It (IDF) was the first development forum created in a large informal settlement anywhere in the country' (Hindson: 1996).

It has been regarded as the most progressive type of developmental organisation that made a visible and meaningful contribution towards the development of Inanda thus to an extent it was instrumental in improving living conditions in the area. Thus it has been written that: "A development forum (IDF), while reflecting political interests and powers was seen as essentially geared to development concerns" (Hindson: 1996).

1.5 Methodology

The methodology utilised by the researcher cannot be separated from his knowledge

of the social and historical realities of Inanda and its people .Hence the conceptualisation of the methodological tools was of importance in the selection of the various types of instruments that unfolded in the whole process. This was a socio-political case study that bears serious social policy lessons for the future as the development for both legal and societal agencies and social actors.

Thus it was decided that the best way of eliciting valuable information on the topic was the utilisation of face to face interviews with the protagonists and key stakeholders in the area. The following categories of people were interviewed through unstructured interviews in the process of unpacking the rise and decline of the IDF :

- The protagonists, founders and leaders of the IDF.
- Durban City officials who were involved directly or indirectly involved with the development of Inanda,
- Councilors, trainees as well as selected community members .
- Organisations that interacted and worked with the IDF during the period of its existence. These organisations ranged from the Centre for Community and Labour Studies (CCLS) University of Durban Westville, the Built Environmental Support Group (BESG) and the Independent Development Association of South Africa (IDASA), the Inanda Civic Association (ICA), KNPA, Durban city council and the Land Owners Association (LOA). These were regarded as principle partners in the IDF.

The selection of these people and organisation took the form of a judgemental sampling frame. This is a non-probability sample , whereby those selected are based on the prerogative and the sole judgement of the researcher .These selected interviewees are people who have the knowledge and experience to help the researcher complete the final task.

Of course the dissertation is also based on the study and analysis of primary and secondary documentary sources such as reports, pamphlets, academic and research journal and newspaper articles as well as books. An international comparative perspective is important in this type of endeavour.

It is understood then , that the present dissertation is based on a qualitative rather than a quantitative method of analysis ,whereby the interview was the main source and instrument of data collection. In short the methodology used in the present project was designed and implemented in order to help the researcher achieve the aims and objectives outlined above.

1.6 The structure of the thesis

The following chapters will aim to unpack the chronological order of events and dynamics surrounding the rise and fall of the Inanda Development Forum (IDF).

The **first chapter** will be an introduction of the study, its aims and objectives, the methodology used to conduct the study as well as the importance of this dissertation.

The **second chapter** will examine the history of development forums at all levels (i.e. international, national and local).

The **third chapter** is a literature review with particular attention focused on the community participative process. It was assumed that the IDF operations were built upon the principles of holistic, participative and integrated foundations and approach. It will be examined whether the IDF fulfilled its mandate of ensuring community participation and forwarding development. Various key historical figures such as the former IDF chairperson E. Makhathini as well as other people who participated in the IDF, municipal officials and NGO's personnel who collaborated with the IDF during this period (1996 to 1998) were interviewed in the process of this study. It was also important to interrogate the concept and material basis of the terms "community participation". This chapter will further deal with the service delivery process during the apartheid era and during the implementation of new democratic local government policies which dealt with the strategies of service provision in the localities (The Inanda area, with regard to the IDF, serve as a case study).

The **fourth chapter** will investigate the historical background of Inanda. Thereafter

the history behind the formation of the IDF will be discussed and attention will be paid to the aims and principles upon which the very IDF was built. There will be a brief background to the violence in the area that will encapsulate the friction that took place between the tenants and landowners, warlords and tenants as well as other issues related to this subject.

The **fifth chapter** shall deal with the role of IDF during the period 1994 to 1996. Their successes relating to securing of funds for programs carried out during this period will be examined. The IDF produced various documents and was involved in numerous community development projects, which need to be examined.

Finally the IDF's outcomes and successes achieved during this period need to be assessed, followed by the Forum's weaknesses that culminated with IDF's downfall. An evaluation of the level of participation and involvement of women, youth and the aged in the IDF's agendas will take place.

The **sixth chapter** will focus on the decline of the IDF during the period 1996-1998. Seemingly the incoming new local government structures in 1996 had created some problems. They related not only to the role between the newly elected councilors and the IDF, but also to the gradual and subtle sidelining of the IDF from the direct development negotiation with the Durban city officials. This needs to be scrutinised thoroughly, together with issues of electioneering ,poverty, high unemployment, high level of in-migration and other related issues.

The material consequences of the poor financial position of the organisation will be examined in this context.

A background to several key personalities within the forum will be undertaken as many of them were thoroughly trained and capable individuals with solid community background.

The **seventh chapter** will be a summary of the dissertation and will attempt to draw lessons for future similar attempts.

Chapter two

A Literature review

This chapter seeks to outline the process of the development forums emergence and their functions.

2.1 The fora

Forums were formed in several areas during the period running up to the 1994 democratic elections. There was a serious need for the improvement of all South Africa's ordinary people's lives, especially those who were the victims of apartheid capitalism. The point of departure in regard to these development forums revolved around the question of all stakeholders involvement according to the principles of representative and participatory democracy.

Unlike in the apartheid era, decisions began to be taken in the presence of all stakeholders in line with the new political climate of the country after 1994. Development in relation to various aspects such as housing and service delivery had witnessed the formation of a number of fora over the past few years. These ranged from National and Provincial Housing Fora to local development fora dealing with project identification, co-ordination, facilitation and implementation of development programs at a local level. (Interview with Makhathini)

The principle of popular participation at a local government regarding development and service delivery is included in the country's first democratic constitution. However, there was subsequent legislation and policies that encapsulated and pronounced the need for the forums to exist as a platform for further critical developmental engagement among local government, and the community as well as other important partners. Each of these partners had specific tasks to perform in the process of building up the developmental process.

These fora were meant to facilitate development, not to become developers themselves. Forums were supposed to be financially viable and be well established and have proper management systems with a constitution and fiscal discipline (Community consultant workshop, DMA: 1996).

This meant that they had to organise themselves in terms of formal executive portfolios where candidates were elected democratically and the constitution was to be upheld and followed. Capacity was to be built amongst the members. They had to respect their functions so that the forums were seen as professional when dealing with the responsibilities of co-ordination and facilitation of development at a local level. The status of a forum could therefore reflect a facet of a legal persona entitled to be sued and/or sue. They could be entitled to fundraising and negotiate for development with the city officials. (DMA :1996)

2.1.1 Legislation and the establishment of the forums

The Local Government Transitional Act of 1993 consists of provisions for the revised interim measures that were destined to promoting restructuring of local government. It outlined the establishment of Provincial Committees for Local Government in respect of the various provinces. It also provided for the recognition and establishment of forums for negotiating restructuring of local government (LGTA: 1993).

The Development Facilitation Act of 1995 pronounced about the Land Development Objectives that also acknowledged the participation of the communities involved. The DFA also gave notice of the need for appropriate levels and methods of public participation in planning at different levels of government (DFA: 1995). This form of community participation could not be achieved only after consultation with the individuals within the community, but through collective involvement of the community in the form of local community organisations.

The local government White Paper spelled out the importance of development forums that serve as a broader community collectives determining 'what, why and how' development should take place at local levels (LG white paper: 1996).

There is a number of other laws or policy processes that articulate positions on forums especially around the question of community participation like the Municipal Systems Act.

2.1.2 The functions of the Development Fora

The development forums were to operate as community facilitators within a specific local geographical area. This had to be done with the help of the community of this particular area.

The Urban Development Framework puts an emphasis on the relationship between the government and civil society. According to the framework, the government was supposed to reflect a paradigm shift from the state-centred development to one which acknowledged the vast array of individuals and groups in civil society that significantly impacted on the forum and the function of a city well beyond what the state and planners are able to control (UDF: 1997). It has been said that the 'civil society institutions can also be vehicles for participation in development programmes and empowerment of target groups of poor people'. As a consequence "this move has in part challenged the centralisation of the top-down state through planning couched in terms of 'stakeholders' and 'local governance'" (Mohan & Stokke ;2000).

So, one of the many ways that can enable the enhancement of community participation and involvement of civil society organs in development agenda is through the formulation of development forums. Development forums were used as a legitimate alternative to the past illegitimate apartheid structures. The initiators came up with a mode of operation, and with a policy of inclusion and co-operation at the core of their function. By so doing they somehow leveled the playing fields and brought about accountability and transparency.

These forums somehow led to a building of trust amongst people, because all stakeholders had a voice including the civil society . This led to some influence in local policy processes, serious efforts for the implementation of various projects, the unblocking of some forms of development, as well as the building of capacity within civil society structures. The forums were in the process recognised by government structures at some levels.

The Forums had to create efficient civil society networking and communication system and make provision to the government with easily accessible links to all sectors of civil society. They had to help the government and civil society understand each others needs, problems, abilities and constraints.

2.1.3 The role of the fora

Development forums had to facilitate the establishment of local and zonal forums especially in the case of Durban Metro forum. They had to ensure assistance in resolving project blockages; co-ordinate community input in development planning and policy making; to facilitate implementation of certain development initiatives; and co-ordinate development initiatives within their jurisdiction.

They also had to embark on development planning and economic development in their areas and assist the communities in structuring development proposals for the relevant authorities, national and international funders and the like.

They offered advisory service to local government and its service units in areas such as funding, project prioritisation, development planning and policy issues. They were also responsible for offering advisory service to communities as well as to the broader civil society. The forums were capable of offering some sort of one stop service for government departments willing to communicate with a broad range of civil society institutions.

2.1.4 Forums and civil society : The international experience

Civil society is seen as an organisational activity between the individual/family and the state, having a role to advocate for the constituents to act as a watchdog over the state and to support political competition generally (Hansen: 1996, cited in Swanepoel, H. J. & De Beer, F.C: 1996).

The history of development and underdevelopment is a long one indeed, not only within South Africa, but internationally. In our country it is well known that there are provinces such as Gauteng that are more developed than others. Many economic, social and political reasons are the bases for such economic and social disparities.

But the underdevelopment that is taking place at a world scale is the consequence of the unequal distribution of the world's wealth and the past history of slavery, colonialism and apartheid (SPP class notes, Approaches to development: 1999). Many countries both developed and underdeveloped had been failed by the centralisation of government functions, which lead to inefficiency and corruption. Thus they have recently resorted to decentralisation of powers to the local government so as to ease the strain of poverty and ease and facilitate service delivery in those areas (SPP class notes, Approaches to Development: 1999).

"Third world" /underdeveloped countries have historically suffered through slavery, and colonialism . These have become serious impediments in the individual and collective development of people at all levels of society in most of these countries.

The newly democratic South Africa is not unique when compared to other developing countries regarding the continuous struggle to ensure that development is seen as a tool to converge all people affected by poverty, unemployment and other social ills in their communities and internationally.

We shall look at the experiences of other countries in their determination to make democracy work through diverse approaches aimed at developing local communities. One of these is the participatory process that was performed by the *Malawi Rural Piped Scheme Program* as described by Kleemeier, (2000). and the *Democratic Local Governance in Six Countries namely Bolivia, Honduras, India, Mali, the Phillippines and Ukraine* as outlined by Blair (2000).

The experience relating to Malawi's community involvement in dealing with the social ill of not having proper water pipe systems indicates that South Africa was on the right track with its experience of the creation of development forums in a bid to build community participation. Other Third World countries experiences depict the lack of coherent structures dealing with development at a local government level. As it has been expressed :

"There are emerging consensus on how better to deliver rural water supplies in the future assumes that communities will play an even bigger role than in the past, based on the belief that local organisations and institutions are becoming stable to construct and maintain the supplies" (Kleemeier : 2000).

The localities and civil society of Malawi were organised and they never waited for other people to come to their rescue. They took it upon their shoulders to install a pipe scheme for their clean water to become a reality. Although there was no formal community structures at the beginning, water deprivation propelled the communities to organise themselves and work closely with their tribal authorities and developers in order to achieve their aims and objectives. The communities themselves then played a key role in achieving the delivery of clean water. (Kleemeier 2000). As it has been put by researchers on this field:

"Instead of financing and constructing as many schemes as possible, governments and donors should create an environment in which communities and the private sector could take on this role" (Briscoe & de Ferranti: 1988). It can be added that :

"Decentralisation and strengthening of local organisations were related aspects of bringing power and responsibility down to the community" (Esman & Uphoff: 1984, Uphoff & Esman: 1974).

The establishment of democratisation at the level of local government was a very popular idea that has emerged during the mid - 70's amongst both research practitioners and political/community activists internationally. These ideas gained support in the late 1980's including the donor community point of view. As a result, countries and regions have found themselves having to democratise at the local as well as at the national levels. As Blair put it:

"The new mode of support for decentralisation emerged in the late 1980's in the wake of the democratisation wave that swept so many countries toward the end of that decade" (Blair, H: 2000).

In Bolivia, some poor neighbourhoods took charge of their own community destiny by winning electoral control of local councils, something that never happened prior to the 1980's.

"In most of the places like Philippines, Karnataka and Ukraine, local elites get most of the power and steer benefits to themselves or maintain the existing distribution patterns which largely benefit them...The democratic local government initiatives have encouraged participation and have increased representation, but they have provided little in the way of empowerment, and even less in making the distribution of benefits more equitable or reducing poverty" (Blair, H:2000).

However in the Phillipines, *"there are NGO representatives on local development council which depicts that there are alternative ways to participate in local decision-making where traditional political bosses still have too much power"* (Blair, H: 2000).

2.1.5 National experience on forums and civil society

The uniqueness of the South African experience in relation to the apartheid scourge has made the civil society position to be the unique one. During the early 1980's most anti apartheid and political organisations united in a bid to resist and defy the yoke of the white minority rule for the ultimate attainment of liberation and freedom. The community organisations such as SANCO were formed in the 1980's, alongside the UDF as well as the giant workers federation , COSATU.

In the late 1980's the struggle intensified under the banner of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). There was instability throughout the country and a large number of peaceful as well as non-peaceful demonstrations. There was also a high level of political and criminal violence in KwaZulu Natal and throughout the country, including the Eastern Cape and Gauteng (then Transvaal).

After the 1994 democratic elections, most civil society activists were co-opted into the government because of their different expertise and experience. Most of the then thriving community organisations and Non Governmental Organisations were left without strong layer of leadership, thus weakened.

This period coincided with the introduction of the Development Forums within the country for the purpose of community involvement in development oriented issues. One of the forums established during that time was the IDF.

2.1.6 Fora in Durban

The Urban Strategy Department of the Durban Metropolitan Council (today's Etekwini Unicity) worked with all communities around Durban to ensure that development forums are established for the facilitation of local growth.

The local government leadership had budgeted for such endeavours ranging from building capacity to the committee members involved in community development structures to the implementation processes. Many workshops, seminars and conferences were held with community workers as well as the local councillors in order to pave the way forward.

Like the Inanda Development Forum, many development forums were formed following at its foot-steps. Cato Manor, Marianhill, Inner West fora (consisting of 15 affiliates), Umlazi, Kwamashu, Ntuzuma and many more were formed , with the same aims and objectives, such as development, service , delivery and growth.

There are three types of forums that were specified by the Urban Strategy department. These were the matured, maturing and infant categories.

2.1.7 Types of forums

Matured

This category includes "the forums that had previously received substantial amount of resources from the local council or elsewhere. These forums need to be self-sustaining or have medium-to long-term plans of self-sustainability" (Urban Strategy: 1997). These may be assisted with minimal support only during a crisis situation.

Maturing

The forum which belonged in this category required "a substantial allocation of resources as their efforts approached fruition. There could only be about three to five such Development Forums in any given financial year throughout the Durban Metro Area"(Urban Strategy: 1997). This category should only be considered for bridging funding as several of them went through problems with their communities.

Infancy

This category is self explanatory in that it includes forums which are at a very premature state and are vulnerable to many problems. It could either thrive or fail.

It is said that these are more of preparatory phases. Some of these forums may thrive and some may die a natural death. This phase is important in that

"it offers the Council an opportunity to establish a working relationship and to be informed before wasting public resources on undeserving development forums" (Urban Strategy: 1997).

As the same document continues:

"Performance indicators need to be mutually agreed upon so as to work towards a goal and measure progress. e.g. number of report-back plenary/community meetings held in a 12 months calendar year" (Urban Strategy: 1997).

2.1.8 A theoretical context

The Local Government Transitional Act was geared to promote the restructuring of local government and provide for the establishment of Provincial committees for Local Government in respect of the various provinces. It also provided for the recognition and establishment of forums for negotiating such restructuring of local government" (Local Government Transitional Act no.209 of 1993). This endeavour was supported by the developmental local government vision as described in the Local Government White Paper, which stressed the need of working with local communities in order to find sustainable solutions to problems of service and delivery. These were related to exercising municipal powers and functions in a way that maximises their impact on social development and economic growth;

playing an integrating and co-ordinating role to ensure alignment between public and private investment within the municipal area; democratising development; and building social capital through providing community leadership and vision, and seeking to empower marginalised and excluded groups within the community (Local Government White Paper: 1998).

Other programmes that were enshrined in the LG White Paper for effectiveness of community development were the integrated development planning and budgeting, performance management, as well as working together with the local citizens and partners (LG White Paper: 1998).

2.1.9 Integration

Integration is said to be a term that is relatively new within the ranks of development in South Africa. It was brought to existence in a bid to correct developmental mistakes of the past and ensure maximum utilisation of the country's scarce financial resources. Many policies and legislatures point at integration as their core ingredient relating to the developmental route that needs to be taken in South Africa in order to totally eradicate the imbalances and inequalities of the past.

The Local Government Transitional Act (LGTA) of 1996 emphasised the necessity of all LG's to formulate Integrated Development Planning (IDP's). The integration that needed to be planned included the integration of sectoral and disciplinary interests ,multiple land uses, urban and rural areas, ethnic groups, different communities' economic and social programmes, integration of strategic, operational, sectoral and spatial planning, integration and co-ordination of institutional activities, as well as the integration of all developmental processes and information.

2.1.10 Integrated development planning (IDP)

Due to the bitter historical past of many areas around the country, in the recent years there has been a need for an adoption of the integrated development planning. In the area of Inanda the planned development process was sporadic in that no consultation regarding development initiatives that were often unwanted took place (Bekker et al: 1991). During the reign of the National party, development took place on an adhoc and uncoordinated manner. In the KwaZulu Natal area, there were many crises of racial and social division that further informed the unequal distribution of the country's resources to a certain sector of the South African community.

In the KwaZulu Natal area, water department had grown to out-number the operations of other departments, thus undermining the need and viability of the integrated development planning (ISES, class notes, project management: 2001). Other departments were relatively far behind, as far as their 'all round' development and delivery was concerned. This is evidence that pinpoints the need for integrated planning.

The Local Government White Paper created the foundation for the need for Integrated Development Planning (IDP). The Local Government Transitional Act compelled municipalities to develop negotiated IDPs for their area of authority (LGTA: 1996). It further suggested that IDP's must be aimed at integrating the development and management of municipal areas in terms of the municipalities' powers and duties. (LGTA: 1993).

The Development Facilitation Act of 1995 was geared to putting 'extraordinary' measures to facilitate the implementation of reconstruction and development which included the fundamental transformation of planning processes, mechanisms and institutions, in order to facilitate the newly envisaged developmental role of local government (DFA: 1995).

The IDP also attempted to include the planning processes and products for a range of other line departments and sectors such as water, transport, environment and housing, which require municipal planning (DFA: 1995). Thus, there has been the formulation of regions, sub-regions and units beyond the city metropolitan area. While the metro areas are seen as well resourced (i.e Durban), there are other places that have been called areas of greater need, especially in the deep rural areas where there should be a hierarchical order of service provision and facilities. (ISES class notes, Project Management: 2001). Sometimes the term “urban periphery” is often used. However it sounds very logical, strategic and helpful but difficult to swallow that according to the development planning of our times, development should focus much on already improved areas so as to obtain the “minimum threshold” (more services to be offered to the communities who can afford to sustain them) (ISES class notes, Project Management: 2001). It means that other rural areas would take more than 15 years before they could enjoy socio economic status enjoyed by those people in the urban areas.

The IDP involved a close assessment of the reality of the total municipality area and the determination of community needs. It needed an audit of available resources. It ensured prioritisation of needs. It enhanced the development of frameworks and the formulation of strategies to achieve goals within specific time frames. It took into consideration the process of project implementation and time frames in order to achieve key objectives. It used performance monitoring tools in order to measure impact and performance (LGTA: 1996).

2.1.11 The benefits of integrated development planning (LG White Paper of 1998)

The IDP's were planned to ensure that municipalities align and direct their financial resources toward agreed policy objectives and programmes. They would enhance the integration of local government activities with other spheres of development planning at provincial, national and international levels through serving as a basis for communication and interaction.

They would facilitate the basis for engagement between local government and citizens at local level, and with various stakeholders and interest groups where the process of community participation and government accountability would be seen in practical terms. They would assist municipalities to weigh up their obligations and systematically prioritise programmes and resource allocations around meeting urgent needs, while maintaining the overall economic municipal and infrastructure already in place. They would also assist LGs to focus on the environmental sustainability of their delivery and development strategies. Finally they were there to assist LG to develop a holistic strategy for poverty alleviation.

2.1.12 Conclusion

It has been said that:

"Development forums need resources for their own operations, for institutional capacity building and for human resource development within their respective communities. Once they receive funds for development projects, the forum can compete with implementers like local government" (Urban Strategy 1997).

Those forums were created in order to be a part of the planning process, identify and prioritise needs as well as assist in the implementation of the planned service and delivery at local level. In this sense then the Urban Strategy document referred to above pinpoints only a few of the key roles and functions of the for a.

Development forums were seen as structures at the grass root level that would be able to implement integrated development for the community participation purpose, as well as to influence policy formulation and decision making together with the Local Government. The policies and legislation stressed the need for integration of planning at LG level. The same integration process would use integrated methods in order to realise integrated strategies and projects that could be simplified to sectoral tasks and

programmes for implementation (LGTA: 1996).

Nothing of what has been discussed above can be achieved without active community participation. This is what will be examined in the next chapter.

Chapter Three (Community Participation)

3.1 What is community participation

There are many definitions given to community participation. All of them mention the collective action aimed at empowering community members through giving them the power to make their own decisions regarding their own development. One of the aims of this thesis is related to community participation that took place in the Inanda community.

The Inanda area's development was going to be centred around the IDF's policy framework that depicted planning principles running parallel with participation and expression of need (Hindson: 1996). There was an expression of "holism" in this development approach and recognition that the development framework should be determined by the "resident's values and perceptions" (IDFR: 1995). Therefore community participation in this sense is not only a theoretical construct, but a very important practical and material reality.

The abilities of the communities to contribute towards the development of their areas need not to be undermined because it has been said that *"the local people are the experts in their particular area, their participation holds the key to unlock the treasure chest of indigenous knowledge. Hence the emphasis should be focused on collective participation to unlock the collective knowledge of the social and ecological system"* (Swanepoel, H et al:1996). This quotation indicates, correctly, that there cannot be planning of developmental projects, as well as proper implementation without the active participation of the people in these communities. It has been also said that peoples' participation in development implies empowerment and vice versa (Rowlands: 1995) and that the twin process of empowerment and participation constitute the basis of a people centred form of development" (Monaheng: 1998).

The genuine community participation meant that people should have the power to influence the decisions that affect their lives because without empowerment participation becomes ineffective (Swanepoel, H et al: 1996).

It has been said that, "*empowerment is a matter of collective mobilisation of marginalised groups against the disempowering activities of both the state and the market*" (Mohan.G & Stokke. K:2000).

3.2 Development

It is very imperative to look at the development concept closer, since we will also be using it quite often in this thesis. According to the IDF definition of this concept to be found in their policy document IDFR, "*development includes the physical, human and institutional transformation of Inanda that is inclusive and that will benefit the whole community through community driven transformation that will improve the Inanda people's quality of life in a sustainable manner*" (IDFR: 1995).

One definition contends that "*development is a process by which the members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to exercise power. As a result people will be able to mobilise and manage resources so as to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life appropriate to their culture and consistent to their aspirations*" (SPP, class notes, environmental management: 2000).

There is a belief that development is an illusive, complex and difficult concept, yet not a neutral value free activity. There is an acknowledgment that development has been created within a set of social cultural and political relationships. Other definitions remark that development does not have a precise meaning and an accepted definition, because it has been adopted through different theories and approaches in different times.

Therefore according to this approach development would mean *"the involvement and empowerment of people, thus developing human potential that will include achieving results and practical solutions on the ground, hence it is a means and goal as well a process and a product"*. Development may also be seen as consisting of deliberate efforts aimed at progress on the various agencies responsible for doing development. (SPP, class notes, Environmental Management: 2000).

There is a need to also define the terms "community development" and "sustainable development" since they are the core elements of this thesis.

Community development is *"the process that promotes human development while putting emphasis on the relationship between economy, social and political aspects of development. People's participation and empowerment are key elements of community development"* (Fitzgerald:1994, cited in Rowlands, J: 1995).

Sustainable development is *"development which meets the needs of the present without jeopardising the ability to meet the future"* (Hindson, D:1996). This kind of definition takes into account the holistic environment such as the natural, built, living and working environments and it goes beyond to affirm the latter definition through considering *"human consumption and production's impact on the present and future natural resource base"* (Hindson, D: 1996).

3.3 Community dilemmas relating to definition

It is always assumed that communities are always intact, united and having similar interests. However it has been noted in the urban areas that residents are more likely to come together to work on a project in which they have shared interests. However, people who live together may not always be the community since they may have very different interests , political, social or economic.

3.4 Why is community participation important in development programmes?

During the apartheid era there were planning processes that were influenced by “British thinking” and focusing on ‘efficiency concerns’. Engineers and architects dominated this kind of approach . They held the view that all planning problems had technical solutions (SPP, class notes, environmental Management: 2000).

By the start of the 1970’s decade, a rather extensive literature already existed on why and how to increase community participation in all phases of human development (Miller: 1979). When the US Congress mandated the USAID to pursue research on basic human needs in 1973 in various parts of the underdeveloped and developing world, the legislators also directed the agency to promote bottom-up development and participation of the poor (Kleermeier, E: 2000). This reflected a pressure from the grassroots communities to be included in the development agenda so that at the end of the day they could feel the sense of ownership and belonging.

This was going to take a route of getting beneficiaries involved in such a way that cost would be lowered. This process could better target peoples needs and include incorporation of local knowledge. It could ensure that benefits are equitably distributed and facilitate the creation of grass-root capacity to undertake other development projects. It could maintain benefits, particularly in the case of physical infrastructure (Uphoff, Cohen & Goldsmith: 1979).

In the Malawi water pipe scheme, there were indications of prosperity during the installation processes. Community participation prevailed and some projects never succeeded, while others thrived with the help of the donors. This type of rural participation enhanced the sustainability of various projects. The World Bank for this reason undertook in recent years two studies into the impact of participation on sustainability (Narayan: 1995; Sara & Katz: 1997).

It was discovered that there is more sustainability of projects in schemes undertaken in conjunction with community participation than those that do not feature community participation in their operations (Kleermeier, E: 2000). By building popular participation and accountability into local governance, government at the local level would become more responsive to citizen desires and more effective in service delivery (Blair, H: 2000).

It has been said that *"the links between knowledge and action are obviously complex, but the starting point is to reject the assumption that 'experts' know best what creates the space for local knowledge to be accessed"* (Mohan.G & Stokke K :2000). It has been also argued that civil society institutions can be vehicles for participation in development programmes and empowerment of target groups of poor people" (Mohan.G & Stokke K:2000). These sentiments are not only theoretical constructs and should not be seen as such, they have been put in practice internationally as has been demonstrated in the context of this dissertation.

This is a pivotal process in ensuring that communities become involved during the inception stages of development projects such that the end results are perceived as been the results of community initiative. In this kind of development the community can define the process, contribute towards implementation and have control over it.

Community participation should therefore be an active process in which beneficiaries influence projects rather than being passive recipients of the benefits. Participation is seen as a right and duty of the community members to partake in projects that affect them and it builds self-reliance. It makes the community project to be more relevant since the community members may bring along their ideas and skills to it. This could result in making implementation more complete and people can benefit through capacity building and collective decision making. It may also mean the sharing of costs between the community and the developer.

A good illustration of community participation took place in Malawi Rural Piped Scheme Program as reported by Elizabeth Kleermeier (2000).

For any request to be processed, a Traditional Authority chief had to submit an application form to the District Development Council (part of local government), that had to prioritise the application. "(Kleermeier. E :2000). Malawi was the proof that government could restrict itself to providing technical assistance, training, and monitoring, and that the community could take on the primary responsibility for construction and maintenance. As a consequence, *"the results could be a replicable and the operation, maintenance and construction of water pipes, the government defined its role as backstopping community efforts* sustainable rural water supply program" (Briscoe & de Ferranti, 1988: 13-17). The program was large scale and low cost, that is why it has been seen as a tremendous success.

Another good example of community participation can be seen in the six countries study sponsored by USAID, which looked at Democratic Local Government. The study was performed in Bolivia, Honduras, India, Mali, the Philippines and Ukraine. By building popular participation and accountability into local governance, government at the local level would ultimately become more responsive to citizens desires and more effective in service delivery (Blair. H, 2000: 21-39: World Development).

In some urban areas of the Philippines, poor neighbourhoods took charge of their own community's destiny by winning electoral control of local councils, in many sections of El Alto. However there are still problems in other local areas that still experience marginalisation of poor groups (i.e. Karnata). When governance is decentralised, local elites capture most of the power and dish out benefits to themselves, or at least maintain the existing distribution pattern which largely benefits them (Blair, H: 2000).

3.5 Integrated service delivery

During the apartheid era, there was an unequal distribution of wealth and resources such as service delivery to all the citizens of South Africa. This was because of the apartheid policy, which was based segregation based on racial lines. The Group Areas Act exacerbated the problem of separate development.

So as a result, service provision in the townships and rural areas was not applicable and if it happened, it was very minimal. The area of Inanda was isolated and had no proper basic facilities and services to enhance subsistence. Therefore this section will examine the contemporary integrated service delivery endeavours as a means to improve on past inequalities. The White Paper on Local Government laid the grounds for this process, including the subsequent programmes that accompanied these changes such as the *Masakhane* campaign.

There was evidence that during the time of the Inanda's report compiled by Professor Doug Hindson in 1996, the informal settlements themselves varied significantly in regard to the state of their infrastructure and services. Areas such as Besters, on one hand had stand pipes, VIP's skips for waste removal and hardened roads and footpaths while Mshayazafe and Amaotana had only few skips and depended on neighbouring areas or water tanks for water (Hindson: 1986). The latter statement suggests that during the mid-1980's, Inanda was still underdeveloped, with the exception of the few areas that already had some basic services. The Inanda's Glebe area had water supply to each house, water borne sewerage, electricity, hardened roads and weekly house to house refuse removal (Hindson: 1986). The development process in Inanda was mostly the responsibility of the private sector organisations such as the Urban Foundation and other private developers especially in the field of housing.

In 1994, after the new government had been put to place, services began to speedily flourish in disadvantaged communities like Inanda. The IDF began to partake in the integrated development planning for Inanda through the formulation of structure plan and the development framework. Different line departments began to work together and took into account the question of community participation such that development became sustainable. It should be noted that services like electricity, water, sanitation, proper roads, health facilities and so forth had already been put in place in most townships in Durban to some extent. However, the government had to focus its attention on the communities that were less affluent like Inanda, situated in the urban periphery.

Building partnerships had always been at the forefront of the developmental discussions and this phenomenon was defined as the combination of different resources and skills for development's prosperity, where the government, private sector and the communities converge their effort in ensuring success in development of the previously isolated poor, and disadvantaged communities.

It was envisaged that partnerships between the private and public sectors could play an important role in making funds available for projects to become operational and take off within acceptable time-frames (TIDPI: 1998).

The Masakhane campaign led by the former President N. Mandela sought not only to encourage payment of services but also addressed a need for equitable and urgent delivery of affordable services and amenities, since it was seen as central to nation - building and normalising the past. Arrangements were made that individual services were to be paid for separately whilst communal facilities/services would be paid for through the rates systems. These services and infrastructure included electricity, water, refuse removal, clinic services, sanitation, storm water drainage, recreational facilities, roads and maintenance, etc.

The objectives of the local government were seen as being in line with the integration of service delivery. The LG was seen as geared to promote democracy and accountability to the community and ensure sustainable, integrated service delivery. And social and economic development with the encouragement of community participation (Local Government white paper: 1998).

There are other strategies that had been employed to try and maximally utilise the perceived minimal fiscal resources at the disposal of local government. These may take the form of public, private partnership, service contract, management contract and leases.

3.5.1 Public, private partnership

When the public sector was unable to fulfill the obligations of service delivery, they invited the private sector to be equal partners in the developmental scenario and implementation. It is said that this kind of arrangement would guarantee the payment of services through various means. This included the implementation of the MASAKHANE campaign, the payment of rates, electricity, water and all other services.

3.5.2 Service contract

This involves contracting out specific operations and maintenance activities to the private sector. The public provider sets the performance criteria for the activity, evaluates bidders, supervises the contractor and pays agreed fees for the services. This could involve operation and standpipe, meter reading and so fourth.

3.5.3 Management contract

This arrangement extends the responsibility of the private sector beyond individual service functions to encompass operations and maintenance. A private firm manages the operations of a state-owned enterprise without committing its own investment capital or accepting full commercial reforms. There must be effective incentives for good performance and penalties for the failure to perform duties.

3.5.4 Leases

This contract has no obligation to invest on infrastructure, except for the agreed upon maintenance obligation. The contractor must finance working capital and replacement of short-lived assets. It requires the government to commit to tariffs that cover at least operation and maintenance costs.

3.6 The role of Local Government

According to Mr. Moodley, “the LG prepared a structure plan and for three months it paid 32 IDF development workers. It asked the development workers to prepare a detailed booklet/plan which will give guidance in development of Inanda. There was a strong commitment of LG to work with the IDF during the period 1997 to 1998. However there was no action after 1998 till today. Ad hoc oriented developmental endeavours from the LG is currently taking place. The LG assisted the forum from the preparatory stages of 1992 to the 1994 IDF launch and further to the subsequent years of 1995 to 1996 implementation” (Interview with Moodley).

The new Metro governance came to existence during 1996 after the 1994 national elections . The main aim of the local government was to *“be committed to working with the citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs so as to improve their lives”*. (Constitution section 152. Act 108 of 1996).

According to an interview held with Mr. Maurice Makhathini of Durban Housing on the 10th November 2000, *“after the 1996 local elections, communities of Inanda began to demand direct consultation with development agencies no longer had to go via through the IDF”*. He further indicated that councilor’s demarcation was regrouped and imposed. Therefore conflict was fueled between local government and IDF.

3.7 The responsibility of municipalities

The municipalities collect a large sum in rates, user fees and other resources from inhabitants of the cities and towns.

They employ thousands of people throughout the country. In many cases they are responsible for the price and quality of water, electricity and roads as well as the controlling of the use and development of land. They own substantial amounts of land and purchase goods and services as well as paying salaries. They therefore contribute significantly to the cash flow in the local economy. This process sets the agenda for local politics and operates in a manner that sends a strong signal to the prospective migrants or investors at all levels. These are stipulations that have been included in the legislation associated with local government (LG White Paper, 1998:38).

3.7.1 Land

There will be no improvement in the lives of South Africa's people as long as they do not own land. The White Paper on local government outlines the fact that one of the local government's responsibility is to implement the land reform policy. This will take into cognisance the land redistribution, restitution and security of tenure. According to the 1999/2000 survey, only 0,8% of the land was distributed to previously disadvantaged communities (SPP, classnotes, approaches to development: 2000). This problem has been caused by the subjection of the land question into a market-related issue whereby the landowners use their own discretion either to sell or not to sell land, thus decreasing the chances of the landless people to own land.

It is said tht while Inanda covers an area of 5650.3ha, 33% of that area is estimated to be belonging to private hands, 30% is state owned, 8% is church owned and no information is available for the balance of 29% (RDP Urban Renewal Report, November: 1998). Such distorted ownership has implication for the development of Inanda.

3.7.2 Housing

Local government is responsible for building decent housing for the homeless people. The majority of South Africans are living in rural areas, urban informal settlements and in-decent housing. The RDP document provided a framework regarding the building of 1 million houses in a period of 5 years (from 1994 to 1999). This target could not be met as the South African government had budgetary constraints which were created by the adoption and implementation of the Growth Employment And Redistribution programme (GEAR) after the replacement of the RDP .

It was acknowledged that *"the approach to housing, infrastructure and services must involve and empower communities; be affordable, developmental and sustainable"* (RDP:1994). The vehicle for the implementation of this process was identified as the local government together with elements of civil society.

The past South Africa's housing situation, with low and progressively decreasing rates of formal and informal housing delivery has led to a massive increase in the number of households forced to seek accommodation in informal settlements, backyard shacks and in overcrowded conditions in existing formal housing. The majority of Inanda's residents lived "in informal settlements with inadequate basic infrastructure and a low level of essential services"(Towards Integrated Development Planning of Inanda: 1998).

3.7.3 Water

The local government was made responsible for the provision of clean water for most of South Africa's population. The country has a population of approximately 40 million and of those it was calculated that 23 million individuals do not have access to clean water (Local Government White Paper: 1998).

Water is a very important commodity and since the population increases in the urban areas, there is an increased need for more clean water. 600 litres of water is intended to be given free of charge in each household, especially in the rural areas. (Local Government White Paper 1998). In some Inanda areas, their water indicated E.coli levels of 8000-10 000/100ml (very dangerous by the World Health Organisation standards) and this was attributable to the fact that only 0.5% of Inanda was linked to waterborne sewage in 1995 (RDP, URR: 1998).

3.7.4 Sanitation and roads

Approximately 12 million people did not have proper sanitation in South Africa during the year 2000. It is the local government's responsibility to facilitate the process of installing proper sanitation. Inanda still has households that do not have proper sanitation. Most rural areas and many urban areas have a problem of gravel roads. This kind of situation is retarding the process of development since the local people as well as the dealers may not be able to travel to and from these areas.

3.7.5 Economic and development hindrance

Problems of access and development were exacerbated by Inanda's location within the steep hinterland zone abutting the flatter land along the coast (within which most of the development is located) and the isolation of Inanda from central Durban and the Durban- Pietermaritzburg corridor by the deeply-incised Umngeni River to the west, which represents a significant barrier to north-south movement. Access to employment opportunities has also been limited due to the lack of economic activities within Inanda and the north western sector generally" (TIDPI: 1998). While Inanda is estimated to be contributing 2.8% of the Gross Geographic Product of the DMA, economic potential is seen diminishing because of residents earnings that are spent outside Inanda, lack of both sustainable SMMEs and skills development (RDP, URR: 1998).

3.7.6 Conclusion

The above analysis of basic parameters has looked only at the surface of the situation, what was examined was just the tip of the iceberg. This means that many developmental project need to take place in this township. The situation of services in Inanda has improved to a certain extent since 1994. There have been places that are still lagging behind in terms of development. However the best solution regarding these problems is the integration of plans in all aspects, including that of service delivery, where affected communities and different departments work together from the planning to the implementation stages for the sake of sustainability of development projects.

In the interviews that were conducted in Inanda, most people believed that community participation was achieved in the development of the area. It became apparent that during the plenary meetings and introduction development partners who came to perform specific programme in the area, community members were involved. There were instances whereby flyers were distributed in the area in a bid to inform community members about progress regarding development projects. It was said that as the time passed-by, the leading figures of the IDF restricted the flowing of development information among themselves and this led to a decrease in popular participation. However, it is plausible that the democratic changes in the country enabled community participation, which became practical through the structures such as the IDF. Not all people talked positively about such participation, some could opt to be critical of the process based on various grounds. This could relate to political differences, jealousy and passivity with the aim of causing destruction and detraction from the development focus.

Local government has made a difference in the development arena because it is the one that has been responsible for the spearheading of these processes. It ensured the collection of data for the purpose of the 'means analysis' with the help of development workers.

It assisted in the setting up of the IDF, building its capacity and helped in drafting important development planning documents of the area. Apart from the local government functions that have been mentioned in this section, it has also promoted social development through Arts and Culture, recreational and community facilities and delivering of the social welfare services aspects.

There has been a mounting concern that municipalities will need to invest in restructuring and reorienting their existing administrative capacity and systems to be able to face new challenges in the global environment of the new millenium. Hence it has been said that "joint training programmes for managers from different line functions, or for management and workers, can be particularly effective in building a common vocabulary; understanding of concepts, issues and problems; and approaches to service transformation" (White Paper on Local Government: 1996).

Chapter four

Historical background of the Inanda Development Forum

4.1 Inanda's location and brief history

This brief introduction could have been more appropriate in the first chapters of this dissertation. However, it is presented here as it could provide the reader with a sense of continuity as the brief history of the area and its location within the urban parameters of present Ethekewini blends dialectically with the description of the examination of the material conditions that follow. The existing realities in Inanda are the effects of historical processes, hence the appearance of the historical background in the present chapter.

Inanda is located some 20km from the city centre on the 'urban edge' of the Durban Metro Area (DMA) between the rural area of Ndwedwe (to the north and West) and the urban residential areas of Phoenix (to the East), KwaMashu and Ntuzuma (to the South) (Development and Planning Department: 1998). Inanda is an area that came to exist due to the restrictive racial segregation laws such as the influx control. When non-whites migrated to the city in a bid to seek jobs, the white, racist regime implemented policies that served as a filter to get rid of black people in the 'white South Africa'.

When rural migration into the city intensified, many people did not have permits to the city. As a result many people began to erect informal settlements at the periphery of the city council area. This kind of settlement could be partially justified on the basis that informal settlement dwellers wanted to be closer to their places of work in the urban areas. There was a gradual mushrooming of the informal settlements over the years. In other areas of South Africa, there were evictions and demolition of 'illegal settlements' like in the case of 'Umkhumbane' (now known as Cato Manor). Inanda was somehow different in a sense that the vast land was owned by the landowners.

It was said that "the indigenous people of Inanda, the Amaqadi tribe were pushed away from this area to the place now known as Durban North. Britain annexed this place during the early colonial period" (Interview with M.Makhathini,). In 1847, the African location to the north west of Durban was gazetted as the Inanda location and had shared a boarder with the Inanda farm. Some 180 square miles became known as the Inanda Division of Victoria Country which later became Natal's sugar industry. It is said that during 1870's the three farms (Piesang River, Groeneberg and Riet River) were in the hands of speculators, both companies and individuals rather than producers (Hughes, : 1987).

As a result the independent producers became tenants, paying cash as rent where labour was required in some circumstances failing which the rent was raised. When the Indian's period of indenture had elapsed in 1876, Indian producers had already began in early 1860's to outnumber and displace African producers because of the credit and land rental advantage over their counterparts (Makhathini: 1991).

Daniel Lendly was among the first British missionaries who settled in the area and he opened a missionary station where most of the converts were harboured (Hughes, : 1987). This was due to the fact that converts were seen by the Amaqadi tribe as people who were sell-outs and who had betrayed the Qadi culture and embraced colonial culture and therefore they were unsafe in the presence of the so called 'savage community'.

James Dube who later was blessed by the son called Langalibalele, was one of the converts living in the missionary. His son John Langalibalele Dube grew up, studied locally and abroad, in the Adams missionary school and Harvard University respectively. Under the influence of great men like B.T. Washington whom he met abroad, Dube developed ideas of going back to South Africa to buy land and also encourage others to do the same, as to instill the culture of self reliance through building of schools and cultivation of education for the regaining of African peoples' dignity. He implemented his plan on his arrival. In 1901 he bought 200 acres of land near the Piesang River later known as Dube's farm.

This was just before the implementation of the 1913 Land Act that prevented African's purchase of land in the so called 'white South Africa'. Isaiah Shembe bought the old Piesang River portion that he named Ekuphakameni for his church Amanazaretha (Hughes, : 1987). These land requisitions took place before the introduction of laws which prevented black people from acquiring large portions of land. Vast portions of land were bought by wealthy immigrants whom at a later stage disposed of their holdings and subsequently Indians increased their acquisition of land (Hughes: 1987).

These landowners- Indians being the majority and Africans being very few, bought land during the early 19th century. Mahatma Gandhi bought land in 1894 in the Inanda area. The uHlange Trade School was formed, Gandhi founded THE INDIAN OPINION, an Indian newspaper and John Dube founded the *iLanga lase Natal* newspaper publishers, though at first he was faced with the problem of not having publication material. It has been said that people made a living through the cultivation of land and when there was in-migration from the North, agriculture ceased. In the early 1930's, economic conditions and discriminatory laws merged to cause agricultural stagnation in Inanda (Hughes: 1987). In 1936, the Land Act declared Inanda as the 'released area 33' which was formally isolated from white South Africa and an impression was given that the area was going to be incorporated in the reserves at a later stage. During this period, the Indian population was already alarming at 52%. However the purchase of land by Indians was since made difficult during that period. After the continued squeezing of the small producers and agricultural activity in Inanda, in the 1960's the land-owners began to willingly allow shack farming to grow in their properties. This form of settlement was going to enhance tenants to lease the place and the Indian landowners got a supplement of their incomes. That is how urbanisation process began taking place in Inanda (Hughes:1987).

There were many people who needed a place to stay those days due to the lack of proper accomodation and the increasing migration patterns towards the urban areas. Thus most people resided under the landlords and they were obligated to pay rent. It was a bonus for the landlords to receive rent monthly from tenants and in return paid their rent once annually.

In the 1950's the Umkhumbane settlement was completely destroyed by the apartheid state machinery, and the government created a township called KwaMashu for the re-housing of the shack dwellers. Some people were impressed by this move, but others felt that there were many restrictions and that is how many of the African people moved to Inanda. The transport route that had already been extended towards KwaMashu, gave Inanda's people the benefit "of being able to commute from their rusty houses to work at the city" (Hughes:1987).

The Inanda area began to swell through population influx. The landowners began to have shops and their main market was their tenants. In 1959 after the promotion of Bantu Self- Government Act, using the argument of Inanda's status-released area 33, the African elite class began to advance their interests in the name of the need for Africans to be empowered in the African land . Until 1979, no authority in the country was willing to take responsibility for Inanda. This situation had made landlords and shack-lords to be glorified as there was no authority. In the early 80's densities of 100 to 230 people per hectare could be found in the area (Hughes: 1987). There was mass poverty and underdevelopment in this area and there was " *an absence of legitimate government and a lack of local government in Inanda such that there was uncertainty of where it belonged, whether under Ndwedwe magistrate or Verulam*" (Interview with Makhathini, M). Thus , "Inanda was pronounced the biggest informal settlement in Kwazulu Natal during the 1980's "(Hindson: 1996).

This kind of situation raised problems pertaining to hygienic standards and living conditions. Housing became a problem as services were not provided in Inanda, unlike other townships. The Durban City Council (DCC) was forced at one stage to intervene in the Inanda problem through its department of Co-operation and Development (CAD). This happened after there the draught of 1978 and the typhoid out-break which resulted in 30 people being killed in the early 1980's. Thus many stakeholders were involved in bringing tanks of water to the area (Hughes: 1987).

Water sources were finally laid in 1982 after several attempts by the CAD to forcefully remove Inanda's people under the pretext of the 'absence of water', prosecution of tenants and landlords under the 1936 Land Act and numbering of shacks for the purpose of invoking Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 (Hughes: 1987).

Given the mentality of CAD, the second cholera outbreak took place in 1983 claiming five lives and in 1984 evictions were still taking place. In 1985 violence took place emanating from the assassination of a well known human rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge (Hughes: 1987).

After the unfortunate circumstances of political instability in this area, the late 1980's can be seen as a symbol of hope because development negotiations were to begin between the KwaZulu administration, Durban city council and the community organisations.

As one of the participants said:

"When things were brewed outside the white city boundaries, the private sector, liberation movements, Urban Foundation and the University academics felt that development should take place in Inanda. The Durban Functional Region (DFR) believed that Inanda was a functional area of Durban-trying to look at the scenario in an academic way" (Interview with Makhathini, M).

Operation Jump Start, a section 21 company made up of business-people and other do-gooders began to employ people from Inanda. There was a need for a holistic, integrated and community participatory development of Inanda, rather than development done in a piecemeal manner.

The IDF was formally launched in April 1994. It produced the Inanda Development Framework, began the attempts to improve living conditions of Inanda people through community participation in housing and service delivery, building of roads, a library and so forth. Simultaneously some sort of development of formal houses and infrastructure through developers had already begun in several areas.

In 1996, problems began to haunt the Inanda Development Forum, among them the legacy of violence and the long standing socio-economic historical background of Inanda. Within the forum, there was an unstable state of finances, as well as some deeply rooted 'politics' within itself and municipal councilors. These are some of many problems that might have led to IDF's downfall and which we are still going to discuss in detail in the subsequent sections.

4. 2 Socio-economic conditions of Inanda

Social and economic conditions of Inanda were historically and at present appalling. The government of the day had reneged from its responsibility to provide basic services such as proper water, sanitation, housing, as well as infrastructure including job creation schemes that could have eased the hardship and unemployment experienced by the people of Inanda. Economically the members of most in-migration households were more likely to be employed as labourers and domestics on temporary basis and the more "established" workers in the more permanent occupations were factory workers and security guards (Bekker, S et al: 1991). The planned development process had been sporadic, and there was no consultation regarding development initiatives that were often unwanted (Bekker, S et al: 1991). Information from surveys undertaken in 1990 indicated that incomes levels were extremely low, with 93,7% of households earning under R800, per month with an average household income of R400 per month (Stavrou: 1994). A survey of Besters Camp, one of the poorest areas in Inanda, undertaken in 1995, indicated that 21% of the potentially economically active population were unemployed and that 69% of households earned less than R800 (Hindson, D: 1996). A survey performed in 1994 found 48-57% of unemployment rate in Bhambayi (Jeffrey: 1994). It was discovered that average wages were significantly lower for women than for men (Stravrou: 1994, cited in Hindson, D: 1996).

The following quotation aptly describes the social and economic conditions of Inanda: "Inanda is associated with the high levels of unemployment, low level of literacy, low incomes, high dependency ratio and the attendant low level of affordability" (TIDP :1998).

4.3 Migration to the greater Inanda

Due to the lack of the rule of law, through the absence of a proper recognised and constituted authority, there was a continued in-migration to Inanda. This created an increase in competition amongst the community members for the scarce resources existing in the township. What strengthened this trend was partly the availability of the open or “greenfield” areas, abundance of land for occupation and close proximity with the formal black townships (Bekker, S et al: 1991).

On a broader scale, there was an introduction of restrictions regarding the entry of new migrants. This was declared in areas under nominal or actual civic or youth control and proved to be effective (Bekker, S et al: 1991). This area was targeted on the basis that it was closer to the workplaces situated within the Durban Metropolitan Area. Thus people who were denied legal residence status in formal townships like KwaMashu had no alternative but to move to Inanda. There was also a number of people from rural areas and many families residing within Inanda built more shacks in various areas of the vicinity. Over half of the population of Inanda originated from the rural areas, but a large proportion of this population moved to its present location from another settlement or the township. This pattern indicates that most people in the various areas had lived in Inanda or another urban areas for many years (Govender: 1994).

Much immigration took place from the mid 1980's, during the period of violence and decline of administrative control and landowner power in Inanda (Govender: 1994).

Access to transport was difficult for large numbers of people and many areas were marginal to the urban transport network (Bekker, S et al: 1991). However Inanda was relatively close to the DMA. All these conditions contributed to the low socio-economic status, of the majority of the residents, increased poverty and many families living

below the poverty line. The place was characterised by the absence of infrastructure, basic services, high density and overcrowding. By the 80's, Inanda area was the biggest informal settlement in South Africa (Hindson, D: 1996). Some areas were seen as overcrowded and over two thirds of the Inandas' population appeared to be urbanised immigrants of rural origins (Bekker, S et al: 1991). The Nhlungwane vicinity was considered as an area which received the largest population inflow in 1985 population statistics because of its good access allocation to urban centers and had drawn population from KwaMashu, as well as rural and peri-urban migrants (Bekker, S et al: 1991). Others moved from their original area of settlement to the nearby land and built their own shacks (Morris and Hindson 1995).

This process resulted in declining occupational densities from levels in the region of 7 in the mid 1980's to levels in the region of 4 per dwelling in the mid 1990's (Hindson, D: 1996). Inanda like other parts of DMA periphery experienced the consequences of residential decompression (Cross et al: 1992, cited in Hindson, D: 1996). In the early 1990's, a government committee came into play in Inanda, but was not recognised by the community.

4.4 A Brief history of the state of environment, spatial dynamics and fragmentation in Inanda

4.4.1 The state of the environment

This section will examine briefly the state of the environment in Inanda building up on the already explored geographical position earlier.

The ground rises from East to West and South to North. To the West lies the river catchment of Amatikwe, which feeds the Mzinyathi river (Markowitz: 1994, cited in Hindson, D. 1996). The North West of Inanda is bounded by the escarpment of Etafuleni and the plateau of Tea estate, which feeds the river catchments of the Ohlanga and its tributaries. An East-West ridge bisecting Inanda forms the boundary between the Ohlanga catchment which runs East and eventually into the Ohlange

estuary, and the Piesang catchment, which drains South into the Mngeni (Hindson, D: 1996). Based on the aerial photography, it was suggested that the steeper and more inaccessible river valleys and upper catchments of the Mzinyathi were the main characteristics of the area (Hindson : 1996).

The west and North West of the greater Inanda area, offer the greatest prospects for protection of natural environments and larger open space development, while the more densely packed areas to the East and South, which are most in need of such areas, offer fewer opportunities (Hindson: 1996).

The environmental study conducted in Inanda during the year 1995 regarding the state of environment depicted a variation of assessments.

According to the Development Plan for Inanda document, the 'spatial context for planning and development within Inanda' is determined by a number of different scales: by its location and relationship with the metropolitan area, by its role within the sub-metropolitan region and by local factors which shape its internal spatial structure (TIDPI: 1998). The natural environment of Inanda has been transformed and severely degraded by human settlement and cultivation for many decades .This includes Indian commercial farming to the African shack farming which was abandoned after the densification of Inanda settlement (Hindson: 1996).

The absence or poor quality of sewage, waste water and storm water systems in most settlements has led to the pollution of springs, rivers and streams and to health hazards within settlements, especially in the summer months when higher rainfall and temperatures combine to encourage the spread of disease carried by animals and insects, such as rats and flies (Hindson: 1996). Soil erosion is a common place during heavy storms, such that un-surfaced roads become slippery and full of water since there is no water drainage and houses that are built on mud and those located nearby the river banks are always faced with the possibilities of total collapse (Hindson: 1996). According to the information gathered in 1996 through "assessment of environment of Inanda", there were no proper mechanisms to dispose of waste during that time. This scenario had led to the spread of many diseases.

The air of Inanda has increasingly been degraded by smells from uncollected waste and litter and by the burning of fossil fuels due to the lack of electricity, as well as by inadequate sanitation. Thus poverty and lack of access to basic resources for living, create vicious cycle of increased human dependence on a natural environment exploited for survival, yet increasingly unable to meet survival needs (Hindson: 1996).

4.4.2 Spatial planning of Inanda

For years there was a need for a balance between measures to increase integration within Inanda and improvement of its integration into the rest of the northern sub-region and metropolitan Durban (Hindson: 1996).

This was going to enhance integration to DMA through a combination of opportunities in order to strengthen the accessibility of residents of Inanda to the DMA through improved transportation and longer term planning of the Northern sub-region in order to increase employment and service delivery.

There could be thoughts of growth and development of activity corridors and nodes within the area that could become a focus for the community itself as well as attracting activity from the rest of the DMA (Hindson: 1996). As years passed there were serious and accelerated changes in the Inanda area. Thus while there was a simultaneous need to de-densify several informal settlements in Inanda in order for the living and communal space to enable development to occur, at the same time the area was in need of more households in order to meet the thresholds necessary to make basic services and amenities affordable. The 1996 report authored by D.Hindson poses questions revolving around what form of residential development could be proposed that would not lower thresholds and therefore endanger the viability of the neighbouring activity corridors, and what would the implications be of increased housing densities in these areas given dissatisfaction with plot sizes and housing types within Inanda. The report suggested that the resolution partly revolved around the spatial design and architectural re-design of the area (Hindson: 1996). The pattern of settlement was shaped by the interaction of major infrastructural developments, notably the road system and topography.

The scarcity of suitable open spaces on flat or gently sloping land has resulted in a scattering and spatial fragmentation of settlements while the road system attracted and concentrated settlement because of the accessibility to transport and services (Hindson: 1996).

4.5 Record of violence, conflict between landowners and tenants of Inanda

Kwazulu Natal was once known as a province with a high toll of deaths emanating from political and civil related violence. One of the locations in the province that experienced violence was Inanda. The worst political violence that erupted in the area was in August 1985. According to a study conducted by M Byerly in 1989, the cause of this violence emerged during the assassination of a human rights lawyer and activist Victoria Mxenge in 1985 (Byerley, 1989). This is also confirmed by Natal University academic H. Hughes, in her article on violence in Inanda, written in 1987.

It is said that the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was the backbone of the United Democratic Front (UDF) which was seen spearheading the fight against apartheid injustices in the townships. Inkatha demanded that schools continue as normal while the youth were mobilising and had gone in their thousands to the streets. This violence was seen as two disturbed streams merged into an uncontained torrent. The first was of local origin, the cumulative strife, deprivation and uncertainty of an (unorganised poor, the second, the highly politicised revolt of the youth) (Hughes: 1987). This widespread violence took place during the time of mass resistance against the apartheid rule such that schools, administrative offices and the rich were targeted.

While the black elite were the victims in the townships, Indians who owned retail outlets and land were the targets in Inanda (Byerley, 1989). What can be described as 'lumpen' youth from Inanda took up and led where the students had left off such that at midday two Indian-owned shops and houses were looted and burnt (Hughes: 1987).

This was going to continue to an extent of that many Indian families fearing for their lives, fled the area.

According to Mr Isaac Ngcobo who is one of the founder members of Inanda Civic Association and the IDF, as early as 1985, the Inanda community was haunted by many social and welfare related problems, people of Inanda were disorganised and there was turmoil derived from violence between tenants (Africans) and landlords (Indians) to an extent of burning Indian shops in a bid to drive them away (Interview with I. Ngcobo). As the events reached their peak after the concentration of attacks in the area near Mahatma Gandhi's Phoenix settlement, the Inanda crowd estimated at about 300, charged into battle and set numerous buildings alight and Gandhi's home and the school named after his wife were destroyed (Hughes: 1987).

Inanda was the sight of some of the worst class, racial and internecine violence in Natal in the mid 1980's (Hindson: 1996). Medical evidence confirmed eyewitness accounts that during the 1985 riots, it was mostly people in their teens and early twenties involved in arson, and that the police were inflicting the casualties, being bullet wounds (Hughes:1987). Hindson, contends that this violence was sometimes exacerbated by the state security apparatus in a bid to destabilise and weaken political opposition to its reform policies (Hindson: 1996).

At the end of that week of violence, 42 Indian-owned shops and businesses, and as many houses and three surgeries operated by an Indian doctor, had been destroyed . About 2000 Indian refugees in Phoenix were displaced (Hughes: 1987).

It is said that at large Inkatha had a vested interests in the area since there was not yet any political domination. Thus Inkatha's impi from Lindelani (another informal settlement nearby Ntuzuma township) arrived and many deaths were reported (Hughes:1987).

At some point, Inkatha held its peace rally in pledging solidarity with the displaced Indians, where Dr. O.Dhlomo (then General Secretary of Inkatha and Minister of education under the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly) addressed the masses (Hughes, 1987).

T030052



Some Indians vowed to come back to the area and many were relocated in Phoenix and Verulum provided that they were safe. This led to the reaffirmation by the state through the release of the consolidation proposal where it was suggested that three farms which housed Indians to the North of Released Area 33 (Groeneberg, Buffelsdraai and the original Inanda) were to be incorporated into Kwazulu (Hughes, H: 1987).

Much of Inanda's land was acquired by the South African Development Trust, but the real situation reflected that the area remained under the control of blacks through the owning of informal settlement (Bekker, S et al: 1991). After the violence of 1985, Indian landowners and many black landowners had largely withdrawn from the area, thus the department of Development Aid bought up most of the unenforced Indian land titles in a bid to extinguish private titles and ensure bringing land into legal state control (Bekker, S et al: 1991).

There were other incidents of violence reported at a later stage, though it was on a lesser scale. "There was aid received from the Secretary for Durban Network which supplied food and blanket in areas affected by violence. Comrades fought another aid from the Oxfam Canada over suspicions that they were state's agents" (interview with I.Ngcobo)

This was amongst the first violent situations that engulfed Inanda and it was followed by politically orchestrated violence between Inkatha (now called the IFP) and the ANC supporters. After the Indian landowners and shopkeepers were driven away in Inanda, warlords came to existence. They demanded rentals from the tenants and became "self imposed" landlords.

Yet the truth of the matter revolved around the fact that some of these "warlords were Inkatha members and wanted to forcefully and speedily enhance the facilitation of recruitment for their membership", an Inanda elder remarked in an interview . Another respondent said that the name Mshayazafe was coined after heavy incidences of killings that took place between Inkatha members 'Amabutho'(armed regiment) and the ANC supporters over the latter discussed source of conflict .

"Inkatha supporters were seen as derailing the fight for liberation" (Interview with Mr I. Ngcobo). However, the 'Amabutho' were defeated and fled the area. The area became dominated and occupied by ANC/SACP supporters.

According to research undertaken by academics such as Bekker, and others, it became clear that Inanda experienced enormous violence such that on average, 58 percent of respondents noted violence in their areas of residence (Bekker: 1991). The table below portrays violence reported in Inanda survey areas (Nhlungwana, Bhambayi and Amatikwe) (Bakker, S and others: 1991).

Percentage%					
	Amatikwe	Nhlungwana	Bhambayi	Lindelani	Overall
Yes	65	56	41	68	58
No	20	21	27	15	21
Don't know	15	23	32	18	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Sample					301

Table 1: Violence reported in Inanda survey areas, 1991.

Fundamental human values of mutual respect, trust and fairness have in some instances broken down, leaving a legacy of gender and generational conflict, distrust and fear (Hindson:1996) . It is thus understood that a pre-condition for development is a stable and peaceful society that has no conflicts and has reached consensus around progressive issues towards development endeavours. For the most part of its existence, Inanda had witnessed unhygienic social conditions caused by informal settlement conditions and unacceptable conflicts under the pretext of political violence. Yet all these conditions emanated from neglect and isolation from the government in the day to day operations. After the violence had passed, many people made comments pertaining to catastrophe. Ela Ramgobin, a social worker in Inanda, and an NIC (National Indian Congress) executive member and grand daughter of Gandhi placed the blame for the violence of Inanda on the apartheid government: *"One has to look at the history of Inanda to put it in perspective. People in that area have been asking for help for years"* (Post Natal 21st-24th August, 1985).

4.6 Formation of the IDF: Overcoming of obstacles

After the turbulent times of violence in Inanda, KNPA withdrew from the area in many ways and the transition to the jurisdiction by the Durban City Council was delayed because of political disagreements beyond Inanda. There was an emergence of developmental talks. *"With the unbanning of political organisations in 1990, there has been a gradual turn in Inanda from the politics of intra-communal organisational control and turf wars between neighbouring communities to a new political truce and development negotiation"* (Hindson, D: 1996).

Mr. Isaac Ngcobo recalled the time when he came back from prison in 1985 when there was still violence, and he felt that it was sad to see people fighting poverty with poverty. Thus he began to have thoughts of uniting all Inanda people (interview with I.Ngcobo,). While he began his pre-lobbying exercise, there were floods in the area, followed by the war between Inkatha and the ANC. The Inanda Civic Association was formed and began developmental discussions in the early 1990's where they also spoke about partnerships between the government and the community (interview with Ngcobo, I).

Nevertheless the then Metropolitan government called the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) seemed to have been a stumbling block in this regard, according to Mr. Ngcobo. The formation of the ICA laid the fundamental background for the later formation of the IDF because during the ICA's functioning, *"developmental projects could not reach everyone, like the funds for development given out by the Joint Service Board (JSB) which could not reach all people intended"* Therefore there was a need for a structure like the IDF to be formed so that all 32 sub-areas of Inanda could be represented" (interview with I, Ngcobo).

The Inanda Development Forum (IDF) was launched at a gathering at Ohlange on 26th of March 1994 (Hindson: 1996). During the release and unbanning of political leaders in the early 1990's, developmental negotiations had already ensued within the ranks of civic structures of Inanda which ultimately culminated with the launch in 1994.

The founding of the IDF was especially significant as a first effort to develop effective community co-operation and a policy towards development following a long period of upheaval across Inanda which had resulted in much violence, loss of human life and social disorder, it has been stated (Hindson, D: 1996). The IDF was formed by two principal partners, namely the Inanda Civic Association (ICA) and the Inanda Landowners Association (ILA).

Some Non Governmental Organisation came into play - the Center for Community and Labour Studies (CCLS) became the adviser to the ICA and the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (IDASA) served as a neutral partner which was aimed at facilitating the merger of parties concerned to form the IDF (Hindson: 1996). This was perceived as an important move since the latter organisation had some conflicts in the past years where landowners thought that it was the ICA that told tenants not to pay rent because there were no services rendered (Hindson: 1996).

4.6.1 Background to the IDF

As the Inanda area was isolated from the Durban Metro Council, being the largest informal settlement and one of the most socially and environmentally degraded territory, the IDF came to rescue. The Forum intended to link 32 sub-communities in Inanda, prepare a guiding policy document to develop Inanda and coordinate as well as implement developmental projects through the funding received mostly from the Durban Metropolitan government. Thus it required the active involvement of residents, co-ordination amongst the communities in this large and diverse region, and careful consultation and co-operation with local authorities, NGO's and the private sector (Hindson: 1996). There was a hard task ahead.

This type of local organisation sought to create an environment conducive to Inanda's development through community and local authority partnerships as well as community participation.

Development forums have also been required to demonstrate that community input and partnerships between the community and local authorities could become eligible for funding from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

Chapter five

The role of IDF during the period 1992-1994

5.1 The role of IDF

The IDF had to establish good relationships between itself and the 32 sub-regions as well as the local authority. The linkage with its sub-regions was the most important move planned to shift focus from the issues of violence to those of development. The latter step has been preceded and informed by the desire to bring about a real development, co-ordination of all Inanda projects and the enhancement of community participation and partnerships. One of the primary roles of the IDF was to bring the principles of community participation and partnership on existing projects in Inanda to the fore and attempt to ensure that these were increasingly coordinated so as to avoid duplication and facilitate integration across the sub-region (Hindson: 1996).

According to Mr.E. Makhathini, "when there was a contractor coming to make development in Inanda, the people of the area had to be consulted through the IDF so as to give clarity and establish good relations between the community and the contractors" (Interview with Makhathini, E). Such sentiments were supported by other interviewees associated with the township. Another role of the forum was associated with the question of overseeing the Development Framework Project. In this instance it did not only play the role of monitoring, but also spearheaded several projects in Inanda. According to Hindson, *'there were three challenging areas for further role definition: its relations to the local community forums; its relations to local and metropolitan government; and its relationship to emerging political representation'* (Hindson:1996).

The IDF became thus a facilitator of Inanda's development in a bid to integrate programmes in the area. The councilors concentrated on delivery at the ward level so that equity on delivery process was achieved. According to V.Ngongoma, the IDF served as a filter for outsiders to a certain extent and concentrated especially on programmes that affected the whole of Inanda like the construction of MR 93 road. Thus the IDF became fully involved in a holistic way, as opposed to programmes that concentrated at ward level (Interview with V.Ngongoma). This is of importance as it signifies the differences between the two entities, both in theory and practical work.

The IDF never became a developer, but always played a role of being a facilitator and co-ordinator of development.

5.2 IDF set up its funding

It should be noted that funding was available for NGO's and CBO's from international funders as well as large corporations within the country during the apartheid era. The South Africa National Civic Organisation (SANCO) argued that communities should control their own development and funds available for development should be given directly to the communities, which would ultimately control those funds (Weekly Mail & Guardian; May 27 to June 2 1994). The SANCO report also encapsulated the sentiment that *'the communities will have to monitor the government's attempts to put into place policies, programmes and structures which channel funds for community development'* (Weekly Mail & Guardian May 27 to June 2 1994). This kind of arrangement took another turn after the overthrow of the illegitimate apartheid government.

After the formation of the IDF in 1994, financial assistance was secured from the City Council. This funding had been instrumental in providing training for development workers, giving a living allowance to IDF office bearers and fieldworkers as well as facilitation of development projects which we are going to deal with below.

Since the inception of IDF in 1994, it is estimated that more than R 4 million were granted to the IDF. The main sponsors were the Durban City Council now called Durban Metro and other sponsors like the Independent Development Trust which gave a once-off funding. The IDF applied for funding to the City Council through its permanent co-ordinator and facilitator who were knowledgeable about applications for funding in relation to IDF's plan of action. These permanent members were consulted by the city engineers for the purpose of structure plan and the Development framework of Inanda that was going to guide the area's development.

According to Terresa Dominic of the Urban Strategy department "*there was national and provincial funding that was available through the Urban Renewal whereby R5 million was provided to eight areas within Durban*" (Interview with Terresa Dominic).

5.3 The IDF aims : capacity building, and holistic integrated development .

It has been said that the IDF was committed to formulating a holistic plan for the development of Inanda, rather than approaching development by individual communities competing to fund specific projects on a piecemeal basis (Hindson: 1996). It also intended to create an environment conducive to effective community participation and partnership between the community and the local authorities (Hindson, D: 1996).

The IDF's aims were to co-ordinate and facilitate current and future planning and development initiatives within the greater Inanda area in terms of a development framework that would reflect the communities' vision for the holistic development of Inanda and to ensure proper and genuine community representation and decision-making regarding development premised on the principle of inclusivity. The Forum also hoped to ensure joint responsibility and accountability between the community and the public authorities and/or development agents for the development of Inanda. (Development Framework Report 1995).

5.4 Its results –Inanda Development Framework, Spatial Plan .

Among the achievements of the IDF, were the Inanda Development Framework and the Inanda Spatial Plan that were formulated for the purpose of guarding development in the area. These can be seen as solid bases upon which developmental efforts could be built. Thus it is important to look at them .

5.4.1 The IDF framework

Many reports, both multi-disciplinary and multi sectoral, were prepared for this project by consultants on various aspects of demographics, socio-economic status, services, economic status, services, economics, as well as the financing conditions of Inanda (Hindson: 1996). These documents were intended to incorporate planning principles with participation and expressions of need (Hindson: 1996).

It is said that the task team which comprised of planners and community trainees (who later became development workers) had to abide by two methodologies based on the fact that development had to be approached in a “holistic” manner and that the development framework should be determined by the “residents’ values and perceptions” (IDFR :1995).

The aims of the Inanda Development Project in the introduction of the Inanda Development Framework document, were to improve the quality of life of all residents; integrate Inanda into Metropolitan Durban; attain long-term sustainable development; develop definite priorities, programmes and projects; and build development partnerships. Additionally the document identified avenues to empower the community through enabling the IDF to operate efficiently. This would be achieved through the training of local representatives from each of the community areas to be a community volunteer and thus a and catalyst to development.

These were ingredients that could take the IDF forward to the future as expressed by the organisation itself.

5.4.2 The Inanda Structure Plan

This document was formulated during August 1997 by many role players from various departments, Service Units, and Organisations. It was a part of Inanda's Development Framework which was deliberately separated by the team work for the purpose of enhancing immediate circulation, for responses and comments from all sectors involved in the development of the area (ISP: 1997).

The Inanda Structure Plan provided key policy guidelines for the development of the main structural elements (i.e. a set of key, catalytic, Inanda-wide projects, as well as more smaller localised ward projects) within the boundaries of the area (ISP: 1997). In addition to the ISP, there was an Activity Systems Planning which applied the key policy guidelines outlined in the ISP and provided for guidance in relation to community facilities, roads and transport facilities, housing, recreational amenities and conservation areas in Inanda (ISP: 1997).

Planning was the last component of the latter document, which linked the planning of the first two factors with the interactive process of a joint target setting, budgeting and performance assessment. The role of the structure plan was to act as a link between the broader policy frameworks at the Metro, Local Council and Inanda levels. It was also responsible for the preparation of more detailed activity systems plans. Thus it incorporated sub-metropolitan issues into the Inanda planning process, addressed the need to integrate the area with the metropolitan structures and included the provision of a co-ordinating tool for the Activity System Plans (ISP: 1997).

A workshop was held on the 24th of October 1997 in line with the plans of developing Inanda ,where all other stakeholders were introduced to the planned projects. The discussions proceeded through a democratic approach, the Inanda councilors tabled projects that were identified by the communities as well as the Ward Forums and ultimately consensus was reached.

Present in that gathering was the relevant Council Departments, executive members from the Inanda Development Forum, all Inanda Councilors and community representatives (TIDPI: 1998). The gathering had to be procedural when it dealt with the inner details of the programme in a bid to move forward. The screening assessment was presented by the Town Planning and Development Control Department in order to ensure that policy guidelines identified in the draft Structure Plan document were followed and those projects were mapped onto large plans for reference purposes as well as technical assessment (TIDPI: 1998).

Prioritisation of projects debates was perceived as having given the group a tough time because according to the report there were serious financial constraints. Yet all projects were important but only few could be funded in a manner that was evenly spread in the area of Inanda (TIDPI: 1998). Later the approved projects were given a budget over a three year capital programme. The financial years were 97/98, 98/99 and 99/2000 (TIDPI: 1998).

5.5 The role of women, youth and aged in the IDF

Between the years 1995 to 1996 several women were elected into the IDF executive committee. Generally, however, most women did not participate in leadership positions within the organisation. This occurred because of the past political landscape, the patriarchal system and women subordination that strongly existed within the African society.

In the interviews conducted, it became clear that people who were at the forefront of the IDF was the youth. It was said that they were in the majority and worked very hard. *"The development workers were the youth and they performed tremendous work for the IDF and the community of Inanda at large"* as one interviewee said (Interview with E, Makhathini).

The youth can be seen as a very important player, one would the catalyst in the process of development in Inanda during the period under investigation. This reality was not disputed by all interviewees who participated in the present research project.

The aged did not play a significant role in the IDF. This was explained by interviewees by saying that the youth were in real control of the situation, and thus it was very difficult for older people to assert themselves in leadership positions within the organisation.

Chapter Six

The decline of the IDF during the period 1996-1998

After a good performance of the IDF regarding the process of development co-ordination in Inanda, unfortunate circumstances began to unfold in 1996. The forum was faced with some signs of division within its ranks. It experienced hostility from some of the ward and other councilors who were recently appointed to their political posts and who desperately needed to be seen delivering the goods to their constituency. Some of these councilors were the former IDF development workers and others were still council representatives in the IDF. There are numerous factors that eventually led to the IDF's decline. Central to this issue is the question of 1996 IDF elections that yielded a turning point to its operation and leadership.

Secondly there was the reality that newly elected councilors saw competition between themselves and the IDF regarding actions to develop the area. This conflict culminated with the sidelining of the IDF in terms of funding.

The IDF began to experience problems after the election of new IDF executive during 1996 . The introduction of Mr. Makhathini's successor in the chairmanship, Mr. Thulani Ncwane saw the IDF's gradual financial decline. This could be attributed to the assumption that *"donors did not have confidence in the newly elected leadership"*(Interview with Bheki Nene). But this sentiment was not shared by all interviewees. Other views pointed to the inevitability of the changes that had to take place during the aftermath of 1996. In attempting to 'unpack' the reasons for the IDF's decline, it is essential to recognise the reality that there is no particular conjuncture, incident persons or groups who could carry the blame.

Several people interviewed believed that the IDF has not declined, especially those who were still working in the IDF. However there many interdependent issues that need to be taken into account . Each one of them had a certain momentum which impacted in the ultimate decline of the IDF.

There were other people who were formally involved with the IDF at executive level and who worked as development facilitators several years ago who strongly believed that the IDF had declined. It is important to examine each argument in relation to the information gathered during the interviews.

We need to begin with the IDF's financial set-up, followed by the IDF executive elections, Makhathini's defeat in the elections, Ncwane's taking over as well as the subsequent local government elections. Nevertheless there are other factors that might have had a great influence on the IDF's decline, which include the political leadership, the history of Inanda's civic association, the relations between the state and the Inanda area, migration, the socio-economic conditions of Inanda and the nature of IDF's establishment.

6.1 The decline of finances

After three consecutive years that the IDF received funding from the city government, a beginning of decline in finances became evident. This section will examine how this process took place.

According to the information gathered, it became apparent that most of the former IDF members who were also ANC members stood for the Local Government elections and made a promise to the forum that once they were in office, they would ensure maximum funding of the IDF. However at a later stage it became clear that this was not really their intention. Firstly the councillors became involved in the ousting of the IDF representatives from the meetings that were usually held in the Embassy building with the city officials. Secondly the councillors propagated a position designed to sideline the IDF in terms of finances. The new city officials raised many technicalities such as the assertion that there were many other development forums to be launched and there was going to be a shortage of money to fund all of them in the future. Thus funds were very scarce and the IDF had to canvass for its own finances.

The other reason that might have caused a decline in finances was the failure of the IDF to submit a business plan intended to unlock funding of projects for Inanda.

The IDT and the government had already thought highly of Inanda, in such a way that it was going to be earmarked as one of the Presidential projects because of its unique history of marginalisation and tourist potential -referred to the discovery of tourists site such as Inanda Seminary Mission School, Ohlange High school, KwaShembe African traditional church, the Gandhi Settlement and so forth.

The other factor that was destined to contribute to Inanda being chosen for funding was the reality that the area had been the teacher to most of the current prominent national leaders in all spheres of specialisation, across the gender lines (In South Africa we have numerous African political leaders across gender lines and fields of highly sophisticated specialisation who graduated from both oHlanga and Inanda girls seminary schools in Inanda- as has been seen in the history of the area). A precondition for such funding was the proof of the financial sustainability of IDF in the future.

During the early stages of IDF's inception there was a technical support group called the Center for Community and Labour Studies (CCLS) that was responsible for providing technical support and served as IDF's bookkeeper. The person who worked as a project coordinator of CCLS for the forum was Jasmine Coovadia. She helped the forum to draw its documents for funding, but she later left to work for the metropolitan government of Johannesburg in 1996. Thus the IDF was left without technical support from the CCLS. When the agreement between the IDT and the IDF was reached in connection with the business plan for financial sustainability, the Zizamele consultancy company took over and became IDF's bookkeeper.

According to Mr. S. Moodley, the Zizamele company was chosen on the bases of the affirmative action during the infancy of the South African democracy. It was a black- led company headed by Bonga Mlambo. Mr Moodley described the cooperation as follows: "*The guy was good and he knew his job, but did not have time since he was*

always busy attending many consultancy contracts at the same time” (interview with S.Moodley,).

Therefore he could not have enough time to plan and produce a business plan for the sustainability of the IDF through funding from the IDT. As a result the sponsor withdrew its funding after the failure to meet the deadline of business plan submission (Interview with M.Moodley). One could assess that this interviewee's comments are based on a narrow understanding of these processes on the part of a city official, but what occurred in the future mainly vindicates such an attitude.

However, other former and current IDF members hold different viewpoints regarding the issue of Zizamele. The current IDF chairperson (Thulani Ncwane) believed that ‘outsiders’ – contractors, consultant companies, facilitators, coordinators and so fourth – as opposed to the people of Inanda, got a bigger slice of the IDF’s annual total budget for four consecutive years. This argument led to Thulani’s opinion about Mr. Moodley’s attitude towards Mr. Bongani Mlambo (head of Zizamele) and Bongani Ndlovu (former coordinator of the IDF). Ncwane claimed that Moodley was a friend the two and that is why he seemed to be protective of them. According to the current IDF chairperson, *“Mlambo did not do the work required of him because he was negligent yet had a cover-up through his clique of friends (Ndlovu and Moodley) whom together were also seeing Inanda area as a ‘gold mine’ where they were the chief financial beneficiaries”,* Thulani Ncwane said in the interview(1/5/2001). These contradictory perspectives pose questions associated with manipulation, corruption , certain degree of nepotism , and above all the relationships between the local government authorities, donors, consultants and experts.

Terresa Dominic confirmed that the council had funded the IDF for three years, within which much progress was made regarding the development of Inanda. After the IDF’s failure to produce a business plan, things began to go wrong. *“After February 1996 the IDF was not given funding and subsequent to that, it was given 1,6 million between the year 1996-1997 for the purpose of settling their debts and being ready for the recession period afterwards”* she said (interview with Terresa Dominic).

6.2 The Inanda Development Forum elections

Mr.E. Makhathini was one of the founders of the IDF and had presided in its functioning from 1994 to 1997. During his term of office, there was enormous progress made regarding the development of the Inanda area. These successes are ranging from the funding of IDF, the drawing of documents that guided development of the area as well as the implementation of the developmental projects. This is how one interviewee assessed Makhathini's qualities.

"People had a lot of respect for Baba Makhathini because of his many capabilities, skills and talent. He was neutral, had wisdom, positive attitude, ability to resolve conflict and most people had trust and faith on him. On the other hand most youth regarded him as too neutral because he gave everyone a fair hearing. He didn't fly a political flag. They wanted a person who was younger and who can be pro-political and as per the latter consequence, therefore Thulani Ncwane was elected .Vusi Ngongoma who is the Deputy Chairperson of IDF and the ANC chief whip was elected to become Inanda councillor during the 1996 local government elections" one of the interviewees said (Interview with S, Moodley,).

6.2.1 The IDF executive elections during the plenary of 1996 for the second term of office

The first chairperson of the IDF had this to say about the election processes in the area: *"The first elections were democratic, but we had to exclude political organisations as the IDF was dealing with community development so as to avoid the power struggle that might have prevailed because otherwise the development of Inanda would never had been a success"* (Interview with E .Makhathini). This position in itself pinpoints one of the factors separating organs of civil society from established political parties, especially those who hold political power at provincial or local level.

This kind of argument appeared to be mostly internalised by the most senior members of the IDF like Mr. I. Ngcobo - who was one of the founder members of both the Inanda Civic Association (ICA) and the IDF. He 'echoed' more or less the same negative sentiments about the setbacks which emanated from Inanda's violence caused by irresponsible unruly elements who "did their dirty job hiding behind the lie that they were tenants, yet they were warlords and politicians whose actions had a negative impact on development of the area". (Interview with I Ngcobo). In the interview held at the comfort of his office -Metro Bus Service, Springfield, where he is one of the co-owners, Ngcobo pointed out that *"politics and violence should be avoided because these have a tendency of shifting the vision of the youth and local community from being constructively engaged to fighting poverty with poverty"*. Nevertheless, political parties had to be included at a later stage in line with the right to community participation as it appeared in the constitution of the country.

The first term of office ended with most of the achievements at hand. It is generally believed that Makhathini contributed much to the achievements unlike his full time colleagues office bearers such as Langa Dube and Bongani Ndlovu. Makhathini is believed to have acquired much wisdom from his police occupation, until his retirement stage. *"Baba Makhathini was competent, but we cannot judge the organisation based on one man"* (Interview with V.Ngongoma,). Ngongoma reflected his uncertainty about Makhathini's full-time staff colleagues and put their competence into question. On the other hand E. Makhathini believed that all of his full time staff were good and this was evident as he said in the interview that the secret of his success was his two full time experienced staff members Langa Dube and Bongani Ndlovu who were later co-opted to the then Natal Provincial Administration (NPA). This came as a blow to the IDF's operations. (Interview with E.Makhathini).

During the second historical IDF's executive elections in the plenary, the ANC structures had noted with dismay the perceived inability of Makhathini to be flexible *"He seemed to be ignorant about the political changes that were taking place and that were supposed to be reflected at the local level, such that the ANC structures had thrown their support to his election rival Mr. Mohape, Vusi (a former IDF member)"*.

Unfortunately Mr. Mohape lost the chairmanship to Mr. E. Makhathini who became the IDF chairperson for the second term of office 1996-1998 (interview with VNgongoma).

Another participant during the period observed:

"The IDF elections held in 1996 were free and fair since there was an independent body that facilitated the smooth running of those elections called the Independent Mediator of South Africa" (interview with P, Sithole). So there was no corruption involved during the elections.

It had become obvious then at the time that the widely supported "neutrality" of the IDF under the leadership of Makhathini was in the process of being threatened by sections of the areas population that threw themselves behind political organisations in one form or another.

6.2.2 The third term of office (1998)

Makhathini was not elected into office for a third term because of a number of interdependent and interrelated issues that finally concluded the great journey of his leadership in Inanda. Makhathini talked about his punishment of being casted out of Inanda's development site. He said that he was very neutral and he would give each and every issue equal attention. He believed that he never favoured political organisations. He remembered that because of his neutrality, IDF members who were ANC members began to spread rumours that he was an IFP member and should not be voted as chairperson.

This reason is in line with the operation known as the elimination of the old layer of leadership (called "izingwevu"). One Inanda youth captured this sentiment when he said that *'there was an orchestrated action by the Inanda youth to overthrow the old layer of IDF's leadership and substitute it with the younger layer of leadership'*. Given the volatile circumstances of that period the ascendancy of youth cannot be underestimated . Makhathini said that another reason of him being sidelined was the fact that he did not bulge to financial corruption, since he was very strict on finances (interview with Mr. E, Makhathini).

He recalls an incident that took place during IDF's council members demanding an increment of honorarium (compensation fee that according to Makhathini, was money paid for attendance of meetings and catering of those people) per sitting. He contended that procedures should be followed through the tabling of this matter in a plenary, despite the fact that the IDF executive committee members had already made P. Sithole, (the then IDF treasury) to sign the cheques (Interview with E, Makhathini).

Makhathini cited an instance whereby he was accused of favouring IFP members when he tried to resolve a dispute between the Mdluli' family known as IFP supporters and the ANC supporters around development issues. He said that he stood firm for the prevention of "war" so that development could continue (Interview with E.Makhathini,).

Makhathini clarified further that he was always an ANC member, but did not want to be seen working for the ANC at the expense of other political organisations in the area and ordinary non-politically aligned Inanda citizens. He believed that every person should have been given an equal and fair chance in relation to the development of Inanda (interview with E, Makhathini). This attitude has been supported by other interviewees who have known Makhathini for many years.

In contrast, Mr. T.Ncwane, the chairperson of the IDF in the interview regarding the reasons that led to Makhathini's overthrow, said *"Mr. Eddie Makhathini's interpretation of the reasons of him being ousted because he was apolitical are untrue, but the only reason that led to his decline emanated from his inflexibility"* (interview with T, Ncwane).

As Ncwane pointed out he had foreseen a U-turn that was going to come as a result of democratic change in South Africa .This was going to determine new roles and responsibilities for the community and the IDF was going to encounter a tough period. . Makhathini's leadership was unaware of these dynamics, and this was due to the inflexibility of the leadership .

Ncwane also pointed out that *"Makhathini only stood for chairmanship, because he could have been elected for the deputy chairmanship but chose not to stand for other positions"* (interview with T, Ncwane,).

It has been claimed that Makhathini did not belong to Inanda, but seized the opportunity of becoming one of the key figures in the development of the area because he was initially perceived as a neutral person (interview with V, Ngongoma).

However, at a later stage it surfaced that *"Makhathini lacked acceptability from community structures since people felt that the leadership of IDF did not represent their aspirations and it was constituted of people who were relatively unknown by the local political (ANC) and community structures because Makhathini's home was and still is located in KwaMashu (a township next door to Inanda) and his executive was regarded as 'a clique of baba Makhathini' "* (interview with V, Ngongoma,).

Others believed that Mr. Makhathini was involved in corruption, yet others did not see anything wrong about him except that it was about time that a new leadership took over. It can be seen that the leadership struggles within the IDF did not revolve only around strong personalities and other social groups of people, but had also roots in the political arena contested between political parties and organs of civil society.

6.2.3 The rise of Ncwane

Ncwane explained his prior exposure to local and national youth politics during the fight against apartheid and academic achievements related to development. He believed that all the latter experience had prepared him to be a leader of calibre. As he himself put it , *"while Makhathini was continuously depicting an attitude of inflexibility, I had acquired many skills relating to development"* (interview with T, Ncwane).

During the year 1984 Ncwane participated in the Inanda Youth Organisation (INAYO) which was aligned to other national political youth structures of the time such as the

UDF and the Natal Student Congress.

Later he participated in the Inanda Civic Association. During the political violence in the area, Thulani was an executive member of INAYO. After the unbanning of the national political liberation movements in 1990, new dynamics emerged. In 1995 he attended the Workers' College where he was educated about labour economics and related courses. He also did a community service training programme for 2 years at the University of Natal Durban where Eddie Makhathini later enrolled for the very same course.

Ncwane said that he was the only one chosen from the Workers' College to go to Israel to study for 2 weeks on a very expensive programme that was related to community development. He was chosen to go to Israel because he had long shown willingness to get further education abroad and that he had to get a recommendation from Mr. Makhathini with whom they had clashed frequently in meetings. Ncwane said that he did not know why Mr. Makhathini recommended him positively, because he had a chance of saying negative things, he wondered whether Makhathini was calculating or fair (interview with T, Ncwane).

When he returned from the trip, many structures within the ANC had gathered and discussed about the leadership potential that Ncwane possessed. They thus began to lobby for Ncwane to become the new chairperson of the IDF. This decision was taken after the ANC structures closely scrutinised Ncwane's merits.

When Ncwane raised a point in relation to amendments of the IDF constitution so they can be in line with the then transitional national policies and principles, Makhathini is alleged to have uttered a statement like "*the youth talk much but do little, I know you will not do it*" (interview with T, Ncwane). However Makhathini eventually agreed to the proposal and said that Ncwane must lead that committee for the constitutional amendments. To the surprise of Mr. Makhathini, Ncwane completed the task and reported back to the community. According to Ncwane this is where there was a beginning of the manifestation of his own growing support. All these events finally contributed to making Ncwane the best candidate for new chairperson of the IDF

according to him (Interview with T, Ncwane).

Ncwane's interview was confirmed by several other interviewees.

Immediately after these elections, Ncwane became the second chairperson of the IDF. Several people did not like the outcome of the vote, however they were obligated to support the result as the democratic process had taken place. In several interviews conducted with the former and current influential members of the IDF, many previously scattered pieces of the puzzle began to fall into place.

6.2 The local government elections

A key issue that played a role in the unfolding drama of the IDF was the 1996 local elections and the negative attitude of the newly elected Durban Metro councillors vis-à-vis the IDF and its leadership. It became apparent that the councillors felt somehow politically threatened by the IDF and its leadership.

These attitudes and subsequent action had a negative impact on the IDF's operations. There is a consensus among the people interviewed regarding what is considered as the Inanda councillors' betrayal. While during their electioneering campaign they all promised that once they were in office they were going to ensure funding of the IDF through negotiation with city authorities. They never kept their promises (interview with E.Makhathini and T.Ncwane).

There was also a financial decline caused by the alienation of IDF from meetings with city officials and local government councillors. The IDF president said that some councilors were operating in areas where they did not have a political support. They felt threatened because of the IDF's existence and activities and began to hijack the forum's projects and decision-making (interview with T.Ncwane). It was said that although the leadership of the IDF and the councillors belonged to the same political organisation, the ANC, the councillors realised that the criticism towards them from the Idf was justified as the Metro Council did not do much for development in Inanda.

The arguments that took place during the meetings between the councillors and the city councillors were related to IDF's continued funding or not. The question was :“ *Why there should be a funding of one forum instead of funding other forums?*” (Interview with S.Moodley). This seemed to be a very crucial question at the time given the amounts of money used by the IDF .These were also some of the issues debated by councillors in meetings that took place in 1996. Mr. Bheki Nene (former urban strategy official and current CEO of the Inner West local council) said that there were scarce resources that were at the IDF's disposal. “ *While there were no defined roles in terms of the responsibility between the councilors and the IDF, there was a lot of funding that the IDF received both from the LG and external funders amounting to about 1,3 million Rands. The IDF wanted more money since it had become a 'cost center' where annual salaries, rentals etc. had to be provided*” (interview with B.Nene). According to Nene and Dominic, these are some of the arguments brought fourth in the Metropolitan Council meetings. Terresa Dominic concurred with the discussions that the council had to put an end to the question of funding development forums (interview with Dominic, T). These were realities that needed to be faced head on and solutions to be found so the developmental project could continue.

The councillors began to question why the IDF continued to receive funding from the government. As time went Durban Metro councilors took a decision not to fund development forums. Because of this decision, various newly-established development forums never received funding(Interview with B.Nene).

However, three councillors (including Vusi Ngongoma) had to be representatives in the IDF executive council so as to facilitate the flow of information regarding the city officials' plan for Inanda's development (interview with V.Ngongoma,).

6.3 Other reasons contributing to the decline

During the researcher's field work, there was a number of people interviewed who spoke their minds regarding the reasons that led to the fall of the IDF. Some of these factors included a change of leadership that might have had created a negative perception on the minds of the sponsors .

Bheki Nene said that there were two major issues that needed to be taken into consideration when the rise and fall of the IDF is being discussed. These were the change of organisational leadership and the scarce resources that the IDF had to operate under.

6.3.2 Political leadership

“When the organisation changes its leadership, there is the intention of changing the image of that organisation. This is very common in big organisations that change their leadership according to the elapse of term of office” as a knowledgeable source said (interview with B.Nene). According to the information gathered, it became apparent that most of the people regarded Mr. Makhathini’s position as the chairperson equally prestigious with that of people of high stature such as contractors and development agencies who recognised him as such (Interview with B. Nene). Some people are saying that Mr. Makhathini was sidelined because of jealousy of various people envious about his achievements. Thus when there was a decision to change the leadership of the IDF this was associated with the changing of the image of the organisation (interview with B.Nene, B). T. Dominic, believes that Makhathini played a leading role and his personality brought things together (Dominic, T. in the interview on the 18th of April 2001). The political leadership of the IDF was drawn from the broader community and was based on relevant experience relating to useful activities of the time. Such assessments could be interpreted in several ways, but the reality was that whatever Makhathini’s achievements were recorded, he had made many enemies, some of whom held political office or were close to powerful political organisations.

This could be seen through Eddie Makhathini’s election to the leadership of the IDF. Yet he had no political history of leadership in the area and did not originate from Inanda. This was part of the reason why the local Inanda ANC structures at a later stage showed their discontent of the IDF leadership indicating that there was a need to sideline him. This was confirmed by one of the former IDF executive members and councillor of Inanda when he said that Makhathini was relatively unknown amongst the

ANC local structures.

The ANC organisation also perceived the political scenario of the time and the area as needing the IDF's leadership to be ANC aligned. Such a leadership should comprise of known individuals responsible for the smooth implementation of the ANC national policies.

Preceding Makhathini's sidelining there was the early systematic alienation of I. Ngcobo who was a founding member of ICA in 1992. In the interview, he recalled that after all their efforts relating to laying of IDF's launch, he was not elected to the IDF executive. Rather he was sidelined and thrown into a deep end where he had to resolve the Inanda's transport related issues under the banner of the ICA. During that time there was serious taxi violence and he thought that his deployment meant that there were plans to silence him forever as his life was at stake. Ngcobo had called for collective action by the community in its endeavours to combat Inanda's transport related problems. He announced that one bus had been donated to Inanda and wanted people to come up with constructive ideas to expand from there. However he received a cold shoulder from the Inanda structures, so he opted to continue with the bus business. Today he says his buses have multiplied.

These committed leaders were sidelined because it was thought that they belonged to Inkatha structures, yet this was a distortion of reality because I. Ngcobo was a member of ANC from the early years of the liberation struggle. Thus, he was arrested for political activism at a certain stage and after his release he was black listed from working in the South African industry. Makhathini on the other hand, was an ANC aligned person but the ANC local structures were not aware of that, thus they kept on challenging him about what they perceived as bias towards non-ANC alienated citizens.

According to Makhathini it is very imperative that as a community leader dealing with development, one must be impartial and serve the needs of all people irrespective of their political affiliation. These are some of the reasons why the IDF declined. Simple logic demands that those who are committed and have experience should have been made to work with the fallow cadres on the ground, defending the integration of new

and old ideas, and charting the way forward.

6.3.3 The Inanda's Civic

In the released area 33, there was an emergence of public organisations in the form of youth and civic committees intended to reach toward control of the settlement process, but they achieved only partial and precarious success (Bekker, S et al: 1991). The civic association of Inanda was very weak as compared to those in areas such as Clermont. In that area political activism of the early and mid eighties in was led and sustained under the auspices the United Democratic front (UDF), whose leadership included Archie Gumede, a senior leader in the UDF and later the ANC. This early politicisation of Clermont people led to an early consciousness that need for collective action and the forma of a civic association was very crucial. The Inanda areas' civic association was formed in 1992 . This was indeed very late when compared to that of Clermont or areas such as Kwamashu or Umlazi.

The lack of organised efforts to combat social imbalances at an early stage in the Inanda area, partly laid the bases for the future IDF failure to sustain itself and its various operations. The existing political differences brought stagnation in the development endeavours for a long time. This could be seen during the eruption of violence in the mid-eighties, but also later.

6.3.4 Relationship between the state and the Inanda area

For most part of Inanda did not have reliable authority structures (Bekker, S et al: 1991). The relationship between the people in the Inanda area and the state from the early stages was never good. The government was always reluctant to intervene because of the nature of the informal settlements in the area. There was a contest with the white city council and corporate development office for a long time in connection to who should be responsible for the delivery of services in the area . The draught broke out followed by the cholera outbreak and both these disasters put pressure on the government. The latter initially responded by informing landowners that either they became responsible for their tenants' services or they should evict them .

This state's dictates were received with mixed feelings within the ranks of landlords . Some of them responded by dismissing their tenants, while others challenged the government by saying that it was the state's responsibility to provide for its people.

Eventually the government began to take the plea of the Inanda's residents very seriously, and this was complimented by the pressure put by the ICA that was recently formed. Negotiations began and later the government reflected its commitment in this regard. In areas such as Clermont on the other hand they had service units as the location authority and the residents were able to receive service delivery and resources from that government structures at the early stages. The delay of the government to respond to Inanda's crisis exacerbated the deterioration of the socioeconomic conditions in the township. Thus, when the IDF came to existence, it had a tremendous responsibility on its shoulders. The communities had many and high expectations in a way. However it became clear in the process that It was not easy for the government and the IDF to cover all financial requirement of the community at once. This meant that delivery was to be stalled, and thus the decline of the development forum became a historical inevitability.

6.3.5 The nature of the IDF establishment

While the Clermont Development Forum was formed by the group of political activists, on the contrary the Inanda Development Forum was formed by community organisations which were concerned and affected. The principal partners during the formation of IDF were the ICA, the ILO and the Durban City council. The inclusion of political parties in Inanda was not easy during the initial stages.

Makhathini remarked more than once that if the IDF had included political parties at the beginning, the development of Inanda would have not been a success. This policy lasted until the late stages when there were intense meetings relating to the restructuring of IDF. This culminated in political parties becoming permanent partners in the development forum. It became clear in the process that the ANC was in a political mission, hence one person interviewed confirmed that Makhathini was weakened as a chair of the forum. In the 1996 elections, the ANC's attempt to canvass for their candidate Mr. Mohape for chairpersons against Makhathini was a failure. But in the 1998 elections there was a triumph for the ANC local structures as they successfully nominated their candidate for the position of the chairperson, Thulani Ncwane who was duly elected and is the head of the structure to date.

6.4 The aftermath

Since the decline of the IDF, there was never a formal office wherefrom the IDF performed its duties. The office that was initially given to the IDF, due to the lack of financial resources was given to people who became the flood victims. Many development workers had moved on with their lives and secured better employment in the Metropolitan government and the private sector.

During the interview with the IDF current chairperson, it became apparent that they intended to hold a two days plenary session /conference sponsored by the

metropolitan government.

Some of the ideas that came up with, revolved around turning the IDF into becoming a section 21 company. They are finally convinced that they needed to work hard so as to earn money. This was unlike the easy cash that went to the IDF member's pocket in the form of honorariums (interview with T.Ncwane). They believed that they should hold workshops with the communities regarding the use of services. " Not that water and electricity are expensive resources, it is often because there are lot of unreported leaks and unconscious wasting of electricity that create problems. These need to be known to all the people" said the leader (interview with T.Ncwane). The IDF hoped to be helpful in this regard as a section 21 company and in return it could generate financial resources from the city government.

Nevertheless, many communities around South Africa have been organised against the privatisation of basic services, putting forward arguments that there is unemployment and therefore communities cannot afford to pay exorbitant fees emanating from rates, water and electricity bills. In a recent television programme "Special Assignment" it became apparent that the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC) is working tirelessly to mobilise the poor people who are unable to pay the Eskom debt. Their argument is not about free services, but they believe that those who can afford must pay and cross - subsidise the poor. The pensioners, disabled and unemployed must pay R50 as a flat rate for the basic services. This scenario has aggravated confrontation between the poor communities and the parastatals like Eskom. People go to an extent of legitimising the illegal reconnection of electricity which is said to be dangerous.

In Durban, the supplier of electricity is the municipality but there has not been confrontation in this regard. However the Durban Social Forum (DSF) has mobilised poor communities to fight against water cut-offs and eviction from the state-owned houses. It needs to be said that basic services are delivered by the local government and are very expensive. Some of them have been semi-privatised, and this spells more trouble for the poor.

Most of the development forums are opting to become section 21 companies including the IDF because there is no money from the DMA to continuously fund such institutions anymore. They must be able to sustain themselves. It became apparent that development workers are still relevant for the gathering of data and liaising with the communities. This was the sentiment expressed by most city officials in the interviews, including Mr. S.Moodley. This means that there is still a serious role that needs to be played by the IDF in the future. Other development forums elsewhere can possibly play equally relevant roles in this process.

6.4.1 The future role of the IDF

There has been serious scepticism regarding the direction that has been taken by the local government developments in the new democratic South Africa.

"During the apartheid era, there were 120 councilors and now there are 200 of them accompanied by 68% bigger wards status as well as the requirement of the current legislation of community participation" one knowledgeable observer pointed out (Interview with T.Dominic).

It has been asserted that "at present, the IDF still exists in a skeleton manner" (interview with S.Moodley).

After the decline of the IDF, there was a re-emergence of civics and the ward forums. Nevertheless there is a need and a role for such forums in the future. This is confirmed through the recent Acts that seek to legitimise and encourage such structures. These Acts are ranging from the Municipal Structures Act to the Municipal Systems Act. But this kind of commitment *"should cater for the transformation of such structures to become self sustained through adopting Trust, Community Development Corporation and Agenda 21 approaches"* (interview with S. Moodley).

In the recent experience, it is proposed that an Area Based Management be investigated through the works and research of Prof. Hindson. This view was held by the current IDF leaders who anticipated to have a plenary in the mid -year of 2000.

6.5 Development workers

The role of the development workers throughout the existence of the forum was of great importance and needs to be emphasised . As one key observer and participant said:

“ The LG used the IDF because_it was through the sweat of the development worker’s earlier research work that development had kick started and the documents produced owe their existence to them. Still in our days, the planning section of the LG believes that the developmental task will be much easier if the development workers were still there and it will be an insult when it is said that we have used them. It should be known that ANC councillors took a decision not to fund development forums on the bases of non performance, but not of using them” (Interview with S.Moodley, S). The majority of people interviewed shared more or less similar sentiments about the existence and functions of the development workers.

Many development workers were assimilated within the LG and the Municipalities leadership and executive positions. Others have opened construction companies and some pursued careers as consultants” (interview with B.Nene,). There are feelings however, that from the development forums became the councilors in the metropolitan council because they were needed in this transitional period. They had skills, capacity, appetite for work and good political credentials (Interview with T.Dominic).

Chapter seven

Conclusions

When examining all the factors that have been discussed in this thesis related to the IDF's rise and decline, it becomes apparent that IDF experienced a steady rise during the early 1990's and a fall during the late 1990's. The successes came partly because the IDF had steered clear from political parties participating directly within the structures. Thus a platform where political parties would find the opportunity to fight each other did not exist. The nature of political violence that was once rife in Inanda, indicates that there was going to be a deadlock on many issues relating to development of the area if political parties per se were involved. Development was left in the hands of a forum that had initially isolated straight forward party politics, which were seen as obstructive. However in other places such as Clermont, the development forum was made out of political structures.

The IDF can be seen as a forum that initially promoted the theory and implementation of what is known as bottom up development, in other words development that is based on the will and active participation of many people in the community. This approach elevates most elements of civil society and leads to higher levels of democratisation within communities. Such processes lead to the widening of multi-party democracy in South Africa.

The work performed by the community development workers was tremendous and without them, the development of Inanda would not have been a success. These workers were instrumental in creating the openings for the metropolitan council to put proper plans in place through their research. These development workers answered a series of questions unknown to metropolitan council officials:

- How many informal settlements in each sub-area?
- What were the expectations of the people that development was due?
- What infrastructure and service provision had already existed?
- How much information was going to be instrumental in bringing development in the area?

Their relatively intensive training became a success and they began and finished their duties as scheduled. This exercise helped all people involved in Inanda's development to be able to estimate the budget required for the entire developmental programme.

Though several IDF members sounded dissatisfied regarding perceived enormous amounts spent on salaries of the three full-time IDF staff members, there is the general belief that the work assigned to the development workers was performed. There are several queries regarding issues 'misappropriated' funds. It needs to be stated here that the Inner West municipality allocated only R300-000 for 15 development forums and all their programmes are sustainable to date.

The IDF became the target of critics because it received over R3 million alone and it is accepted that some of its members paid themselves honoraria and full-time salaries. Other IDF members still thought that the money was not enough for the enhancement of positive capacity building to a broader range of IDF participants. It needs to be said that when honoraria had stopped to be given out, many development workers were instructed to work from their sub-areas with the councillors under the ward committees. The current chairperson of the IDF feels that if he was the forum's chair during the times of generous funding, the 'IDF center' would have been open. However this can only be seen as speculation .

Mr. Makhathini might have been seen as a person who was not aware of the political changes that were due to take place after the 1994 democratic election but had a good reputation with many structures that converged to make Inanda's development a success. He could have worsened his chances of being re-elected as vice-chairperson

of IDF, when he only stood for the presidency.

However he had confidence that he had delivered during his terms of office as a chairperson and thought that people would re-elect him for the third time as chairperson without any extensive lobbying. However, because of his positive experience and delivery he had scored during his two successive terms, Makhathini should have been given more chance as chair and those who had vision should have backed those gains.

Violence, history of degradation, poverty, appalling socio-economic conditions, absence of proper and recognised local authority, a very weak civic association, a very high level of in-migration and the change of matured IDF leadership contributed one way or the other to forum's rise and decline.

The urgency of IDF's sustainability emanated from the change of the system of administration at a local government and the need to establish more development forums in a bid to furnish local people with all necessary skills for carrying out development and financial sustainability for well-planned projects and programmes. The financial sponsorship offer from the IDT came along partly because Inanda had been earmarked to be a Presidential project. It needs to be stressed that Inanda had for a long time been neglected by the then City Council of Durban, now the Unicity of Durban in terms of provision of basic services and delivery and there was relatively no development in Inanda. Thus people 'hidden their heads' under rusty roofs of shabby, unhygienic, weak and small units of informal settlements or 'shacks').

However Inanda has been designated as one of the beneficiaries of the well-researched and innovative Unicity Long Term Development Framework, which set the fundamentals for a better quality of life for all in the unicity, especially the disadvantaged. The plan has been the brain-child of many experts who have been working relentlessly to plan a framework that could lead Thekwini and Inanda forward in the long term.

This document has been recently formulated in order for the Thekwini Unicity population could realise the quality of life in the long run, in the year 2020.

Through this document, the Unicity officials and all its development organs are committed into providing infrastructure, services and support in such a way that economic growth and environmental preservation are achieved and sustained. This new planning considers that when development is performed, there is an underlying reason to meeting basic needs that requires skills development and job creation (EMIDP: 2002).

This long term vision encompasses all areas that fall within the jurisdiction of the DMA, thus the Inanda area is also included. This broader plan also talks about the overall budget and outlines the systematic approach of involving all communities as parts of drafting and prioritisation of projects in relation to the budget for DMA development. It can be said that for Inanda the experience of the IDF in such developmental work will be of help to the local; communities that will be instrumental in the success of the framework.

This continuation of development and planning could have positive and anticipated results if there could be commitment from all stakeholders involved. However such planning processes for development are usually impeded by an array of problems.

There is communication breakdown and the lack of follow up. Most of the time, not all the population is aware about the 'people's budget' workshops and meeting held in the townships with few unpopular individuals who are claiming to be representing the communities. There is a need to revive structures such as development forums so that they can perform these duties. In this process the positive aspects as well as the weaknesses of the IDF will be instrumental in the success of such endeavours.

Rumours have been spread in the townships that all those households who cannot pay for their services and rates for their houses are not going to be parts of the development projects. However the city officials believe that services should be paid for and those who cannot pay must come forward to make arrangements for alternative forms of payments. Somehow, people are sceptical because there has been announcements by the Metro council that all those who cannot pay for their rates would be evicted from their houses (Ukhozi FM, April).

There is another problem of lack of capacity within the machinery of the Ethekwini Unicity. People have been complaining about the alteration of their bills and debt to their disadvantage. It is said that some people are given jobs while they do not qualify on merit. This is seen as having direct correlation to the lack of capacity and corruption.

A citizen cited an example of one Unicity official who did not follow procedures of funding and implementing community based project. This project had a little planning and very few people were present in the event, yet there was a lot of money spent on it. It means that sometimes good amounts of money is spent when there is no planning and vision. Where there is planning and vision, there is lack of implementation, monitoring and evaluation. This is the present realities that the Long Term Framework plans to tackle head on and create new circumstances for the vast majority of the people of the Unicity.

Inanda had its own integrated development framework and structure plan. These documents were put together by the IDF, a large section of the community of Inanda, development workers, DCC officials, councillors and so forth. In the process of developing these documents large amounts of money was spent, especially regarding logistical arrangements. It has been found recently that those documents cannot be implemented because they were very broad and they need further elaboration and attention to detail (interview with Bokwana). It is for these reasons that the Unicity planning section is busy with a document that will constitute the conceptual layout projects. This document is not ready for public viewing yet. However it considers feasibility studies, looking at package projects and is making further site analysis (interview with Bokwana). This document also looks at the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu joint development emanating from the presidential projects chosen by the former S.A. President Mandela before he stepped out from the government.

There is greater hope that the Unicity would be able to successfully implement its long term vision for the quality of life for all upon which the Long Term Framework Document is based.

Recommendations

It must be said that at present development in Inanda has almost collapsed and community structures are in a state of flux due to the lack of funds , a perpetual crisis of leadership and the subsequent loss of enthusiasm on the part of the general population and especially the youth. Gangs have again surfaced throughout the township, people have lost faith in the Government at all levels .

However there are some possibilities , but for these to become realities there is a series of steps to be undertaken:

- There is an urgent need for the revitalisation of the IDF, with a solid and tested community leadership at its helm. This must operate with the functional requirements of the Unicity's Long Term Framework.
- All sections of the generation divide and political and ideological streams need to be in the forefront of development.
- There must be a struggle for access to funding associated with:
 - Youth job creation through the Premier's Youth Fund
 - General job creation through joint community/ SMME ventures
 - Training and capacity building of youth and community structures
 - Re-connection of the links of the community with LG structures
- Revitalisation of popular street and district formations to fight the ruthless gangs that terrorise the community at all levels
- None of the above can be achieved without a protracted and seriously organised and coordinated struggle .

END

Interview schedule

Background

My name is Xolani Shange. I am a master's student in the University of Durban Westville and enrolled with the Institute for Social and Economic Studies. I am doing a study on "the rise and fall of Inanda Development Forum during the period 1996 – 1998". The following interview schedule seeks to investigate facts about the operations of the IDF and hoping that recommendations of this study may be drawn upon in the future works.

Interview questions

Why Inanda Development Forum declined during the period 1996-1998?

How did Inanda Development Forum set up its finances?

What were the reasons behind IDF's financial decline?

Why Metro council decided not to fund the IDF?

How did the IDF's 1996 elections run?

What were the role differences between IDF and councilors and how did it played out?

What support did the IDF get from government before 1996 and after it?

Did local government collaborate with the IDF in introducing development and services in Inanda or not?

What divisions and conflict occurred within the IDF and why?

What happened to the trainees after 1996?

Were other local organisations involved in development after 1996 (i.e. community development committees)?

What do you think is the future of IDF? And what can replace it?

What is the past and future role of women in structures like IDF.

Are the IDF's aims and objectives achieved?

Did Inanda Development forum carry out its development mandate (i.e. in particular, was capacity building and community participation achieved in Inanda)?

How far was Inanda's development guided by Inanda Development framework,

structure plan and Inanda business plan?

The following are distinguished men and women who agreed upon the request of being interviewed relating to the rise and decline of Inanda during the period 1996-1998, accompanying the names are their profile list depicting the relevance of their inclusion in this study, dates of interviews as well as their positions they currently hold in their various work place.

The interview list

Mr. Maurice Makhathini, deputy Director of Durban housing department.

Date:10/11/00

He was one of the people involved in the formation of Inanda Development Forum. He also participated in its development through research.

Mr. Isaach Ngcobo, the co-owner of Metro buses services in Springfield.

Date:21/11/00

He is the founder of IDF and former Inanda Civic Association chairperson.

Mr. Phillip Sithole, researcher on Local Economic Development (Durban North Central Council).

Date:08/12/00

He served in the IDF as a treasury during its first existence and was involved in the academic research in Inanda.

He served in the initial Inanda Development forum executive and he is the supposed current treasury of IDF.

Mr. Paul Mahubane, Durban town-planner.

Date:15/11/00

He deals with the Durban South Central metro regarding the implementation of Local Economic Development.

Mr. Bheki Nene (former Development Facilitator).

Date: 30/03/01

Currently he is the Deputy CEO of Inner west official.

Mr. Thulani Ncwane

01/05/01

current chairperson of IDF.

Mr. Eddie Makhathini

Date: 30/05/01

former IDF chairperson.

Mr. V. Ngogoma

Date:22/05/01

former Inanda councilor and IDF executive member.

Themba Mgogo

Date: 27/03/01

CCLS facilitator.

Theresa Dominic

18/04/01

Urban Strategy official

Sugen Moodley

09/04/01

City engineers, planning and development

Mr. Mondli Msibi

Date:21/12/00

participant in one of the Inanda ward forums.

Inanda local ward committees

Mr. Lucky Bokwana

Date: 24/06/02

Development and planning technician

Bibliography

1. African National Congress (1994) The Reconstruction Development Programmes: A policy Framework. Umanyano Publishers, Johannesburg.
2. Bekker, S et al. (1991). Migration to Greater Inanda. Rural-Urban Studies Unit Center for Social and Development Studies, Durban.
3. Blair, H. (2000), Participation and Accountability at the Periphery, in "Democratic Local Governance in Six Countries, vol.28.no.1pp.21-39.
4. Briscoe, J, & de Ferranti, D. (1988). Water for rural communities: helping people help themselves. The World Bank, Washington, DC.
5. Byerly, M (1989). Mass Violence in Durban's settlements in the 1980's. Unpublished M. Soc. Sci. Dissertation, Durban.
6. Department of Housing, 1997, Housing White paper, "A new Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa", Pretoria.
7. Durban Metro Area (1996). Community Consulting Workshop. July11, Durban City Hall.
8. Durban Metro Area (2002). Ethekwini Municipality Integrated Development Planning, Durban.
9. Esmanad, M., & Uphoff, N. (1984). Local organisations: intermediaries in rural development. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University press.
10. Govender,,V. (1994). " The Inanda Development Framework: Socio-economics, Demographic and Economic Aspects of Inanda". Report 3, Data Research Africa.
11. Hendeir, P. (1988). Urban policy and Housing, South African Institute of Race Relations, Braamfontein.
12. Hindson, D. (1996). Report on the State of the Environment and Development of the Durban Metropolitan Area, vol.3., Durban.

13. Hughes H. (1987)., Violence in Inanda, paper delivered at University of Natal History Workshop.
14. Inanda Development Forum and North and South Central Local Councils/Planning and development control department (1997), Inanda Structure Plan.
15. Institute for Social and Economic Studies class notes (2001). Project Management, Durban.
16. Jeffrey, D. (1994). " The Inanda Development Framework: Socio-Economic,
17. Demographic and Economic Aspects of Inanda". Report2, Data research Africa, Durban.
18. Kleemeier, E. (2000). The impact of Participation on Sustainability: in An analysis of the Malawi Rural Piped Scheme Program, World Development, vol. 28, no. 5, pp. 929-944.
19. Kotze, D.A., & Swanepoel, H.J. 1983. Guidelines for practical community development. Pretoria: Dibukeng.
20. Lupton, M., & Murphy, S. (1996). Housing and Urban Reconstruction in South.Africa., Urban Studies, vol. 33, no.9.
21. Narayan, D. (1995). The contribution of people's participation: evidence from 121 rural water supply projects. Washington, Dc: The World Bank.
22. North Central Local Council (1998). Towards an Integrated Development Plan for Inanda, Second Draft. Development and planning Department.
23. Makhathini, M. (1991). The fate of the African landowner: A case Study of Inanda, Institute for Social and Economic Research, Durban.
24. Miller, D. (1979). Self-help and popular participation in rural water systems. OECD, Development Center Studies, Paris.
25. Mohan, G., & Stokke, K. (2000). Participation development and empowerment: the dangers of localism, World Development, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 247-268.

26. Monaheng, T. (1998). Participation and human development: some implementation problems. Africanus, 28(1).
27. Moser, C.O.N. (1989). community participation in urban projects in the Third World. Progress in Planning, 32(2).
28. Munitech (1994). Report on Waste Management in Inanda, Durban.
29. Oelofse, M., & Van Gass, C. (1992). End-user finance and subsidies' Unpublished paper presented to the Housing National Forum, Pretoria.
30. Post Natal. (1985). August 24.
31. Pretorius, F. (1990). ' Chips funding for low-cost housing' Unpublished paper, Imdependent Development Trust, Johannesburg.

32. Preston-Whyte R.A., McCarthy, JJ., and Zulu, P. (1988). "Attitude Survey on Conservation and Recreation Needs in the Greater Inanda Area", Durban.
33. Root C, Wiley D., and Mkhize Z. (1995). "Managing Waste More Sustainably in Inanda: A Report and Recommended Programmes". A Report to the Inanda Civic Association and the Inanda landowners association. ISER, University of Durban -Westville.
34. Rowlands, J. (1995). Empowerment examined. Development in Practice, 5(2).
35. Rust, K., Rubenstein, S. (1996). A mandate to build, "developing consensus around a national housing policy in South Africa", Ravan Press (PTY) Ltd, Randburg.
36. Sara, J., & Katz, T. (1997). Making rural water supply sustainable: report on the impact of project rules. UNDP- World Bank Water and Saanitation Program, Washington, DC.
37. Social Policy program class notes (1999). Approaches to development, Durban
38. Social policy Program class notes (1999). Policy Analysis, Durban.
39. Social policy Program class notes (2000). Environmental Management, Durban.

40. State President office (1996). Republic of South Africa, Local government Transitional Act, Second Amendment Act, no.97.
41. State President's office (1995). Republic of South Africa, Development Facilitation Act, no.67.
42. State President's office, Republic of South Africa (1993). Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Act No. 200, Government printer, pretoria.
43. State President office, Republic of South Africa (1993). Local Government Transitional Act. no. 96.
44. State President office, Republic of South Africa (1997). Municipal Structures Act, no.97.
45. State President office, Republic of South Africa (1998), Local Government Third Transitional Act, no. 98.
46. Swanepoel, H.J., & De Beer, F.C. (1996). Guide from community capacity building. A guide for community workers and community leaders. Halfway House: International Thomson Publishing.
47. The Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, (1996). The White paper on Local government, CTM Book Printers.
48. The Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, (1998). The White paper on Local government, CTM Book Printers.
49. Uphoff, N. Cohen, J., & Goldsmith, A. (1979). Feasibility and application of rural development participation: a state-of-the-art paper. Cornell University, Rural Development Committee, Ithaca, NY.
50. Urban Strategy department (1997). Durban Metro Council, Building an understanding on community-based Development Fora, Durban.
51. Urban Development framework (1997). The department of Housing, Republic of South Africa, Pretoria.

52. Urban foundation (1990). Policies for a new urban future, "Talking Group areas Policy", Urbanization Unit, Johannesburg.
53. Weekly Mail & Guardian. (1994). May 27 to June2.
54. Wisner, B. (1998). Power and need in Africa. Basic human needs and development policies. London: Earthscan.