

# MECHANISMS FOR PROMOTING SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AT THE LOCAL LEVEL IN SOUTH AFRICA<sup>1</sup>

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*Die bevordering deur plaaslike owerhede van sosiale en ekonomiese ontwikkeling kry, om verskillende redes, nie die aandag wat dit verg nie. Min mag en onvoldoende fondse van plaaslike besture, die sterk gesentraliseerde regeringstelsel, en die huidige politieke bestel is o.a. redes hiervoor.*

*Plaaslike besture is egter die vlak van regering naaste aan die mense, en behoort dus eerste bewus te wees van sosio-ekonomiese probleme. Die vin-nige bevolkingsverskuiwings saam met die verwagte demokratisering van plaaslike regering, gaan dit noodsaaklik maak dat plaaslike besture 'n toenemende verantwoordelikheid vir die oplos van sosio-ekonomiese probleme sal moet aanvaar.*

*In die artikel word nuwe sisteme voorgestel wat sosiale probleme kan moni-*

*tor en aanspreek, en wat deurlopend die klimaat vir ekonomiese ontwikkeling kan probeer verbeter. Streek-koördinering en deurlopende skakeling met belangegroep, civics, NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations) en die sentrale regering vorm deel van die voorgestelde sisteem.*

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*In South Africa the promotion of social and economic development by local governments is not addressed in any structured way. Lack of power and sources of income of local governments, the strong central government system, and the present political dispensation are reasons for this shortcoming.*

*Local government is the level of government closest to the people and*

*should therefore be the first to become aware of socio-economic problems. Rapid urbanization and the expected democratization of local governments will make it imperative that local governments increasingly take more responsibility for socio-economic problems.*

*In this article new systems at the municipal level are proposed for monitoring and addressing social problems, and for the continuous promotion of a climate conducive for economic development. Regional coordination and continuous liaison with interest groups, civics, NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations) and central government form part of the proposed system.*

## INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this article to explore the role of local governments in social and economic development<sup>2</sup> in South Africa and to suggest improvements in the system to ensure that these matters are adequately addressed.

Although every decision of a municipal council has an influence on both the economy and the welfare of that society, very little has been published on the actual role of municipal councils in promoting economic and social welfare.

Van Zyl (1988) studied the methods of fourteen of the larger South African municipalities and found that efforts vary from virtually no input to quite extensive involvement in economic development. No general method or

philosophy emerged from Van Zyl's study. A survey by Du Toit (1990) indicated that municipalities have even less of a systematic approach towards social problems.

The socio-economic problems of those most in need seldom receive attention from municipalities. This can be partly blamed on the undemocratic<sup>3</sup> nature of municipal councils in South Africa, and partly on the attitude that considers it to be the responsibility of central government to look after poor people. An analysis of the economic projects surveyed by Van Zyl (1988) also indicates that the type of project encouraged by municipalities usually favours the rich rather than the poor.

The various municipal ordinances which regulate the management of municipalities do not clearly define the role of local governments. The Muni-

cipal Ordinance of the Cape (Ord. 20 of 1974) lists a number of services which a local government should provide (Art. 139) and a number of matters about which bylaws can be made (Art. 188). No indication is given as to the responsibility of a local government towards the social or the economic welfare of the community.

The new Constitution (Act 200 of 1993) is somewhat clearer on this point. Article 175(2) states: "A local government shall be assigned such powers and functions as may be necessary to provide services for ... promotion of the well-being of all persons ...". Article 175(3) stipulates that "A local government shall ... make provision for access by all persons ... to water, sanitation, transportation facilities, electricity, primary health services, education, housing and security within a safe and healthy environment

...". From the inclusion of health services, education and housing one may deduce that social development is now clearly considered to be a local function.

However, there is no reference to economic development in the Constitution. The only reference to economic development is in Schedule 2 of the Local Government Transition Act (Act 209 of 1993) which sets out the powers and duties of a transitional metropolitan council. Its Item 21 proposes as a metropolitan duty 'Metropolitan promotion of economic development and job creation'.

At present several other pieces of legislation also assign responsibilities to local governments, such as certain health and social services. As the agents of provincial and central government departments, municipalities can provide housing and effect urban redevelopment. The Slums Act (Act 76 of 1979) provides for the clearing of slums rather than for alleviation of social problems.

As the poor are usually badly housed and inadequately served by social, educational and health services, they are handicapped in the race for economic improvement. It will therefore be futile to look only at the role of local governments in economic development without also looking at their role in social development.

Recent political changes in South Africa have brought massive socio-economic problems into the direct ambit of traditional municipal government concerns. The anticipated democratization of government will bring these problems right into the council chambers of municipalities.

A study by Claassen (1992) indicated that municipalities in Britain and North America play an increasing role in development, although they also experience many problems in this regard. An array of methods has been developed by which municipalities can fulfil this aim. Physical expansion of cities is becoming less important in these highly developed, slow growing, countries whilst social and economic matters are growing in importance. This change also has an influence on the town planning profession. Many

municipal town planning departments are devoting increasingly more time and effort to social and economic development than to physical development.<sup>4</sup>

From the above it is clear, first that it is imperative for local governments to acknowledge their responsibility in the field of socio-economic development, and second, that a systematic means of addressing social and economic problems should be introduced.

### STATE AND MUNICIPAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The responsibility that local governments should undertake for socio-economic development can be classified into three broad categories. First is the development of the ability of people to cope with city living. That is social development. Second is the influence of local government over development through its powers of control, that is the regulatory aspect, and third is the influence local governments have on the economic climate for development, that is, the leading or pro-active aspect.

However, popularly the function of a local government is seen as that of providing certain services to the community, for instance road construction and maintenance, water supply, refuse removal, traffic control and some commercial services.

Health facilities, social care and low cost housing are controlled, and primarily funded, by central and provincial departments, often with local governments acting as agents for central or provincial government departments. Local governments play virtually no role in providing educational services.

The tradition of central financing of social services has created an understanding that these services are not primarily the concern of the local government. Therefore, although municipal government is the government level closest to the people and should be the first to notice problems such as socio-economic deprivation, municipalities do not always play a leading role in addressing such problems because of a lack of both power

and funds (Hugo 1992:20). Normally local governments will petition central government for increases in funding to address such problems.

There are also other contradictory forces at play, which further complicate the role of local governments in development, i.a.:

- The fact that most of the tax income goes to the Central Government (Croeser in Swilling *et al* 1991:140).<sup>5</sup>
- The present accent on capitalism, deregulation and 'less government' which militates against further government involvement, also at the local level.
- The fact that local governments cannot draw up their own charters, and that their powers and functions are determined by municipal ordinances and other legislation.<sup>6</sup>

These factors diminish the influence that a local government can have, and can choose to have, on the welfare of its citizens.

The situation today is therefore that control of many local aspects still rests with the central government, but that its ability to fund projects, when compared with the massive demand, is inadequate or largely curtailed. Local governments are faced with massive problems<sup>7</sup>, but have only marginally increased powers and finances.<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, a number of social problems are now neither catered for by local nor central governments, for instance, pre-school care (Hugo 1992: 54) and adult education. These are fields where there is a tremendous need.

### DEVOLUTION OF POWER

Devolution of power to the lowest level of government is accepted by many as an improvement on central control. Thus far little has come from this declared policy of the present South African government (Cameron 1992). Judging from the experience of other African countries, and the uneven distribution of wealth in South Africa, it is unlikely that a future

government will do more in this respect. If devolution is indeed desirable, and if it is to be taken seriously, substantial structural changes in government are needed. Power cannot be truly devolved without also devolving tax income.

Indications are that the ANC may also opt for a central type of government with only limited powers devolved to local governments. It is apparently their perception that this type of government will best serve their expressed aim of redistribution of wealth (ANC 1992a:3; ANC 1992b:7). However, their position on this issue is not static. *Reconstruction and development programme* (ANC 1994:44) states that local authorities should be assisted to deal with backlogs of municipal services through intergovernmental transfers from central and provincial government. This is an indication that the ANC anticipates a centralized tax system.

## TRENDS IN NORTH AMERICA AND BRITAIN

A survey of the situation in North America and Britain indicated that in those countries local governments are increasingly involved in local economic development (Claassen 1992). The scale of activities varies from neighbourhood to regional level. The type of governmental involvement is mostly indirect, that is, as coordinator, initiator and facilitator. Where local governments are directly involved with development, it is usually through development corporations, in which private companies often play a major role.

A great deal of cooperation exists between local and regional planning and development organizations, because of the awareness of interdependence within a region. Socio-economic indicators are closely monitored, mostly at the regional level.

From the literature it is also clear that there is much debate about the effectiveness of such efforts (Blakely 1989:57; Beaugard 1983). However, no source condemns, in principle, the efforts of local governments at facilitating development. On the whole it is accepted that local governments have a

role to play in the promotion of development.

Indications are that efforts at development, private and public, more often than not have had the effect of displacing poor people rather than of fostering their welfare - and this in countries with highly developed democracies (Newman *et al.* 1986:34; Robinson 1989, Schmidt 1988). It had also transpired that efforts at job creation did not always benefit the local poor, as jobs created required a higher level of skills than the general level displayed by the local poor (Neamtan 1989). This type of development, which favours the rich, is often justified by the argument that "a rising tide floats all ships" (Beaugard *et al.* 1983), and/or expectation of the "trickle down" effect (Blakely 1989:59). However, experience indicates that the rich benefit proportionately more than the poor (Beaugard 1983).

For that reason, development organizations in depressed neighbourhoods were specifically formed, through local initiative, to help people in situ without displacing them (Neamtan 1989). However, the success rate of such neighbourhood development organizations is largely uncertain (Teitz 1989).

In contrast to North America the pool of skilled labour is small in South Africa, and a large percentage of people are poorly educated and live under very unsatisfactory conditions. Social development will thus be of paramount importance here.

## ECONOMIC REALITIES

Economic changes in local government areas depend to a large degree on national and even international trends. The degree to which a local community can 'swim against the tide' is severely limited.

In certain cases decline of an area is inevitable. The present mass migration of people from the so-called homelands to metropolitan areas is a case in point. It is an indication that official development efforts in the homelands have failed. This voluntary reduction in the rural population may perhaps

eventually improve the development opportunities for those remaining behind.

To what extent local governments should and can cope with these macro-economic realities is difficult to judge. Yet, municipalities cannot offer the limited extent of their power as an excuse for doing nothing about the welfare of their people. Certainly, the bottom line should be to spread what welfare is available as equitably as possible.

## DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

Barnard (1993) lists more than a thousand Southern African development organizations of which very few have direct connections with municipal governments, though it is possible that some of them receive financial assistance from such sources, or, alternatively, that they cooperate with local governments.

There is no structured system for community, or suburb, participation in municipal affairs in South Africa. However, community action, or community participation, is becoming a major force in cities, and even in small towns, mainly as a backlash against the restrictive policies of the apartheid era. Indications are that action at community level will increase in importance. It is therefore worthwhile to investigate development efforts at this level in the design of any future management system (Coo-vadia in SAITRP 1991).

Development organizations financed by the State have played a major role in South Africa over the last four decades. Originally the functions of these organizations were mainly to help implement the apartheid and decentralization policies. The major organizations today are the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the Independent Development Trust, the Industrial Development Corporation and the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC). Local governments should constantly be aware of the functions of these organizations, and to what extent they can cooperate in development projects.

At present the National Regional Development Programme, which is the official programme of the Department of Regional & Land Affairs, provides for subsidies for new industries locating outside certain metropolitan areas.

## THE TOWN PLANNING SYSTEM

In the past planning in South Africa often tended to be restrictive rather than offering a positive vehicle for economic development to alleviate social problems. The town planning profession is very much aware of this shortcoming, and much is being done to make town planning more proactive, that is, to get it to lead development rather than to control it. Structure planning as introduced in the Cape Province and Natal was an effort in this direction.

The various town planning ordinances are taken by some as being concerned only with orderly physical development.<sup>9</sup> The Land Use Planning Ordinance (LUPO) of the Cape Province (Ord. 15 of 1985) specifies that a local government may prepare a structure plan of which the purpose is "... to lay down guidelines for future spatial development ... in such a way as will most effectively promote the ... general welfare of the community ...". That is, although the aim is promotion of the general welfare, the method is physical development, which is usually interpreted as regulating land use, providing housing and roads, and coordinating future expansion.

A recent survey of nine local governments in the Western Cape (Le Roux 1990:66) indicated that the chief town planners interviewed were aware of the extent of socio-economic problems in their areas. This knowledge was anecdotal, and obtained rather from casual observation than from monitoring indicators such as the unemployment rate and incomes. In contrast, town planners in America and Britain follow a much more comprehensive approach.

One of the reasons why the controlling role of town planning persists, is that people, especially the more affluent, desire the type of control which ensures security of tenure and a good living environment. However, in the

informal towns, building regulations and town planning control have little meaning. In such areas the dire need for development of all types is very apparent, and so is the need to make town planning, and local government, more development oriented.

In fast growing areas the most demanding problem is coping with physical expansion, that is, allocation and development of land and installing services for new urban development, especially low cost housing. However, lack of suitable land is only one of several very serious problems. The others are lack of proper housing, and of educational, health and social facilities, and a dearth of job opportunities.

In spite of these problems, the town planning department in a local government is in a good position to take a comprehensive view of a community and its problems.

## DEVELOPMENT AND STRATEGIC PLANNING

The concept of 'development plans' was introduced in the Cape Province and Natal planning ordinances as a means to ensure implementation of structure plans.<sup>10</sup> This effort failed almost totally, mainly because of the fragmented, departmental oriented, way in which local governments function.

In the USA and Britain planning is much more comprehensive than in South Africa and it can therefore address a spectrum of development problems. This lack of comprehensiveness of town planning in South Africa is, *inter alia*, due to the strong individuality of municipal departments. The general trend is that each separate department within a municipality has its own objectives and that all have to compete for sufficient funding to fulfil their particular needs.

A new trend being followed by a few municipalities, is that of strategic planning. In short this system entails a committee comprised of residents that surveys the total spectrum of municipal problems through a series of sub-committees, the objective being to isolate the main problems and formulate remedial action. This information

is reported to the town council and other official and private institutions that can affect change (Donnelly 1985). Such strategic planning is an example of a non-statutory system for promoting development.

The many development forums which were created since 1990 are in their aims and functioning very similar to strategic planning.

These various types of planning are efforts to ensure that a local government will systematically analyze its position, determine aims and objectives, and then strive to fulfil those aims and objectives in a systematic way.

## REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The official government development planning system is predominantly aimed at the regional rather than the local level. In 1975, with the introduction of the National Physical Development Plan, a system of regional development associations (RDAs) was introduced. RDAs are purely consultative and advisory bodies, and have been active in promoting economic development to a greater or lesser degree.

With the 1982 Good Hope Plan a system of regional development advisory councils (RDACs) and a National Regional Advisory Board were introduced. This regional planning system was designed to keep Government informed of regional development problems. The ability of this system to address the real problems of regions is hampered by its voluntary nature and the undemocratic representation on RDSs and RDACs (Van der Bank 1992:86).

Yet commendable efforts at development did, in some cases, flow from this system as for instance in the programmes of Western Cape's Economic Growth (WESGRO) which is active in the greater Cape Town area (WESGRO 1990).

For local governments to be able to promote development effectively, there must be regional coordination and cooperation. Van der Bank (1992:90) proposed a new system for promoting regional development in rural areas, in

which the regional services councils would be replaced by regional development councils: as implied in the name, the sole function of the new councils would be the promotion of development.

## DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

In spite of the lack of definition of the role of local governments in economic development, many municipalities actively promote economic development. Van Zyl (1988) surveyed 14 municipalities to determine their role in, and systems for, economic development. Most efforts consisted of advertising, attracting developers, property development and promotion of joint ventures. Few municipalities, however, have special branches for promoting development: exceptions are Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

A few typical projects are<sup>11</sup>: Alberton's CBD redevelopment; Cape Town's Golden Acre and Thibault Square parking garage projects; Durban's Workshop Shopping Centre and beachfront redevelopment; Stellenbosch's Technopark. Several municipalities regularly advertise in the media to attract businesses and industries.

A characteristic of most of these projects is that they are not primarily designed to help the poor. That does not mean that these projects should not be undertaken. What it indicates is that there are very few municipalities which launch projects to specifically create employment for the poor.

## SYNTHESIS

It is clear that the involvement of local governments in social and economic development is essential, but that their role is not well defined and that systems to promote development seldom exist. It is also clear that there is no standard way of going about this task.

A sense of social responsibility is in general poorly developed in South African municipal government structures. This is because of the political system, and the fact that the central and provincial governments are re-

sponsible for most of the major departments concerned with education, health and social services. Local governments manage low cost housing, but here too most of the funds are provided by central government.

The fact that all levels of government will be democratically elected under the new Constitution may, at least initially, ensure that much more attention will be given to the needs of the poor. The new Constitution is more specific than present legislation in describing the "... promotion of the well-being of all persons ..." as a municipal function. It does not, however specify promotion of economic development as a municipal function, only as a function of metropolitan government.

Indications are that the organizations for promoting social development and for promoting economic development are inherently different. Social development implies the provision of services, either directly by the local government, or indirectly through central government or through NGOs. In contrast, promoting economic development is mainly a matter of creating an attractive business climate, with the role of the local government being merely that of coordinator, initiator and facilitator.

## RECOMMENDATIONS<sup>12</sup>

### Regional coordination

It is essential that there be regional coordination of social and economic development efforts. Regional services councils, or any other future regional authority, should play a role in this. There is also a need for the coordination of development groups outside of local government. In rural areas the Van der Bank proposal of regional development councils (RDCs) may offer a more effective system than the present regional planning system (Van der Bank 1991:94). The present regional development societies can be adapted to play a major role in bringing special interest groups together. Here the SBDC will also have a role to play, as in the past.

It is also possible that municipal

boundaries may be extended so that all land will fall under municipal control, thus increasing the responsibilities of local governments as far as social services are concerned (Van der Bank 1992:87; ANC 1992b:8).

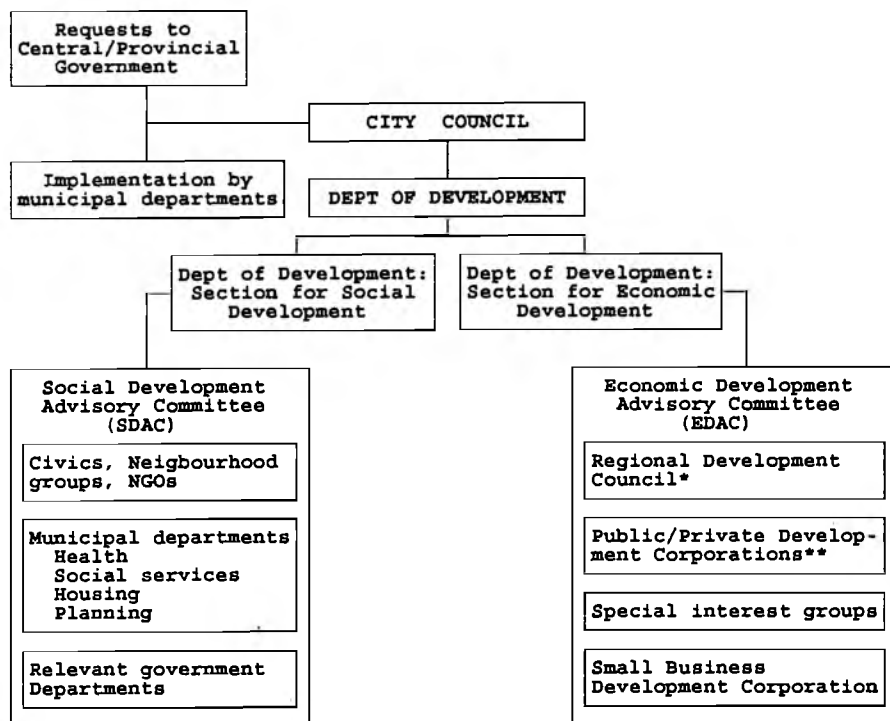
### Municipal Department of Development

To ensure that development issues get the necessary attention one department or section in municipal government should be assigned full responsibility for that portfolio. However, the creation of an additional bureaucratic burden should be avoided. Staff numbers must be kept low by utilization of an extant department such as a section of the town planning department. In cities no more than one or two full-time professionals, and in towns a part-time professional, should be able to cope. In small towns responsibility for development will fall to the town clerk (as it does today), perhaps assisted by consultants and the appropriate RSC (or proposed RDC). Individual RSCs will obviously also need to have a department of development of their own.

The development section will have two basic fields of responsibility: social development and economic development. In larger towns and cities this implies two sub-sections within the department charged with development issues.

#### (a) Social development

It is essential that local governments should constantly monitor the socio-economic position of their citizens, to enable them to act timeously with preventive measures, where it is within their power to do so. Where they do not have the jurisdiction or resources to act effectively they must petition the relevant central government or provincial department for aid. A Section for Social Development (SSD) of the Department of Development should be made responsible for monitoring socio-economic indicators. For small towns this responsibility will need to lie with the RSC (or RDC) of the area. Figure 1 (left column) is an indication of the organization needed for social development.



\* After Van der Bank 1991:94.  
 \*\* Created through City Council initiative.

FIGURE 1: *Organization for social and economic development*

To coordinate the inputs of the various role-players and to ensure that appropriate action is taken, a Social Development Advisory Committee (SDAC) should be formed. The SSD can act as the secretariat for the Committee on which will serve all the relevant municipal departments, such as housing, health and social work. Relevant central governmental and provincial departments should also be invited to serve on the Committee, as well as representatives from voluntary movements such as the development forums, civics and neighbourhood groups. It will be the task of the Committee to evaluate the data collected, discuss appropriate action, and make recommendations to Council. The Section for Social Development will constantly liaise with all relevant departments.

(b) Economic development

The developmental task of local government is to create a positive climate for development. Promotion of economic activity by a local government should be indirect. It should act as coordinator, initiator and facilitator. Councils should be reluctant to speculate with public money. Figure 1 (right column) shows a possible orga-

nization for promoting economic development.

In larger towns and cities a 'Section for Economic Development' (SED) of the proposed Department of Development should be created to coordinate the local government's involvement in economic development. There are many examples of the activities that such an economic development section should pursue: in the USA, Canada and Britain (Claassen 1992) and also locally (Van Zyl 1988).

The SED acts as secretariat for a committee coordinating efforts at economic development, say the 'Economic Development Advisory Committee' (EDAC). On such a committee should serve the relevant departments of the municipality, representatives from organised trade and industry, public/private development corporations created through city council initiative, the Small Business Development Corporation, and other interested bodies that can contribute towards economic development.

The prime function of the committee will be to advise the city council on economic development in the city. What is essential, is to have a system in place that can address problems

systematically, making full use of all the resources in the community and also of those available from outside.

Long and short term strategic plans should be set up to determine the goals and objectives of the community. Progress must be reviewed annually and goals and objectives adapted where necessary.

The EDAC and SDAC should be part of the strategic planning team and the Sections for Social Development and Economic Development will play a major role in strategic planning.

**Neighbourhood and community groups**

It is important that better channels of communication between neighbourhoods, communities and the local government be established. The new Constitution specifically provides for the creation of 'submunicipal entities' in Article 175(6). A possible model to follow is that of Atlanta GA, USA (Claassen 1987:31). Representatives should be elected democratically to prevent misrepresentation. However, initiative should come from the people. Experience indicates that such voluntary organizations wax and wane according to the magnitude of problems facing a community.

The purpose of neighbourhood groups should be:

- to advise the local government on issues in their area;
- to petition for action if they perceive particular problems in their area; and
- to take part in the determining of goals and objectives.

**Powers of control and long term planning**

It is essential that local governments constantly examine the role of their planning system. Restrictive controls should be kept to a minimum. The town planning system should be proactive. It should not just focus on efforts to cope with day-to-day problems. The goals and objectives for the

community, set out in the strategic plan, should be actively pursued. To achieve this, medium and long range structure plans should be drafted to indicate the direction of development, and to ensure that land for public use, such as low cost housing, can be obtained timeously. Developers must be able to plan proposals with confidence, knowing that if they follow the guidelines of the structure plan, their proposals can be ratified quickly.

### Communication with central government

It must be remembered that South Africa is a centrally controlled country and will most probably remain so. That means that in all their efforts for socio-economic development, local and provincial governments will still

be highly dependent on the decisions of central government, for funding and for action.

Good channels of communication with central government will therefore be essential for a municipality to get its fair share of funding.

### CONCLUSION

In spite of the South African centralized governmental system and the limited powers of local governments, there is no doubt that local governments can and do play a significant role in social and economic development. Also, it is in the interest of all the inhabitants of a town that both social and economic development get the necessary attention from their town council.

It must also be borne in mind that systems, such as the development system proposed above, do not *per se* guarantee progress. The proposed system is only a tool meant to ensure that attention is constantly given to aspects which have often been neglected in the past. What is needed to ensure development is not so much a system, as people with initiative, insight and drive.

No law or official system contains a secret formula for success. The ability of a community to improve its future lies in the first instance within the people of that community. Elected town councils must improve their performance in social and economic development, and it will depend on the voters to see to it that they do so.

### NOTES

1. The research for this paper was generously sponsored by the Human Sciences Research Council, and the Universities of Stellenbosch, RSA; McGill, Montreal, Canada; Cornell, Ithaca NY and the University of California in Berkeley.
2. In this article the term 'socio-economic' is taken to mean 'social and economic'. These two subjects, that is social development and economic development, are studied together because they are highly interdependent. Yet they are also treated separately because, at the local level, they are promoted mostly by different mechanisms.
3. This article was written before April 1994. Unless otherwise indicated, it refers to the situation obtaining before the introduction of representative governments.
4. In developed countries environmental problems also receive increasing attention from town planners and other professions.
5. At present the Central Government collects 94% of all taxes in South Africa, and municipalities 5% (Croeser in Swilling *et al* 1991:140).
6. Under the new Constitution the functions of local governments will be determined in the Constitution and not, as at present, under provincial ordinances. As at present, local governments will not have the power to draw up their own charters.
7. In the Transvaal alone, R1 300 million is needed to buy land and provide only the most basic engineering services for people already in urban areas (Van Zyl in SAITRP 1991).
8. With the introduction of regional services councils (RSCs) new taxes on the turnover of, and wages paid by, private and public organizations did create a new source of income at the local level. Municipalities can apply for funds from the RSCs.
9. The Government's Department of Planning also places the emphasis on physical development. The new Physical Planning Act (No. 125 of 1991) makes provision for four types of plan, the object of which is "... to promote the orderly physical development of the area ...".
10. 'Development plan' is used here as intended in the Land Use Planning Ordinance of the Cape Province, that is, a programme for financing and implementing development. It has many other meanings.
11. All projects are not necessarily financially successful. Very little research has been done in South Africa on the success rate of municipal projects.
12. It is the point of departure of this article that these recommendations will have meaning only if town councillors are democratically elected, and if towns and cities, broken up by apartheid, are reunited. However, the mere existence of a democratic system does not guarantee equitable or effective development actions. That ideal is dependent on many other factors, some of which are expanded upon here.

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