Not another 'night at the museum': 'moving on' – from 'developmental' local government to 'developmental local state'

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Abstract

Since the government transformation in 1994, various efforts have been made in South Africa to institute a developmental local government system to facilitate and enhance growth and development in all sectors of society and to (re)structure and (re)develop the fragmented urban regions in the country. This article argues that the local government system (including the municipal development planning system) in South Africa is not appropriate to effectively facilitate the type of development that is required in this country (and in this globalising space and time).

In view of the above, this exploratory inquiry[2] aims to unpack and explore the developmental status and characteristics of local government in South Africa. The article concludes with some challenges, questions and propositions in an attempt to stimulate interest, debate, further research and to determine a possible path towards a 'new developmental local state'.

'N BETOOG VIR 'N BEWEGING VANAF 'N 'ONTWIKKELINGSGEORIËNTEERDE' PLAASLIKE BESTUUR NA 'N 'PLAASLIKE ONTWIKKELINGSTAAT'

Sedert die regeringstransformasie in 1994, is daar verskeie pogings in Suid-Afrika aangewend om 'n plaaslike bestuur daar te stel wat ontwikkeling en ekonomiese groei in alle sektore van die samelewing bevorder en om die gefragmenteerde stedelike omgewings in die land te (her)struktureer en te (her)ontwikkel. Daar word geargumenteer dat die huidige plaaslike regeringstelsel (insluitende die munisipale ontwikkelingsbeplanningstelsel) in Suid-Afrika nie meer geskik is om die tipe ontwikkeling wat in hierdie veranderende wêreldruimte en tyd vereis word, effektief te fasiliteer nie.

In lyn met die bogenoemde, het hierdie verkennende ondersoek ten doel om die ontwikkelingstatus en eienskappe van plaaslike regering in Suid-Afrika te ontrafel en te ondersoek. Hierdie artikel eindig met 'n aantal uitdagings, vrae en voorstelle, met die doel om belangstelling te prikkel, debatte en verdere navorsing te stimuleer en om 'n moontlike nuwe koers na 'n nuwe plaaslike ontwikkelingstaat te bepaal.

HA RE SA BATLA HO SALLA MORAO HAPE, PELE-A-PELE: SENA SE HLAHA HOMMUSO WA LEHAE WA NTSHETSOPELE HO YA HO MMUSO WA LEHAE WA NTSHETSOPELE.

Haesale ho tloha ka diphetoho tse entsweng ke mmuso ka selemo sa 1994, ho entswe matsapa a mangata ka hara Afrika Borwa ho hlophisa mokgwa wa ntshetsopele wa mmuso wa lehae ho thusa ntshetsopele le ho ntlafatsa kgolo le ntshetsopele mafapheng ohle a setjhaba esitana le habopa hape le hontshetsa pele hape mabatowa a aroarohaneng ka hara naha. Ditabeng tsena ho qoqwa ka hore mokgwa wa tsamaiso wa mmus wa lehae (ho kenyeletswa le mokgwa wa mmasepala wa moralo wa ntshetsopele) ka hara Afrika Borwa ha o a nepahala hore o ka thusa ka matla mofuta wa ntshetsopele e hlokehang ka hara naha ena (le ka hara sebaka sena sa lefatshe le nako).

Ka ho tadima tse mona hodimo, patlisiso ena ya thuto,[2] e lebeletswe ho hlophisa le ho ithuta maemo a ntshetsopele le kamoo mmus wa lehae o tadimehang kateng ka hara Afrika Borwa. Qetellong, pampiari ena e fana ka diphepetso, dipotso le ditlhahiso, e le ho leka ho tsosa thahasello, diphehisano kgang, ho tswela pele ho etsa dipatlisiso, le thuto e ka bang teng mabapi le Mmuso wa Lehae wa Ntshetsopele o motjha.hahuwang teng, haholoholo ya bohlokwa ba bohaufi bo boholo ba mesebetsi (diprojeke) ya matlo ho fihlella menyetla ya phedisano le moruo ho tswa tjhadimong ya moahi.

1. DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES FACING SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN REGIONS AND GOVERNMENTS

As an introduction to this article it would be appropriate to begin the discussion with some developmental acumen from the office of the Presidency. The new *Green Paper: National Strategic Planning*, published by the South African Presidency for public comment in September 2009, states:

For our society to achieve the ideals in our Constitution, it needs a coherent plan that can shape its programmes, priorities and budgets. But it needs more than that. It needs a capable and effective state, sound institutions, an active electorate and strong partnerships between social actors. In other words, we should aim to build a developmental state with strategic, political, administrative and technical capacities to lead the nation in social development (South Africa. Presidency, 2009: 8).

The future planning, development and management of our 'urban regions'[3] is currently and will, in future, be radically affected by a number of urbaning[4] and reworlding[5] processes such as, the scale of urban growth, the urbanisation of poverty, regionalism, globalisation, the rise of global city regions, democratisation, trans-nationalism (see also Coetzee & Serfontein, 2002: 2-4; Carnoy, 2001: 22-23; Allmendinger & Chapman, 1999: 5; Castells, 2000; Castells, 2001; Hill & Kim, 2000: 2167-2172).

In addition to these processes and trends, many urban regions are grappling with environmental threats, the energy crisis, possible effects of global warming, worldwide economic recession and the challenges of the global economy. In addition, South Africa also has to deal with other issues such as shaking off and escaping the wake of the grand apartheid: (re)structuring the fragmented urban regions, providing quality shelter to the growing

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population, addressing backlogs, and the alleviation of poverty in line with very bold targets (see also Schoonraad, 2000: 252).

These escalating urban/regional/global forces and development pressures have not only complicated the urban condition, but also require from planners, governments, city leaders and all development role players to radically rethink the way in which regions are planned, developed and managed – hence, the need for a new developmental local state, and a new developmental style of urban planning and management.

2. THE 'NEW' DEVELOPMENTAL (STATE) CONTEXT

In order to provide a better understanding of the challenges facing local governments and the role of municipal development planning in the development process, the following section presents an overview of the broader developmental context – more specifically the Neo-Liberal development trends and the developmental state model, which in recent years informed development thinking and processes in many parts of the world.

The Neo-Liberal reform agenda introduced by Margaret Thatcher in the late seventies had a major influence on promoting a more developmental and entrepreneurial type of municipal governance, urban management and planning. The notion of New Public Management (NPM) which developed during the 1980s in the UK, mainly as a result of this Neo-Liberal reform agenda, introduced and emphasised, among others, the role of private sector in municipal affairs; performance management and performance agreement systems; goal-directed budgeting; greater flexibility for managers, and the greater use of market mechanisms such as privatisation and public-private partnerships in service provision (Harrison, 2002: 178; Taylor, 1998: 140; Allmendinger & Chapman, 1999: 94).

Closely related to NPM and Thatcher's initial drive towards the 'debeaurac-ratisation' of local government is the notion of 'new managerialism' (Atkinson in Allmendinger & Chapman, 1999: 70). New managerialism is primarily associated with profound institutional transformations aimed at transforming and reinventing local government, to free up markets and to translate service functions and practices into a more effective performance-based system. David Harvey in Taylor (1998: 140) refers to the shift in the style of urban governance from the overly 'managerial approach' of the 1960s to the 'entrepreneurial' approach of the 1980s. Taylor (1998: 130) also refers to the impact of the New Right ideas and New Right thinking that developed after Margaret Thatcher became leader of the Conservative Party in 1975. Although there seem to be different opinions and a multitude of theories on what is meant by 'New Right', Allmendinger (2002: 93-94) argues that the New Right is based on a combination and 'genuine infusion' of two traditional separate approaches of the political right, namely a market-oriented competitive state (liberalism), and an authoritarian strong state (conservatism) – hence the reference to the prefix 'new'.

These neo-liberal movements also had a major impact on the development of the planning policy (Taylor, 1998: 138, 140; Allmendinger & Chapman, 1999: 107-108), and have contributed in making urban planning more developmental and entrepreneurial (Taylor, 1998: 131,139; Allmendinger, 2002: 94). It promoted planning as a tool to enhance urban efficiency and productivity (Burgess, Carmona & Kolstee, 1997: 79), and ultimately entrenched planning as an integral part of the municipal development processes on all levels of government (Coetzee, 2005: 51). According to Atkinson in Allmendinger & Chapman (1999: 74), this neo-liberalism was also a positive move to restructure (local) governments in the direction of the 'facilitate or enabling state'. Shibata (2008: 93) argues that "although neo liberalism seems

1 Exploratory research has become a popular research method in social sciences, specifically in cases where little information is available on the subject matter. The exploratory inquiry that informed this article was to a large extent characterised by a literature study on international and local developmental state principles as well as some related developmental principles as far as their relevance for municipal development planning (the main focus of the subject). It should also be noted that the author of this article, as a 'participant observer' and researcher, has been extensively involved with the following: research on the transformation of municipal development planning in the City of Tshwane during the period 1992-2002 (see Coetzee, 2005); a recent research study on the implications of the developmental state for the City of Tshwane in 2008 (see Oranje & Coetzee, 2008), and ongoing training and discussions with managers and development professionals in various local authorities such as Tshwane, Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, Mbombela, Emalahleni, Mkondo, and Metsweding.

2 Dipatlisiso tsa thuto di bile mokgwa o tummeng wa dipatlisiso ho dithuto tsa disaense tsa phedisano (social sciences), haholoholo ditabeng tseo ho tsona ho fumanwang lesedi le seng le kae tabeng ya sehlooho. Patlisiso ya thuto ena e tsebisitseng ka ditaba tsena e hlahisitswe haholohoholo ke thuto ya dingolwa maikutlong a Matjhaba le Mmuso wa Lehae wa Ntshetsopele ekasitana le maikutlo a mang hape a amang le ntshetsopele ho ya kamoo di bonahalang di tsamaisana tumellno le tsona moralong wa Ntshetsopele wa Mmasepala (ntho eo ho tsepamisitsweng mahlo ho yona). Ho elwe hloko hape hore mongodi wa ditaba tsena, jwalo ka 'motho ya kenetseng' mme mmatlisisi a sebetsana le yena ka matla: dipatlisiso ka ha diphetoho tsa mralo wa ntshetsopele wa mmasepala ka hara motsemoholo wa Tshwane nakong ya dilemo tsa 1992 ho ya ho 2002 (bona Coetzee, 2005), thuto ya dipatlisiso e sa tswa etswa haufinyana ya mathata a Mmuso wa Ntshetsopele a motsemoholo wa Tshwane selemong sa 2008 (bona Oranje & Coetzee), ekasitana le thupelo eo e ntseng e tswela pele le dipuisano le batsamaisi le ditsebi tse phahameng mafapheng a fapafapaneng a jwalo ka: Tshwane, Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, Mbombela, Emalahleni, Mkondo le Metsweding."… emplacement [of a city] in the vast global network [i.e. globalisation] … that increasingly absorbs, everyone, everywhere, into commonly shared economic and cultural rhythms" (Soja, 2000: 152, 218).

3 Very often confusion is created when reference is made to urban areas, municipal areas, cities, city regions, regions, towns, *etc*. The following questions are often asked: What is the extent or boundaries of these defined areas? Does it include the districts or the rural areas or peripheral settlements and satellite villages? For the purpose of this article, reference is made to the framed concept of an [urban region], which can be described as the whole area in and around a core settlement, city, town, region – including the rural, peripheral and satellites in the larger urban region.

4 Urbaning' is a term coined by Coetzee & Serfontein (2002: 2). Urbaning refers to the complex, ongoing and dynamic changing processes, within and outside urban areas, which impact on, or are impacted upon, by the process of becoming evermore urban.

5 'Reworlding'/'worlding' is a term originally devised by Ian Chambers and often used in postmodern discourses on cities to describe the effects of the "… emplacement [of a city] in the vast global network [i.e. globalisation] … that increasingly absorbs, everyone, everywhere, into commonly shared economic and cultural rhythms" (Soja, 2000: 152, 218).

diametrically opposed to the development state ideology at first glance, actually existing developmental states in East Asia have vigorously applied neo liberal logic to their planning policy during the last two decades".

The term 'developmental state' was first coined by Chalmers Johnson, a U.S. Asian studies scholar. In 1982, after having completed groundbreaking research projects for the Japan Ministry for Trade and Industry (MITI), Johnson published "*MITI and the Japanese Miracle*". For him, the critical element of the developmental state was not its economic policy, but its ability to mobilise the nation with respect to economic development within the capitalist system. Unlike a free market approach, the concept 'developmental state' is generally used to mean a state that drives development (Johnson, 1999: 53).

The concept 'developmental state' means that each side uses the other in a mutually beneficial relationship to achieve developmental goals and enterprise viability. When the developmental state is working well, neither the state official nor the civilian enterprise managers prevail over the other (Johnson, 1999: 60).

Since the 1980s, the concept of the developmental state (as well as the principles of Neo-liberalism and NPM) gained a new meaning and momentum when some East Asian countries started with the radical (re)development and reinvention of their countries, economies and communities. Johnson (1995: 67) states that the 'capitalist developmental state' or 'catalytic state' was pioneered in Japan and 'duplicated' in various other ways in South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, and later Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia. These countries which have in recent years performed extraordinarily in terms of economic successes, community development, investment and export, domestic savings, partnership building, as well as learning and innovation have succeeded in (re)positioning themselves strategically in the global arena. These countries, which are frequently referred to as 'developmental states', have also been branded as the so-called 'Asian Tigers' in view of their rugged performances and successes (Rapley, 2002: 118). According to Johnson (1995: 67), these countries illustrated to the rest of the world that "the state can play an important role in the market economies well beyond the roles envisioned in laissez-faire economics". Following a somewhat different development trajectory and perhaps a different development philosophy, the Celtic countries (Ireland, Wales and Scotland), also referred to as the 'Celtic Tigers', have in recent years also shown remarkable economic progress (in terms of the Developmental State).

In an attempt to unravel the somewhat hazy concept of the development state, with the hope of arriving at a common set of principles or characteristics, various international and local readings and debates on this concept have been cited (see Rapley, 2002: 119-220; Mhone, 2003: 18-68; Johnson, 1995; Johnson, 1999; Leftwich, 1994; Woo-Cummings, 1999: 1-31; Shibata, 2008: 93-118; Bolesta, 2000:105-111; Castells, 2000; Mhone & Edigheji, 2003a; Mhone & Edigheji, 2003b; Edigheji, 2005: 1-18; Southall, 2007; Oranje & Coetzee, 2008: 8-12; South Africa. Presidency, 2009; Mayibuye, 1996; CoGTA, 2009a; CoGTA, 2009b; Freund, 2006: online; Fine, 2007: online; Bagchi, 2000: online: 398, 432; Tilley, 2010: 16-17; Chang, 2010). From the literature it appears that the developmental state means different things to different people, both in debate and in practice, and does not enjoy any clear consensus regarding its meaning and purpose (Fine, 2007: online; Chang, 2010; Tilley, 2010: 16-17). Although there is a very strong link between the developmental state (and Chalmers Johnson) and the success stories of the so-called 'Asian Tigers', various scholars argue that the actual performance of these countries were also spurred on by a number of other 'non-developmental state' principles such as the particular cultures, values and education levels of the Asian people (Castells, 2000: 195), and the collapse of communism that resulted in a shift of emphasis from social goals to market performance (Johnson, 1995: 68). On the other hand, various scholars also argue that the notion 'development state' is not a new ideology that emerged in the 1980s, that the principles of the development state have been part of governments' political and economic policies for many years in many capitalist countries, and that the developmental state principles have played a major role, since the sixteenth century, in propelling the development of economies and societies in major regions of the world (Bagchi, 2000: online: 398, 432; see also Chang, 2010). Rapley (2002: 17, 113) also refers to the 'new school of development', and argues that developmental state is a state theory that revived a very old idea of the infant-industry model. He also refers to the notion of New Institutionalism and the new role of the state in capitalist society where markets require a detailed institutional framework that is not situated within a vacuum. The confusion regarding the development state is further highlighted in references to the various types of developmental states such as the democratic developmental state (Edigheji, 2005: 1-18); the authoritarian developmental state (Fine, 2007: online); the developmental welfare state, the classical developmental state (Chang, 2010), and the developmental network state that has spurred development in the USA since the Second World War (Chang, 2010). In addition, there appear to be various political, social and economic perspectives and nuances on developmental states (Fine, 2007: online). Bolesta (2000: 105), who took a much broader political and ideological view on this concept, argues that the developmental state is positioned between the liberal open economy model and the central planned model. He states that it is neither capitalist nor socialist, but is rather based on the positive aspects and advantages of private business and the role that government plays.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the idea of the development state is strongly debated and contested, and there are many different versions of the concept. This makes it difficult to frame a definition or a common set of criteria, principles or characteristics. However, based on the literature study, the following developmental principles or trends appear to have dominated many developmental state debates and discussions, specifically in terms of the successful development practices of the Asian Tigers: a state with a particular and appropriate leadership structure; an active and strong central state with a particular organisational architecture; a state with strategic entrepreneurial focus, vision and orientation; an entrepreneurial state machine that thinks and works like a business; an export-oriented state with strong international partners; a learned and attuned state (society) with high levels of competency and skills, and an embedded state that is in close contact with the people.

3. TOWARDS A (MORE) DEVELOPMENTAL SOUTH AFRICA

Following the transformation in South Africa in 1994, the government has made various attempts to 'apply' these Neo-Liberal principles, the principles of NPM, developmental planning and to some extent developmental state, and to develop a new performance-driven system that was able to reconstruct and develop the new South Africa and a system that could stimulate growth and development in all sectors (see also Harrison, 2002: 178; Coetzee, 2005: 51-52; Mhone, 2003: 45-49). Since 1994, a vast number of Government Papers, Acts and Policies aimed at facilitating growth and development in all sectors were published. Of particular importance to this issue (and the developmental state) are the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (1994); the Development Facilitation Act (1995); the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) (1996); the new focus on a more performance-driven local government system and the concept of 'developmental local government' (initially promoted by the Constitution [1996] and finally entrenched by the White Paper on Local Government [1998]); the 'new' focus on Integrated Development Planning (IDP) (1997-2000); the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (Asgisa) (2006); the recent efforts by the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, and the new focus of the Presidency on National Strategic Planning, see respectively ANC (1994); South Africa (1995); Department of Finance, RSA (1996); South Africa (1996); South Africa (1998); South Africa (2000); South Africa. Presidency (2006); CoGTA (2009d); CoGTA (2009e); South Africa. Presidency (2009).

This article argues that these development streams emerged and developed under tremendous transformational pressures and, to some extent, separate from the real (new) developmental (state) context. These could be some of the reasons why developmental functions in government are so fragmented and confused, why government has not performed effectively in terms of the developmental goals and economic growth targets (see Manuel, 2009; Chang, 2010), and why local government is dysfunctional in many respects (see Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs [CoGTA], 2009d)

CoGTA (2009c) states that local governments are in distress, that the current model of local government is not working, and that "many municipalities are not in a position to meet their developmental mandate." In a recent assessment (State of Local Government Report [SLGR] (2009) by CoGTA in all nine provinces of the country to assess the performance and problems of local authorities and the 'state of local government' a range of problems and threats were identified, *viz*. poor service delivery, poor spatial conditions, poor governance with specific reference to leadership, institutional organisational deficiencies, lack of capacity and skills, poor monitoring and reporting, serious financial problems, poor intergovernmental relations, corruption, fraud and maladministration, political parties undermining the functioning of municipal councils, power play, and political infighting (see CoGTA, 2009d; CoGTA, 2009e: 17-18). CoGTA (2009e: 18) also remarks that local government is failing the poor, they are not performing and they are not accountable to citizens. Fortunately, it now appears that Government and other development role players are starting to recognise the developmental gaps and deficiencies in government and related development processes.

During 2009, the Department of Cooperative Government and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA) made great strides to (re)position local governments in South Africa in terms of the developmental state and to improve the developmental performance of local governments. Based on the State of Local Government Report (SLGR), CoGTA (2009e: 18-22) identified a number of strategic objectives, and has developed the so-called Local Government Turnaround Strategy (LGTAS). This strategy, which is regarded as a high-level government-wide strategy, aims to build clean, effective, efficient, responsive and accountable local government; improve performance and professionalism in municipalities; improve national and provincial policy, oversight and support, and strengthen partnerships between local government, communities and civil society. These goals set by CoGTA must certainly be a step in the direction of improving the developmental performance of Local Government.

The President of South Africa, President J.G. Zuma, in his State of the Nation Address in Cape Town in 2009, stated that "a developmental state requires the improvement of public services and strengthening of democratic institutions." President Zuma has established two Ministries in the Presidency to strengthen both strategic planning and performance monitoring and evaluation. During September 2009, the (new) Presidency's office under the leadership of Minister Trevor Manuel published (for public comment) a new *Green Paper on National Strategic Planning*, which, although still in the infant stage, must certainly be regarded as a giant leap in the direction of not only a developmental state, but also towards a possible new developmental planning system that could facilitate development as envisaged by the developmental state (see South Africa. Presidency, 2009).

4. MOVING ON

In recent years, people from various sectors and disciplines have presented experiences, arguments and viewpoints on the notion of developmental state and the new developmental role of government in South Africa (see Mhone, 2003; Mhone & Edigheji, 2003; Edigheji, 2005; Southall, 2007; Oranje & Coetzee, 2008: 8-12; South Africa. Presidency, 2009; Mayibuye, 1996; CoGTA, 2009a; CoGTA, 2009b; Tilley, 2010; Chang, 2010; Manuel, 2009; Freund, 2006: online). Despite various attempts to improve the understanding of the new developmental (state) context, specifically in the democratic South Africa, there is still confusion as to the role of government in the process of promoting growth and development (see Manuel, 2009; Freund, 2006: online; Chang, 2010; CoGTA, 2009c; CoGTA, 2009d; CoGTA, 2009e) on the role of municipal development planning in the development process.

Although some progress has been made (on policy level) to turn South Africa towards a developmental state, much work and research is still needed to unpack and address the challenges facing such a transformation.

Minister Trevor Manuel stated: "… we must ensure that there is a greater certainty about the role of the state, in other words, we need a greater level of certainty about the developmental state" (Manuel, 2009). Freund (2006: online) also stated that, although South Africa has a vision for a developmental

state, it is too narrowly based, and its implications are not understood by governors. Mhone & Edigheji (2003b: 349, 360), within the context of the developmental state and South Africa, also argue that more creative and bolder policies (related to democratisation, governance and economic policy) are needed in order to proactively promote substantive democracy and good governance; promote sustainable human development; challenge the global order; promote inclusive and broad-based growth, and establish effective and appropriate institutionalised participatory and consultative cooperative forms of government.

If South Africa intends to become a development state or wishes to perform in terms of its developmental mandate, it is imperative that the local government sector (which is the closest to the people, and responsible for the development of urban regions where development is most prolific), radically increases its developmental performance. CoGTA (2009e) states: "The aims of democratising our society and growing our economy inclusively can only be realised through a responsible, accountable, effective and efficient Local Government system that is part of a Developmental State".

Although the success stories of many East Asian countries were realised under fairly undemocratic governments, South Africa with its relatively new democracy will have to find ways to reconcile the democratic state with a developmental state and to strengthen the link between government and civil society in order to move towards a "democratic development state" (Edigheji, 2005: 1-18), or a "developmental democracy" (Mhone, 2003: 39).

While it is realised that it is not the responsibility of a country such as South Africa to clone any other successful planning or development model, it is also realised that we can and should learn from other countries' models and best practices in an attempt to at least seek those (best) principles and practices that are applicable to our unique situation. CoGTA also argues that "There are many useful lessons that can be learned from a close study of the Asian Tigers. But it would be a gross error to imagine that we should, or even that we could, simply copy this kind of example. A simple imitation is neither desirable, nor possible" (Mayibuye, 1996; see also Chang, 2010). Chang (2010), who also supports the need for South Africa to learn from other developmental best practices, emphasises that South Africa will have to work out its own strategy that is best suited for the specific needs of the country.

If one observes the challenges facing government and urban regions, the new developmental context as well as the developmental gaps in the current local government system, it is obvious that a major turnaround is needed – to 'move on' from a 'dysfunctional developmental local government' towards a 'developmental local state.' Such a turnaround will involve a multiple approaches, the efforts of various government departments, as well as the active involvement of leaders, developmental role players, communities and business.

4.1 Strong and appropriate leadership

Developmental states and successful developmental countries and cities are characterised by exceptional, appropriate and skilled leadership that is supported by sufficient organisational capacity rooted in structures and systems that are able to facilitate the realisation of its objectives. In many developmental states the political systems usually allow the bureaucracy sufficient room to take the initiative, to intervene in the markets and to act effectively (see also Oranje & Coetzee, 2008).

In South Africa, too often municipalities are led and managed by inexperienced and incapable mayors, municipal managers or sector managers, or managers and leaders who are neither trained nor equipped to perform the developmental role that is required from them (see also CoGTA, 2009d). Political appointments are often characterised by a political leadership that only focuses on specific agendas, geographic areas or limited time frames rather than on the bigger picture, the longer term goals or broader developmental agenda. Leaders are often criticised for not supporting the planning processes and planning development initiatives and not for effectively communicating and liaising with personnel, communities and business, ultimately resulting in a lack of support from these role players (Coetzee, 2005). There should be no doubt that, if local government wants to become more developmental, they will have to (re)focus their leadership, not only at the top, but also within all levels and sectors of the organisation as well as in the community.

4.2 A specific organisational architecture

Developmental states are characterised by a strong central state. Mayibuye (1996) argues that the active and key role of the state in the economy is one of the most important characteristics of the 'Asian Tiger' growth path. Unlike some perceptions that a 'strong central state' is a large bureaucracy, the prevailing view seems to be that a 'strong central state' can be one with a small, yet highly qualified and dedicated bureaucracy (see Oranje & Coetzee, 2008). A developmental state is further characterised by a specific institutional architecture that is structured and designed to facilitate growth and development in conjunction with the private sector and society.

In South Africa many municipal planning systems are struggling to function in a set-up that does not allow flexibility and innovation. Planning systems can be 'as good as it gets' but if these systems are not protected and supported by appropriate organisational structures and processes, it will be difficult for planning systems and planners to effectively facilitate developmental planning. For local government to fulfil its developmental responsibilities as discussed in this article, it not only has to restructure and improve the local government system, but it will also have to develop and structure a specific organisational set-up that can support development planning, and the facilitation and ongoing management of planning and development processes – specifically within the ambit of the developmental (local) state.

The majority of municipalities in South Africa do not have dedicated departments (or properly equipped departments) responsible for development planning and development facilitation. As such developmental planning and implementation is mostly done in a

6 This aspect was identified as a major issue in the City of Tshwane (Oranje & Coetzee, 2008), and various officials and managers in many other municipalities in Limpopo, Gauteng and Mpumalanga provinces witnessed that a similar situation occurs in these provinces.

fragmented way by sector departments in the typical silo or pyramid type of organisational structure. These silo structures make it difficult not only to integrate planning across the various sectors but also to develop integrated strategies and to harness different sectors to work towards common goals[6].

4.3 Strategic focus and vision

Developmental states are not only inspired by bold visions, but they (and all that is attached to them) are also aligned with and orientated towards the vision. These visions have supporting development strategies that are usually characterised by a strong, strategic and entrepreneurial focus. Unlike some 'non-developmental states' where visions are mostly viewed as unrealistic statements, intended mainly to inspire state or municipal efforts, developmental states actively mobilise all social and business partners to work for the realisation of their vision. In these states, visions and supporting development objectives are not only shared and supported by the larger communities and business, but these communities are also willing and committed to make the required sacrifices to realise the visions and development objectives.

In South Africa, many visioning processes (including the strategy formulation processes) are too often defined by the limited boundaries of the IDP or the isolated sector departments (silos) and often lack real innovation, strategic focus and the involvement and participation of the business sector, which is regarded as a key role player in the developmental state. Ongoing assessments of various IDPs in the country revealed that the typical IDP visions are, in most cases, too broad and not sufficiently specific to effectively direct and facilitate development in the appropriate areas; they do not have the content to excite and motivate communities, stakeholders and business to move towards a specific desired future state.

4.4 Entrepreneurial and business focus

Developmental states are highly successful 'businesses' with high levels of domestic savings. These states are successful in prioritising economic development and mobilising capital and civil society around it by ensuring broad-based benefits from growth. The one characteristic all developmental states seem to share is the strong and persistent involvement by the State in the economy. These states aggressively intervene in the market economy by supporting, establishing and promoting massive state-owned enterprises and support programmes for local industries, *etc*. Rapley (2002: 18) also mentions an interventionist state – typically one that plays a more active role in the economy compared to the neoclassical theory. Mayibuye (1996) refers to the 'highly interventionist state' which is used to leverage development and investment through active carrot-and-stick measures (see also Woo-Cummings, 1999: xi-xii). These interventions are strongly associated with extraordinary industrial development policies and strategies, the development of national and international flagship industries, and the development of strong export-oriented industries and economies as well as strong protection measures and strategies to protect export initiatives and markets.

The question can be asked whether the South African Government and local authorities are really geared and equipped to aggressively intervene in the market economy and whether they have the policies and strategies to engage in these types of markets, and if they do, whether such policies and strategies are supported and implemented effectively?

When examining the developmental principles and the new expanded focus on developmental performance, as discussed in this article, it is argued that development professionals, managers and politicians will have to acquire an entrepreneurial mindset, attitude and a developmental culture as well as a more positive and flexible approach towards development in general. This means that they will have to start thinking and talking, more in terms of a new positive, inspiring language – a language that is rather associated with development and not so much controlling or inhibiting development.

4.5 Partnerships and networking

One of the core components of the developmental state (and of many successful cities in the world) is the way in which these states and cities have engaged with development affairs – globally and locally – and form coalitions, joint ventures and partnerships with the private sector, big business, global companies and organised labour in realising the development objectives. These business relations are usually supported by strong, well-established international networks and ongoing international relationship-building, marketing and communication.

Although this aspect is supported by, among others, the South African Cities Network (2006), not enough is done in government and local authorities to establish appropriate business relations with international trade partners. A possible reason for this could be that many municipalities have not yet realised or bought into the new possible developmental role; they have not yet realised the developmental opportunities, and certainly are not structured and geared to enable them to effectively engage with partnerships, joint ventures, development corporations, *etc*.

Apart from such coalitions it is also important for local government to initiate and promote the establishment of new development forums, development task teams in different sectors and to open up communication channels between the local government, communities, organised labour and the business sectors – not only to build relationships but also to establish new ways of collaborating in the development campaign. An aspect that also needs to be highlighted in this context is that of intergovernmental relations and intergovernmental relations forums (IGR forums), which are promoted by the *Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act* (2005) (South Africa, 2005). This act mainly promotes the relationship building, cooperation and integration between the various spheres of government and the government sector departments (see also Oranje & Coetzee, 2008). Without such relations and effective collaboration governments will find it difficult to perform in terms of the development responsibilities. Poor intergovernmental relations and collaboration could also make it difficult for governments (at all levels) to build relations 'outside' the institutions and across the borders.

4.6 High levels of competency and skills

Developmental states regard education, training and skills development in all sectors of the society and economy as a prerequisite, not only for the stability of the society but also for the growth and development of the country.

It is obvious that the developmental processes and challenges have changed radically in recent years. The new (global) developmental, integrated and multi-faceted nature of development (and development planning) increasingly requires the inputs, active participation and involvement of various role players such as officials and managers from various sector departments (in all levels of government), municipal councillors, community organisations and business, and development professionals. To fully engage with the planning and development processes, these role players will have to become more learned and attuned with the current development trends and practices. This implies, among others, that more efforts should be made to expose role players in the development process not only to the dynamics and ever increasing challenges of the urban/regional environments, but also to the escalating global challenges facing the urban regions (and the new developmental (state) context. Development professions, managers, officials and decision-makers will have to develop and expand their knowledge and skills with respect to new development processes, the dynamics of the urban space economy and the developmental imperatives that are necessary for stimulating growth and development as presented in this article.

Closely related to the above, is the aspect of research, innovation, networking and sharing – and the development of local and international best practices. Local governments as well as other spheres of government should investigate measures to become more attuned to the emerging and rapidly changing developmental agenda. This could, for instance, be done through closer and more active collaboration between government, planning institutions, and tertiary and research institutions. The cyber space technology also presents various opportunities for institutions to communicate, collaborate, benchmark, share knowledge, experience and ideas through planning and development websites or development portals – an aspect that has not been exploited by local governments in South Africa.

4.7 An embedded[7] system that is in close contact with the people

Within the context of the developmental state, Mhone & Edigheji (2003b: 359) refer to a hand-in-glove relationship between the state and civil society.[8] A developmental state is well embedded with its communities, the private sector, the big business and labour organisations. These states understand that growth and development can only be successfully achieved through proper relations with the society, meaningful consultation, negotiation and cooperation with the larger society. The embedded state is usually intimately involved with the society and attuned to its needs. In line with bold growth and development targets, developmental states regard massive social investment as a high priority. The state goes through great lengths to invest substantially in health care and education – primary, secondary and tertiary – and uses major interventions to address poverty, unemployment and inequality. In an attempt to protect, stabilise, sustain and develop the society, which is considered an important partner in the development process, the state will often exercise certain measures of control, monitoring and discipline.[9] However, this is of a paternal and caring rather than an authoritative nature.

Since 1994, various attempts have been made to bring planning and local government in closer contact with the people and to involve communities in the various phases of the planning and development process through, for instance, the ward committees and stakeholder forums. However, despite these efforts the municipal processes and, in particular, the IDP processes, while attempting to consult communities in the processes, did not effectively succeed in 'embedding' the planning processes within the community. In many cases the consultation was done on an *ad hoc* basis without involving all the interested and affected parties. Within the context of the developmental challenges, businesses were often neglected and not involved in IDP, spatial planning and policy processes. An embedded local government (and municipal planning system), however, is more than merely consultation and participation; it implies a type of system that is firmly embedded within the society, and a system that intimately links municipal planning and development processes with the role players, communities and alliances, that are, or have the potential to become developmental change agents or stimulants for growth and socio-economic change. These links and relationships are usually established and maintained through well-structured connections and formal mechanisms such as partnerships, forums and communication hot lines. An embedded system implies a system not only where the authorities (or planners) are in close contact with the society, but also where society (and business) is in close contact with the government and its systems and processes. An embedded system not only has the potential to strengthen relationships and trust between the various developmental role players, but is also important for building a sustainable community. There is little doubt that a solid sustainable community that is catered for properly and a community that is allowed sufficient space and opportunities to participate and grow has to be regarded as an imperative to successful and sustainable development. An embedded planning system also has the potential to prioritise needs and social investments more effectively – an aspect that is pivotal to municipal

7 The term 'embedded autonomy', which is frequently used in debates on developmental state, derives from Peter Evans (a scholar from Latin America) who argues that "for bureaucracy to be called developmental, it had to effectively 'embedded' in society – through a concrete set of connections that link the state intimately and aggressively to particular social groups with whom the state shares a joint project of transformation" (Woo-Cummings, 1999: 15). Mhone (2003: 40) also uses the term embeddedness – "where the states are part of broader alliances with key social groups which are themselves the stimulus to socio-economic change".

8 See also Edigheji (2005: 1-18) on the relationship between democracy, development and the developmental state.

9 "In many of these countries the media is often subjected to very tight controls, with freedom of expression not viewed as important a right as it is viewed in many Western societies. Information about events and especially disasters in some of these countries is tightly guarded, and only released once it has been cleared by a central state apparatus. In others the Internet is closely monitored and policed, with access to certain sites often restricted" (Oranje & Coetzee, 2008: 12).

planning and local governance and the developmental state.

4.8 A robust developmental planning system

If one argues that municipal development planning is an inseparable part of municipal management or the state architecture, then municipal development planning has to be a key development instrument in supporting government's developmental goals (see also CoGTA, 2009a). It is, however, obvious and unfortunate that municipal development planning (and the powerful role it can play in development) is to some extent divorced from the developmental (state) debates.[10] Manuel (2009), however, refers to the planning responsibilities of government departments and agencies, stating that "we must engage in an entirely new approach to development planning".

While it is argued that much progress has been made over the past 15 years to transform urban planning and to expand the developmental properties of planning through, for instance, the IDP processes, and the Development Facilitation Act (1995), it is also argued that not enough was done to align planning processes and the planning profession with the emerging developmental agenda and the developmental state as discussed in this article.

The South African planning system is also characterised and somewhat dominated by a rigid, archaic 'development control' system which in many instances hampers development instead of facilitating it. On the other hand, the Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs), which are intended not only to guide development, but also to prioritise and facilitate development (according to the Local Government: Municipal Planning and Performance Management Regulations, 2001), are still battling to shake off the rigid blueprint qualities of apartheid structure planning. In many cases SDFs merely present a status quo analysis and description of current spatial patterns and future land uses and do not reflect the more strategic development priorities and opportunities within the larger urban space economy. When locating these planning systems within the context of a developmental local government, it is somewhat worrying to note that the spatial planning system is still isolated and divorced from the city's vision, development goals and priorities (and the IDP).[11]

In its current guise, with its rigid and structured process, the IDP system (the municipal planning and management tool that was intended to facilitate development) has yet to prove its ability to facilitate the type of development that is urgently required. The IDP has become an octopus with too many tentacles – a system that has not only created confusion and frustration in local governments, but an impoverished system that is not well understood, supported and respected by the leaders and participants, and a system with no/limited capacity and funds (in most cases).

Despite all the critique on the IDP system, which in recent years has experienced a painful transformation and development process, it is, however, not suggested that the IDP system be abandoned and replaced with a new one. On the contrary, the IDP could, in view of its integrated, participatory and (potentially) strategic and developmental nature, be the ideal mechanism to make planning, (state) government, our regions and country more developmental, and to create ultimate sustainable human development as envisaged by the developmental state. This, however, requires that the IDP and the 'D' in the IDP will have to be elevated to a different level. It also implies that the IDP will have to be operated within a larger developmental (and global) context, as presented in this article. The IDP can only fulfil a developmental function if it becomes an integral part of not only the various governments (alignment) but also the society (embedded) and more specifically the private sector and business communities (partnerships for implementation). In addition, the IDP should move away from being merely a 'municipal tool' to rather becoming an urban region planning and development tool – or development facilitator.

A glance at the developmental agenda and challenges facing this country leaves little doubt that the time has come to 'move on' and to move the planning debates away from the rigid comprehensive IDP (phases), the ponderous and rigid land use processes, and blueprint structure plans, to a larger facilitative, activist and developmental debate in line with the developmental principles or the goals of the developmental state.

4.9 Appropriate developmental planning legislation

It is also ironic to note that 15 years after the transformation, no new national planning Acts have been promulgated.[12] In an attempt to develop new planning legislation a Green Paper on Development and Planning was published in 1999 and, as reflected by its title (and contents), it refers to the developmental context. However, this developmental focus was reduced by the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001), and the Land Use Management Bill (2008) with the overly focus on spatial planning and land use management, which certainly does not sufficiently reflect the new developmental emphasis. After 9 years in which few attempts were made to finalise and promulgate the planning act, there now seems to be some effort to bring it to a close. It is hoped, however, that this new planning legislation will also capture the new developmental mandate of planning and planners in South Africa. This also raises the following questions: Who is to blame for this poor performance? Is it the former Department of Land Affairs (current Department of Rural Development

10 The CoGTA Turnaround Strategy, for instance, hardly mentions the role of municipal development planning in the government's planning and development processes. Some reference was made in passing to review policies (p. 20), the role of the SDF "to guide land use activities" (p. 20), national and provincial commitments in IDPs (p. 23), the need to simplify the IDP (p. 23), and implementation of support programmes for spatial planning (p. 30) (see CoGTA, 2009(e): 20, 23, 30).

11 It should be noted that the author has been involved in the assessment and review of many SDFs in various parts of the country.

12 Although it had a major impact on planning processes and principles, the Development Facilitation Act (1995) is not a fully fledged planning Act and was developed primarily to speed up development. The Municipal Systems Act (2000), although it also deals with some planning issues, cannot be regarded as a planning Act. Apart from the Planning Professions Act (2002a) which mostly deals with the planning profession, the only other efforts to develop proper planning legislation were the Green Paper on Development and Planning (1999); the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001), and the Land Use Management Bill (2008).

and Land Reform) or the South African Council for Planners, or both? Is the planning portfolio located within the appropriate national department? Is this poor performance not also the result of confusing roles and responsibilities in the various national departments dealing with planning, for example The South African Presidency, CoGTA, the Department of Rural Development and Land Affairs, and the Department of Sustainable Human Settlements?

This confusion regarding roles within the planning context can also be further emphasised when examining the recent, very interesting and controversial DFA debate and court case (Constitutional Court of South Africa, 2010a: Case CCT 89/09; Constitutional court of South Africa, 2010b: ZACC 11, [2010]), between City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality and the Gauteng Development Tribunal (first respondent and others).[13]

The Constitutional Court's judgement implies, among others, that the DFA Tribunal may still consider applications in terms of the DFA for a period of 24 months (subject to certain conditions), and until such time when appropriate new legislation is drafted to supplement or replace the DFA. However, no new applications may be considered in respect of Johannesburg and eThekwini (see Constitutional Court of South Africa, 2010a; Constitutional Court of South Africa, 2010b).

When examining the initial goals of the Developmental Facilitation Act (1995), namely to speed up development, as well as the DFA application processes with respect to land use changes and township establishment and the developmental role of the (DFA) tribunals in promoting sustainable development, it is obvious that this 'provincial' process and function have played a major role in facilitating development as envisaged by a typical developmental state or developmental local government.

However, this judgement also reconfirms the developmental role and responsibilities of Local Government and municipalities in the planning and development process and the need for municipalities to change processes and systems in order to speed up and facilitate development. This announcement and judgement by the Constitutional Court is expected to open up new debates on whether municipalities are geared to facilitate development application processes. This judgement can also be regarded as an important 'wake-up call' for local authorities to streamline their application processes in terms of their developmental responsibilities, and for the national government to 'get their act together' (literally and figuratively), to sort out their roles and functions, and to finalise the long overdue planning legislation.

5. CONCLUSION

It is recognised that over the past 15 years the South African government has made significant progress to transform local government and municipal development planning. Various new development-related policies and acts were drafted and many efforts were made to improve the developmental performance of local government. It is, however, argued that, although much progress was made on policy level, not enough was done in practice to improve the developmental performance of the urban regions.

The South African government has now come to terms with the developmental state. Various efforts are being made on national level to align the government's vision and development goals with the new (global) developmental (state) context (see South Africa. Presidency, 2009; Manuel, 2009; Zuma, 2009). While this is regarded as a major step in the direction of a (new) democratic developmental South Africa (state), a major concern is the (developmental state/status) of local government and whether local government and its role players understand their role in the larger (new) developmental (state) context, and whether local government is ready 'to move' with national government.

The time has come to 'move on' from a 'dysfunctional' developmental local government towards a developmental local state.

If local authorities in South Africa want to become more developmental or developmental local states, and if local authorities want to support the developmental (state) goals of this country, they will have to increase their focus: improving the performance of the administration; developing and sustaining exceptional and appropriate leadership; building partnerships with society and business; reaching out to and embedding itself with(in) the various communities; investing substantially in people and social infrastructure; thinking, working and performing like a business rather than a bureaucracy; prioritising and exploiting development in all sectors of the society; aggressively intervening in the business sector and market economy; working and trading with international partners; ensuring an effective organisational structure that can facilitate development, and developing and maintaining sufficient and quality capacity and skills in the local government.

If one agrees that municipal development planning (and planners) also have a major role to play in the developmental state or the developmental agenda, specifically within the context of local government where sustainable human development is most prolific, then planners will have to reinvent themselves to become more entrenched with developmental affairs. This implies that planners will also have to 'move on' from the 'lazy, languid, lethargic LUMS', 'the IDP octopus', and the structured blueprint spatial plans in an attempt not only to bring planning back in the developmental arena, but also to enhance its position as a developmental profession.

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13 On 18 June 2010 the constitutional Court delivered judgement in an application by the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (the City) for the confirmation of an order made by the Supreme Court of Appeal, declaring Chapters V and VI of the Development Facilitation Act 67 of 1995 unconstitutional and thus invalid. Chapters V and VI of the Act were found to be constitutionally invalid as they assign exclusive municipal powers to organs of the provincial sphere of government. Section 156(1) of the Constitution (1996) affords municipalities original constitutional powers; this implies that a municipality has executive authority in respect of 'municipal planning' (Part B of Schedule 4), and has the right to administer certain listed local government matters (Part B of Schedule 4 and Part B of Schedule 5 of the Constitution). See Constitutional Court of South Africa (2010a); Constitutional Court of South Africa (2010b).

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