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Integrated Area Development Projects: Working Towards Innovation and Sustainability

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INTRODUCTION

There is growing interest in integrated area development projects as a way of responding to special problem areas, including ameliorating the geographic concentration of social and economic disadvantage. This is expressed through the move towards 'joined up' government and development 'in the round' at the local level; and new forms of area-based initiatives aimed at neighbourhood renewal and urban economic development. The growing influence of sustainability concepts and developmental approaches to housing and urban development is also leading to multi-faceted projects that incorporate economic, social and environmental dimensions. In the South African context, the interest in integrated area development manifests in the major urban renewal projects that are presently being mounted, and reflects a search for ways of achieving integrated development that are more grounded than the grand scale planning associated with Integrated Development Plans and Spatial Development Frameworks.

The promise of integrated area development projects is that they offer the space to initiate innovative approaches that promote integration and sustainability, and link planning closely to implementation. The local scale of projects allows for a development process based on an understanding of local needs, conditions, dynamics and potentials, and that includes local residents and stakeholders in a collaborative planning process. There is the potential to formulate projects based on an understanding of the way economic, social, bio-physical and spatial aspects of development problems are inter-related, and thus to formulate projects that move beyond a sectoral approach. Even where single issues such as housing are considered, cross-cutting concerns such as poverty, gender, sustainability and economic development can be incorporated. While special agencies are frequently involved in integrated area development projects, a variety of institutional forms have been adopted, and several agencies and departments may be involved. In these cases, it involves co-ordinated and mutually reinforcing actions, a common

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definition and understanding of the development problem, and an agreed overarching development strategy.

This paper questions whether integrated area development projects are able to meet these potentials—whether they provide effective vehicles for achieving integrated and sustainable development, and whether they represent innovative forms of planning practice. It considers the conditions for success, focusing particularly on institutional issues, and the limits and constraints facing these projects. The paper is based on an analysis of international experience and local case studies. It draws on a workshop held in Durban in 2001 in which this experience was analysed and debated.[1] The paper provides an overview of the main inputs into this workshop and its key findings. It begins by outlining the experience of integrated area development (IAD) internationally, examining both integrated area projects and various forms of area management. It explores the main ways in which integrated area development has been used internationally, and its varying institutional forms. Drawing on material presented at the workshop, the next section of the paper interrogates case studies of integrated area projects in Brisbane (Logan City), Cape Town (Landsdowne Road) and Durban (Warwick Junction and Cato Manor). The final section evaluates the experience of integrated area development projects in terms of the key questions, namely their contribution to integrated and sustainable development and innovative planning practice, the conditions for success, and the limits and constraints faced. The paper concludes by highlighting key findings.

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Internationally, integrated area development (IAD) is not new, although interest in it is growing and new approaches are emerging. While approaches to IAD are highly contextual, they are becoming broader, more integrated and more collaborative. The meaning of 'integrated development' has also changed over time, so that concepts of 'integrated development' are now more inclusive and multidimensional than once was the case. The institutional forms that IAD has taken on have also become more varied, ranging from special agencies to partnerships and looser initiatives.

The review that follows focuses largely on IAD centred on social or economic concerns, which might include biophysical dimensions. It is recognised, however, that environmental concerns, such as catchment management (for example, Van Horen, 2001) also lend themselves to an integrated area approach. Examples are drawn from the urban context and on 'areas' below the level of a city or town, but these may vary enormously in terms of scale. The review begins by consider-

ing the main purposes of IAD and some of the dominant approaches. The second part of the review then examines forms of governing or managing development in an area, either within or outside of the public sector. This discussion covers approaches to community participation that feature in IAD.

An Overview of Integrated Area Development

The introduction outlined the potential promises of integrated area development projects, in practice, however, meaning and forms vary considerably. Earlier projects most often involved integration of various aspects of physical development, such as infrastructure, land development and construction (Modarres, 2001). Others were physical development projects aimed at creating mixed use developments (Winarso, 1999). IAD focused economic and social programmes are now more common, and include a wide range of initiatives, such as job matching schemes, career advice, vocational training, health care, small business stimulation, crime prevention strategies, development of child care facilities, anti-drugs programmes, community development, sports development and so on (Turok, 1999). Some initiatives combine social and economic development with physical development projects: forms and combinations vary. Environmental concerns are sometimes incorporated in these programmes (see instances in UNCHS, 2001), but this has been a weaker theme. This section provides an overview of the main purposes of IAD and some of the dominant approaches, together with key debates over approaches. Although IAD might offer the potential for innovative and transformative practices, several forms of IAD have been hotly contested in the past.

Integrated Physical Development

The use of special agencies to initiate and manage integrated physical development projects is a common form of IAD. The United Kingdom's New Towns programmes can be seen as early instances of this type of IAD, but several later urban development schemes and housing projects also took this form. Informal settlement upgrading programmes such as the George scheme in Lusaka in the 1970s, Tanzania's Sites and Services project (Materu, 1986), and the Kampung Improvement Programme in Indonesia in a similar period (van der Hoff and Steinberg, 1993) were later examples of integrated area projects which were seen as innovative in so far as they went beyond a sectoral silo approach to integrate various aspects of physical development including land release, sanitation, water, roads and housing.

Economic Restructuring and Social Exclusion

An important theme in the literature is the use of integrated area development initiatives to respond to processes of economic restructuring and their impact on particular parts of the city. One focus has been the decline of inner city areas and central business districts as the middle and upper classes and later businesses moved to the suburbs. From the 1950s, urban renewal programmes in Europe and the United States frequently took the form of area-based development managed by special agencies. Earlier approaches focused on the physical redevelopment of areas, often involving slum clearance and population displacement, which led to considerable criticism of this form of area-based development. Urban renewal was also seen as an anti-poverty strategy, but more systematic anti-poverty programmes responding to areas of concentrated poverty and social exclusion emerged in the 1960s, particularly following riots in the inner cities (Gotham, 2001). These programmes, most notably the USA's Model Cities programme, took the form of integrated social, economic and physical development projects, but were also criticised as top-down and narrowly focused (Modarres, 2001).

Since this period, the use of IAD to respond to economic restructuring, localised unemployment and poverty has been very common. Restructuring has led to the decline of particular industries and areas, and to demands for new forms of space. Major examples of area-based redevelopment include docklands projects (following the restructuring of the shipping industry), and strategies to revitalise declining central business districts and redevelop old industrial areas.

Strategies to respond to social exclusion and the persistence of concentrated poverty in housing estates and poor neighbourhoods have been common in Europe and the United States. Approaches have included the physical redevelopment of areas, changes in tenure arrangements, efforts to combat crime, community empowerment, social support, attempts to bring employment and business into these areas, and education and job training. There have been three major criticisms of these sorts of strategies and approaches: the excessive focus on physical redevelopment and its ineffectiveness in responding to poverty; the tendency for initiatives to be fragmented and uncoordinated; and the assumption that poverty can be treated purely through an area-based approach (Anderson, 2001; Modarres, 2001; UK Social Exclusion Unit, 2000). These criticisms reflect the isolated way in which poverty was treated in the absence of a broader strategy to deal with social exclusion. It also reflects the problematic nature of many projects and the inadequate conceptualisation of deprived neighbourhoods (Anderson, 2001; UK Social Exclusion Unit, 2000).

Growing urban inequalities and social exclusion since the 1980s have underpinned the search for more effective forms of area-based development. In addition, ongoing economic restructuring has led to the development of a range of support initiatives aimed at urban regeneration. In the case of Europe, significant funds have been made available to address these issues through European Union (EU) funding programmes and new approaches to urban regeneration are being explored.

In Britain, IAD initiatives are seen as a way of responding to poverty and generating local economic development. Programmes include those aimed at neighbourhood renewal (UK Social Exclusion Unit, 2000), and others focused on the integrated economic development of poorer areas, such as the City Challenge fund (Turok et al., 1998; Oatley, 1998). Turok (1999) characterises local urban regeneration efforts to address unemployment, poverty and social exclusion in Britain and Europe more generally in terms of five approaches (Table 1).

In the United States, empowerment zones are seen as a way of developing parts of cities that are characterised by high levels of poverty (Boyle and Eisenger, 2001, Modarres, 2001). In all of these cases, the emphasis is on broadly based development strategies, with considerable local community and stakeholder involvement, often on a partnership basis. Both empowerment zones and City Challenge initiatives involve the generation of a local integrated development strategy and the development of projects in terms of this strategy. Neighbourhood renewal strategies in Britain similarly involve a much wider range of initiatives than was the case in the past. They include community-based planning and an emphasis on strong co-ordination between different levels of government and among agencies operating in particular areas. These recent initiatives are not immune to criticism, for instance, case studies of some empowerment zones in the United States suggest that they are simply a collection of projects reflecting particular voices and interests, rather than an integrated strategy based on a collaborative approach (Boyle and Eisenger, 2001; Modarres, 2001).

In addition to the growing mainstream emphasis on area-based initiatives, some authors (see Moulaert et al., 2001) posit integrated area development as an alternative form of economic development to conventional approaches based on redevelopment through urban spectacles such as casinos, conference centres, and major commercial and office developments. IAD, instead, is based on an understanding of and engagement with local histories, dynamics and needs. It involves local social mobilisation and grassroots democracy, economic interventions to promote local employment and integrated approaches to interventions in various domains.

Table 1

Approaches to Urban Regeneration	
Business development	Promotion of indigenous enterprise through the promotion of information, technical advice, management training, finance and marketing.
Human resource development	Enhancing employment access through employment counselling, career guidance, core and vocational skills, work experience and job search support.
Physical business infrastructure	Making places more attractive for investment through improving the road network, clearing derelict land, providing service land, building premises and offering incentives.
Neighbourhood development	Attracting and retaining population by refurbishing the housing stock, improving the environment, enhancing leisure and other facilities, acting on crime and safety concerns, housing renewal, and economic and social programmes aimed at addressing poverty and deprivation.
Social economy	Supporting multi-purpose activities that are not commercial but provide alternative employment to the mainstream, or a route back to it through work experience, training, personal development, child care and other support services.

Source: Turok (1999, 75)

Urban Developmentalism

Much of the literature on integrated area development is focused on developed countries. However, forms of IAD have also been used in developing countries and there is a growing interest in these approaches. In the 1970s, the World Bank under McNamara generated a project approach to development linked to the basic needs approach. By the late 1980s, these approaches were being criticised as fragmented and arguments for urban management were put forward on the grounds that the overall management of cities was dysfunctional (Devas, 1993). The now dominant urban management approach has not, however, entirely dis-

placed urban projects, and the growing emphasis on multi-faceted approaches to housing and urban development, the integrated way in which poverty alleviation strategies are being viewed, and the current emphasis on sustainable development are all leading to forms of integrated area development.

Within housing, the emphasis on creating whole environments and using participatory approaches lends itself to more integrated approaches that are sensitive to environmental concerns, include the provision of social services, and contain social and economic development programmes. There are some interesting examples of this sort. Rio de Janiero's Favelo-Barrio upgrading project includes standard housing elements of land tenure legalisation and improvement of basic infrastructure, but also provides social services like child care, youth programmes, vocational training and other community services. It has a strong focus on community building and has involved a co-ordinated approach between municipal agencies. Another aspect of 'integration' is the attempt to consolidate links to surrounding neighbourhoods (Pamuk et al., 1998; Riley et al., 2001). Similarly, recent slum improvement projects funded by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) in India involve both infrastructural improvements plus an emphasis on community development and health provision as part of an approach to alleviating poverty (Amis, 2001).

The movement towards a community-based planning approach on the part of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS), and the emphasis on sustainable communities in terms of Local Agenda 21 also seems to lead towards integrated area development. The impact of these programmes still remains to be documented extensively, but cases in the UNCHS Best Practices data base (UNCHS, 2001) provide an indication of these initiatives. Several projects are occurring on a partnership basis, or through community-based organisations, such as the Community Improvement Programme in Tanzania. Some initiatives are neighbourhood-based, but with a wide mandate such as the neighbourhood development committees in Abidjan, which are involved in street cleaning and garbage collection, security services, infrastructural improvements, vocational training and operating commercial enterprises. India's Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP), a national programme, involves participatory planning and action with women from poor neighbourhoods to improve health education, environment and access to credit. Brazil's PREZEIS (special zones for social interest) similarly focuses on local participation and partnerships at neighbourhood level around regularising land tenure, urban facilities provision and initiatives for enterprise development.

There are several examples of neighbourhood development initiatives involving an integrated approach, such as the Integrated Programme for the Improve-

ment of Suburbs in Medellin, Colombia (PRIMED), which involves the improvement of living conditions in peripheral suburbs using a participatory approach. Although there are considerable variations, most initiatives are focused on physical improvements, but may include a range of services and non-physical development activities. Environmental initiatives are also common. Many projects are community-based or involve a community development approach. Some are unique to areas, but others are part of city wide or national strategies towards urban improvement and poverty reduction.

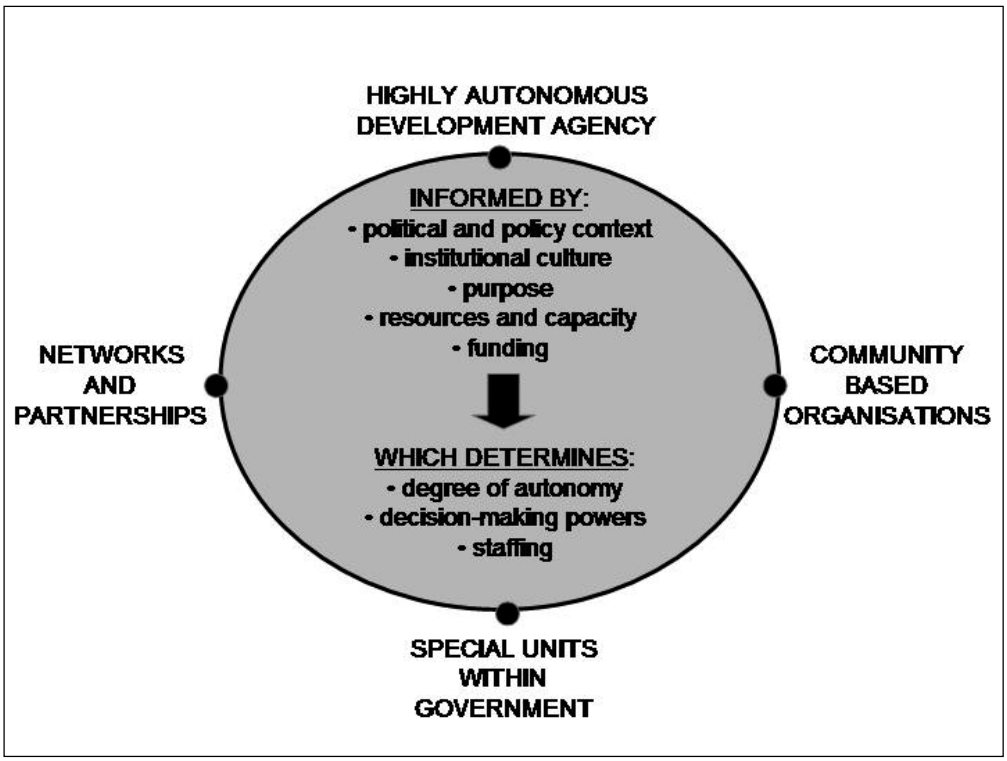
In summary, there is growing interest in integrated area development in both developed and developing countries. There has been a shift from physical approaches to development and integration around the built environment to more broadly based social and economic approaches. There is also a growing incorporation of biophysical environmental concerns. Community-based and community development approaches are increasingly emphasised, including greater attention to gender and diverse interests.

Governance: Institutional Forms and Community Participation

The renewed interest in forms of IAD also reflects the search for new ways of governing local areas. Since the 1970s, there has been growing criticism of traditional forms of local government characterised by strong line departments, poor strategic planning capacities and inflexible, bureaucratic processes. These characteristics have largely been seen to impede delivery and effective implementation. Area-based initiatives have been among the many initiatives to make government more responsive, flexible, strategically focused and integrated in its actions. Indeed, much of the current power and appeal of the idea of IAD is emerging from the notion of integrated governance.

There are a number of institutional forms associated with IAD, and the form selected will depend on a range of contextual factors that include the political and policy setting, institutional culture and funding arrangements[2] (see Figure 1). These, in turn, will impact on the nature of the institution: its autonomy, independence and staff composition. It is important to note two things about the categorisation in Figure 1. Firstly, these institutional forms are not mutually exclusive—development agencies engaged in IAD often display a combination of two or more of these characteristics. Secondly, these categories are not static—an agency can shift from one form to another as factors shaping the context change. These are, nevertheless, useful categories for understanding forms of governance.

Figure 1: Institutional Forms



Autonomous Development Agencies

Highly autonomous development agencies tasked with the responsibility of developing an area are fairly common. These include private agencies set up with the explicit intention of redevelopment of blighted areas such as the Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) popular in Britain in the 1980s. Included also are public agencies that sit outside government structures, but may rely on public funding for their operations. The main characteristic here is that these agencies sit 'outside' traditional government institutional structures, manage their own budgets and staff, and thereby have a certain degree of flexibility and independence in the decision-making process.

Autonomous agencies that are engaged in IAD often play a crucial role promoting and marketing an area or development, thereby gaining political support and mobilising additional resources. This process of resource mobilisation can involve bidding, fund raising and business planning, and will often determine

the success of an initiative. Winarso (1999) provides an account of two inner city projects in Indonesia that highlights the importance of access to and control of appropriate resources. In the first project the agency had delegated powers to assemble land for redevelopment and the project proceeded smoothly. The second project was less successful partly because of the constraints on the agency's access to and control of resources.

Community-Based Organisations

Whilst there is scope for a collaborative approach in IAD, projects *initiated* by community-based organisations are not that prevalent. The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in Boston is, however, one example of a community-based organisation initiating and managing urban redevelopment, becoming the first neighbourhood group in the United States to win the right of eminent domain (Medoff and Sklar 1994). Community-based organisations do play an active role in IAD, but are clearly influenced by factors that include the funding and policy environment within which they operate. Community organisations' agendas are often issue-based and/or represent specific sectoral interests, and they can therefore play an important role in IAD in partnership with other organisations or agencies.

Special Units

Often, special units are set up within government structures. The Favela Bairro squatter upgrading programme in Brazil, for example, was funded by the Inter-American Development Bank, and implemented and coordinated through the municipal governments' housing departments to ensure multi-sectoral delivery (Riley et al., 2001). In Australia, special task forces within state government were used as a way of integrating the actions of various government departments with local government and local communities in the Federally funded and initiated 'Building Better Cities' programme. A variation on the use of special units is the use of government statutory authorities to coordinate and integrate development. Again in Australia some local councils use local planning processes to achieve plan-led infrastructure development for particular areas.

Partnerships and Networks

Given that many institutional actors and stakeholders can play different roles in the development process, the need for partnerships and networks is evident.

Earlier versions, particularly in the 1980s with UDCs in Britain, reflect the classic public/private partnership approach with all its usual shortcomings and compromises. A more recent shift is towards broader partnership arrangements that include the private, public, as well as community sector. In Ireland, area-based initiatives are emerging as a response to relatively weak and traditional local government. Significant funds have come in through the European Union and partnerships have developed as part of a programme to develop area regeneration strategies (Turok, 1999). These partnerships include the local community, voluntary sector, business, trade unions, local authorities and national departments in various sectors. Networks that rely heavily on effective communication mechanisms and political alliances amongst different actors are also present, albeit elusive and problematic in practice (Grimshaw, 2001).

Community Participation

The place-specific focus of IAD means that programmes are well-situated to understanding local dynamics, and forging links with resident communities and stakeholder groups. Integrating local communities into planning and implementation processes is perhaps one of more profound governance opportunities offered by IAD. Communities can play a variety of roles from inputting views about needs and priorities, and providing feedback on specific plans and projects through to making decisions about projects and funding allocation, and applying for and receiving funding for particular purposes. In the Favela Bairro squatter settlement upgrading programme in Rio de Janeiro, for example, local residents are involved in identifying needs and problems, and approving final project plans of architects and others before upgrading proceeds (Pamuk and Cavallieri 1998; Riley et al., 2001). In Uganda, in contrast, urban poor groups (including household groups) can apply to the Community City Challenge fund for resources to instigate and implement their own projects (Kiyaga-Nsubuga et al., 2001).

There has been a gradual shift in the rationale for involving local communities in IAD. It is now widely accepted that community participation is a key factor in devising and delivering appropriate area-based solutions, and achieving the longer-term sustainability of projects. Along with this pragmatic acceptance of the value of community involvement, there is a trend towards locating participation within the broader social and political context. The strengthening of community capacity, social capital and citizenship skills are becoming more familiar objectives for the community participation component of IAD projects. It is worth noting the importance placed on the broader political objective of democratisation within the context of the developing world. Democratisation in Latin America and the

movement towards participatory budgeting in some cities in Latin America and Kerala, India has provided inspiration for forms of area-based management in South Africa (Heller, 2000).

Although not really integrated area development as much as a form of pre-political prioritisation of development and ways of negotiating local development (Zaaijer, 1993), these experiences are seen as important in breaking with clientelist forms of decision-making and in politically mobilising the poor, resulting in decisions that are more likely to reflect their needs (Heller, 2000). The idea of IAD as a way of building community and developing citizenship skills in marginalized populations has developed in part from these experiences (Chipkin, 2000). This notion was influential in thinking about development within gang ridden areas on the Cape Flats under the local government that was in power from 1996 to 2000 (Unicom Transformation Programme, Cape Town, n.d.).

Community participation is clearly an integral part of IAD but varying levels of success have been achieved. One of the primary factors contributing to the success or otherwise of more collaborative approaches is the time and resourcing that is provided to support community involvement. In some cases local residents or community workers have been specifically employed to work with existing groups, households and individuals to encourage broad-based involvement and input. For example, one of the first steps of area-based partnerships in Ireland was to appoint community development workers to resource local groups (Turok, 2001). Where the model of collaboration involves community members being selected (or elected) as representatives on panels or working groups two problems can arise. This type of involvement can require significant voluntary time and effort from community members, who then become prone to participation burn-out. Secondly, community representatives may for a variety of reasons fail to network back to their constituencies. In these situations, training and resourcing are an important way to ensure ongoing input and assist networking activities of community representatives.

In summary, IAD is characterised by diverse governance arrangements. In terms of the institutional arrangements these can include autonomous development agencies, community-based organisations, special units within governments, and networks and partnerships. No matter what the institutional form, however, community participation has become an increasingly prevalent, contributing not only to the quality of area-based solutions, but also to the broader social and political capacities of the communities involved.

CASE STUDIES

The following case study discussions are based upon the proceedings of a workshop convened on IAD by the authors. Given its location in Durban, two of the case studies are based in this city, whilst a third South African case study was from Cape Town. One international case was selected: that of Logan City adjacent to Brisbane, Australia. Each case was interrogated in accordance with the themes of this paper: integration, sustainability and the effectiveness of the relationship between plan making and implementation. Presenters were asked to consider the *institutional configuration* underpinning their cases, the role *of economic development* and the economic *impacts* of these initiatives, as well as the incorporation of *social* and *bio-physical* considerations in their implementation.

Lansdowne-Wetton Corridor Project, Cape Town

Vanessa Watson's (2001) presentation examined Cape Town's Landsdowne-Wetton Road Corridor project, which involved innovative institutional and financial arrangements, and the adoption of a planning methodology aimed at integrating planning and implementation. The project emerged from the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework and was funded from 1996 as one of the national Department of Transport's four pilot 'corridor' projects. Landsdowne Road, linking the middle class suburb and node of Wynberg in the West with coloured townships in the middle and informal African residential areas in the east, was to be developed as a 15 km 'activity corridor'—a public transport route, with mixed uses and higher density housing. A new node was to be developed in Phillipi in the east. The project involved both planning and several 'lead' projects—capital developments focused on services, transport, infrastructure and buildings. It was thus integrated across a limited set of sectors.

The project team was located within the Cape Town municipality, but funding was controlled by an Intergovernmental Technical Co-ordination Committee (ITCC), comprising representatives of line function departments in the municipality, the metropolitan authority, the provincial administration and the Department of Transport. This committee had final decision-making powers and could allocate funds to projects, allowing the project a high level of autonomy and an ability to move quickly with initiatives. Interest accruing was retained and offered as top-up funding to line departments' own funds spent in the area (provided that they spent their money in line with the thinking of the corridor team). Some R3 million interest was available in the first three years, giving the project significant leverage. The project team was headed by a strong manager and em-

ployed young, dedicated professionals who were not schooled in bureaucratic modes of operation. Participatory processes were set up at the level of the project as a whole and specific sub-projects. At corridor level, stakeholder organisations and councillors were drawn into a series of workshops on the overall plans and a communication process was set up through the media and the use of phone-in lines. Local organisations and individuals directly affected by projects were brought into workshops around the sub-projects. After the unsuccessful use of consultants, the project team undertook participation themselves, and were assisted by two local 'networkers' who kept in touch with organisations in the area.

This arrangement had both strengths and weaknesses. A highly motivated and well-integrated team with relative independence from the bureaucracy and control over funding meant that the project proceeded more rapidly and in a more coordinated way than would have been the case otherwise. The ITCC also helped to integrate the activities of the various line departments around specific projects. Furthermore, the project maintained the support of councillors and communities. On the other hand, the project was not well supported within the bureaucracy. When the team leader left and dedicated funding ran out it was in a weak position. The team was disbanded and professionals joined the general pool of staff. This meant that the project became just another task, energies were dissipated and other initiatives in the area were not linked to it.

Five years on, the lead projects have progressed and some are completed or near completion, but implementation has fallen far short of the plan. Limitations have arisen from the tensions with the bureaucracy and the disbanding of the project team. In addition, problems in the original conception of the project, changing national priorities and conflicting policy discourses with other departments made several key elements of the plan impossible to achieve. Despite these limitations, Watson argues that it has achieved a level of integration between sectors, and between planning and implementation that is unprecedented in Cape Town.

Cato Manor, Durban[3]

Cato Manor is an area of about 2000 ha, located 5 km to the west of Durban's city centre. Following a problematic history of large-scale forced removals under the Apartheid state in the late 1950s, it remained vacant for two decades, before development efforts began in the late 1980s. Development had to deal with the complex legacy of social, economic and political exclusion, and one of the key goals was for the social and economic integration of the area into metropolitan Durban. The project was therefore multi-faceted in its development ap-

proach. It involved the large-scale delivery of housing and basic service infrastructure (such as roads and water); the provision of social facilities (like libraries and schools) and local economic development opportunities; human resource development and capacity building; and land reform.

The institutional arrangements associated with the development had a number of iterations. The Greater Cato Manor Development Forum (GCMDF) was initially established in 1992 as a collaborative forum to guide and advise the then Durban City Council (now called the eThekwini Metropolitan Council). Essentially a loose partnership made up of representatives from government, local community organisations and key stakeholders, the Forum evolved into the autonomous Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA), in 1993. The CMDA board included community organisations and stakeholders who were part of the original GCMDF, as well as representatives from local government. This period of the project was characterised by building formal partnerships with a number of bodies. As a Special Presidential Lead Project in the Government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), CMDA was required to report directly to provincial and central government.

In the mid–1990s there was a policy shift in South Africa with local government receiving greater emphasis than had hitherto been the case; as a result CMDA was required to forge a direct relationship with the Durban municipal structures. These relationships have tended to be driven by necessity rather than the policy objectives of CMDA. More recently CMDA sought to develop multiple rather than one pivotal relationship (McCarthy et al., 2003). Its partnership with the European Union (EU), for example, enabled the agency to continue operations relatively independently using EU funding.

In March 2003, the CMDA was 'unbundled', with key implementation functions transferred to the relevant government agencies. A number of staff members have subsequently been employed by the local authority. It has been proposed that a locally-based autonomous agency remain to drive social development and local economic development. The format of such an agency is yet to be determined. The eThekwini Municipality is currently embarking on an Area-Based Management and Development programme, an initiative intended to drive integrated development in five areas (including Cato Manor) within the Metropolitan area. The institutional architecture to enable this is currently being debated.

Substantial funding was required for the massive development undertaken by CMDA. As an RDP Special Presidential Lead Project it initially received funds to run the organisation as well as for delivery of a number of social and utility infrastructural projects. In later years, organisational funding came from the EU. Mainstream line funding was provided by state sources like the Provincial Hous-

ing Board for housing and infrastructure, while special funding was provided from bodies like the European Union for social and economic development projects. As an autonomous agency, CMDA was in an excellent position to build partnerships with these various funding bodies.

Like the Landsdowne-Wetton Road Corridor project in Cape Town, this autonomy from bureaucratic structures sometimes meant there was a clash between the development agency and institutionalised cultures. CMDA valued an integrated approach to development, and this meant developing a culture where staff worked in multi-disciplinary teams and produced projects with multiple goals and actions that cut across sectors. This integrated approach, however, was not necessarily shared by other players, nor was it one that was easily accommodated by the traditional line department culture of local government. A lot of energy was spent negotiating with government officials, overcoming bureaucratic obstacles and dealing with financial blockages. The autonomy of the agency as well as its budgetary control over a large amount of outside funding did, however, put it in a favourable bargaining position, enabling it to leverage considerable support from government agencies with a more traditional organisational culture.

In terms of outputs, the project was largely successful. Present-day Cato Manor includes a number of residential neighbourhoods with low to medium income housing, as well as one social housing project. Two large informal settlements remain, but these are in the process of being upgraded. Infrastructure provision has generally been completed, with social infrastructure including health clinics, pre-schools, primary and secondary schools, libraries, community halls and sports fields. Human resource development is reflected in the high number of people (almost 7,000) trained in, amongst others, literacy and numeracy skills, basic business management and construction skills. Economic development is currently a key concern, with a number of small and large-scale initiatives planned in partnership with local communities, as well as the business sector.

Perhaps one of the most profound challenges was negotiating the diverse and fragmented community interests in the area. Large-scale land occupations in the area by those fleeing violence in outlying townships in the early 1990s resulted in a resident population that was (and in some cases still is) severely traumatised, and suffering the indignities of poverty and marginalisation. Ongoing participatory processes during project delivery and community representation on CMDA's Board were intended to reinforce a collaborative approach, but these processes were often fraught with tension and underpinned by poor governance capacity and vested political interests. The project's early focus on delivery, driven to a large degree by its funding mandate, resulted in social development becoming a later project focus. Thus, despite the project's successes, Cato Manor remains an

area characterised by a high unemployment rate, high HIV/AIDS incidence and fragmentation. Social and economic development is therefore high on the agenda for future development initiatives within the area.

Warwick Junction

The Warwick Junction case study was presented by Richard Dobson, project director. This is an inner city area located at the entrance to Durban's city centre, containing a major public transport interchange, taxi and bus ranks, and a railway station. Warwick Junction accommodates a range of activities that capitalise on the enormous volume of pedestrian and vehicular through-traffic. Uses include informal trade of fruits, vegetables and traditional medicines, as well as formal lower income shopping. Approximately 1,000 street traders operate in the area, with an annual turnover estimated to be R1 billion (Dobson, 2001). The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal project was established in 1995 with the intention of promoting the area as a metropolitan hub for public transport and trading, and addressing issues related to economic empowerment, provision of major social services and inner city housing. Specific concerns include managing the juncture between formal and informal trade, environmental issues that arise from in-situ activities, crime and transport management.

The project is run by a special unit of dedicated Municipal officials comprising three teams: Planning, Operations and Implementation. This unit is accountable to Warwick/Grey District Work Group, a reference group consisting of community and official stakeholders that have a vested interest in the area. Various task teams report to the three primary teams; these are required to deal with immediate pressing issues in terms of maintenance, service delivery and enforcement within the area. The three primary teams, as well as the task teams, comprise municipal officials from traditional line departments, who are required to focus their energies on the Warwick Junction area whilst still performing their regular line function duties. Dedicated capacity did exist initially in the form of contract staff seconded from line function departments who spent 100 per cent of their time on the project (e.g., the project leader). However, the project has subsequently become part of the Inner Thekwini Urban Renewal and Urban Management Programme (iTRUMP), with project staff now involved in the larger inner city area. As with Cato Manor, iTRUMP is part of the City's Area-based Management and Development programme, and iTRUMP Forum meetings are held monthly, so that the various team members that are involved in Warwick Junction and the other eight districts within the iTRUMP area have the opportunity to coordinate efforts.

One of the key challenges in the early stages of the project was establishing legitimacy with local stakeholders (Grest, 2000). The relationship between local communities in Warwick Junction and the Council was a turbulent one throughout the Apartheid years, given that the area was one of the few in the city that maintained a diverse racial profile despite the ongoing threat of racial policies. The local community is involved at three levels. Firstly, members of the Operations Team consult on a day-to-day basis with stakeholders around issues of enforcement and management. Secondly, involvement of interest groups around their specific needs, or around specific geographically defined areas happens on a continual basis through regular meetings. Finally, representatives of the main stakeholder groups that sit on the consultative forum, the Warwick/Grey District Work Group, deal with broader strategic planning and development challenges. This group facilitates decision-making by councillors and includes representatives from the local Residents and Ratepayers Associations, Congress of South African Trade Unions, Durban Metro Informal Traders Management Board, transport groups and various traders' associations.

Overall the project is seen as successful in taking an integrated approach to the management of a contested and complex area. Part of this success is attributed to the fact that there has been a dedicated team assigned to the area, assisted by line function local government officials tasked with focussing their energies on a particular area and on particular projects, through the various task teams. Furthermore, the project office is located within the area, and serves as a venue for meetings and functions associated with the project and for general community activities, such as health education by City Health officials, Informal Traders Management Board executive meetings, Traders Against Crime meetings and development programmes for informal women traders. Having an institutional presence in the area, in a space available to the general community, is seen as a factor that contributes to the project's success.

Community Renewal, Logan City

Community Renewal is a Queensland State Government initiative that is part of the State's Crime Prevention Strategy to address the causes of crime and disadvantage. The programme, which began in 1998, currently operates in fifteen areas across the State selected because of high levels of disadvantage (measured on the basis of indicators such as unemployment, low-income households, and incidence of juvenile and general crime). In the period 1998 to 2001, the State allocated $37.5 million to Community Renewal with a further $45 million for 2002 to 2004. The programme is administered by the Department of Housing (through the Community Renewal unit—essentially a special unit within the De-

partment), but involves a whole-of-government approach with other State Government Departments and agencies, and local government providing some additional funding input, and devising and managing specific projects and programmes. Local community groups and organisations can also apply for funding for projects that they then deliver under a sponsoring arrangement with an appropriate government department. As a result a diversity of projects have been funded including those that address employment, education and training, community services, crime, neighbourhood amenity and physical infrastructure.

Within Logan City, a local council area adjacent to Brisbane City, there are three Community Renewal suburbs: Loganlea, Kingston and Woodridge. The three suburbs have a combined population of just over 35,000, and almost 45 per cent are aged under 25 years. Projects funding in the three suburbs include:

- Upgrading of local parks and shopping areas
- Youth employment and arts initiatives
- Provision of additional bus services
- Domestic violence, and drug and alcohol programmes, and
- Recreation programmes.

In the period 1998 to 2001, almost $7.5 million of Community Renewal funding has been spent in the three Logan City suburbs.

One of the unique and innovative features of Community Renewal is the role of local communities in identifying problems, and developing and implementing solutions. This comes from a recognition of the importance of locally-developed solutions and the need for solutions to have a high level of community ownership. Local communities are initially involved in identifying problems and setting priorities through input into three- to five-year Community Action Plans (CAPs). The second and key mechanism for community involvement is on Community Reference Groups (CRGs). Each Community Renewal area has a CRG, made up of local residents, responsible for monitoring implementation of CAPs, developing projects, and assessing and validating project submissions. Before any project can be funded it must be validated by the local CRG and the local Regional Managers Forum (RMF) (made up of area managers from State Government Departments). Each area has its own Community Renewal Worker, and their responsibilities include supporting the CRGs. Funding for the worker must be validated annually through the CRGs (and RMFs).

The whole-of-government approach, the mix of physical and social initiatives and the mechanisms for involving local communities are clearly the strengths of Community Renewal as an integrated area development programme. There are, however, four key issues that potential limit the effectiveness of Community

Renewal. The first relates to the overall thrust of the programme. The programme largely operates by identifying needs and problems, and attempting to solve them with funded projects, many of which are designed and then run by outside experts. As a result the expectation that issues are best addressed by government funding and outside expertise has been reinforced.[4] There seems to have been little canvassing of an alternative asset-based approach, of the type outlined by John Kretzmann and John McKnight (1993, see also Cameron and Gibson, 2001), that would address issues first and foremost by building on the strengths and abilities of community members.

Related to the needs-based approach, a second issue is that funding has been primarily spent on social services and capital works with little thought to the cost of running and maintaining projects beyond the life of Community Renewal in each community (usually five years). To date, no funding has gone towards establishing initiatives, such as community chests or community-based economic enterprises, that could generate and return funds to communities on an ongoing basis. In other words, there is a tendency to run-down rather than 'invest' the available funding.

The third issue stems from the make-up of the CRGs. CRGs are comprised of a relatively small number of local residents (in the three Community Renewal areas in Logan City around twenty people usually attend meetings), who tend to be older and already active in community groups and organisations. It has proven difficult for Community Renewal to draw in people who are not already connected, particularly younger people who make up a significant proportion of residents in Community Renewal areas. This clearly has implications for the types of projects that are proposed and validated by the CRGs.

The final issue concerns the overall effectiveness of the Community Renewal programme. It is not clear what the impact of Community Renewal has been on levels of crime and disadvantage, and there is no established mechanism for evaluating this impact.[5] Without an assessment of the impact of various projects and programmes there is a risk that Community Renewal areas continue to be represented as 'disadvantaged communities' and get caught in the revolving door of government funding for special problem areas.

INTEGRATED AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH IAD PROJECTS: PROSPECTS, CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS, LIMITS AND CONSTRAINTS

There is enormous variety in the purpose, focus, operation and institutional organisation of integrated area development projects as the four case studies above

demonstrate. In this section we draw on the lessons learned from these case studies and from the international literature to consider whether IAD projects offer the space for achieving integrated and sustainable development, and whether they can be seen as innovative forms of planning practice. We also highlight the conditions for success and the limits of integrated area development projects.

It is clear from the international literature reviewed in Section 2 and the four case studies above that IAD projects are taking an increasingly integrated approach to locational disadvantage by addressing not just physical but also social and economic aspects of development. It does seem, however, that physical and infrastructure outcomes are relatively easy to achieve, while social and economic outcomes are more elusive. In Cato Manor, for example, there has been significant output in terms of the building of roads and other physical services, housing units and social infrastructure such as schools. The private sector-led economic development that was expected to follow-on did not occur at the pace expected, and planners and other urban professionals are taking a more interventionist approach to economic development (Forster, 2001). Likewise, there have been considerable achievements in terms of the skills training of residents, yet rates of unemployment remain high and social fragmentation remains a key issue. A similar situation confronts the Community Renewal programme in Logan City. Many of the funded projects involve the provision of physical infrastructure or service programmes; there have been relatively few economic development initiatives, and social projects tend to focus on specific 'problem' issues such as domestic violence, and drug and alcohol abuse. Furthermore, any broader social and economic development flow-ons from the Community Renewal programme as a whole are difficult to establish because of the absence of a comprehensive evaluation framework.

Experiences in other locations are also a reminder that there are no easy formulas for achieving social and economic outcomes, and that solutions need to be specifically tailored for local conditions. This may mean thinking about innovative approaches that involve a degree of risk-taking. For example, in a review of the Special Empowerment Zones in Los Angeles, Modarres (2001) found that the mainstream economic development approach used by the Community Development Bank had little impact; whereas micro-credit lending to local entrepreneurs for much-needed goods and services was more successful (and consistent with the community development goals of the programme).

The purely physical focus of earlier schemes has certainly been replaced by programmes that take a more integrated approach (albeit that planners and other urban professionals are grappling with how best to achieve social and economic outcomes in each location). But one area that has yet to be incorporated into IAD

programmes in a consistent way is that of environmental sustainability. There are isolated examples of environmental issues being addressed. For example one of the first initiatives of the Warwick Junction project was the development of facilities for bovine head-cooking that would minimise waste run-off into the stormwater system. The Community Renewal programme in Logan City has funded community gardens that have a strong environmental emphasis. Overall, however, environmental sustainability is the 'icing on the cake' when it comes to IAD, and programmes are yet to explore ways in which environmental initiatives can be linked to and even the foundation for social and economic development outcomes.

IAD has been characterised by the development of innovative institutional practices that go beyond the limitations imposed by the standard ''silo'' approach and introduce a high degree of autonomy into the decision-making process. The case studies discussed above are no exception, although the precise institutional form taken varies. Between all four, the institutional features identified in Figure 1 are evident. Three of the projects—Landsdowne-Wetton Road Corridor Cape Town, Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project in Durban and Community Renewal in Logan City—are based around special units within local or state government. In addition, the Logan City project is structured so that community-based organisations can play a central role, initiating and running programmes (with government agencies sponsoring the programmes); while the Warwick Junction project has facilitated key partnerships with local stakeholders, to the extent that some endeavours are jointly funded.[6] The Cato Manor project involves an autonomous agency that has been able to secure partnership funding, from agencies like the European Union, for various aspects of the development. Networking with stakeholders is a key aspect of all four projects.

The case studies do, however, highlight some of the dilemmas that arise with these innovative institutional arrangements. The Landsdowne-Wetton Road Corridor project had a high degree of independence and was staffed by people who were not part of the entrenched institutional culture. The project therefore proceeded quickly, but it also meant the project was vulnerable when funding ran out and the team leader left. As a result many of the planned initiatives may not be implemented. In Cato Manor plans have been implemented only because a substantial amount of time and energy has been spent negotiating with government officials and overcoming bureaucratic obstacles. The strength of autonomous bodies (whether within or outside a government agency or department) is that they are able to operate flexibly but there is the risk that too much autonomy may lead to alienation from the very bureaucratic structures that are vital for implementing plans. It therefore seems that one condition for success in IAD is

to find a balance between autonomy from and integration with established government. The Warwick Junction project is a good example where this balance was attempted, with the project being run by a special unit located in its own premises (separate from council), but with regular departmental council staff working with dedicated project staff to plan and implement various initiatives.

It is, however, not just a case of developing strong links within one government agency. Projects need strong linkages and networks with players who are key to the funding, operation and implementation of IAD—other government departments and other levels of government, political actors, and local stakeholders and communities. Networking and relationship building in a number of directions is therefore another critical aspect of IAD.

One aspect of autonomy that is important in IAD is control over budgets and other relevant resources (such as land) that are necessary for the implementation of plans. In the Detroit Empowerment Zone in the United States, for example, the effectiveness of the Empowerment Zone Development Corporation was curtailed by the lack of power to contract and time delays in the release of funding for running expenses (Boyle and Eisinger, 2001). Whereas, the Citra Niaga project in Samarinda in Indonesia functioned smoothly because of funding autonomy and delegated powers to assemble land for development (Winarso, 1999). In some IAD projects, an important element of autonomy may be the power to lever additional funding and resources. This is certainly the case in the Cato Manor project, where the scale of the development means that multiple funding sources are required. The team has been extremely successful in building partnerships and attracting additional funding from sources such as the European Union.

There are several dilemmas that emerge in relationship to funding. One is that limited term funding is usually only available for IAD. This can be a way of ensuring that plans are implemented within specified time-frames. On the other hand, pressure to produce tangible outcomes may mean that the time for developing strong relationships with local communities and stakeholders is limited and that a collaborative approach is difficult to achieve. This particularly applies when second round or additional funding is dependent on outcomes achieved.

The Cato Manor project illustrates this point. The development agency took an initial technocratic approach, physical and infrastructure outcomes were relatively quickly achieved, and funding was assured. Developing collaborative relationships with the diverse interest groups and addressing the underlying social tensions within the area did not receive the same priority; as a result, local political friction has held up the delivery of some projects, and many social issues remain untouched.[7] In contrast, the Warwick Junction project has focussed on developing collaborative relationships with local stakeholders and the local com-

munity by employing such strategies as making the project building available for community groups and events, and having a consultative forum made up of local stakeholders. Furthermore, the Project Leader takes a daily walk around the area as a way of being available to and having informal contact with local constituents.

As a result, projects that have been initiated are highly responsive to local needs, such as a mealie cookers' facility and storage facilities for informal traders. This comparison between Cato Manor and Warwick Junction is not meant to be judgmental. The intention is to highlight the trade-offs that are part of any IAD. The Cato Manor project covered a significant area of land, involved a large resident population, and had a funding model that required early outcomes. CMDA also confronted a highly fragmented and conflict ridden community, with significant levels of criminality, including in some cases amongst local leadership. In the smaller-scale of Warwick Junction, a more collaborative approach was feasible.

The second dilemma associated with funding involves sustainability. In the context of limited-term funding of most IAD, what does sustainability mean? Does sustainability mean that the responsible agency or unit continues beyond the period of initial funding by securing additional funding; becoming more institutionalised; or changing its institutional form? Does sustainability mean that initiatives are funded to continue beyond the life of an IAD project? This particular issue is relevant to the Community Renewal project in Logan City, where there has been a tendency to fund one-off capital works programmes or social service programmes that will require continuous funding (or that will cease when Community Renewal funding ceases). Only a small number of initiatives, including a community workshed and a community garden, have been funded that are oriented towards generating their own income stream and becoming self-sustaining in the longer term.

Does sustainability mean that skills and capacities, or relationships and networks developed through the life an IAD project will continue to be utilised and developed? If so, have mechanisms been set-up to ensure that the skills or networks are able to be sustained? Or is it assumed that progress made during an IAD project will be sufficient for the skills and networks to continue unaided? In IAD it is important to establish at the outset which of these understandings of sustainability are relevant and what degree of emphases is placed on each, not just because they affect the activities undertaken, but because they come into play in evaluated whether or not an IAD project has been successful.

A final issue that emerges from the four case studies is the scale of development. The Warwick Junction project involves a relatively small and clearly iden-

tifiable area, while the Community Renewal project in Logan City involves a relatively small population. Both these projects have been able to develop finely honed local solutions and highly collaborative approaches. The Cato Manor and Landsdowne-Wetton Road Corridor projects involve significantly larger areas and larger populations. Is there an optimum size or population for IAD? Do larger-scale projects necessarily imply a more technocratic approach (as discussed earlier)? Are smaller-scale projects necessarily more suited to a collaborative approach? This issue, which these case studies raise, is one for further investigation.

Here it is also worth bearing in mind some of limitations of taking an area-based focus to disadvantage. Modarres (2001) argues that the geography of poverty is spread across the urban landscape, and that in Los Angeles just over half of people below the poverty live in areas with high poverty rates. Indeed, only one-third of people living in 'poverty areas' in Los Angeles are below the poverty line. This analysis suggests that because disadvantage is spread throughout the urban area IAD should not be used exclusively. It also serves as a reminder that the causes of disadvantage are not just locational; disadvantage is also the product of wider social and economic processes that require a broader policy response (see also Anderson 2001).

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that IAD is becoming increasingly integrated across a number of dimensions: the physical, social and economic aspects of development are being incorporated into projects; governments are developing institutional arrangements that allow for a more integrated response, and projects are becoming more collaborative to involve a range of non-government participants.

The case studies in this paper highlight several key conditions for success. The first is that the responsible body, whether located within or outside of government structures, requires a high degree of autonomy, particularly with regard to funding and decision-making powers. At the same time, however, the responsible body also needs strong horizontal and vertical relationships with government, and strong relationships with political actors, and local stakeholders and communities. Both of these apparently contradictory conditions—autonomy and interconnectedness—are necessary if plans are to be implemented.

Another condition of success is the involvement of local communities and stakeholders, although the case studies suggest that scale is an important factor affecting the level of involvement that is feasible. It seems that large-scale projects may have to take a more technocratic approach and use a representative model of

participation if plans are to be implemented, whereas smaller-scale projects can develop relationships with many more local constituents and involve them across the whole spectrum of planning and implementation activities. This raises the issue of whether there is an optimum size (or at least a maximum size) for IAD. The impact of scale on IAD is, clearly, a topic for further comparative study.

The case studies also highlight the potential that exists in IAD. The days of physical determinism may have past, but it seems that planners and urban professionals are only beginning to develop innovative social and economic measures that address disadvantage and that are responsive to local conditions. The whole area of environmental sustainability is one that is yet to make a mark on the way IAD is practised. There is also a need to address the broader issue of the sustainability of initiatives funded through IAD projects, the institutional arrangements and skills and networks developed. From the case studies it is evident that IAD holds considerable potential to contribute to both innovative planning practices, and to contribute to integrated and sustainable development, even if this potential has not necessarily been realised.

NOTES

1. The workshop was organised by Griffith University (Australia), School of Environmental Planning and University of Natal, Durban, School of Architecture, Planning and Housing; and was funded through an Australia South Africa Institutional Links Program, 'Refocusing the role of the planner towards integrated development planning'.
2. Funding is often channeled from the upper echelons of government, including national governments and regional governments (such as the European Union), and bilateral agencies such as the World Bank. The institutional form will be shaped (and sometimes constrained) by the donor/funding agency's strategic agendas, policies and priorities.
3. The Cato Manor Development Project was presented by Clive Forster, the chief executive officer of Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA)—the agency responsible for development of the area. Further inputs on the project were subsequently taken from a conference convened in early 2003 to reflect on lessons and experiences from the project.
4. Yet at the same time there seems to be a recognition that this type of approach has limitations. At CRG meetings experts (usually government employed social service workers) must present project proposals to community members who then question them on the details and merits of the proposal. From observations at meetings it seems that some community members take almost perverse pleasure in grilling these presenters, frequently focusing on who will be employed to run programmes. It seems that there is a sense of disease with the current approach of solving problems by using outside expertise, but at the same time there is a clear

community expectation that disadvantaged communities should be both entitled to and subject to special government funding and programming.

5. This is not to say that evaluating the impact of area-based projects is an easy task. It is important to recognise that the impact can take place across a range of scales, from overall levels of crime (which can be difficult to isolate and quantify) through to the experiences of individuals. Nevertheless, an effective evaluation needs to address the range of impacts.
6. One partnership is with the Muslim community who initiated and jointly funded the building of a steel frame structure that could be used for religious celebrations once a year and informal traders at other times.
7. Given Cato Manor's place in the Apartheid history of South Africa, it is worth noting John Forester's caution (in a chapter entitled 'On not leaving your pain at the door') that participatory planning processes are likely to fail if planners 'ignore and dismiss history and culture, the self-perceptions and deeply defining experiences, of the citizens involved' (1999: 245).

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