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2021
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TO WHAT EXTENT DO INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANS REFLECT THE POLICIES OF THE POLITICAL PARTY LEADING THE CITY? A COMPARISON OF THE 2011 IDP'S IN JOHANNESBURG AND CAPE TOWN.



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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban Studies

Johannesburg, 2021.

DECLARATION

I, Hyacinth Asanda Nhlumayo declare that the research conducted and presented in this dissertation is my own, unaided work except where otherwise indicated and referenced accordingly. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Urban Studies in Urban Politics and Governance through the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. This research report has not, either in whole or part, been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

HA.Nhlumayo

Day 2 of November 2021 in Johannesburg.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research report was to investigate the extent in which Integrated Development Plans reflect the Housing and Economic Development policies of the political organization at the helm of the Municipality. The research was layered and utilized the qualitative method of research which included interviews and document analysis in order to reach its findings. It analyzed the IDP documents from the respective municipalities in comparison with the policy positions stipulated in the manifestoes and policy documents of the political organizations to find the similarities and differences which suggested the extent of the influence. Interviews with officials from the City of Johannesburg's Economic Development Department and Integrated Development Planning: Community Dialogue Unit, the African National Congress' Head of Policy and the Democratic Alliance's Senior Policy Researcher were utilized in order to understand the complexities and tensions between municipal policy procedures and political influences and processes. The research report found that in reference to these two specific Integrated Development Plans, they were, to a large extent closely aligned with the policies of the political party governing at that particular juncture. The IDP's were localized and simplified versions of the political organizations policy documents, conference resolutions and manifestoes.

The IDP process fails to take power imbalances and manipulation into consideration which is its biggest flaw. In its conceptualization, the document places the participation of community members at its core, as their ideas are meant to be the main shaping tool of the document. However, practically it fails to factor in how public participation processes can be influenced and infiltrated by political organizations who oftentimes end up overpowering the views of the people. The research noted through the comparison of documents and interviews with individuals that had participated extensively in the process, that there was a constant interference throughout the IDP process from political organizations, internally through their political office bearers and externally through party aligned community members and ward committee members. Representatives from political organizations communicated the need for documents such as the IDP to be aligned with their policies and ideological positions. The IDPs public participation model and framework is seemingly flawed because of the manner in which it ignores the influence and power political organizations yield which must be taken into consideration in order to ensure that the process is fair and transparent.

DEDICATION

In loving memory of my Grandmother

Ntombifuthi ‘Bab’Omncane’’ Thwala

1960 – 2020

&

My friend and historical force

Sabelo Ngubeni

1995 – 2021

&

My confidant and mentor

Geoff ‘Majoro’ Makhubo

1968 – 2021

Your sudden passing has left a gaping hole in my heart and a wound that will never heal.
Your support, love and prayers have carried me, rest now.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply humbled and grateful for God's grace over the last year and through the journey of writing this paper. It has not been an easy one, but had it not been for his love and protection, I would not have been able to see it through.

I would firstly like to offer my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Sarah Charlton. I know it has not been the easiest journey, but I would like to thank you for not giving up on me. This paper would not have been possible had it not been for your guidance, encouragement and critiques.

I would furthermore like to offer my special thanks to Lebogang Maile for his unwavering interest, encouragement and support throughout the years and my academic career. To Malusi Gigaba, thank you for your contributions to this paper and for allowing me to consistently tap into your well of wisdom.

To my family and friends, thank you for carrying me on my darkest days and for being a constant source of inspiration. To my best friend Themba Mathibe, I do not think there are enough words to fully articulate how grateful I am for your love, prayers and support.

To my partner, muntu wami izandla zidlula ekhanda.
Thank you for your love, patience and continued support.

Nxele, Fakazi, Mhlephethe.
Thokozani makhosi ami amakhulu.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
DA	Democratic Alliance
CoCT	City of Cape Town
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
CSI	Corporate Social Investment
CTSDF	Cape Town Spatial Development Framework
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IRDP	Integrated Residential Development Programme
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
NUSP	National Upgrading Support Programme
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
UISP	Upgrading Informal Settlements Programme
UDZ	Urban Development Zones

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

South Africa's turn from apartheid was heavily influenced on a local scale by the role played by civic organizations and political parties. Even though they had no legislative power, they were able to position themselves as a tool to unite the black majority which they did for years during apartheid. In this day and age one can begin to question the type of power and influence they now have on legislation and how they utilize this in the post-apartheid dispensation. This chapter presents the background and a brief overview of this research report.

1.2 **Context of the Study**

Apartheid was officially brought to its knees in 1994 after the first Democratic elections took place and the newly elected Government[1]'s aim was to "rebuild local communities and environments" with the hope of creating a "democratic, integrated, prosperous and truly non-racial society" (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 1998: 26). The idea of development planning was first conceptualized in the country's new democratic Constitution in the early 1990s but was properly coined and unpacked in the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (1994). It called for integrated development planning that included participation from key-role players and stakeholders outside of government in decision-making processes (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 1994).

This was more clearly set out in the White Paper on Local Government (1998) where it explains an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) as a "five-year strategic development plan for a municipality which serves as the principal strategic management instrument" (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2000: 44). As stipulated in the Municipal Systems Act (MSA) (2000) the IDP must address issues that include economic development, spatial planning and performance targets. Each municipality must create an IDP where it

[1] In this report the word government is understood as the administrative and regulatory system which governs the country or community. In the report Government (with a capital G) refers to a specific tier or entity which is characterized by bureaucracy and governance, whilst government refers to the structure and institution conceptualized through acts.

clearly maps out its short, medium and long term goals and its vision for the city. IDPs supersede all other development plans that the municipality may have. The process of creating IDPs must be inclusive with the active participation of all stakeholders which include municipal workers, investors, politicians and the general public (Majam & Uwizeyimana 2018).

IDPs are aligned with the Municipal Executive's term of office, which include the Mayor and his appointed Members of the Mayoral Committee, who stand as the political office bearers for each department. The IDP process clearly stipulates the need for engagements with different stakeholders and the public. This platform allows for them to give their opinion and vision on the IDP and the manner in which it must be implemented. However, it is not entirely clear what practically shapes the IDP document and to what extent political party ideological positions and plans are reflected in it. The research is therefore important because it seeks to investigate the extent in which the content of the IDP aligns with the policy resolutions and ideological positions of the political organization leading the City. It investigates the power relations and imbalances at play between political parties and the municipalities in which they find themselves at the helm of, and whether or not organizational policies and resolutions are in line with the plans of the City through the IDP.

South Africa is a constitutional democracy that allows the presence of multiple political parties with the African National Congress currently in the majority at a national level. It is possible for the different structures of government to be run by different political parties and this is because South Africans vote for each level of government separately. Even though National and Provincial elections sit at the same time, there are different ballot papers which are utilized when voting, which gives civilians the option to vote for different political organizations at different levels of government. It is not clear how much power the organization and their resolutions have on policy and legislation especially at local government level which centres much of its plans on public participation as it is the closest to the people.

1.3 Rationale and Objective

South Africa is in its 27th year of Democracy and all municipalities have the task to ensure the structural and economic development of the communities they govern as guided by the Municipal Systems Act (2000). The participation of stakeholders is a key requirement of the

IDP process, and this will be more carefully discussed in Chapter Two. However, some stakeholders are perceived to have more power and influence than others (Majam &, Uwizeyimana 2018). Political parties that are in control of municipalities have different policies on issues such as housing and economic development, yet at the same time there is a legislated process to guide development at Local Government level through a plan which includes a substantial public consultation process. The manner in which the IDP is conceptualized, one would expect for it to focus more on the needs of civilians than political organizational policies. There is a tension between municipal and organizational approaches and the research investigates this phenomenon. The research does not seek to critique democracy, but rather seeks to showcase the shortcomings of the IDP as a participatory mechanism.

The IDP process was conceptualized in a manner which put public participation as the most integral component (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 1998). However, it is arguable that community participation has very restricted time to engage in the process because of the structure of the engagements which normally take place in the evenings within a stipulated time frame which thus limits their contribution to the document. When drafting an IDP, the municipality gives the public 21 days to contribute to the document through community meetings and most recently during the COVID-19 pandemic and lockdown, it allowed online submissions through live sessions which were facilitated by either a member of the executive or normal government employees. On the other hand, engagements with certain interest groups take place in private with members of the Municipal Executive which are political office bearers and departmental officials. The extent of the influence political parties have on policies and plans such as the IDP is not as widely publicized as it is at national level, and thus not fully understood which is what the research explores.

The research will provide an in-depth explanation of IDPs, their legislation and the relationship with political parties' policies. It will be looking specifically at the 2011/12 IDP as this was the last time the City of Johannesburg was led by the ANC for a full term, in comparison to the City of Cape Town which has been consistently led by the Democratic Alliance (DA) over the last ten years. The research interrogates the housing and economic development policies of the African National Congress and the Democratic Alliance in order

to ascertain to what extent these policies are aligned and included in the IDP document of that particular city. The research ultimately explores what might be reflected with respect to political versus procedural influence in the housing and economic sectors of the IDP.

1.4 Research Questions

The main focus of the research is to discover the extent ruling political organization positions are reflected in Local Government policies, given that public participation processes are intended to influence these policies. This will be done through an interrogation of the Housing and Economic Development aspects of the 2011/12 IDPs in both the ANC-led Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality and DA-led Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality. The aim is to compare the content of these IDP documents with the content of political party documents, and infer from this the extent of influence. This question is important because there is limited understanding in the manner in which Local Government operates and the role and influence of ruling political parties on its processes.

Main Research Question:
To what extent do Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) reflect the policies of the political party leading the City in ANC-led JHB and DA-led Cape Town?
Sub-questions:

1. Would one expect the IDP document to reflect the ruling party policy?
2. What are the housing and economic development policies of the ANC and DA? (What were they at the time)
3. To what extent do the City of Cape Town and City of Johannesburg's 2011/12 IDPs reflect the policies of their governing parties?
4. What are the specific party policies that are reflected in the IDP documents of these two Municipalities?
5. To what extent are the party policies and the IDPs substantively different in these sectors and what is the significance of this?

1.5 Research Approach

There are two parts of this particular research which includes document analysis and one-on-one interviews and questionnaires with senior officials from the City of Johannesburg.

Interviews with officials from the City of Cape Town unfortunately did not take place as they were unreachable. The researcher interviewed officials from the different departments in order to gain more understanding on the process and creation of their departmental policies and plans as reflected in the IDP. The researcher also interviewed the African National Congress' Head of Policy and the Democratic Alliance's Senior Policy Researcher. The interviews with representatives from the Political Parties were even harder as there were questions, they were not willing to answer or attempted to avoid. These interviews did however provide a detailed explanation of the processes and the interviewees personal experience and understanding of the influence and power of the different stakeholders.

In terms of the document analysis, the research looked specifically at the City of Johannesburg's and the City of Cape Town's 2011/12 Integrated Development Plans. Thorough readings of these two documents were done, looking specifically at the economic development and housing sections. It also looks at the historical and most recent economic and housing policies of the ANC and the DA as detailed in their conference resolutions, policy documents and manifestos.

The research is minimal risk as it did not put anyone or their livelihood at possible harm. The people who were interviewed for this research are officials and experts in their different fields and departments, this included Assistant Directors and Heads of Department which was highly beneficial and added to the reliability of the information that was used in the research. None of the names of the participants were included in the research unless they gave verbal permission for this to be done. The researcher holds the position of a Specialist of the City of Johannesburg which made it easier to access some of the officials and documents which were paramount to the research which could not be found online.

1.6 Outline of Chapters

Chapter One: Introduction.
This chapter provided the background which included the rationale, aim and objectives of the research. It also provided a brief explanation behind the IDP and its purpose. It set out to investigate the tension between political and procedural processes in relation to legislation through the IDP document.
Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter will focus on providing the theoretical and legislative base of the research. This will be done through presenting the Communicative Planning theory that acts as a base for the introduction of the notion of public participation. It also presents the Municipal Frameworks of the notion integrated development planning. This will be used to demonstrate the concepts and theories of how these two aspects relate to each other.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter will include a context chapter and a detailed description of the different research methods used throughout the study.

Chapter Four: Municipal and Political Policy

This chapter will look specifically at the two different IDPs and political party policies and position on housing and economic development. This chapter will also present the discussion and comparison between the influence of the two political parties on the respective IDP.

Chapter Five: Analysis of Findings and Conclusion

This chapter will focus on the analysis of the two different IDP documents and political parties' policies and overall discussion of the research. It will also draw the conclusions based on the findings of the study conducted.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The apartheid system which lasted for almost half a century ensured that administrative and political power remained in the hands of the white minority. When it officially came to its demise in 1994, the newly elected Democratic Government's aim was to rebuild the country and create a more inclusive society. South Africa is now a democratic state that allows for the presence of multiple political parties with the African National Congress currently in the majority. The country is guided by the Constitution which was drafted and finalized through an open, inclusive and participatory process which is one of the guiding principles of the document. The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is guided by the same principles as our Constitution, with public participation as its cornerstone. Local Government has the responsibility of ensuring that this process takes place efficiently and fairly when the document is reviewed annually.

In understanding the IDP one must look at the theories, legislative frameworks and the discussions around it. This particular chapter will focus on providing the conceptual and legislative framework of this research which later in the document will be utilized to provide an analysis of the findings and the final conclusion. The chapter will begin by discussing the notion of public participation which is at the core of the IDP process. This will be followed by a presentation of the communicative planning theory that underpins the notion of public participation and its critiques. The chapter will also present the discussion around the extent and type of influence political parties have on policy. It will then examine the relationship that political parties have with the notion of public participation and then look closely at the role of politics and the experience of civilians in the IDP process. The chapter concludes with the discussion of the legislative frameworks which deal with the conceptualization and implementation of Integrated Development Planning.

2.2 Public Participation:

The Local Government Municipal Systems Act of 2000 calls for the development of a "culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a

system of participatory governance" (MSA 2000 quoted by Barichievy 2005: 374). This particular Act ensures that public participation forms part of important municipal procedures and policy formulation. According to Goldfrank (2010) public participation is viewed as a platform in which civilians are able to directly engage with the government of the City. The notion of a participatory government is deeply rooted in the country's Constitution and sits at the core of the IDP process. Public participation is believed to promote the ideals of state accountability and responsiveness. South African citizens have the responsibility to move from being "passive subjects in dependent relationships with particular politicians or parties into active citizens" who know and exercise their rights (Goldfrank 2007: 148). This notion of an active citizen calls for active participation in forums, community meetings, izimbizo, the creation of petitions and sometimes protests.

Public participation is also viewed as a tool to enhance democracy and encourage innovation whilst attempting to close the economic and social gaps created during apartheid. It gives community members and other focus groups the platform to give an input on the transformation and development they would like to see in their communities and areas of interest. The municipality's strategic master plan which is the IDP highlights the importance of government officials consulting with local community members and insists on their ideas and developmental needs being heard. South African municipalities have the responsibility to promote community participation through the "receipt, processing and consideration of petitions and complaints" and through "public meetings and hearings" but most importantly through "consultative sessions with locally recognised community organisations and individuals" (Barichievy et al 2005: 375). These processes are mostly facilitated by ward councillors and their committee members.

The Municipal Systems Act (2000) also includes the institution of Ward Committees under the leadership of the Ward Councillors. Citizen control is the epitome of community participation as explained by Arnstein (1969) in her ladder of citizen participation, as it allows the community to participate in a meaningful way whilst giving them decision making powers and a seat in planning and decision-making processes, through ward committee members. Ward committees in most instances, consist of the Ward Councillor and about 10 locals chosen by the community itself (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2000). Ward Councillors are elected during elections and stand as representatives of their respective political organization and a voice of their area and Council.

Ward Committee members are individuals chosen by the community and have the responsibility to act in the best interests of the community whilst reflecting their diverse needs and interests. They must also advise the Ward Councillor on issues, policy and ensure the active participation of the community in matters that need their input. The MSA clearly states that they can give recommendations and lodge complaints on behalf of the community through the "ward councillor, to the metro or local council, the executive committee, the executive mayor or the relevant metropolitan sub-council" themselves (Piper & Deacon 2008: 64).

South Africa's model of public participation at Local Government level can be likened to Brazil's Porto Alegro's motion of the Participatory Budget where "citizens participate as individuals and as representatives of various civil society groups" (Baiocchi 2001: 48). They have meetings where they are able to elect delegates to represent neighbourhoods similarly to ward committee members and most importantly are able to review the budget and projects of the previous year, which has some similarities to the annual IDP process (Baiocchi 2001: 48). Porto Alegre's model creates direct deliberation between citizens and the government giving them a platform to form part of "pragmatic problem-solving, and in monitoring and implementing solutions" (Baiocchi 2001:50) However in Brazil's case their government had created proper infrastructure, and had officials which were committed in creating a system that ensures that the "participatory inputs were translated into budgetary outputs" and not mere suggestions like in the IDP process (Heller 2012: 654). Unlike Brazil which utilizes 'binding participation' where citizens are "are directly involved in shaping the municipal budget", South Africa utilizes 'consultative participation' where citizens express their demands in an "open and organized manner but only indirectly influence decision making" (Heller 2012: 656).

In South Africa the presence of ward committee members is heavily criticized by scholars and the general public. Firstly, the design is inherently flawed because of the manner in which it fails to "integrate them meaningfully into council decision-making processes" (Barichievy et al 2005: 380). It is also criticized because of the manner in which committee members tend to be "colonised by party agendas" which simply reproduces the ideas of the branch or political party in power in the area at the time (Piper 2008: 62). This takes away their ability to hold the party accountable or monitor its responsiveness to the needs of the

people. Political parties tend to use these structures to replicate their positions and ideas (Piper 2015: 8).

According to key officials, the ANC's stance on Ward Committees has always been clear that they must be utilized to "mobilise the broadest range of interests in the community behind progressive goals as part of the overall national democratic transition" (Carrim quoted by Piper & Deacon 69). They must emulate and strengthen the stance, ideals and visions of the local branch and the organization as a whole. This is where the tension around ward committees begin as they are meant to be objective individuals that speak on behalf of the community and must push for its advancement. There is a tendency for political organizations to absorb governance structures into doing their work for them. The Municipal Systems Act is not specific about the political background of ward committee members, but rather focuses and calls for them to be directly from that particular community and must be chosen by its members in a sitting.

When looking at the system of public participation and all its facets particularly in the context of South Africa's Local Government, one is able to see how it fails to take into consideration politics and inequality. Baiocchi (2001) highlights the manner in which people are unequal, which greatly affects their level of deliberation within these participatory processes. He notes the manner in which debates and deliberations can be dominated by the more knowledgeable and powerful individuals. Community participation fails to take into consideration the potential for deliberations to be influenced and ruled by the elite. He emphasizes Bourdieu's stance that "deliberation and participatory democracy reproduce hierarchies" both political and class wise (Bourdieu 1991 quoted by Baiocchi 2001: 52).

When looking at Arnstein's ladder of participation one could argue that South African municipalities accord with level four on her ladder which involves the consultation of community members although their views are seldomly taken into consideration or even implemented. (Arnstein 1969). Piper and von Lieres (2015) note the tendency for government officials to take public participation sessions as a need for municipal compliance, rather than being fully active in driving these initiatives and ensuring that the needs of the community and other stakeholders does not simply exist on paper but are also implemented. The next section will discuss the theory which underpins the notion of public participation in the planning field and its critiques which some have been briefly discussed above.

2.3 Communicative Planning Theory

The notion of communicative planning is heavily reliant on spoken interactions and consultative measures in the planning process. It makes the argument that knowledge is socially constructed and thus a space cannot be created based on research without taking into consideration social cohesion and human interaction and how those interactions make the space and should therefore influence its planning (Machloer and Milz 2015). Similarly to Purcell (2009), Machloer and Milz (2015) provide a historical background to how the communicative planning theory was created. They present and problematize the systematic model of planning which at the time was the most used method. The model gave planners the power to act on research and their vision on a particular space with very limited input from ordinary civilians (Machloer and Milz 2015) . However, this particular model began losing favour in the late 1980's as it was viewed as a means to uphold the political-economic status quo. This led to the promotion of the communicative planning method by Forester (1989) inspired by Habermas' (1984) communicative rationality theory which encouraged co-operative action through mutual deliberation.

Habermas (1984) argues that distorted communication ultimately creates distorted power relations and influence. The "ideal speech situation" calls for an "uncoerced and undistorted interaction among individuals" who might have competing interests (Duma 2002: 20). It is thus important for language to be used as a tool to delegitimize the power of certain groups and call for a more inclusive approach, to make everyone a part of the conversation. The theory calls for planners to be more inclusive as it argues that different stakeholders would bring in diverse solutions to some of the problems that they were facing. Forester (1989) sets up rules of communication during planning where he insists that all should include "comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy, and accuracy or truth" (Forester 1989: 45). Government has the responsibility to "pay attention to imbalances of information and lack of representation; we need to make sure that all points of view are heard and not only those of the articulate or powerful" (Sandercock 1997 quoted by Duma 2002: 22). In order for community members and other stakeholders to be able to engage properly and make informed submissions they need to be taught about the planning processes. In this approach there is a clear attempt to neutralize power relations through the sharing of knowledge and communication.

This planning theory is used in South Africa and is the framework utilized for much of the legislation put into place by the democratically elected government. This can be visibly seen through the IDP process which places much value on the contribution of communities in order for processes to take place legitimately. Planners in this particular context have the responsibility to "listen critically, advise, organise, analyse, share their scientific knowledge with ordinary people" in order to capacitate our normal civilians (Duma 2002: 31). On the other hand, citizens have the responsibility to "participate actively in initiatives aimed at developing" (Duma 2002: 31) and attend community meetings and give their inputs. Public participation is at the centre of the process whilst government officials and planners are deemed as co-ordinators and enablers of the development. The theory believes in the importance of "listening to the concerns and interests of all parties" and the production of "local knowledge and experience of the people" (Duma 2002: 44). One must however look at the extent in which this theory is implemented and discuss how it plays a role in delegitimizing certain power relations.

The theory is also heavily criticized because of the manner in which it perpetuates an imbalance in power relations, contrary to its intentions. It creates the idea that through opening communication channels, a consensus will ultimately be reached and in order for it to be reached there are those that must compromise and the power ultimately lies with the planner to make the final decision. Huxley (2000) notes the tendency and possibility of "distorted communications and strategic calculations" which creates the notion that planners are the "vanguard whose knowledge of what is best for others justifies" (Huxley 2000: 374) their actions and decisions. They are given enough power to be able to appease the strategic interests of the stakeholders of their choosing. The context and political forces which may have influenced the process are oftentimes not taken into consideration.

Huxley (2000) highlights the manner in which the theory also fails to take into consideration the unequal levels of influence different stakeholders have. Taking this into consideration there is a clear possibility that government can favour some groups over others including, "men over women, stakeholders over citizens" (Tickel and Peck 1996 quoted by Huxley 2000:374). Stakeholders in this particular disjuncture refer to interest groups and different spheres in society which are consulted. These groups interests may have the tendency of being more in line with what government wants to achieve compared to normal community members. There is also a tendency of attempting to use "ideological and political practices ...

that confuse the powerless" and minimize their influence thus taking away their agency (Healey 1992 quoted by Foley 1997: 4). The communicative planning theory and its critiques are a clear underpinning of my research as they demonstrate the imbalance in power relations between different stakeholders. The theory falls to acknowledge power relations and the manner in which systematic inequalities have the power to greatly influence outcomes.

2.4 Political Party Influence

Purcell (2002) offers a framework for understanding state restructuring and the state's role in economic regulation and the explicit influence of political agendas on this through the regulation theory. He offers an explanation of the theory and attempts to demonstrate how it works to regulate the public. The theory attempts to investigate the decision-making processes and policies of state institutions. The manner in which the state is constructed allows for government officials to operate according to the political influences and the political landscape. One must understand the "degree of political institutionalisation, centralisation, and responsiveness of the elected elites to the will of the people" in order to understand the type of influence political parties have on policy (Verma 2000: 229).

Political parties have the responsibility to not only represent the interests of the people but to also act in their best interests. However, the political parties "ideological complexion, can alter policy" in ways that may not be beneficial or favourable to the people. (Verma 2000: 231). In the European context it is believed that parties "pursue similar policies regardless of the ideology on which they campaign" (Verma 2000: 233). Joly and Dandoy (2018) explain how political organization's manifesto documents work. Manifestoes present organization's "official priorities and preferences in light of coming elections and potential government negotiations" (Joly & Dandoy 2018: 513). They argue that one must look at this specific document in order to "study the impact of political parties on the executive agenda" and measure their success and extent of their influence when looking at policy (Joly & Dandoy 2018: 513).

The manifesto allows a horizontal analysis where one is able to examine the influence of the party through the "ideological policy positions, based on the relative emphasis of different policy issues in party manifestos" (Joly & Dandoy 2018: 514). One is able to examine whether these ideological bases and positionings match government policy positions.

However, in systems with public participation processes one needs to understand how this participation shapes policies and programmes, in addition to party manifestoes which is one of the main questions and discussions this particular research will attempt to demonstrate.

2.5 Political Parties and Participation

The inclusion of the notion of public participation in the Constitution, indicated a clear "departure from apartheid-era authoritarianism" (Booysen 2011: 176). The notion of democracy is underpinned by the idea of a 'government of the people, by the people and for the people'. Political parties operate on this premise and are seen as means to uphold democratic governments. This is because they operate on three different levels "within the party itself, within the broader community and within the structures of government" (O'Reagan 2010: 7) and all these levels require the buy in of people. Public participation is viewed by political parties and particularly by the ANC in this instance as a means of "co-opting both elites and 'ordinary' people into governance projects" (Booysen 2011: 174).

Public participation "brings people into positions of co- responsibility, while sharing information about achievements and listening to people's complaints" (Booysen 2011: 174). Political parties believe that the inclusion of the people through public participation results in less resistance and offers much greater legitimacy with whatever issue is being dealt with. Political parties have a tendency to monitor and actively seek the input of normal civilians particularly towards elections in order to determine their positions going forward. This is because they have a direct interest in ensuring that what their manifestos offer coincide with the needs articulated by the people on the ground. It is only through the different forms of public participation are they able to locate and understand these views.

2.6 Politics, Participation and the IDP

In the 1990's Government adopted the slogan 'Batho Pele' which when directly translated means 'the people first'. This new approach to service called to put South Africans at "the centre of the planning and delivery of services (Matshigi 2007 quoted by Tshoose 2015: 18). There was an intention for participation and the inclusion of the voices of citizens to be at the core of the democratic dispensation. The conceptual values of public participation include

"inclusiveness, openness, access, consultation, shared decisions and transparency" (Tshoose 2015: 15). As stipulated in the Municipal Structures Act, 117 of 1998, one of the core functions of municipalities is to create mechanisms to consult the public and encourage public participation.

The IDP process was viewed as a direct response to the legislative and constitutional requirement to involve communities in the matters of local government. IDP forums provided a clear platform for "discussion, negotiations and joint decision making; they also monitored policy planning and implementation" (Booysen 2011: 186). Participants included members of "council executive committees, councilors, traditional leaders, ward committee representatives, heads of departments, senior officials from government departments, representatives from organized stakeholder groups, activists, resource people or advisors and community representatives" (Booysen 2011: 187).

The IDP public participation process is meant to be a space where "citizens map out and prioritize needs, which feeds into local planning and budgeting, and ensures a close match between supply and demand" (Everatt et al 2010: 224). Public participation in this particular context is furthermore viewed as a way of rethinking the manner in which the state engages with citizens, and therefore transfers "decision-making powers and resource allocation decisions" (Everatt et al. 2010: 225) to them. The IDP participation process is characterized as an invited space with the presence of civilians and organizations which is legitimized by the state. Methods which are utilized to help achieve public participation include "IDP forums, ward committees and public meetings, budget consultations" (Everatt et al. 2010: 227) where government must go to the people.

However, the South African Government is seen as one that is a "mixture of neglect, lack of service delivery, corruption, infrequent feedback, limited involvement" which makes the entire notion of public participation almost futile (Tshoose 2015: 18). The complaint has been that, even when public participation sessions do occur, it "tends to be brief, in the shape of sporadic inputs that decorate particular stages of planning and programming cycles" (Friedman 2006 quoted by. Tshoose 2015: 18). There is a general feeling that officials and planners view and treat these sessions as a requirement to meet "performance targets and service delivery requirements" (Tshoose 2015: 18). They have a tendency to be defensive and act as "gate-keepers and controllers rather than as facilitative bodies" which allow the

community and different stakeholders to voice their opinions and visions. Public participation at local government is somewhat viewed as a "pseudo-democratic instrument through which authorities legitimize already-taken decisions" (Tshoose 2015: 19) which is the reason many civilians are so reluctant to participate.

Officials and planners' approach with predetermined programmes and utilize public participation spaces as a platform for sharing information and sometimes giving very limited feedback. There is also the idea that councilors and political parties have the tendency to fill public participation sessions with people that will push their interests. (Everatt et al. 2010). This is also done to through under-publicizing meetings or calling them at inconvenient times where majority of the public is unavailable. Ward committees are used as a means to influence and mobilize the community around a particular interest or issue. There is struggle of members being a voice of the people whilst simultaneously being 'captured' and used to advance certain agendas or push their own political ambitions and that of others.

2.7 Municipal Governance and the Integrated Development Plan:

The White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (RDP) of 1994 was a growth and development strategy that was originally conceptualized by the ANC and was used to respond to the economic and social problems the majority of the South Africans were facing. It sets out frameworks that the government was to use in its quest to rebuild the economy and better the lives of all South Africans (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs 1994). It was directly in line with the ANC's quest to mobilize and restructure the country's resources and finances in order to meet requirements and recommendations of RDP priorities and better the lives of many South Africans. One of the six principles of this particular document is 'Meeting of Basic Needs and Building the Infrastructure" which sets out the theoretical base and vision for rebuilding, which is how the IDP was originally conceptualized. The document also introduces the White Paper on Local Government (1996) which outlines the transitional framework and programme for transformation to be enforced by local government in order to achieve the vision stipulated in South Africa's then newly drafted Constitution.

The main vision of the White Paper on Local Government (1996) is to set out frameworks that will be utilized to rebuild local communities and improve the spatial, economic and

social contexts of South Africans, undoing the harm caused by apartheid's segregationist laws of development. It sets out different laws that govern the financial, administrative, political and policy objectives of the municipality. The idea of the Integrated Development was firstly conceptualized in the White Paper on Local Government document which provides the legislative framework and explains the plan and how it must be implemented. The Local Government Transition Act (Second Amendment Act) of 1996 is a document that was formulated to restructure local government thus allowing for it to align itself with the priorities of the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development. It most importantly demonstrates the different power relations between the public and the different stakeholders in the creation of the IDP and local government in general.

The Education and Training Unit, a Non-Profit organization which aims specifically at capacitating local government and community-based organizations in order to further transformation and democracy in South Africa, provides a scope of the relevant stakeholders which are to take part in the IDP process and its conceptualization. It speaks about each stakeholders level of participation and the importance of their participation in the process. Most importantly this document provides a clear example of the five different phases of the IDP process, relevant for this research. The document provides an in-depth explanation of the IDP and how it is meant to work, including the different phases which must passed in order for the document to be implemented.

The IDP Guide Pack (1999) was created by the Decentralized Development Planning Task Team and published by the Department of Provincial and Local Government in 1999. This document provides an in-depth purpose of Integrated Development Planning and provides an interpretation of the Municipal Systems Act 2000 which created mechanisms that would allow municipalities to spearhead the social and economic upliftment of local communities. It details the planning process in creating the IDP through the clarification of the different organizational and sectoral roles and responsibilities. This document also gives recommendations and expected outcomes of the process. Most importantly it deals with the different sectors that must be addressed through the document. It details the role of local government and looks at the policy principles of the different departments and how they can be applied to the IDP. This document is important for this proposed research because it provides a framework that must be utilized in order to create the IDP and looks in depth of what is expected of each department and the different stakeholders.

The Municipal Systems Act (2000) provided the legal framework of the municipality to regulate planning, performance management, administration and ensure service delivery. It is utilized to shape the government into an agency that is responsive to the social and economic needs of the people. It sets out the goals, processes, role-players and requirements for the IDP process. The Municipal Systems Act argues that in order for an IDP document to be legally adopted it must have:

(i) A vision for long- term development with special emphasis on the municipality‘s development and internal transformation needs.
(ii) Development provides priorities and objectives, including local economic development aims.
(iii) The development strategies must be aligned with national and provincial plans and planning requirements.
(iv) A spatial development framework, including basic guidelines for land-use management.
(v) The operational strategies.
(vi) Disaster-management plans.
(vii) A financial plan, including a budget projection for at least the next three years.
(viii) The key performance indicators and key performance targets.

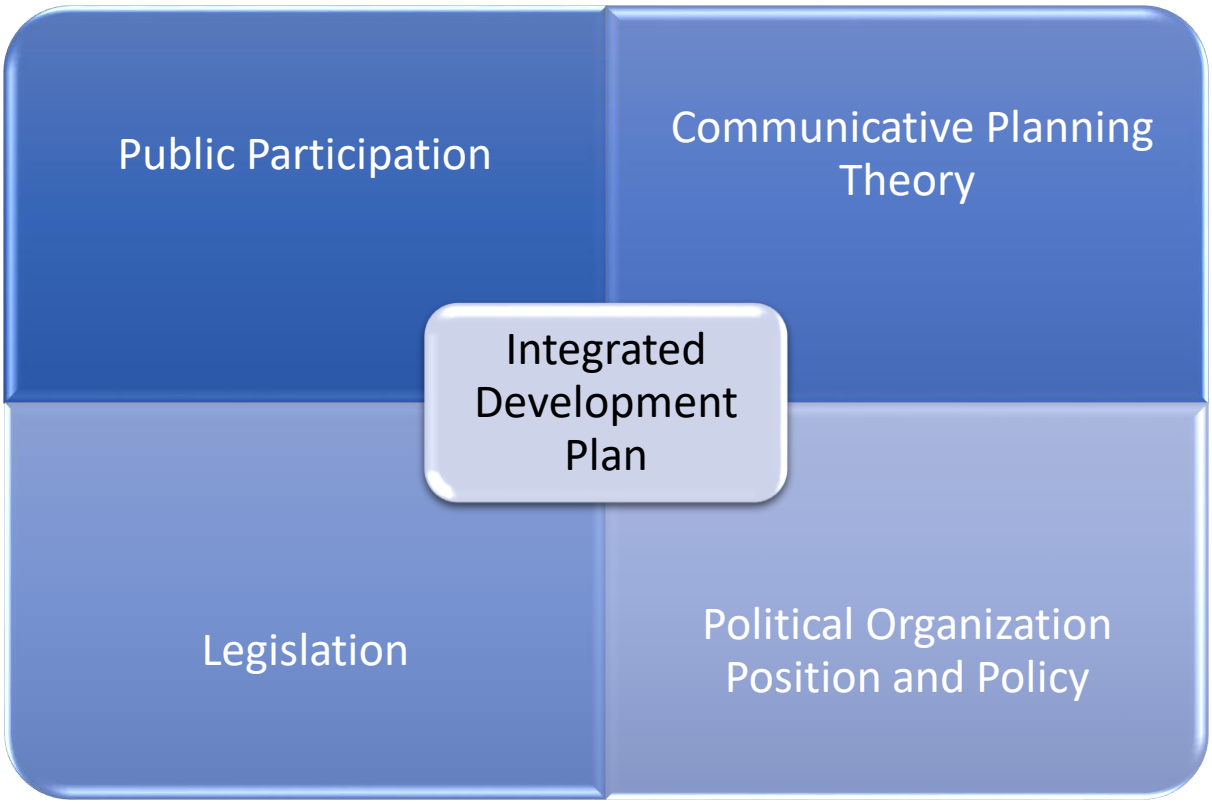
(Municipal Systems Act 2000: 38)

Most importantly it emphasizes the need for community participation and places it at the centre of the processes in order for the documents mandate to be achieved. It acknowledges the proximity of Local Government to it’s the people compared to the other two spheres which would allow the facilitation of public participation.

2.8 Conceptual Framework

The literature mentioned above provides both the theoretical and legislative framework needed for the research. Local Government’s Municipal Systems Act provides the legislation of the IDP whilst simultaneously providing the conceptual backing of public participation in the South African context. It is by drawing from the Communicative Planning Theory which emphasizes and encourages public participation where one is able to understand the extent of

the influence and contributions of political organizations as stakeholders. The research wishes to examine the relationship between political organizations and the notion of public participation as shaping forces of the IDP document. The theory will also be used to determine and demonstrate the role and powers of the different stakeholders. Both the legislation and the political party positions must be taken into consideration and have a direct effect on final version and the research wishes to explore the extent to which they influence the IDP document.



The tension between the different legislation, the implementation of public participation, the communicative planning theory and the interests and influence of political organizations ultimately produces the Integrated Development Plan. The legislation presents the conceptualization and implementation procedures of the IDP but fails to take into consideration how the failure of the implementation of efficient public participation processes are at times influenced and thus helpful to political organizations and their agendas. There are very sharp contradictions with the manner in which the IDP process is meant to take place and how it ends up taking place. The lack of consideration of unequal power relations by legislators is what gives political organizations the opportunity and power to influence and

manipulate processes. The research will explore how these tensions ultimately produce a IDP document that is favourable to the political party.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored literature, conceptual and legislative frameworks which frame the IDP. This chapter will present the research design, the methodology, limitations, and the ethical guidelines which were considered and adhered to throughout the study.

3.2 Research Design

As the researcher, I had to take into account my personal position and experience as an employee of the City of Johannesburg under the Private Office of the Executive Mayor. This put me both at an advantage and a disadvantage throughout the data collection process of this study. It was a disadvantage because of how wary the City's officials were of me because of the department I worked for. Some officials were incredibly cautious about the manner in which they answered my questions, particularly those relating to the interference of political organizations through their office bearers.

However, I believe that my position as a political staffer was advantageous because it allowed me to understand the tension and complexities in the relationship between officials and political office bearers. This understanding assisted me to critically analyze these undertones and apply them in understanding how the IDP document is conceptualized by the housing and economic development departments. The research method which I utilized allows for a nuanced and critical analysis and comparison of the different documents. The interviews with officials from the different departments provide insight into the complexities of the creation of the document and the relations which a document analysis would have failed to do own its own.

Interviewees were chosen based on their position within the respective department and direct role and understanding of the IDP process. The perspectives of the officials from the City of Johannesburg have assisted in the understanding of the tension between administrators and party officials having worked with both political organizations. There is also a triangulation of data sources which assists in the validity of the study. I was able to access documents from the housing and economic development officials, the ANC's archive and the office of the Speaker which deals directly with the piecing together of the IDP.

3.3 Study Context

This study looks particularly at the 2011/2012 Integrated Development Plans of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality under the leadership of the ANC and the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality under the leadership of the DA. The study looks at this particular time frame as this was the last time the City of Johannesburg was led by the ANC for a full term in comparison to the City of Cape Town which has been led by the DA consistently for the last 15 years. The City of Johannesburg is the economic hub of Africa whilst the City of Cape Town is perceived as the home of tourism and international attraction. Due to their major contributions to the economy, they are perceived as the two most important cities in the country.

The research looks into two different municipalities in order to understand how differently or similarly these two organizations operate in relation to the IDP. The two Cities are run in different ways and focus on different things, with the City of Johannesburg running under the slogan of a 'World Class African City' which the City of Cape Town does not do. Similarly, to the IDP documents which focus on different aspects, the City of Johannesburg's was framed with the intent of "focusing on the basics and preparing for long term" (City of Johannesburg 2011: 1) whilst the City of Cape Town was interested in creating the notion that "this City works for you" (City of Cape Town 2012: 1).

At face value these slogans sound similar but when elaborated in the IDP documents mean completely different things for each city and the organization at its helm. The DA was focused on growing the economy, job creation and attracting investments whilst the ANC was trying to provide basic services and create jobs. When these two documents were conceptualized, the world had just been brought to its knees financially by the Great Recession which had taken place in 2009, and South Africa was negatively impacted particularly in relation to economic growth and employment.

3.4 Research Methods

The qualitative method of research was utilized throughout this study, which relies on the reasoning of observations and interpreting of sources. Interviews with the four officials are the primary sources and were used for an in-depth enquiry into the relationship political organizations have with their representatives and the perceived influence they and their policies have on the formulation and implementation of policies at local government level.

The secondary sources which are being interrogated in this research include an in depth reading and comparison between the IDP and the policy documents, conference resolutions, manifestoes and national policies of the political organizations.

Official Documents Utilized
Local Government Transition Act Amendment Act, 1996
Municipal Systems Act, 2000.
Integrated Development Planning for Local Government, 1994.
The White Paper on Local Government, 1998
The White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994
African National Congress – 2011 Local Government Manifesto
African National Congress – 2009 Manifesto Policy Framework
African National Congress – 52nd National Conference 2007
African National Congress – Freedom Charter, 1955
African National Congress – The Reconstruction and Development Programme, 1994
Democratic Alliance – Creating Economic Opportunities for All, 2009
Democratic Alliance – Local Government Manifesto 2011
Democratic Alliance – More than a Shelter, 2009
Democratic Alliance – Economic Policy for Growth, Opportunity, and Equity, 2009
Democratic Alliance – DA Manifesto Election 2009

The above documents were chosen for analysis because they include governmental policies, plans, visions, and legislation. Regarding the political organizations, the documents selected present their historical vision, ideological positions, policies, and developmental plans respectively and with most being created around the time the research is focused on. The document analysis was done by thorough readings of the plans of the two IDP documents from the different cities looking specifically at the Economic Development and Housing sections. It also looked at the Economic Development and Housing policy documents, conference resolutions and most importantly the manifestoes of the ANC and the DA. The readings of these document allowed for the researcher to understand the vision behind the texts but also allowed them to pick up the subtle differences and similarities between these

documents. Through this, the research was able to look into the extent of these similarities through a direct comparison of the IDP and the ideological and planning positions of the political parties in relation to housing and economic development.

The two municipalities were chosen due to their high economic activity which ultimately affects their spatial and housing needs. It is useful to interrogate the type of challenges big cities which experience high levels of migration experience and look into the solutions they have for these challenges. Throughout the phase of the document analysis of the IDP documents, I looked at the chapters and sections that related specifically to Economic Development and Housing Departments. In the CoCT's 2012 IDP, the information was collated under the specific pillar which made the information much easier to find and understand. Their Housing plans fell under 'the caring city' pillar and this is where they detailed the challenges of the department and the people, and also detailed their plans for the next five years whilst their Economic Development challenges and plans were collated under the "opportunity city" pillar. The City of Johannesburg's 2011 IDP required a bit more time in order to understand because of the manner in which it is structured. The IDP (2011) presents the City's context which includes the challenges being faced by the City and its people in the second Chapter and only begins detailing its plans in Chapter Six; Focusing on the Basic and Seven; Preparing for Long Term.

The research required a thorough reading of both these chapters in order to understand and interpret the plans and policies of the City and both IDP's were analysed critically and the most important themes, content and plans relating to Economic Development and Housing were included in the research and are discussed more in depth in Chapter Three of this research report. The reading and interpretation of the political organizations policy documents, conference resolutions and manifestoes were a bit more straightforward as some of the documents were refined versions of their previous counterparts. The earlier documents assisted in understanding the context and background of a particular ideological position and also gave a bit more information than a manifesto could.

The study also included individual interviews which assisted the research by providing first-hand experience of the working relationships and an in-depth understanding of the IDP process, how it is meant to take place theoretically and how it ends up taking place physically. The individual interviews included senior officials from the City of

Johannesburg's Economic Development Department and Integrated Development Planning: Community Dialogue Unit which falls under the Office of the Speaker. The officials which were interviewed have been with the City for over ten years and were selected based on their position, understanding and experience with the IDP. They gave their personal experience and understanding of the influence and power of the different stakeholders in the IDP process. The research also included interviews from the ANC's Head of Research and Policy and the DA's Senior Policy Researcher which allowed the research to understand the parties housing and economic development policies and the parties belief on how their and why their positions should be included in the IDP document.

3.5 Approach to Analysis

In terms of fieldwork the researcher set up and followed a five-step procedure which included both the interviews and document analysis of documents which assisted in the overall analysis for the paper and reaching the conclusion.

- Step One: Reading of the housing and economic development sections of the IDP documents.
- Step Two: Assessment of the political parties policy documents and conference resolutions looking specifically at the housing and economic development aspects.
- Step Three: Interview with officials from the three departments.
- Step Four: Interview with political party representative.
- Step Five: Assemble and analyse data.

Analysis Process			
Task	**Assessment Objective**	**Method**	**Data Consolidation**
2011/12 IDP Document Analysis	Fully understand and note the housing and economic development plans as stipulated in the CoJ's 2011 IDP and the CoCT's 2012 IDP.	Reading and making notes.	Collate housing and economic development key policies.
Political organization policy document and conference resolution analysis.	Determine the stance of the two political parties in respect to housing and economic development.	Reading and making notes.	Separately collate their policies and overall stance.
Interview and questionnaires with officials from the Integrated Development (1 CoJ), Housing and Economic Development (1 CoJ) departments.	Determine policy creation and implementation process.	Economic Development - Physical and telephonic interview. IDP Unit – Sent questions to answer at their leisure.	Consolidate and collate their preferred processes and personal experiences.
Interview with representative from political organization's current policy unit (1 DA, 1 ANC).	Understand their policy creation and how they attempt to get their policies in implemented in government.	Physical interview.	Consolidate key responses and arguments which are not found in the documents.
Assembling and analyzing data.	Interpret all data collected in order to assist when making final findings for the research.	Writing.	Collate all data collected.

3.6 Limitations

The research unfortunately finds itself in the middle of global pandemic which slowed down some of the desired and projected milestones in attempts to understand the complex relationship between the political organizations and how their policies influence local government plans. Throughout the data collection process there was still much fear around the virus which made many of the preferred interviewees reluctant on agreeing to an interview as they complained on time constraints and work pressure. Two of the interviewees indicated that they preferred to answer the questions at their own leisure which made it hard for the researcher to observe the nuances between their responses, facial reactions, and body language.

The Democratic Alliance Senior Policy Researcher had been with the organization since 2013 and had in-depth understanding and articulation of the party's policies and they were referred to by the DA's Head of Policy. The official from the CoJ's IDP Community Dialogue Unit had been with the City around the time the 2011 IDP was created. Both were emailed the questions which they later responded to with answers as per their request. The ANC 's Head of Policy availed himself for a sit-down interview, similar with the senior official from Economic Development who started with a telephonic interview, but later felt uncomfortable with answering certain questions over the phone which led to interview ending up as a sit down. There was a continuous attempt to contact officials from the City of Cape Town's Housing, Economic Development and IDP Department from June until October. I sent numerous emails which were not responded to and attempted to call to no avail.

The CoJ's Housing department referred me to someone who had been in the unit during 2011 who kept on promising to revert back to me with his answers as I reminded him every week until this research was submitted. However, having worked with both the ANC for years and most recently the DA, the officials in the City of Johannesburg were able to give some insight on the similarities and differences of the IDP process under each organization. This assisted in providing some insight on the manner in which the DA operates, however this information was utilized cautiously as I acknowledge that these are different contexts, and the workings may be completely different. The majority of the documents in which this research utilized can be found on the website of the two Municipalities and the Democratic Alliance. However, with some of the documents from the African National Congress have disappeared

with the loss of their website in the recent years, I was lucky to be given access to the ANC's archive at Luthuli House in order to review the documents I needed.

3.7 Ethics

The study received ethics clearance from University of the Witwatersrand's School of Architecture and Planning Research Ethics Committee (Protocol Number: SOAP078/06/2020). The study observed the University's ethical standards of conducting research, such as getting informed consent from participants. This was done through the attachment of a participant information sheet on all requests for interviews which included information on the researcher and the study they were embarking on. The document also gave interviewees the option to withdraw at any moment and choose anonymity. Personal information acquired by the researcher as a means of familiarizing themselves with the interviewee has been hidden and removed from the transcripts. All transcripts and voice recordings have been stored in an electronic password protected file on a laptop that only the researcher has access to.

CHAPTER FOUR: MUNICIPAL AND POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter detailed the research design and methods utilized throughout the study. This chapter will focus on exploring the City of Johannesburg's (CoJ) Metropolitan Municipality's 2011 IDP, the City of Cape Town's Metropolitan Municipality's 2012 IDP, and the African National Congress and Democratic Alliance's policy documents, policy resolutions and manifestoes. The chapter will also present a discussion and comparison of each IDP to the policies of the political organization at its helm.

4.2 African National Congress

This section will look at the ANC's policy documents, conference resolutions, guiding documents and elections manifestoes. The African National Congress which was originally called the South African Native National Congress is one of the oldest liberation movements in Africa, which was formed on January 8th, 1912, by Sol Plaatjie, Josiah Gumede, Pixley ka Isaka Seme and Dr. John Langalibalele Dube in Bloemfontein. Its initial goal was to bring all "Africans together as one people to defend their rights and freedoms" (African National Congress 1912). One of its main goals which it hopes to achieve in the post-apartheid dispensation is to "*create an equal society, reverse the legacy of colonialism and apartheid and thus create a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united and prosperous society*" (Malusi Gigaba: Interview 2020).

The ideals of the ANC are heavily based on The Freedom Charter which was created in 1955 through a public participation gathering known as the Congress of the People. Through this, it was able to create a "vision of an alternative society" and establish a new order based on the will and ideas of the people (Freedom Charter 1955). The Charter proclaims that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" going against the rule of racial segregationist laws of the apartheid government. One of the most important principles of the Freedom Charter (1955) was: "the people shall share in country's wealth" which meant that the resources and wealth of the country was to be equally distributed amongst the races.

The ANC's policies and manifestoes are not only guided by the Freedom Charter (1955) but are also guided by the "ANC Strategy and Tactics [document]; the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP); the Constitution of South Africa and the relevant resolutions and policies of the 52nd ANC National Conference (Polokwane)" which is documented in the party's 2009 Manifesto Policy Framework (African National Congress 2009). The 2011 Local Government Manifesto was aligned with the 2009 Manifesto Policy Framework, which both ran a campaign under the slogan "working together we can do more!" (African National Congress 2011).

Through its linkage with the 2009 National Manifesto, the ANC argued that since local government was the closest to society and the first point of contact of the communities it would be better positioned to implement some of the ideas and policies stipulated in the Manifesto (2009) which was originally targeted at National and Provincial Elections (Phago 2012: 66). It is through this campaign that the ANC recollected its achievements throughout the years it had been in power whilst simultaneously identifying the challenges the masses of South Africa still faced and laid down the plans and priorities it had in order to fix them. In its 2009 manifesto it acknowledged that South Africa was still deeply plagued with high levels of "unemployment, poverty, deepening inequality and rural marginalisation" (African National Congress 2009: 2).

It also acknowledged that it is only through "working together with various sectors of our society" would it be able to achieve more and faster change. The manifesto puts an emphasis on a "large-scale creation of decent work opportunities at the centre of our economic agenda, to deal with the triple challenge of unemployment, inequality and poverty" (African National Congress 2009: 7). It highlighted that it would ensure that the "creation and retention of decent work and sustainable livelihoods" was the focus of all economic policies that its government would pass. It also highlighted the importance of active citizen participatory democracy through the Freedom Charter clause which stipulates: "the people shall govern" and this physically means the "empowering of people, especially women; workers; youth and rural people, to participate in decision-making processes that affect their lives" (African National Congress 2009: 4).

4.2.1 ANC's Economic Development Position

The South African economy was one of the structures which was utilized to decipher the fundamental differences between the white minority and the rest of the black population. Black South Africans had been historically excluded from directly participating in the economy. The white minority relentlessly utilized its political and economic power to ensure the systematic exclusion, oppression and exploitation of black people. South Africa is deeply marred with the "the world's most unequal patterns of distribution of income and wealth" (Reconstruction and Development Programme 1994: 76). The economic growth of the country was heavily reliant on the provision of cheap labour by the black majority. This was deeply plagued by "rigid hierarchies and oppressive labour relations" (Reconstruction and Development Programme 1994: 78). A very disproportionate share of poverty and inequality has fallen on the back of black people.

The ANC's aim is to create an "*economy that is equitable, one that is growing on a sustainable basis. That's creating jobs, transforming in terms of ownership patterns but most importantly is modern, stable and robust*" (Malusi Gigaba: Interview 2020). It wants to create "conditions for an inclusive economy that will reduce unemployment, poverty and inequality and produce decent jobs and sustainable livelihoods" (African National Congress 2009: 20). The mandate as stipulated in the 2011 Manifesto was that "every government department, every sector and every business entity, regardless of size will focus on job creation (African National Congress 2011: 4). Municipalities were given the responsibility to ensure that through the guidance of the New Growth Path which is a framework that set out to create 5 million jobs by 2020, they, working alongside communities and the private sector would lead economic development.

The ANC highlights the clause in the Freedom Charter: "there shall be work and security" and it committed itself to "building a more equitable, sustainable and inclusive economic growth path, centred on the creation of decent work opportunities and sustainable livelihoods" (African National Congress 2009: 9). As informed by the ANC's 52nd National Conference Resolutions (2007) which stated that the "creation of decent work and sustainable livelihoods will be the primary and overriding objective shaping other policies" (African National Congress 2009: 9). It would ensure that government's "monetary and fiscal policy framework" would be structured in a way to" provide for accelerating growth, creating decent work opportunities, developing and growing the economy whist continuing the transformation of the economy" (African National Congress 2009: 9). The ANC Government

stated that it would create a 'Jobs Fund' with the budget of R9 billion in order to fund job-creation initiatives (African National Congress 2011). The party noted that it would also embark on a programme to ensure that more job opportunities are created through the Expanded Public Works Programme which must be based in the poorest areas.

The ANC states that it would also ensure that government launches an agency which will focus on creating "access to funding and employment creation, which will be linked to skills development opportunities and build decent work opportunities for young people" (African National Congress 2009: 11). It would also "implement broad-based economic empowerment and affirmative action policies and adjust them to ensure that they benefit more broad sections of our people, especially the workers, youth, women and people with disabilities". It would also introduce an economic stimulus package in order to "to avert massive slowdown in the economy" and "avert or minimize job losses and cushion the poor from the economic down turn (African National Congress 2009: 12).

It is through its 'New Growth Path' programme did the ANC aim to create "five million jobs in the next 10 years' (Phago 2012: 67). The plan of the programme is to "facilitate local economies for decent employment creation and sustainable livelihoods" (Phago 2012: 67). It also wishes to provide support rural development infrastructure in order to ensure that rural economies thrive and develop sustainably. In relation to Economic Development, the African National Congress offers an understanding of the needs of the people and the South African economy. The ANC's programs and plans are centered around responding to these challenges and also reversing the effects of the segregationist apartheid policies. Its plans are two folded as they speak to the changing of policy and the introduction of new long-term programmes, but also the support of plans and projects that respond to the immediate needs of citizens. It is interested in creating an economy that is inclusive but also progressive and growing and thus creates jobs and decreases poverty and inequality.

4.2.2 ANC's Housing Position

The African National Congress endorses the Freedom Charter's principle that: "there shall be houses security and comfort" which calls for government to provide adequate and safe housing, health care and recreation sites to the people. This principle was clearly set out in the ANC's RDP document which explained that "all South Africans have a right to a secure place in which to live in peace and dignity" (Reconstruction and Development Programme

1994: 27). The issue of the lack of adequate housing and basic services is one that is historical and was fully acknowledged by the organization.

The ANC also acknowledged the urban housing backlog which it believed has ultimately led to the increase in informal settlements and overcrowding in hostels. It calls for funds to be allocated to create "viable communities in areas close to economic opportunities and to health, educational, social amenities and transport infrastructure" in order to undo the structural and economic consequences of apartheid (Reconstruction and Development Programme 1994: 27). The ANC positions itself in full agreement with National Housing Policy (2010) which sets out the framework and guiding principles that government's across the country must apply in relation to housing. The policy provides a guide of the instruments which must be utilized to "assist low income households to access adequate housing" (National Department of Human Settlements 2010 : 1).

This is done through the Integrated Residential Development Programme (IRDP) which has different facets that must ensure that "human settlements [are situated] in well-located areas that provide convenient access to urban amenities, including places of employment" (National Department of Human Settlements 2010 : 4). The ANC did not foresee a government that would only provide adequate housing structures but also envisioned one that would also provide "sanitary facilities, storm-water drainage, a household energy supply and convenient access to clean water" to all (Reconstruction and Development Programme 1994: 27). Communities must be direct beneficiaries to the development and transformation of their areas

The ANC indicates that the national housing programme as stipulated in the National Housing Policy (2010) is not only about building houses, but also looks to creating liveable communities and transforming accessible cities in order to change the apartheid spatial planning patterns. It will provide housing that is "suitably located geologically, environmentally, and with respect to economic opportunities and social amenities" (Reconstruction and Development Programme 1994: 28).

This will be done through the implementation of the ANC Government's 'Breaking New Ground' Strategy which would:

- Continue the programme to convert hostels into family units;

- Increase access to secure and decent housing for all by strengthening partnerships with financial institutions and the private sector and increasing their role;
- Accelerate the delivery of new rental housing, provide support for housing co-operatives and ensure that provincial and local government allocate land for this purpose; building skills;
- Encourage people to build their houses based on their own plans and choices and provide people with building skills;
- Spearhead a programme for the allocation of building materials to rural communities for purposes of self-building and provide people with building skills; and
- Ensure all qualifying military veterans receive adequate housing.

(African National Congress 2009: 20).

The ANC plans on providing alternative housing through "sufficient affordable rental housing stock which will be provided to low-income earners" and individual and collective home ownership. It will also spearhead a program to ensure hostels and informal settlements are "transformed, upgraded and integrated" into communities (Reconstruction and Development Programme 1994: 29). It also called for the creation of a housing type that would support the process of migration.

The ANC's plans for 2011 – 2016 :

- **Create 400,000 housing units** in the next five years, on well-located land with services and within a 30-45 minute journey to work that uses less than 8% of disposable income for transport.
- **Upgrade informal settlements in 45 municipalities** in the next five years and ensure they have security of tenure and access to basic services.
- **Empower metros and large cities** to play a direct role in the provision of housing, developing and managing the built environment and improving and expanding public transport networks.
- Promote alignment of the **planning processes** in the different spheres of government.
- **Create 80,000 mixed income social and rental housing units** in the next five years, so that low-income earners can live in proximity to where they work.

(African National Congress 2011: 9)

The African National Congress' Housing plans are centered around not only providing infrastructure but creating human settlements where citizens can exist and thrive. It is clear and consistent on its position and is in full agreement with the National Housing Policy (2010) on the decision to focus on undoing the apartheid spatial planning patterns whilst simultaneously providing homes to the citizens as promised in its Freedom Charter (1955). When looking at its timelines based on the 2011 Local Government Elections Manifesto the vision it has is a bit ambitious and would need the introduction of new programmes and large amounts of funds to back it.

4.3 City of Johannesburg 2011 Integrated Development Plan

This section will be looking particularly at City of Johannesburg's 2011 IDP's housing and economic development sections. This particular IDP was framed with the intent of "focusing on the basics and preparing for long term" (City of Johannesburg 2011: 1). The City wanted to focus on providing its residents with their basic needs whilst simultaneously creating sustainable and long-term plans to respond to their challenges. During the creation of this particular IDP the CoJ was under the leadership of the ANC with Councillor Parks Tau at the helm as the Executive Mayor.

The CoJ Metropolitan Municipality acknowledged that the IDP is a "long-term vision and strategic priority for the municipality" which ensures development at local government level (City of Johannesburg 2011: 4). It is a tool that bridges the gap between the City's long-term strategic planning and its annual operational plans" (City of Johannesburg 2011: 4). It also acknowledges the need for and importance of extensive community consultation in the IDP processes.

4.3.1 Economic Development

The CoJ's Economic Development Department is responsible for "the implementation of the City's vision and long-term economic development strategy" (City of Johannesburg 2011: 21). It has the responsibility to "facilitate economic growth for the City by collaborating" with different departments, organizations, businesses, entities and stakeholders. (City of Johannesburg 2011: 21). It must most importantly create jobs and ensure development

programmes which will encourage investment opportunities in Johannesburg. These programmes must appeal to the "finance and business services, community services, trade and manufacturing" sectors which make up about 84% of the City's economy (City of Johannesburg 2011: 73).

The department is also in charge of support, research and the creation and implementation of policy to help develop skills, businesses, and the sector. It manages some of the City's biggest entities that fall under its portfolio which include the Metropolitan Trading Company, Joburg Tourism Company, Joburg Property Company and the Joburg Market. According to the department its vision to ensure that the CoJ becomes a city that "plays a role as the key economic hub on the continent, and a national economic-growth leader" (COJ 2011: 21). It is only through research, job creation, skills development, economic interventions and investment promotion can this be realized which are the department's main focuses in this particular term.

4.3.2 City of Johannesburg's Economic Development Challenges

However, in its quest of ensuring that the city becomes a huge contributor and an active participant of the local and broader economy, it is a Department that is plagued with many issues that are a result of the systematic exclusion of black people by the apartheid system. This particular IDP was drafted in 2011 after the world had experienced a recession and South Africa particularly had experienced over a million job losses. Johannesburg as the economic hub of the country came under enormous strain because of the migrations that took place during this particular time. Many South Africans from rural areas moved to the 'City of Gold' to find employment and economic opportunities and growth for them and their families (City of Johannesburg 2011: 9).

There are dire cases of inequality and poverty throughout the City. According to the 2011 IDP one of the main issues the City experienced were high levels of unemployment which were sitting at 21,8% in 2009 which contribute to high levels of inequality and poverty (City of Johannesburg 2011: 9). According to the City's Gini. Co-efficient. Of 0,63/ Global Insight about 21,6% of households still live below the poverty line. The youth which are deemed as the future of our country and a beacon of hope for many families face a similar fate if not a more drastic one to their elders with the youth unemployment rate sitting at 45% nationally in 2011.

4.3.3 City of Johannesburg's Economic Development Outcomes

Even though it has not fully reached all its goals, the CoJ's Economic Development Department noted in the IDP document that it had come far in its attempts to ensure job creation and the economic development of its civilians. In its aim to facilitate economic growth, the City has created Urban Development Zones (UDZ) which is an "incentive scheme aimed at encouraging inner city renewal" (City of Johannesburg 2011: 36). It allows for taxpaying or property owning individual or entities to claim a tax allowance which covers "accelerated depreciation of investment made in either refurbishment of existing property or the creation of new developments" (City of Johannesburg 2021).

In relation to Economic Development between 2011 – 2016 the City plans to focus specifically on:

• Employment Creation and Enterprise Development

• Sector support and economic diversification;

• Area based economic interventions;

• Skills development with a special emphasis on technical skills;

• Research and development; and

• Trade and investment promotion.

(City of Johannesburg 2011:36)

The department reported that it is through its Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) where it was somewhat successful in job creation which has also assisted in its quest to respond to service delivery issues and the maintenance of infrastructure. EPWP is a local government programme which focuses on job creation and skills development for the particularly young and unemployed residents. This programme has seen over 150 000 by 2011 jobs being created all over the City which exceeded the initial target of 120 000. During the 2011 – 2016 term, the City has allocated over R200 million to support EPWP grant for projects "practicing labour intensive methods to create new employment opportunities" (City of Johannesburg 2011: 94).

The City reported that it adopted a collaborative approach when dealing with economic development and growth thus making the implementation of this a responsibility of all the different departments, entities, stakeholders and civil society. It also noted the importance of creating close working relationships and a communication line to ensure the development and growth of Johannesburg's economy.

4.3.4 Housing

In the 2011 IDP the CoJ's Housing Department highlights its responsibility to ensure that "different housing needs are met in sustainable human settlements providing a range of well located, good quality, adequately serviced, safe and affordable accommodation opportunities" (City of Johannesburg 2011: 25) for all residents in the City. The plans and interventions included in the 2011 IDP attempt to address this through social mobility and human development programmes.

The goals of the department include:

- On a progressive basis, all residents living in inadequate housing to access affordable, safe and decent accommodation;
- Quality of the City's existing and future housing stock is enhanced and maintained;
- Increased sustainability and liveability of all residential communities; and
- Access to adequate accommodation that is suitable, relevant, appropriately located, affordable & fiscally sustainable.

(City of Johannesburg 2011: 26).

4.3.5 City of Johannesburg's Housing Challenges

Housing within the CoJ is one of the biggest and crucial challenges that the City and its administration face. The backlog of housing opportunities is another main challenge of the City which reveals itself in the ever growing number and expansion of informal settlements. According to the City's research it houses about 180 different informal settlements throughout its jurisdiction (City of Johannesburg 2011: 44). In the IDP document the Department reported that residents of the City complained about the "double allocations, unfinished houses, long waiting lists and the transfer of houses to dependants" and the long awaited formalization of informal settlements and allocation of formal stands (City of

Johannesburg 2011: 48). There is also a trend in the City of "increased densification of informal settlements as compared to the creation of new settlements" (City of Johannesburg 2011: 11).

The City also faces challenges of "overcrowding in the public hostels, the non-regulated backyard rental, inner city overcrowding, and the homeless" (City of Johannesburg 2011: 94). In the IDP document it is reported that migration of civilians into the City puts a further strain on the Department and also makes it almost impossible for them to monitor the numbers they still need to attend to. Other issues which the Department acknowledges were the energy and water shortages, the class divide which "leads to political and economic instability" (City of Johannesburg 2011: 73). The focus of the City in the 2011/16 term is to address the housing challenges and improve service delivery

4.3.6 City of Johannesburg's Housing Outcomes

The Spatial Development Framework (SDF) guides the City's IDP in relation to spatial transformation as it provides the "development strategies and policy guidelines" (City of Johannesburg. 2011: 53). It is the City's long term spatial vision and dictates which programmes and projects must be included in the IDP to ensure that it is achieved. The CoJ's SDF aims to create a "urban structure premised on the principles of sustainability, accessibility and efficiency." (City of Johannesburg 2011: 55). The City plans to create infrastructure and human settlements that are of quality, affordable, sustainable and can be utilized by all.

The IDP notes that South African cities and townships are still heavily characterized by the apartheid spatial planning legacy which left the poor on the periphery and far away from opportunities. In order to fix this, the City will not only introduce new legislation on spatial and land use planning but will also release public land in order to ensure the "delivery of 400 000 housing units on "well located land" with a 30 to 45 minute journey to work and services and using less than 8% of disposable income for transport by 2014" (City of Joburg 2011: 43). In the IDP the City is not specific about the placement of these housing units but emphasizes the need for them to be situated in areas that are close to economic opportunities.

Development does not only focus on creating structures that will house our people, it is therefore the City's vision to create a functional urban structure that provides dignity to its

people. This will be done through the City's basic services programme which includes "electrification, public lighting, water and sanitation and waste management); and integrated transport planning" for all human settlements (City of Johannesburg 2012: 73). In its quest to respond to the housing challenges the City has identified "sustainable human settlements as one of the most critical pillars around which it concentrates much of its work" (City of Joburg 2011: 39). The Department says it is working to create programmes focused on "regularising and formalising informal settlements" (City of Joburg 2011: 11).

The City plans on supporting the National Department of Human Settlement's National Upgrading Support Programme (NUSP) which provides assistance to municipalities who have plans to upgrade informal settlements situated in their jurisdiction. In its plans it has included the provision of "basic services (including water and sanitation), security of tenure and community empowerment" for informal settlements as stipulated by the Upgrading Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) which is the policy framework for the NUSP (National Department of Human Settlements 2012: 1).

The Housing Department through the Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO) has set aside "R625, 378 million for housing and an extra R 26,172 million to buy strategic land for low cost housing for 2011/12" (City of Johannesburg 2011: 73). It also received R100 million to formalize at least 21 of its informal settlements within the 2011/12 financial year (City of Johannesburg 2011: 96). Formalizing includes the electrification, introduction of water and sanitation systems, creation of roads and allocation of formal stands to residents.

4.3.7 Conclusion

The City of Johannesburg is South Africa's economic hub, but it is also a City that is deeply plagued with inequality, unemployment and informality. The CoJ's Economic Development Department has the responsibility to not only grow the economy, but also respond to the economic needs of its residents which it plans to do through the creation of UDZ's and the expansion of the EPWP. It plans to focus its funds on employment, the development of the local economy and the encouragement of investments. It also plans to adopt a collaborative approach when dealing with economic growth which will see the inclusion of business, different entities, organizations and civil society.

Being the economic hub which is warmly referred to as 'the City of dreams' Johannesburg is inundated with people that migrate from other provinces and other parts of the continent in search of economic opportunities and growth. It is therefore consistently faced with the challenge of housing which it believes leads to the increasing number of households in informal settlements. Municipalities cannot fully eradicate informal settlements or completely ignore their residents which is why the Housing Department plans to formalize some of the City's informal settlements which will include providing the residents with basic needs such as electricity, water and sanitation, waste management, roads and formally allocating stands. In order to respond to the housing backlog, the City plans to deliver over 400 000 houses over the next five years which is in ambitious goal which would only be realized with proper planning and financial backing.

4.4 Case Study: City of Johannesburg and the African National Congress

The ANC as conceptualized in their policy documents and manifestoes was focused on undoing the wrongs of the past and changing the everyday lived experiences of the masses of the people on the ground through the creation of jobs, building of houses and availing of basic needs. This was very clearly translated into the CoJ's 2011 IDP document which was focused on providing its residents with at least the basic services which all humans deserve (City of Johannesburg 2011). The City believed that its plans for the next five years would not only help its residents through the provision of basic services but would also assist them in creating long term and sustainable plans for their lives.

In terms of Local Government, the ANC committed its government to ensuring that the Expanded Public Works Programme would target the poorest communities and the youth. It would utilize its powers to ensure that the EPWP was expanded and took in more employees on a more permanent basis. This was evident in the CoJ's 2011 IDP which saw an increase in the money allocated for EPWP projects. The ANC's 'working together we can do more' approach made it clear that it was open and actually encouraged working with communities and business (African National Congress 2011: 1) which can be seen in the City IDP (2011) where it highlights that the issue of economic development and growth was one that needed a collaborative approach particularly with the stakeholders, entities and businesses within the city.

Both the ANC in its policy documents and manifestoes and the CoJ through its IDP acknowledged that housing was a major challenge that needed continuous and immediate attention. There is an evident backlog of many years which has ultimately led to the increase and over densification of informal settlements. The ANC has been clear and consistent about its support of the National Housing Programme and the creation of sustainable and liveable human settlements and communities. The City in its 2011 IDP and the ANC in its 2011 Local Government Manifesto both committed to the "delivery of 400 000 housing units on "well located land" with a 30 to 45 minute journey to work and services [and the use of] less than 8% of disposable income for transport by 2014" over the next five years (African National Congress quoted by City of Johannesburg 2011: 43).

The City also committed to upgrading, providing security and basic services to its informal settlement as mentioned in the ANC's Manifesto as one of its plans (2011). This includes the electrification, provision of water and sanitation and the construction of roads and other social amenities. Lastly, the ANC promised alternative housing in the form of mixed income social and rental housing units for low income earners which is however not reflected in the CoJ's plans for this tenure. It is clear that the ANC has utilized its influence in order to ensure that the COJ's IDP is directly in line with its policies and ideological positions.

4.5 Democratic Alliance

The above section provided an analysis of the African National Congress' Economic Development and Housing ideological positions and plans in comparison to the City of Johannesburg's 2011 IDP. This section will be looking at the DA's policy positions as conceptualized in its policy documents and manifestoes. The Democratic Alliance historically stems from the Progressive Party which was formed in 1959 with the intent to confront and oppose the apartheid system (Democratic Alliance 2020). It later became the Democratic Party in 1989 after merging with the Independent Party and National Democratic Movement under the leadership of Zach de Beer. In 2000 it became the Democratic Alliance and was formed under the notion that it would "ensure freedom, fairness, opportunity and diversity" (Democratic Alliance 2020). Since the start of democracy, the DA has been the official opposition and the second largest political party in South Africa. It ran its 2011 Local Government Elections campaign under the slogan an "open, opportunity society for all"

(Democratic Alliance 2011: 4). It envisioned a society which was equal and provided opportunities for people to better their lives.

The notion of an 'open society' is premised on the ideals of the Bill of Rights and the South African Constitution (1996). The DA called for civilians to be allowed to not only be themselves but also called for "democratic decision making, transparency, accountability and tolerance" (Democratic Alliance 2011: 4) free from the abuse of power. It wanted to create opportunities for people to be able to improve their lived experiences and circumstances. It believes that the country "truly belongs to all who live in it, regardless of the colour of their skin or the circumstances of their upbringing" (Democratic Alliance 2011: 4). The Democratic Alliance's 2011 Election Manifesto is inspired by their 2009 Economic and Housing policies and the 2009 National Government Elections Manifesto.

4.5.1 DA's Economic Development Position

South Africa's economy and employment patterns are a "rresult of decades, or even centuries, of deliberate political, economic and social engineering" (Democratic Alliance 2009: 2). The DA acknowledges the issues of poverty and inequality that are deeply etched into the lives of many South Africans. Living in poverty is a daily assault on one's dignity as it causes "hunger and ill-health" and can lead to "ignorance and fuel drug addiction and alcohol abuse" which leads to other societal ills (Democratic Alliance 2011: 5). South Africans now enjoy political freedom, but still do not have full economic freedom and power. In the DA's analysis the majority of our residents are "unable to use every resource at their disposal to make eeconomic choices**,** and millions of citizens remain trapped in poverty and indignity" (Democratic Alliance 2009: 5). The DA notes that in 2009, the unemployment rate was sitting at 42% and that "three out of every five South Africans lived below the poverty line" (Democratic Alliance 2009: 1). They noted that there is an urgent need for an "accelerated transition which dramatically reduces poverty and inequality as rapidly as possible" (Democratic Alliance 2009: 1).

In order to rectify the wrongs of the past, the DA's main focus is to "create an environment for growth and jobs" and also ensure that "essential services are delivered to every person irrespective of their circumstances" (Democratic Alliance 2011: 5). The DA's aim is to

develop the "economy to become more productive and skilled and in so doing, create life-changing job opportunities and promote economic growth" (Democratic Alliance 2009: 5). The reduction of unemployment, particularly of young people is the DA's main commitment and priority. It particularly wants to fight youth unemployment because young people have the skills but unfortunately do not have access to opportunities.

It will do this by making 'opportunity vouchers' also known as developing skills to young people who are interested in going into business. It also notes that many individuals are "unemployed because they are under-skilled due to an education and skills training system that has failed them" (Democratic Alliance 2009: 7). These are the consequences of apartheid which ensured the exclusion of the black majority from a good education system and opportunities of being part of skilled labour. In order to undo this, the DA plans at Local Government level to:

- Focus the expanded public works programme as a mechanism for skills development.

(Democratic Alliance 2009: 10).

It called for the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) to be utilized as a "mechanism for skills development and be focused specifically towards those on the sidelines of the economy" (Democratic Alliance 2009: 2). It endorses the ANC's EPWP programme and argues that it can be utilized "as an important bridge for our unemployed people to gain skills and work experience and move into formal sector employment, whilst simultaneously improving our infrastructure" (Democratic Alliance. 2009: 11). If it was in the majority Nationally it would alter the EPWP programme to make sure that the different sectors which include infrastructure, public works would have a constant stream of EPWP projects throughout the year. This would provide an opportunity for EPWP workers to be employed full time.

The DA notes the manner in which job creation can not only grow the economy but also lift our citizens out of poverty. The DA argues that Government has the responsibility to create a space which will allow for the creation and access to jobs. It must also create an environment to encourage "people with skills and capital and enable them to start or expand their businesses" (Democratic Alliance 2011: 5). It recognizes the importance of businesses in job creation and will therefore avail itself to local businesses to help them "identify and eliminate

the biggest hurdles to doing business in the city" (Democratic Alliance 2011: 9). Working together with the private sector would alleviate the strain which is put and expected on government in relation to the economy and job creation.

The Democratic Alliance believes that economic development and growth is a collective responsibility. Government should not solely be put under strain but must work together with different entities, businesses, organizations and civil society in order to improve the economy. It acknowledges the lived experience of many South Africans and offers support of the ANC's EPWP which it views as a tool to temporarily alleviate the poverty many of our citizens live in. However, its main stance and interest is in the creation of a strong and growing economic environment which will allow citizens to support themselves and take the strain off government.

4.5.2 DA's Housing Position

Due to our past, South Africa has incredibly "skewed patterns of land ownership" and a "desperate shortage of acceptable housing" for poor South Africans. (Democratic Alliance 2009: 15). A home not only provides protection and security, but most importantly contributes to an individual's "sense of dignity, stability and belonging" (Democratic Alliance 200 9: 1). Housing is not the only the provision of shelter which is important there must also be "social and economic requirements that ensure viable communities" (Democratic Alliance 2009: 1). The DA highlights the need for civilians to have access to decent, adequate, and affordable shelter, basic services and social amenities. People must "live in a place with access to schools, social amenities, commercial activity and a transport link" (Democratic Alliance 2011: 10). The DA's Government will focus on making sure that "every town and city is able to provide bulk service delivery and maintain bulk service infrastructure, including electricity, water and sanitation services" (Democratic Alliance 2011: 9).

It is aware of the unfair discrimination many South Africans had to endure under apartheid and notes the "moral obligation in South Africa to attempt to put right the wrongs of the past" whilst simultaneously helping the disadvantaged (Democratic Alliance 2009: 3). The DA highlights the manner in which "everybody has the right to decent shelter" and therefore commits itself to "creating human settlements, and not just providing low-cost housing"

(Democratic Alliance 2011: 10). It will do this through planning new housing developments in conjunction with other departments and businesses in order to ensure "houses are built as close as possible to opportunities, such as transport, education and jobs" (Democratic Alliance 2011: 10). In order to make human settlements more livable for communities it will establish and maintain "community amenities such as childcare facilities, municipal halls, parks, recreation grounds, public places, cemeteries, beaches, sports grounds, markets and libraries" (Democratic Alliance 2011: 10).

In the DA's Housing Policy document, it faults the current housing policy which "obliges government to provide as many houses to as many people as fast as possible as one-dimensional" as it creates an unhealthy culture of dependency and entitlement which often ends up resulting in urban sprawl and the constant creation of informal settlements. It believes that providing adequate shelter is the responsibility of individuals and not the government which is a completely different stance than that of the ANC. Migration and the lack of sufficient and adequate housing has led to the continuous creation and densification of informal settlements around the City. The DA commits itself to "prioritize the upgrade of informal settlements and the provision of serviced sites, while ensuring that backyard dwellers are not left behind" ((Democratic Alliance 2009:10).

The Democratic Alliance plans create a strategy in order to manage densification of informal settlements by:

- Providing upgrades to existing accommodation, so that dwellings can be made safe and habitable.
- Freeing up land for housing opportunities, making services available on this land and giving freehold title to this land as rapidly as possible.
- Making space for the market to come in to construct low-cost housing and assist with upgrades, by cutting the cost of land and subsidizing building materials.

(Democratic Alliance 2009: 20)

It will give special attention to "low-income areas that have degenerated into slums" (Democratic Alliance 2008: 4). It will closely identify the informal settlements around the city and "target them individually with a rehabilitation plan (Democratic Alliance 2009: 4).

It will also "increase the quantity of rental stock available to the poor, and also increase the range of options available" in place of housing units (Democratic Alliance 2009: 19). This is directly in line with the National Department of Human Settlements' Social Housing Programme which aims to provide "affordable rental units which provide secure tenure to households which prefer the mobility provided by rental accommodation" (National Department of Human Settlements 2010: 10).

The Democratic Alliance problematizes the National Housing Policy (2010) based on the perceived strain that it puts on government and culture of dependency and entitlement it creates within citizens. In 2011 the DA was interested in the introduction of alternative housing plans which includes rental stock and the upgrading and formalization of other types of human settlements. It also called for land to be made available to citizens for them to build on it without the assistance of the state. This is a step away from how housing challenges have been responded to historically in the Country.

4.6 City of Cape Town 2012 Integrated Development Plan

This section will focus on the City of Cape Town's 2012 IDP which was running under the slogan "this city works for you" and had five interrelated pillars at the heart of it. The era in which the document was created was under the Democratic Alliance with Patricia de Lille at the helm as its Executive Mayor. The CoCT recognizes the IDP as a strategic framework which would assist them on building a City based on five pillars ": the opportunity city, the safe city, the caring city, the inclusive city, and the well-run city" (City of Cape Town 2012: 4). These five pillars are central to the City's plans, policies and the manner in which government was to run for those five years.

The City had to take into consideration the factors that affect its economic growth and development. According to their document, throughout the IDP public participation process it was able to reach over a million of its residents. The City stated that their IDP public participation process took place across the City's 111 wards at a sub-council level. The creation and conceptualization of this particular document through public participation took place between August and November 2011. The City believes that this proves that the "IDP plan belongs to all the people of Cape Town; a plan in which they all have a say" (City of Cape Town 2012: 5).

4.6.1 Economic Development

As characterized in their IDP document, the Economic Development Department's core focus as per the notion of the 'opportunity city' was to create an "economically enabling environment in which investment can grow and jobs can be created" (City of Cape Town 2012: 16). It emphasized that it is only by "having a job, people can make the most of their lives and attain dignity" (City of Cape Town 2012: 16). It recognizes the active role government must play in order to attract investment and create an economy that will decrease unemployment through "providing efficient regulation, efficient planning and regulation processes, transparent and accountable government, easy access to officials, and infrastructure support" (City of Cape Town 2012: 16).

4.6.2 City of Cape Town's Economic Development Challenges

The mission of the City of Cape Town in this regard is to create an economic environment in which investment can grow and jobs can be created. The CoCT recorded in 2009 that 5% of their households were reliant on social grants as their primary source of income (City of Cape Town 2012). Similar to Johannesburg, Cape Town has a high level of inequality and poverty, and there is stark difference between the have and the have nots. As explained in their IDP the majority of the households living in poverty are situated on the outskirts of the City, which places them far away from opportunities and jobs (City of Cape Town, 2012). Residents are forced to commute daily in order to come into reach and close contact with these which negatively impacts them financially.

4.6.3 City of Cape Town's Economic Development Outcomes

The City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality has the second largest economy in the country and is one of the biggest contributors to South Africa's financial output. The IDP notes that it is the market that can create an economically enabling environment that will be able to create opportunities which assist in lifting its residents out of poverty and squalor. It notes its role and responsibility in not only providing for the poor but also creating an environment that will enable economic growth working alongside the private sector (City of Cape Town 2012: 39). Through this the City acknowledges the role and importance of government working together with the private sector.

The CoCT notes in the IDP that it will be introducing the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) which is a tool utilized by Local Government as per the recommendation of National, in its aim to reduce poverty and provide income relief through temporary employment. This programme will allow and enhance the City's ability to create temporary jobs. It will also utilize it to create jobs that enhance and brings skills development to the individuals with are involved. In its quest to reduce unemployment of its residents, the CoCT is committed to the programme and notes in the IDP that it has:

1. signed the EPWP protocol agreement with the National Department of Public Works (DPW);
2. entered into an annual incentive grant memorandum of agreement (MOA) with DPW; and
3. developed a policy to facilitate the inclusion of EPWP's in the operations of the City's line directorates.

(City of Cape Town 2012: 61).

The City has a quest to "promote economic growth, reduce poverty and social marginalisation, and builds residents' engagement" in plans involving their areas and affecting their lives (City of Cape Town 2012: 30). The IDP notes that the state, in its various guises, must perform a range of functions, including providing support to the poor and vulnerable. The mission of the City of Cape Town is to create an economic environment in which investment can grow and jobs can be created. When it comes to the interface with business, its key role must be to "provide infrastructure, support and a level of regulation to ensure that fair practices are adhered to" (City of Cape Town 2012: 40).

It wishes to do this by convincing "big corporations to establish their headquarters in Cape Town" and also encourage sectors like the "financial sector and the oil and gas industry, to expand their foothold in Cape Town" (City of Cape Town 2012: 40). It will also utilize all resources at its disposal to help "smaller enterprises, which are the most direct drivers of economic activity in communities" to grow and expand (City of Cape Town 2012: 40). In order to alleviate poverty in the City that has an increasing number of its residents living beyond the poverty line will need collaboration from a range of partners and stakeholders which include business, NGO's, and foreign investment.

In order to alleviate poverty it will need the help of "corporate social investment (CSI) as well as social entrepreneurship initiatives to create sustainable opportunities and promote independence" (City of Cape Town 2012: 91). It will also need businesses to intervene and act as incubators for young people that need employment particularly in impoverished communities. It will also encourage individuals to act as mentors in order to encourage entrepreneurship and business management.

4.6.4 Housing

The CoCT's Housing Department's aim was to make sure that the City "leads in development instead of merely responding to it" and wanted to ensure the continuous investment in infrastructure and addressing housing backlogs (City of Cape Town 2012: 16). Their quest was to create "integrated human settlements by building communities, not just houses" (City of Cape Town 2012: 19). This would be done through the building of settlement that respond to the structural, social and transport needs of the community in order to bring people closer to the City's economic and social centres.

4.6.5 City of Cape Town's Housing Challenges

One of the problems which is being faced by many metropolitan areas is the challenge of growing informality which sees the creation and expansion of informal settlements. Almost 27% of the City's population live in informal housing structures or backyard dwellings which are situated on the outskirts of the City (City of Cape Town 2012: 29). This also means that they do not have access to adequate basic services which include water, electricity and sanitation. The CoCT acknowledges that it is their responsibility to ensure that it urgently creates "innovative human settlements and housing for those in need" (City of Cape Town 2012: 86).

4.6.6 City of Cape Town's Housing Outcomes

The Cape Town Spatial Development Framework (CTSDF) provides guidance on the "spatial form and structure of Cape Town" and forms part of the IDP (City of Cape Town 2012: 22). It "indicates the area's best suited to urban development, the areas that should be protected, and the areas where development may occur if it is sensitively managed" (City of Cape Town 2012: 22). Through this the CoCT is able to identify locations that can accommodate

households which will be planned and developed. The CTSDF offers a supportive framework and monitoring and evaluation systems that will assess progress and identify problems with the plans of the Housing Department.

In order to respond to the issue of informality, in the 2012 IDP the City plans to introduce "the sale or transfer of rental stock to clearly identified beneficiaries according to established criteria" (City of Cape Town 2012: 86) in order to allow for a sense of ownership. The City wishes to introduce a densification programme which will attempt to reverse the trend of low density development and improve housing densification through the "the identification of public and private land to use for property development." (City of Cape Town 2012: 94). It notes the manner in which the current housing design is not feasible and is not responding to the needs of the people on the ground, and calls for the inclusive and participatory approach on formulating mechanisms for " future housing design, production and delivery" (City of Cape Town 2012: 86).

Urban restructuring is one of its main plans in delivering "more housing, more rapidly, in a more integrated, sustainable manner" (City of Cape Town 2012: 86). In order to upgrade the living conditions of residents, the City has committed itself and adopted a strategy in this particular IDP's tenure to upgrading informal settlements. This will include not only providing access to proper shelter but also the "provision of adequate services like access to electricity, water and sanitation" (City of Cape Town 2012: 86). It will not only provide houses but will also include "all community facilities such as cemeteries, sports facilities and libraries" (City of Cape Town 2012: 87).

It wants to create a more productive and timeous process of delivering housing through the Incremental Development Areas. These areas will allow for a "process and product that are quicker to deliver and are premised on being permanent yet incremental" (City of Cape Town 2012: 93). In these areas, the families would be assisted based on their specific needs and on the availability of resources. Those with already existing structures would be assisted with "safe water, sanitation, drainage, electricity and access ways" whilst those without would be provided with "recognised title to new plots of serviced land – sites and services (S&S) – on which households could build their own dwellings" (Wakely & Riley 2010: 1). The City has identified eight suitably located IDA locations which it plans to develop over a three year period. The IDAs are directly in line with the National Housing Policy's IRDP which has three different phases which include the provision of "serviced stands… the second phase

provides for housing construction for qualifying low income beneficiaries" and lastly the "sale of stands to persons who for various reasons, don't qualify for subsidies" (National Department of Human Settlements 2010: 4).

The City aims to ensure that the backlog of beneficiaries that are still waiting for their title deeds and residential property as per the housing database will be attended to in terms of allocation. Government has noticed a trend of people seeking houses in R150 000 – 350 000 range and has thus undertaken the "sale of serviced plots at reduced prices to enable buyers to build their own homes" (City of Cape Town 2012: 93). Furthermore, on the top of their list is to "convert leasehold titles to freehold titles" (City of Cape Town 2012: 93). It will also help residents that earn between "R3 501 and R10 000 per month" acquire houses through the 'gap housing' initiative (City of Cape Town 2012: 93).

4.6.7 Conclusion

The City of Cape Town's vision for this IDP was to ensure that the City was economically thriving and attracted investments which would therefore produce employment. It did not want its residents to be reliant on the City, but rather wanted to create an environment where they would be supplied with the tools to help themselves get out of poverty. It however, cannot completely ignore that there are residents which are dependent on the City for their survival, and it planned to help them by introducing the Expanded Public Works Programme as by recommendation of National Government with the aim of reducing poverty and providing its residents with a skills development platform. It plans to also assist small businesses with the resources they need, as they are the primary drivers of economic activity in communities and can also create jobs even if it is on a small scale. It also plans to collaborate with big businesses and entities and encourage them to gear their CSI to be aligned with the Department's programs and shortfalls.

The City acknowledges the challenge of growing informality in its jurisdiction and unlike the City of Johannesburg plans to focus on the provision of alternative housing. The Housing Department plans on introducing Incremental Development Areas that will provide the needs of residents on a case to case basis. This partly speaks to the formalization of Informal Settlements, as residents with already existing stands will be assisted with electricity, water and sanitation, roads and the formal allocation of plots. Those without stands will be given access to land which has been identified by the department where they will be able to build.

The City also plans to focus on assisting middle class residents with funding for affordable houses through the Gap Housing Initiative.

4.7 Case Study: City of Cape Town and the Democratic Alliance

The City of Cape Town's 2012 IDP ran under the slogan 'this city works for you' with five interrelated pillars at its core, which were "the opportunity city, the safe city, the caring city, the inclusive city, and the well-run city" (City of Cape Town 2012: 4). Four of these pillars are a localized version of the Democratic Alliance's 2009 National Government Election Manifesto focus areas which were detailed as "the open society, the opportunity society, the caring society and the safe society" (Democratic Alliance 2009: 01). The notion of an 'opportunity city' which is present in the CoCT's IDP document and the DA's manifestoes and policy documents speaks directly to Economic Development and is premised on the idea of government creating an economically enabling environment which will make economic growth, investments and job creation possible.

The DA (2009) is very specific about not being a government of handouts, but rather one that provides opportunities to its residents, so they are able to assist themselves and attain a sense of dignity and this evident in both the IDP (2012) and the DA's Election Manifesto (2009). Both the DA and the CoCT recognize the importance of local businesses in economic growth and job creation, and are clear on offering them assistance in order to help them to expand and financially navigate their way around the City. The DA supported and called for the Expanded Public Works Programme to be utilized as a tool to end poverty and to develop the skills of residents which is clearly evident in the IDP document.

In terms of Housing, as stipulated in their policy documents, manifestoes and the CoCT IDP document, the DA has committed its government to not only building houses but rather building communities that are fully functional, have basic services, social cohesion and are close to economic and social centres. Both government through the IDP and the organization through its documents are very critical of the current National Housing Policy as it puts a huge amount of strain on government. As a means of providing alternative housing, the DA plans to move away from this planning policy and introduce the idea of rental stocks into the areas in which they govern. This idea of rental stock units being made available to the public is being implemented by the CoCT government as conceptualized in the 2012 IDP document. The City

will also help people who earn certain amounts acquire houses through the gaping housing initiative. Fundamentally the DA's interest in running a well-equipped and functional government is similar to the ANC, however these two political organizations differ based on objectives, policies and approaches particularly in relation to housing and economic development.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

When looking at the political and governance hierarchy, Local Government is one of the most important branches of the state as it is in the closest proximity to the people and the decisions taken and plans implemented have a direct effect on their everyday lived experiences. The second chapter provided an in-depth explanation of the Integrated Development Plan which was constructed as a tool to ensure public participation and an inclusive and transformative decision-making process in local government.

This chapter will provide an analysis on the extent of the influence of the political parties used as case studies on the 2011/2012 Integrated Development Plans for the two cities respectively. It will reflect the inputs of the interviewees from the Integrated Development Planning: Community Dialogue Unit and Economic Development departments on their policy creation and implementation processes. These inputs will be juxtaposed against the inputs of the representatives from the Research Units of the respective political parties. Finally, the section will discuss the housing and economic development policies of the political parties and if they in anyway relate, are aligned or present in the IDP document and to what extent.

5.2 IDP Public Participation

Habermas (quoted by Machloer and Milz 2015) argues that distorted communication ultimately creates distorted power relations and influence. It is thus important for language to be used as a tool of undistorted communication in order to delegitimize the power of certain groups and create a more inclusive approach, to make everyone a part of the conversation without domination or coercion. The approach seeks to not only delegitimize certain power relations but it also forces planners to be more inclusive and aware of their privilege. Innes (1992 quoted by Machloer and Milz 2015: 23) called for planners to be critically reflective of the manner in which they communicate and frame a problem to the public as this has the power of reinforcing power imbalances.

She noted the manner in which planners had the preference to work with politically astute people as their interests oftentimes coincided with that of the planning profession. Foley (1997) notes the importance of public participation as it gives normal civilians the platform to "define their vision of a desirable urban environment and influence decisions that affect their living

space" (Foley 1997: 2). The theory calls for a "well-managed dialogue around a problem, where people confront each other and challenge each other's assumptions with the hope of building each other and strengthening relations (Machloer and Milz 2015: 21).

According to Innes (1992), successful plans:

1. Incorporated key stakeholders,

2. Ensured that groups knew that the agreements they reached would matter; participants therefore realized that the task of getting together and collaborating was of importance,

3. Conducted the planning process in a way that all members were given an equal voice,

4. Delegated experts, such as planners, to the role of bridging knowledge gaps between participants (thus attempting to make communication between parties more meaningful and authentic

(Machelor and Milz 2015: 23).

Stakeholders play a key role in the IDP's analysis phase where government officials go on a fact finding mission. The IDP analysis phase includes the gathering and facilitation of information sessions with different stakeholders in order for them to give input (Coetzee et al 2000). Government and planners have the responsibility of ensuring that the problems and challenges faced by communities are "addressed in such a way as to promote the creation of liveable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas" (Coetzee et al 2000: 20). This phase allows for planners and researchers to most importantly identify priority issues and come up with possible solutions with assistance from the stakeholders. It also assists in giving them understanding about the "exact nature of the issue (dynamics and trends; causing factors; resources and trends etc." (Coetzee et al 2000: 44). It creates a platform for stakeholders to also identify and contribute to possible projects and interventions. In order for the IDP to be passed, the process in which it is done must be "democratic, legitimate and participatory" (Coetzee et al 2000: 20).

Local Government is able to take the IDP to the people through Local Ward and PR Councillors and the elected Ward Committee who set up different mechanisms such as road shows; a mayoral listening campaign" and other mechanisms such as "notices in the press, at schools and at churches" (Breakfast et al 41). The most important part is the physical interaction between the government and stakeholders which include community members, traditional leaders, women, the LGBTQI community and people who do business in the area. This is done through consultative community meetings known as Community Based Planning Forums

which the public must be notified of as per Section 25 of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act of 2000. Community meetings is where the tension of the IDP process begins and where the power imbalances clearly show themselves.

Councillors and their committees have the responsibility to "*champion the aspirations of their residents*" and are meant to be "*at the forefront of development within their wards and are supposed to represent all their residents irrespective of their political affiliation*" (City of Johannesburg Senior Official: Community Dialogue, 2020). This is where the tension begins as this seldomly happens, community meetings are influenced and sometimes controlled and overpowered by those affiliations and views (City of Johannesburg Senior Official: Economic Development 2021). The Economic Development Senior Official shared the same sentiments as his colleague, he noted that "*there will always be political interference*" throughout the IDP process and other programs of the City (City of Johannesburg Senior Official: Economic Development 2021).

This interference came in different forms which include direct instructions from political office bearers who would call for a shift in timelines or the sudden emphasis on certain programmes and projects. One of the officials approached the discussion around the type of influence political organizations through their representatives, have on the IDP and policy making and implementation process very cautiously. The interviewee noted how big the interference of political organizations were in the process of the IDP. As they infiltrate both the external and internal processes through councillors, ward committees, political office bearers and sometimes community members, and then leave it to officials to makes sure that their views are "*interpreted, and then incorporated into the IDP*" (City of Johannesburg Senior Official: Economic Development 2021).

The IDP process is meant to take the model of the bottom-up structure where stakeholders are given the platform to voice their opinions and ideas to officials who have the responsibility to ensure they are included in the IDP. Oftentimes these opinions are specific to the transformation they wish to see in their area and not necessarily the City as a whole. Once the consultation process is completed officials from the different departments begin the process of reconciling the inputs and creating their chapter of the IDP which makes the most timeous and financial sense for their departments. The department's contributions to the IDP must be in line with the vision of the department and directives given by the political head. According to the City of Johannesburg's Economic Development Senior Official the process is meant to take

the shape of a bottom-up structure where information should be "coming from the community going up, raw as it is, we will refine it for implementation purposes" (City of Johannesburg Senior Official: Economic Development, 2021).

However, the different interferences both externally through the control of community meetings by the councillors and ward committee members and internally by political office bearers prohibits this from happening. Community meetings are oftentimes flooded with politically affiliated individuals who often overpower normal community members through being extremely organized and present caucused views or are incredibly anarchic which makes normal community members leave. Oftentimes, stakeholders are spoken on behalf of by political representatives which further creates and emphasizes the imbalance in power relations throughout the entire IDP process. One of the interviewees expressed that they experience a very subtle pressure that stems from political office bearers who are very specific and give direct instructions about the direction the Department is meant to take and which programmes it is meant to prioritize.

5.3 Findings

From the above discussions, one was able to make the observation that there was a clear attempt by the government to move away from the apartheid-era authoritarianism, oppression and active exclusion of civilians. The notion of public participation was introduced in the Constitution, which is directly in line with the Freedom Charter (1955) that states that "the people shall govern". This particular principle calls for all civilians to have the right to vote but most importantly be given the chance to take part in the administration of the country (Freedom Charter 1955). The IDP is viewed as a tool of enhancing democracy and governance because of the manner in which it forces government to directly interact with the people.

Government officials have to physically go into communities and interact with residents and other important interest groups in order to hear their complaints and ideas on the transformation and development of their communities. Stakeholders which are engaged include residents, business, people with disabilities, youth, women, civic and political organizations. The City of Johannesburg's Acting Assistant Director for Community Dialogue who has been participating in the IDP process for over ten years, noted how important and simultaneously strenuous the IDP process was for officials (City of Johannesburg Senior Official: Community Dialogue, 2020).

According to a senior CoJ official, officials in the City's Integrated Development Planning Unit attempt to "*engage as widely and as diversely as possible*" in order to ensure that the IDP document is representative of the needs and wants of all stakeholders within the City (City of Johannesburg Senior Official: Community Dialogue, 2020). Through this process government has to integrate its vision on the development of the City with the views and critiques of the people which are directly affected. The presence of politics is one that cannot be ignored, and officials acknowledge that throughout the process of creating the IDP there is always "*an element of pursuing a political agenda*" which demonstrates itself in different ways throughout the different engagements. They note the manner in which political tensions impede and have the ability to influence the articulations from the community and other stakeholders.

Public participation has been at the centre of the ANC's policy formulation processes for almost a century. The policies are created through consultation within the organization, its alliance partners, civic organizations and civil society highlighting the inclusionary nature of the ANC. According to the ANC's Head of Policy there is an interestingly dynamic interface between their leaders, government, members and the general public. Their policies are formulated at a "*macro level, where they do the research and develop the policy and then take it to the ground in its draft form… then the ground will shape it up based on their experiences*" (African National Congress Head of Policy 2020).

It is only through the party's ideological coherence that it can make sure that its policies are reflected in the spheres in which they govern. Public representatives sent on behalf of the organization are chosen by the Regional Executive Committee (REC) as ratified by the organization's National Executive Committee (NEC) have the responsibility to influence the implementation of their party's policy or position both internally and externally within the Municipal structure. All resources and spheres of government must ultimately be utilized in order advance the organization's policies and ideals of the national democratic revolution.

Looking at the discussion the researcher had with the Democratic Alliance's Senior Policy Researcher who at some point referred me to the Western Cape's Government's Strategic Plan one is able to see how the organization influences the policy of an organ of the state as he explained that it 'directly reflects the DA policy in implementation' particularly pre-2013. The DA also follows a journey of consulting "experts, academics, researchers… public representatives from municipal, provincial, and national government and provincial councils and provincial research staff" whenever they are creating their policy documents, however

unlike the ANC they do not include public participation in this process (Democratic Alliance, Senior Policy Researcher 2021).

The party follows a very systematic way of ensuring their policies are directly represented in the IDP document as explained in the interview and this is done in the following way: "*policies are filtered into the party's local government manifesto which informs municipal policy planning and implementation. The party's provincial structures, leadership and staff ensure policy alignment in DA-run or DA-led municipalities alongside the party's Federal Governance Unit. The Policy Unit and the Governance Unit often trains and advises DA municipalities on municipal policy implementation and by-law formulation"* (Democratic Alliance, Senior Policy Researcher 2021). It is through their councillors, representatives and to some extent officials that their policies are effectively implemented into the plans of the Municipality. They have the responsibility to provide strategic direction and oversight on the IDP process in order to ensure that it is in line with their policies and manifesto.

5.4 Analysis of Findings

The two case studies have revealed the political tensions within the creation of the two respective IDP documents. The IDP process is not as easy and straightforward as it was conceptualized to be in the Constitution, the White Paper on Local Government, and the Municipal Systems Act. It was created with the notion of encouraging and facilitating public participation which would allow stakeholders to give direct input into the manner in which the document is meant to look. It, however, does not take into consideration the imbalance in power relations which are at play throughout the process.

The findings showcase the shortcomings of the IDP as a transparent and autonomous participatory mechanism. The report does this through the presentation of power imbalances within its process which alter and influence the way it is created. It notes the clear tensions and imbalances of the legislative process of the IDP and how it is often overpowered by political forces and influences. The report notes the role political organizations play as shaping forces of the IDP within its legislative process.

The process includes engagement between officials, councillors, ward committee members, residents, and other stakeholders. There is a clear power imbalance between these different individuals which results in the document looking a particular way. According to the officials, they acknowledge the consistent interference from politicians internally and externally. They

note the manner in which there is a political agenda and mandate which is consistently being pushed which ultimately affects the manner in which they are able to do their jobs and also how the IDP document is conceptualized. When looking at both at the municipalities governed by the African National Congress and the Democratic Alliance one can see that to a large extent their policies are present and aligned with the respective IDP.

5.5 Conclusion

The objective of this report was to explore and investigate the extent in which the 2011/12 Integrated Development Plans from the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality and the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality reflect the policies of the political party at its helm at that specific juncture. The conclusions presented below are a culmination of the findings based on the literature reviewed and the empirical findings of this research report based on interviews with representatives from the City of Johannesburg's Economic Development and Integrated Development Planning: Community Dialogue units, the African National Congress' Head of Policy and Research and the Democratic Alliance's Senior Policy Researcher

The literature chapter presented an in-depth explanation of the Integrated Development Plan document as conceptualized by the South African Constitution (1996), the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (1994), the White Paper on Local Government (1996) and the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (2000). It also provided an explanation of the notion of public participation and presented Forester's (1989) Communicative Planning Theory which underpins it. It briefly discussed the manner in which political parties influence the Municipality's processes both externally and internally in order to ensure that their policies are evident or at the least aligned with that of the City.

Chapter Five presented the research design and methodology which was utilized throughout the research. Chapter four of the research report presented the Housing and Economic Development Department's sections of the City of Johannesburg's 2011 IDP and the City of Cape Town's 2012 IDP. It also presented the African National Congress' and Democratic Alliance's political position on Housing and Economic Development as conceptualized in their respective manifestoes, policy documents and conference resolutions. Lastly, it most importantly presented an analysis and comparison of the DA's policy positions to that of the

CoCT's and the ANC compared to the CoJ. Chapter six presented a discussion of the municipality's procedures compared to the political party policy procedures and presented the findings of the research.

5.6 General Conclusions

The study concludes that to a large extent each IDP does reflect the policies of the political party at the helm of the Municipality. There is a general sense of agreement from both City officials that were interviewed that there is indeed political interference and pressure throughout the IDP process both externally through biased and politically aligned community members and ward committee members and also internally through the political office bearers. The African National Congress is very clear on their stance that all resources, structures, spheres of government and entities must be utilized in order to advance the organizations policies and ideals. The DA on the other had presents a contradictory version of events as they state that "*party members and politicians should operate as neutral and objective decision-makers yet work to implement government policy and party policy as prescribed by the party"* (Democratic Alliance Senior Policy Researcher 2021).

Public participation is at the core of the IDP process as it gives normal civilians a platform to voice their ideas, opinions and complaints on the transformation and development of their areas. One would therefore expect that the IDP to a large extent would reflect their ideas and vision. There is an expectation for elected representatives to directly respond and act in the best interest of their constituency. However, this is warped because of the expectation that the organization which they represent also has on them and their responsibility to implement the party's policies and create programmes and projects which are aligned with its ideological positions. This is where the contradictions begin as one would expect that the needs of the people would triumph those of the organization. One would expect that the IDP would lean more towards responding to the needs of the people which are directly impacted by the plans. As seen in the research this does not happen, the IDP to a large extent ends up being more aligned with the ideas and positions of the political party.

The IDP process does not take into consideration power imbalances within those community meetings which allows political organizations to interfere in the process and this makes its conceptualized use as a participatory tool deeply flawed. The IDP is a heavily loaded

document and when the respective chapters were simplified the research found that conceptually they were very similar to the respective political party's policies at the helm of each municipality. Some of the content present in the IDPs were simplified or localized versions of a manifesto or policy document, whilst some were even directly quoted and not changed. The African National Congress has been consistent in its stance of providing homes and creating human settlements for the citizens whilst the Democratic Alliance is more fixated on offering alternative housing that lessens the pressure and strain on Government. The organizations also differ on the manner in which the economy must be dealt with from government's perspective. The DA is more fixated on creating an economically enabling environment where people can thrive without the assistance of government whilst the ANC emphasizes government's responsibility in job creation and the creation of opportunities.

The Municipalities which they govern are aligned with their way of thinking which can be clearly seen in their plans. Both IDPs which were initially theorized as a product of legislation, public participation and the developmental vision of the municipality offer a clear example of the influence of political organizations. The documents for the most part, are in perfect alignment with the conceptualized visions, policies and ideological positions of the political organizations at the helm of the City. They offer us a glimpse into the power and influence of political organizations and their processes which the research report has offered. The report has presented insight on the hidden political processes in comparison to the the municipal policy procedures, both which ultimately determine the outcome of the particular IDP.

5.7 Recommendations

The literature reviewed and analysis showed the complexities and tensions of the IDP document and process. The IDP was conceptualized in the early 2000's at the dawn of democracy in South Africa and unfortunately has not been reviewed on whether the processes and procedures are constructive. There is a huge difference in the manner in which it was conceptualized and how it physically takes place. There is no mechanism which has been put into place to track the developments which were promised to communities and stakeholders which is incredibly important for a transparent relationship between the government and its people.

Government must appoint a team to review the processes and formulate a new framework for the IDP, that will be specific in its guidance and procedures, progressive and not exclusionary. Whilst relooking at the IDP framework, government must also relook at the role and responsibilities of ward councillors and committee members as historically conceptualized by the Municipal Systems Act (1998). It has the responsibility to ensure that they fully understand their responsibilities and the need to serve the interest of all community members. Furthermore, they must also fully understand the IDP process in order for them to be able to inform and encourage their community members to participate in the public participation processes. It would also be beneficial for them to attend ethics training in the efforts of ensuring ethical and pro-integrity behaviour in all municipal processes and particularly that of the IDP. This has the potential of reducing political interference from both the bottom and the top which causes an imbalance in municipal processes.

Government also has the responsibility to relook at the type of power and influence political organizations have on policy and legislation. There must be an interrogation of the sector of society the IDP is meant to serve and prioritize particularly because of the manner in which community participation sits at the core of the IDP process. If government is to be transparent and inclusive, it must be honest and open about the role of political organizations outside of the perceived mandate they carry for the public. This is particularly important as we approach the upcoming Local Government Elections (at the time that this is written in 2021) where much of the South African population seems to not fully grasp the role of Local Government and more importantly are disgruntled as they feel their needs are not being responded to and their developmental visions are not being implemented. Furthermore, each IDP must include clearly summarized information about past projects and their progress which can be accessed by all stakeholders.

We must fully acknowledge much of the country's policy and legislation was created in an era of inclusivity and as a means to undo the harsh consequences and impacts of apartheid laws. However, this created a gap which allows political organizations to infiltrate and interfere with work being done to serve the masses of our people which must be taken seriously and investigated. The perfect alignment of organizational policies with municipal plans causes a tension with the initial conceptualization of the IDP and the imbalances must be investigated and communicated to the general public. Government has the responsibility of informing and educating the general public about the processes and how they are set up in

a manner which seeks to benefit the public. There is a clear lapse in public education for normal citizens and there is also a lack of access to basic information.

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7. APPENDICES

7.1 APPENDIX ONE: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

To what extent do IDPs reflect the policies of the political party leading the City? A comparison of the housing and economic development aspect of the 2011 IDP in the ANC-led Johannesburg Metropolitan and DA-led Cape Town Metropolitan.

My name is Hyacinth Nhlumayo, and I am a Masters student in Urban Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project, and I am investigating the extent in which the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) of a city reflect the policies of the political party governing at the time. The research is under the supervision of Prof. Sarah Charlton. The aim of this research project is to interrogate the housing and economic development policies of the African National Congress and the Democratic Alliance and to understand to what extent these policies are aligned and included in the IDP document of the City of Johannesburg and the City of Cape Town.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. You have been selected because you are either in a job dealing with housing, the economy or IDPs in the municipality, or dealing with housing or economic policy in a political party. This activity will involve answering questions and will take around 30 minutes. With your permission, I would also like to record the interview using a digital device.

There will be no personal costs to you if you participate in this project. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation but there are no disadvantages or penalties if you do

not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential and the information you give to me will be held securely and not disclosed to anyone else. If you prefer, I can also use a pseudonym or solely a non-identifying version of job title to represent your participation in my final research report. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you.

If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone 011 717 1408, or email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,
Hyacinth, July 2020

Contact Details:

Researcher: Hyacinth Nhlumayo
Telephone: 076 090 2315
Email: Hyacinth.Nhlumayo@gmail.com

Supervisor: Sarah Charlton
Email: Sarah.Charlton@wits.ac.za

7.2 APPENDIX TWO: PARTICIPANT CONSENT SHEET



PARTICIPANT CONSENT SHEET

To what extent do IDPs reflect the policies of the political party leading the City? A comparison of the housing and economic development aspect of the 2011 IDP in the ANC-led Johannesburg Metropolitan and DA-led Cape Town Metropolitan.

1. I have been given a Participant Information Sheet which explains the nature and processes involved in this study, which is attached hereto;
2. I was given time to read it, or had it read to me, in the language I best understand;
3. I was given time to ask any questions I wanted to and found any answers given to me to be reasonable and satisfactory;
4. I agree to be interviewed for the research;
5. I agree for the interview to be recorded;
6. I believe I fully understand why the study is being conducted and what the intended outcomes will be;
7. I understand that there will be no immediate benefit to me, should I agree to participate, nor will I receive any payment; conversely, participation will not cost me anything but my time;
8. I understand that, even if I initially consent to take part in the study, I may subsequently withdraw at any time and would not be required to give any reasons; if that happened, any data collected about me for the purposes of the study would immediately be destroyed, unless I give consent for it to be retained
9. I have been given a range of contact details, listed below. If I require further information or become concerned about any aspect of this study, I am free to speak to any of these contacts.

Contact Details:

Researcher: Hyacinth Nhlumayo
Telephone: 076 090 2315
Email: Hyacinth.Nhlumayo@gmail.com

Supervisor: Sarah Charlton

Email: Sarah.Charlton@wits.ac.za

Name of Participant: _____

Date:

_____

Place:

_____

Signature _____

7.3 APPENDIX THREE: QUESTIONS FOR IDP OFFICIALS

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QUESTIONS FOR IDP OFFICIALS

Biographical Information

- Background of interviewee
- Interviewee's qualifications and skills
- The position of the interviewee
- Number of years involved in the City's IDP process.

Integrated Development Programme process

- What is the Integrated Development Plan?
- What processes are followed in the creation of the IDP?
- Who are the most important stakeholders when it comes to housing and economic development?
- How are the different stakeholders engaged?
- What is your personal experience of community meetings with the public?
- What are the most recurring issues?
- How do often do housing and economic issues feature?
- From past experience which stakeholders have had the most influence over the process and particularly housing and economic issues?
- What is your understanding of the role of political office bearers and their political parties?
- Do you think political parties attempt to influence the IDP to align with their policies, and are they successful?
- To what extent does the IDP reflect the policies of the dominant party in the administration? Do you think it should or shouldn't do so?
- How do you ensure that the IDP is representative of the needs and wants of all stakeholders?
- Can you take me through the process of the creation of the 2011 IDP?
- How have the processes and issues changed since then?

7.4 APPENDIX FOUR: QUESTIONS FOR HOUSING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS

WITS UNIVERSITY

QUESTIONS FOR HOUSING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS

Biographical Information

- Background of interviewee
- Interviewee's qualifications and skills
- The position of the interviewee
- Number of years involved in the Housing/Economic Development Department?

Department's Policy Creation and Implementation Process

- Please provide a brief overview of the department, including its structure, mandate and main areas of focus.
- What are the department's most important policies?
- What is the process of the creation of these policies?
- Which stakeholders are engaged when creating these policies?
- Do you know what the equivalent political party policies consist of? To what extent do the key policies in your department align with or differ from the equivalent policies of the majority political party in this administration?
- What role does the political office bearer responsible for this department play in the policy formulation process'
- Does the political office bearer have influence over which policies the department adopts and implements? In what way?
- Do you believe that political office bearers attempt to implement policies that align with their political party?

- How does the department make sure that their most important policies and programmes are present in the IDP document? Where in the IDP can these policies be found?

7.5 APPENDIX FIVE: QUESTIONS FOR AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE POLICY UNIT.

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QUESTIONS FOR THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE POLICY UNIT.

Background:

- Brief history of the Political Party.
- What are the party's guiding principles?
- Has the party's principles and vision changed over the years?
- To what extent has the party achieved its vision for the country?

Housing and Economic Development Policies.

- What is the party's policy on housing?
- What is the party's policy on economic development?
- What were the policies or discussion documents that helped shaped these policies?
- How have these policies shifted over the years?
- Please explain the process in which these policies are created.
- Do you think these policies are still relevant?
- Please take me through the process the party attempts to get these policies adopted and implemented into the different spheres of government.
- Is the process which takes certain policies to parliament the same at local government level? If not, please explain how it works at local level.
- How does the party ensure that its policies are implemented?
- Is the party engaged when the creation of documents such as the IDP takes place?

- What does the party believe is the role of their deployees when it comes to the creation and implementation of policy?