EFFECTING TRANSFORMATION THROUGH AREA-BASED MANAGEMENT: THE CASE STUDY OF ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY, DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT:
In post apartheid South Africa, the concept of area-based management emerged in an attempt to fast track development and redress apartheid planning. In reality, it opened up the space for multi-sectoral problem-oriented development – an approach embodied in area-based planning. In extracting lessons from the experience in Durban, area-based management offers an opportunity to explore new forms of governance and urban management. The 5 strategic areas selected for the EU funded Area- Based Management and Development Programme provide ample opportunities for consideration as emerging institutional models for local government elsewhere.

KEY WORDS:
Area-Based Initiatives, Area-Based Management And Development Programme, Ethekwini Municipality, South Africa
INTRODUCTION

Durban is a coastal metropolitan on the eastern part of South Africa, within the province of KwaZulu Natal and is home to some 4 million people (IDP Newsletter, September 2010). The metropolitan area is characterized by high levels of poverty, unemployment (35% in 2006) and historical marginalization of the poor. Apartheid’s legacy of separate development has rendered the area within the municipal demarcation spatially, socially, economically and developmentally fragmented (Bretekze, 2009). Up until 2000, the spatial footprint of Durban consisted of an urban core and a peri-urban outer boundary – and it is this uniqueness which presents planners and city officials with a mix of challenges and opportunities.

The Feasible Study Report (2002) indicated that an area-based management approach was considered a viable option given the fragmented service delivery, historical neglect of the area, the challenges it posed for community development and engagement as well as the opportunity it presented for knowledge transfer. These were some of the factors which were considered for adoption of the EU funded 5 year Area-Based Management and Development (ABMD) Program. This rationale embodied the notion of the ABMD Programme as a pilot program where new methodologies could be used as a stimulus for the implementation of similar projects in other urban areas. Santangelo, (2001) in his analysis of urban pilot projects captured this as simply not using new instruments or to implement new kinds of projects, but to act and get organised in a different way than in past experiences.

Todes (2006) noted that ABM was a way of doing things differently, drawing from the experiences of governance models in Kerala in India and Porte Allegre in Brazil. Turok (2004) argues in addition that ABM offers the potential for improved decision-making and delivery since local services can be more tailored to local needs and conditions. Learning can occur through experience close to the ground and new ways of doing things can be pioneered. Similarly, the key result areas of the ABMD Programmes implemented in eThekwini included the operationalising and testing of different approaches; the capacitation of various stakeholders to play their respective roles; deepening of democracy; improvement of service delivery and the enhancement of economic development.

AREA BASED EXPERIENCES (NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY)

Notions of integrated governance have been important in the South African context and this informed South Africa’s transition from apartheid to a democracy. If one considers concepts such as provinces, districts, regions, wards, suburbs and planning units, then theoretically the “area-based management and development” construct has been around for some time. Perhaps the earliest of the post apartheid area-based initiatives were the Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPPs). Given is focus on neighbourhoods in cities, Platzky (2000) argued that in the roll-out of the SIPPs as an area based form was preferred as it gave early expression which focused on socio-economic development in politically important areas. Cato Manor was one such area. The Spatial Development Initiative (SDI), a nationally driven area initiative on the other hand focused on wealth creation. More recent national programmes include the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDPRP) and the Urban Renewal Programme (URP) which were initiated by the then Department of Provincial and Local Government- (DPLG) – aimed at addressing urban and rural poverty in selected nodes. The Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) areas were deserving contenders on these programmes.
When used as a planning tool to shorten lines of decision making and its flexibility to provide for faster and more tailored decision-making which incorporates intimate local knowledge, then we see area based management as much more than an arrangement but a spatial management planning tool. Chipkin (2000) argued that government is a territorial creature and that its referent is always spatial. From such a perspective, area-based management is a truism. Hence forms of area-based management in the early post-apartheid period were seen as a way of fast-tracking development and enabling multi-sectoral problem-oriented development approaches.

Cameron and Turok (2004) made extensive reference to literature in international development and noted that targeting poverty in particular neighborhoods has been a particular focus in the USA as growing inequalities have sharpened a sense of exclusion. According to Andersen (2001), most European governments have also initiated programmes with area based initiatives to address problems in deprived areas.

Area-based regeneration policies in the UK (England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales), following devolution in the late 1970s, draw on similar attempts to regenerate areas that were considered “socially excluded”.

Adamson, D (2010) notes that Scotland’s’ Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIPPS) and Community Planning Partnerships (CPP), England’s National Strategy for Neighborhoods Renewal, Wales Community First Programme have all set the context for area-based regeneration in Europe. Similar consideration and attention has been given to the case of Ireland, where area-based initiatives are a response to relatively weak and traditional local governments (Turok, 1999; Grimshaw, 2001). The SIDA evaluation report by Carlsen, J and Nazal, S (2008), noted that the key focus of the District Development Programme in Tanzania was around capacity building and development with a focus on poverty reduction in 3 districts. On the contrary, the Maputo Development Corridor lost support as a development agency. Sauderbaum (2003) points to poor institutionalization of this programme as key to its collapse.

This paper therefore attempts to provide an insight to the implementation of area-based planning approach in meeting the delivery challenges in eThekwini Municipality – a local government in Durban, South Africa. This paper further offers an opportunity for the local government elsewhere to consider an area-based approach to planning and development drawing from the lessons of the Durban experience.

Apartheid’s legacy in South Africa left many cities dysfunctional. Most of these areas were characterized by a deliberate differentiation according to race and class, urban sprawl, poor service delivery to peripheral areas, concentration of poor in high density areas and disparities between the rich and poor. Pre-1994, legislation in government and more so in local government, was implemented to perpetuate segregation and inequity. The top-down planning approach and decision-making process was characteristic of the apartheid government. Under the new dispensation, legislation was drafted to give expression to the will of the people. The Constitutional obligations included:
The provision of democratic and accountable government for local communities
Measures to ensure sustainable provision of services
Promotion of social and economic development
The inclusion of communities in the affairs of local government
The promotion of a safe and healthy environment

The White Paper on Local Government (1998:67) advocated for a “local government that is committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve their quality of lives”. In essence, while this key legislation entrusted local government to play a “developmental role, the Constitution of South Africa mandated government to take reasonable steps, within available resources, to ensure that all South Africans have access to adequate housing, health care, education, food, water and social security. This is against the backdrop that historically local government was not equipped to play a strong role in the social and economic development of local communities. In assessing the intergovernmental relations and service delivery in South Africa, The Ten Year Review Report (2003:198) commissioned by the Presidency emphasized that “local government is now positioned as the key site of delivery and development and stands central to the entire transformation project of post-apartheid South Africa”. Therefore key elements which characterized local government included the maximization of social development and economic growth; the integration and coordination of resources with key role-players; the promotion and democratization of local development as well as the provisional of visionary leadership by leading and learning for the purposes of creating sustainable human settlements (White Paper on Local Government, 1998).

Governments’ programme of action saw the development of national policies and programmes such as the Urban Renewal Programme (URP) and the Integrated Sustainable Rural development Programme (ISRDP) as key vehicles to effect South Africa’s transition to redress these imbalances. It is within this context that government focused on local government as a logical entry point to decentralize and strengthen developmentally oriented governance, deepen the country’s nascent democracy and integrate development planning. This was endorsed at the January 2003 Cabinet Legotla.

It was further confirmed that in the present context, the current state of local government necessitates a fresh approach i.e. “doing things differently” and a collective response from the state and its social partners. This paper attempts to provide a view that these enduring socio-economic challenges as well as efforts by different tiers of government to devolve resources to local communities and other local actors may rest with an approach that is problem-centered with local solutions. Such an approach must be inclusive, geographically focused with a quick turn-around yet strategic enough to address local needs and opportunities in an integrated manner.

THE DURBAN EXPERIENCE

In 2003, eThekwini Municipality, with the EU as its funding partners, embarked on an ambitious 5 year Area Based Management and Development Programme (ABMD). The feasibility study conducted in 2001 noted that “The purpose of this agreement was to strengthen eThekwini Municipality’s capacity to provide basic services and to stimulate job creation and income generation
by introducing area-based management and development practices in the 5 learning areas.” (Feasibility Report, 2001: 27)

The EU and eThekwini Municipality also agreed to the following ABMDP key performance areas:

- Different approaches to ABMD operationalised and tested
- Capacity of ABMD managers, ward councillors, communities and other stakeholders to play their respective roles in ABMD is enhanced
- Democratic processes deepened
- Service delivery improved
- Economic development enhanced

This pilot programme, with an emphasis of learning by doing, was implemented in 5 strategic areas (see map)

[fig. 1] Map of Durban showing the 5 areas (models) for intervention as shaded.
AREA DEMARCATION

4.1 ITRUMP ABM:
The inner city (pink) is managed by the Inner Thekwini Regeneration and Management Urban Programme (iTRUMP). The focus of iTRUMP is the active facilitation of local economic development.

4.1.1 PROFILE:
This area has been targeted for area management due to its strategic importance as Durban’s main commercial and administration node. Organized into 9 districts, the team manages a range of planning, operational and maintenance issues related to the inner city. Whilst the challenges and opportunities differ from one area to the next, iTRUMP ABM face up daily to a myriad of complexities ranging from dealing with bad managed buildings, public space, urban poor and informal trade to stemming the tide of office flight. The AMM model works towards ensuring that eThekwini citizens are proud and feel comfortable in their city.

4.1.2 DEMONSTRATING AN AREA-BASED APPROACH IN ITRUMP:

The inner city is a dynamic environment and a call for a forward looking, yet responsive local government has forced the ITRUMP ABM to be creative and innovative when responding to challenges around urban regeneration and urban management.

Elsewhere, similar challenges are seen as risks to the core and are placed at the periphery of the main domain. But iTRUMP ABM has turned such challenges into viable economic opportunities-preserving and promoting diversity and representation. Issues related to street vendors, taxi ranks, grime and crime as well as upgrading of the public realm are cases in point.

The approach is one of nodal focus and upgrading- using events and upgrades to the vicinity of bad buildings as catalysts to improve the aesthetics as well as the business confidence of the sector. This has significantly contributed to the aesthetics of the area and may have reduced urban decline.

Given that there are different capacities within line departments and quite often the personal relations are good indicators of the willingness to partner. The ITRUMP Programme, has over time, matured and has consolidated synergies amongst the range of stakeholders (government, civil society, and business). Working closely with tertiary institutions and internal line departments, capacity building
programmes and support for local structures via mentorship and graduation programmes have contributed to effective engagement with stakeholder support at a project level.

ITRUMP plays a coordinating, supporting and stimulating role to contribute to the demand-driven local economy. Enhancing the capacity of the poor to engage in survivalist activities, developing corridors of excellence as well as forging cross-linkages in labour and commodity markets are but a few of the operational activities that the team deals with in order to promote the internal transformation of the economy.

4.2 SDB ABM:
The southern parts of the city (yellow), recognized as the industrial hub of the city, is managed by the South Durban Basin ABM. This model responds to the social and economic challenges whilst managing the historical tension between residential, industrial and environmental players in the area.

4.2.1 PROFILE:
The southern part of Durban is best known as the logistical and industrial hub of eThekwini metropolitan area. The presence of residential areas near industry as well as the environmental sensitive coastal strip has led to a volatile relationship between the various stakeholder groupings. Using an area-based approach, the strategic imperatives of the area are geared towards ensure that the partnerships within the various role-players all contribute towards developing the SDB as a place to live, a place to work, a place to invest, a place to transport goods and people and a place for the environment.

4.2.2 DEMONSTRATING AN AREA-BASED APPROACH IN SOUTH DURBAN BASIN (SDB)

Historically, the SDB was recognized as a manufacturing and industrial hub, tainted by industrial pollution, apartheid relocation schemes, squalor and neglect – seriously hampering any efforts for community tourism. Serving as a catalyst for change, the SDB ABM model aimed to improve service delivery, address socio-economic inequalities, spatially re-organize the area, enhance local area management and create new initiatives in the area. The critical challenge for the ABM team is to regenerate a declining, but still highly significant industrial area, and to improve the quality of life for residents in the area.

Key interventions to address strategic imperatives:

- Decline arrested through active and responsive management
- Sustainable development planning with a focus on spatial organisation
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- Enhanced strategic physical infrastructure
- Equitable access to community services, facilities and local economic opportunities
- Improved SDB image (Promotional / Marketing Thrust)

The SDB ABM positioned itself as focusing mainly on the level of strategic planning and coordination, leaving implementation to municipal line departments. At a strategic level, the ABM unit has intervened actively to reinstate the importance of the SDB within city management and the Integrated Development Plan – a municipal commitment to the implementation of service delivery. It has nevertheless set up systems to promote more integrated activities among line departments. Poor synergy between departments in the area was seen as a major challenge. In addition, SDB has taken a keen interest in the activities of line departments working in its area, beyond the specific projects it funds. SDB’s interventive approach has not always been popular with others. It has attempted to promote development consistent with its plans to meet the social, economic and infrastructure imperatives to realize an area based vision for this critical area.

4.3 CATO MANOR ABM:
The in-fill peri-urban is managed by the Cato Manor ABM (blue), notorious for fragmented and weak community structures due to forced evictions as a result of apartheid legislation. The focus of the Cato Manor ABM is to build infrastructure platform to enhance social and economic development.

4.3.1 PROFILE:
Cato Manor, an area with a long history of forced removals, competing land claims’ and racial conflict in the 1950’s and 1960’s, was much later identified as a beneficiary of a Presidential Special Project in the 90’s. The Cato Manor Development Association, established in 1996, functioned very much as an area-based integrated programme, focusing primarily on infrastructure development. Cato Manor is now known world-wide for integrated, sustainable housing development in housing development in South Africa. Over the last 8 years, Cato Manor ABM has worked towards ensuring that residents are able to function effectively in the local economy, enhancing human capacity as well efficiently utilizing local resources and services.

4.3.2 DEMONSTRATING AN AREA-BASED APPROACH IN CATO MANOR:

[fig. 1] Emerging entrepreneurs [fig. 2] Cooperative farmers [fig. 3] Community health [fig. 4] Formal housing

In order to address the numerous economic barriers, overcome market failures, improve the local economy and also provide an enabling environment for emerging entrepreneurs, Cato Manor ABM responded by implementing a Local Economic Development Framework. This multi-dimensional approach provides capacity building opportunities for individuals, households and cooperatives and
fledgling enterprises to engage in a cross-section of economic activities to function effectively in the local and regional economy.

Interventions such as the newly opened Umkhumbane flea market, cooperatives training and registration have demonstrated how an integrated approach can provide the necessary linkages to development.

Key interventions:

Crime and Safety: A more controlled approach to policing and monitoring of crime has paved the way for remedial crime prevention to take place. The partnerships that have been forged have assisted in providing a proactive approach to crime reduction and community safety in Cato Manor. Some notable projects include:

- Community Safety Initiative:
- Crime Mapping and Analysis using GIS
- Crime Prevention through Environmental Design
- Crime Prevention Forum

Community health has always been on the planning agenda. Whilst this is a major historical challenge, the area-based approach has been one of developing a sustainable, holistic yet pragmatic plan that embraces the role of interested stakeholders. These include the community, government and locally based civil service organizations to address the scourge of HIV/AIDS. The multi-sectoral fora operate on the principle that HIV/AIDS is no more a health issue as it is a socio-economic problem. The advantage of having an all-encompassing and coordinating structure is that it has oversight, reduces duplication of resources, is cost-efficient and can leverage greater lobbying power than if they each operated as single entities.

4.4 INK ABM:
The INK ABM drives development in the Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu areas (orange) focusing on improving the living conditions of the community by harnessing their human potential.

4.4.1 PROFILE:
Recognized as the second largest black African township settlement in the country, INK comprises a mix of residential and informal settlements. Individually, each area exhibits a mix of development needs but generally these areas are portrayed as areas of great deprivation, lack of investment in economic and social infrastructure and social infrastructure, poor human resource and enterprise development, poverty alleviation and a weak criminal justice system.

It was for these reasons that in 2001 President Thabo Mbeki declared the area a priority node needing urgent government attention within the Urban renewal Programme. The INK area was seen as suitable to adopt an area-base approach to address underdevelopment with an emphasis of improving joint government and implementation thus contributing to improved living conditions and enhancing human potential in the affected areas.
4.4.2 DEMONSTRATING AN AREA-BASED APPROACH IN INANDA NTUZUMA, KWASHU (INK)

Beset with high levels of unemployment and poverty, escalating levels of crime and inadequate township infrastructure, INK is home to more than 500 thousand residents who have endured a range of historically related challenges from lack of economic opportunities to access to tertiary education.

In 2000, the Presidential lead Programme on urban renewal identified INK as a potential township investment and pilot node to fast track development and service delivery. So serious were the challenges and attempts to redress the imbalances of the past that the areas of Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu were also incorporated into the EU supported Area Based Management (ABM) and Development Programme.

Eleven years on and the area-based approach is now making a significant impact and has breathed new life into an areas that was once considered a dormitory town for Blacks – bringing with it unique and innovative development possibilities. It now boasts a booming town centre and up-market shopping mall – a clear indicator of the business confidence signalled by the retail and commercial sectors.

The area based plan was modelled on the implementation of a number of clearly defined intervention strategies/ impact areas focusing on:

- **Integrated governance**
  The thrust here is to improve the levels of co-ordination between the various state departments, and to extend that impact by building the community’s capacity to receive and use the products of state investment. This has resulted in is improved access to Information, enhanced community participation through activation of citizen potential and better integration and coordination of government services.

- **Improving living environments**
  Experience elsewhere has noted that an investment in the residential environments as well as public space has a profound effect on total quality living. The area based approach encompassing a joint stakeholder visioning in INK, focused resources on improving affordable housing; environmental education, improved mobility and access to public transport, access to social and community health services; supporting arts, sport and culture; reducing crime and a concentrated effort on the vulnerable and special needs group.

- **Enhancing Income**
  The high levels of unemployment call for a focus on instruments to improve incomes. The INK ABM implemented programmes on decreasing unemployment by exploring opportunities
for local economic activities; valorising the property market and through aggressive marketing to encourage business to invest in INK areas. Over the last few years, the impacts have been phenomenal. Emerging cooperatives are now part of the main stream economy, job opportunities in the construction sector and security sectors have materialised; small, medium and micro-enterprises are making a dent in the value chain resulting in a re-circulation of capital in INK.

- **Infrastructure Investment**
  As an urban renewal programme, INK represents the largest area of state investment with much of it being led by housing provision. This acts to set up processes for the supply of both bulk and township level service provision, with a well-developed system already in place to co-ordinate delivery. Anchor projects like the KwaMashu Town Centre and Bridge City Shopping Mall have provided the impetus to rejuvenate transport and other related infrastructure in the area. This development thrust now gives the INK area a competitive advantage over some of the more affluent residential and commercial areas in greater Durban.

  It is safe to assume that residents now enjoy civic pride and a sense of belonging in the area – much to the credit of an area-based approach to planning and implementation.

### 4.5 RURAL ABM
A large portion of the municipal spatial footprint (67%) is identified (green) as rural in nature. Given the challenges in the delivery of basic services and institutional governance, the Rural ABM set about pioneering change to meaningfully impact on the lives of rural communities.

#### 4.5.1 PROFILE:
These areas include those incorporated within the demarcation of the Unicity on 2000. Given its history, the area is characterized by inadequate or nonexistent provision of municipal, services fragmented service delivery by different spheres of government, high levels of poverty, low levels of sustainable income, few economic opportunities and a vulnerable natural resource asset. Using an area-based approach, the key foci were on addressing governance challenges, deepening democracy, ensuring integrated implementation, contributing to economic and social upliftment as well as identifying a sustained approach to service delivery.

#### 4.5.2 DEMONSTRATING AN AREA-BASED APPROACH IN RURAL AND TRADITIONAL AREAS:

![fig.1] Sport  ![fig.2] Transport  ![fig.3] Survival  ![fig.4] Water  ![fig.5] Fuel

Rural areas are located to the north, west and south and the peri-urban corridor which flank the main national roads which run into the city. It is estimated that as much as 67% of the city is rural in nature. There areas were characterized by high unemployment, extreme poverty, little or no municipal services, few economic opportunities with many households relying to some extent on community
organizations and other networks. To area was further beset with other constraints linked to increasing isolation and restricted access to urban amenities, fragmented service delivery, land tenure issues, dual leadership and blurred governance. This was the grim picture in 2002 – a direct result of neglect, poor planning and the historical legacy of apartheid.

To address these issues and fast-track development, the Rural ABM had implement a plan which accommodated alternative approaches to service delivery, strategically meander through governance and institutional arrangements and carve out a range of economic opportunities to improve rural livelihoods.

These local challenges provided opportunities to seek local solutions. The issues, which can be categorized under 5 broad areas, promoted Rural ABM to implement and range of strategies within a broader Rural Development Framework Plan. The interventions focused on:

- **Area co-ordination**
  Given the vastness of the rural landscape and improve ease of access, the rural and traditional areas were roughly divided into 4 regions. Setting up office which was managed by an area coordinator and staffed with basic personnel provided an operational base for the coordination and implementation of the local area plans. The mere presence and visibility of the area teams brought with it a renewed sense of confidence to the rural communities. This innovation provided the inertia for sustained community engagement and active participation.

- **Improved system of governance**
  Historically, rural areas were governed by traditional leaders and leadership was determined by lineage and status amongst the village elders. In 2000 Durban was declared a metropolis under the Systems Act, Act 3 of 2000, which governed all 267 local municipalities in South Africa. Under this act it was necessary to spatially reconfigure the municipal land into municipal wards (planning areas). The challenge for EThekwini Municipality which now had 100 wards and a democratic elected ward councilor was to merge the institutional arrangements between elected councilors and rural traditional leaders. The responsibility of managing these tensions and introducing a partnership model was handed to Rural ABM. There are good practices and powerful lessons that have emerged from this positive collaboration.

- **Deepening of democratic processes**
  One of the responsibilities of local government is to encourage the active participation of communities and civil service organizations in matters of government. The area-based team adopted a project-linked participation approach which acknowledges a critical role that communities must play, as joint owners, in steering committees set up for each project.

- **Improved service delivery**
  The dispersed settlement patterns, lack of basic infrastructure and social amenities as well as a depressed economic outlook in rural areas challenged the Rural ABM team to be innovative and creativity to identify alternative service delivery methodology. Sixteen LED hubs (nodes) we identified, across the rural landscape, as it offered ample opportunities for the concentration and clustering of socio-economic services – due to its strategic location. Some of these nodes focused on investment whilst the others served as common points for bundles
of localised services eg. Postal, municipal payments, taxi shuttles, spaza shops. The vision was to support and grow these nodes, which could have a social and economic impact in the medium to long term.

- **Enhanced economic livelihoods**
  In order to expand the range of income generating opportunities for rural residents and enhance their economic livelihoods, the area-based approach was one of skills development and empowerment. The potential for arts and craft, community tourism, hydroponic farming and cash-cropping are some examples of latent opportunities that were being tapped. Mentorship and support programmes from sustainable farming to managing a small enterprise were rolled out by specialist teams. This has certainly impacted on the families, who are operating as member of co-operatives and are now part of the value chain.

4.6 HOW DOES THE ABMD PROGRAMME COMPARE WITH SOME INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES?

For this section some devolved programme platforms in Europe were compared with the eThekwini experience in South Africa. These similarities are concluded under the following key points:

- Value of area-based regeneration and its recognition of the distinctive value of people and place
- Outward-looking: areas in their context
- Striking the balance between local and national where city, provincial and national government support is vital
- Relationship between funding and success
- The centrality of service improvement, mainstreaming and programme bending
- The role of delivery structures and value of the different contributions of partners
- The role of active citizens and the distinct role of partnership working
- Action orientation
- The evolution of policy and support leadership in different forms
- The need to change horizons and ensure the flexibility to tailor ABIs to their context
- A multi-dimensional approach with clear priorities
- A dynamic perspective: from special initiatives to mainstream
CONCLUSION

The author wishes to acknowledge that in attempting to provide a broad brush-stroke of the area-based experience in eThekwini, Durban, much attention has not been given to providing a detailed analysis of sector impacts post the programme period. This in itself is an opportunity for future research.

Notwithstanding this, the approach taken and strategies implemented attempts to build on strengths and take advantage of opportunities while minimizing acknowledged weakness and recognized threats for each of the models/learning areas elaborated in the body of this paper. If anything, the ABMDP has provided the space to “learn by doing” and provides valuable lessons for other local government to find out what works within the changing management context and governments in transition.

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