

University of Fort Hare

Department of Geography and Environmental Sciences

The Implications of Political Floor Crossing on Development at Municipal

Level: The Case of Stellenbosch Municipality



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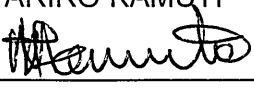
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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own original work, except where stated, and that it has not been submitted for a degree to any other university.

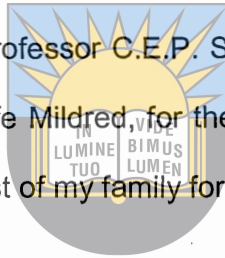


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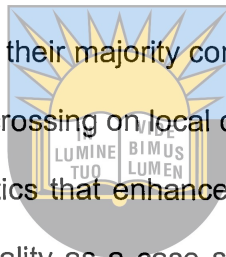


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ABSTRACT

The South African Parliament in 2002, passed legislation allowing political floor crossing that was applicable at the local government level. The major result was a shift in the balance of power in several local municipalities with some political parties losing their majority control. The study aims to examine the effects of political floor crossing on local development. The study is guided by the theory of urban politics that enhances explanations of urban centres, using Stellenbosch Municipality as a case study. The study uses the realist single-case intensive research approach. The study shows that political decision-making within council has a bearing on the developmental focus of the municipality. The newly declared majority party alliance in Stellenbosch is already bringing about a new perspective and focus on development at the local level.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
AEB	Afrikaner Unity Movement
ANC	African National Congress
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DA	Democratic Alliance
DP	Democratic Party
FA	Federal Alliance
FF	Freedom Front
FPTP	First Past the Post
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GNU	Government of National Unity
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
KCA	Kayamandi Community Alliance
MF	Minority Front
NNP	New National Party
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PR	Proportional Representation
PAC	Pan African Congress
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme



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SACP	South African Communist Party
UCDP	United Christian Democratic Party
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDM	United Democratic Movement



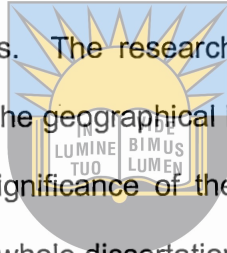
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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter provides the background to the study with reference to the issue of political floor crossing as the major focus. It is important to know what political floor crossing is, the events leading to political floor crossing in South Africa and the subsequent results in terms of gains and losses by the political parties or party alliance. The conceptual framework guiding the study then follows. This will provide the basis for stating the research problem, the research aim and objectives. The research is based on a case study of Stellenbosch Municipality. The geographical location of the study area will be provided, followed by the significance of the study. This chapter ends by outlining the structure of the whole dissertation.



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The Meaning of Political Floor Crossing

Political floor crossing refers to the freedom to change from one political party to another by representatives without them having to relinquish their parliamentary seats (Habib and Nadvi, 2002). The Azanian People's Organization's (AZAPO) Department of Political Education (2002) says that floor crossing is generally understood as a phenomenon in parliament where a member of parliament defects to another party without losing his/her legislative seat. The AZAPO Department of Political Education argues that before 4 July 2002, floor crossing was exclusively associated with the First-Past-the-Post (FPTP) electoral system (also known as the constituency based system). Political floor crossing was considered inconsistent with the

principles of the Proportional Representation (PR) system until that date when an order of the Constitutional Court was made.

According to de Visser (2002a), rules concerning floor crossing are contained in Schedule 6A of the Constitution of South Africa and an ordinary Act of Parliament can amend this Schedule. The general rule is that a party-aligned ward councillor can change party membership or become independent. The South African Parliament also approved the number of window periods when crossing the floor, merging, or subdivision of parties can occur. These periods are from 1-15 September of the second year after a general election, and from 1-15 September of the fourth year after a general election.



September was chosen since it comes after the annual adoption of municipal budgets in July and floor crossing would not undermine this process. However, the window period in September 2002 did not apply as the law had not yet come into operation. Floor crossing eventually took place from 8-23 October 2002, after the law became effective. The next window period will be in September 2004. Another landmark development was that all affected municipalities were obliged to reconstitute their structures and committees, and re-appoint their representatives to the District Municipalities.

Events Leading to Political Floor Crossing in South Africa

The AZAPO Department of Political Education (2002) explains that with the withdrawal of the New National Party (NNP) from the Democratic Alliance (DA), the ruling party (African National Congress-ANC) saw it necessary to hurriedly pass legislation to take advantage of the potential of a working

alliance with NNP representatives at all three spheres of government. The argument given is that this also had to be done to alter the balance of power in the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial legislature in favour of the ruling party.

Habib and Nadvi (2002) also give a prelude to the start of political floor crossing legislation. They say that within a year of coming to power in the Western Cape (after the local government elections of 5 December 2000) the DA fractured throwing the Western Cape political system into turmoil. The ANC came into the fray by throwing the NNP a lifeline by agreeing to a coalition. The ANC went a step further to promise the promulgation of legislation and constitutional amendments that would allow national and provincial legislators and local councillors to cross the floor without losing their seats.



Habib and Nadvi (2002) also state that there was need to create the opportunity to enable councillors elected on a DA mandate to shift their affiliation to the NNP, and this would change the ruling majority of the Western Cape Provincial legislature. This would facilitate the ANC-NNP coalition without the NNP councillors being punished through the loss of their seats after withdrawing from the DA, and then crossing the floor. Habib and Nadvi (2002) contend that the main motivation by the ANC was to win control of the Western Cape and this was justified on two major reasons. The ANC argued that the shift in the balance of power in the Western Cape would be in the interest of the poor voters who were marginalized in the distribution of provincial and local government resources. The other reason was that the ANC would forge ahead with the politics of non-racialism in the country through its coalition with the NNP.

Consequently during the course of 2002 the South African Parliament approved four pieces of legislation allowing political floor crossing. These included the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Second Amendment Act 21 of 2002, Loss or Retention of Membership of National and Provincial Legislatures Act 22 of 2002, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Amendment Act 18 of 2002 and The Local Government: Municipal Structures Amendment Act 20 of 2002 (AZAPO Department of Education, 2002).

The Constitutional Court ruling provided for political floor crossing to be applicable at the local government level where there is a mixture of the PR and FPTP electoral systems. The Constitutional Court declared as invalid the Acts that relate to national and provincial members of Parliament. These are the Constitution of Republic of South Africa Amendment Act 21 of 2002 and the Loss or Retention of Membership of National and Provincial Legislatures Act 22 of 2002. The ruling comes from the litigation of the *United Democratic Movement (UDM) versus The President of the Republic of South Africa and others* Case CCT 23/02 (de Visser, 2002b).

Results of Political Floor Crossing

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) (2002) provides details of political floor crossing during the 15-day window period from 8-23 October 2002. A total of 555 municipal councillors crossed the floor. The DA felt the major impact with the loss of 417 councillors, with 340 going to the NNP, 51 to the ANC, 19 to the Independents and the rest to other smaller parties. The NNP did not participate in the 5 December 2000 municipal elections as a

separate party, but it gained 354 seats; 340 from the DA and the rest from minor parties.

The overall shift in power from the DA to the NNP was made up of 239 proportional representation and 118 ward seats, representing 61 percent of the total number of councillors who crossed the floor. According to the provinces, the most significant gains for the NNP were in the Western Cape (79%), the Northern Cape (77%), and Mpumalanga (74%). The ANC garnered 22 percent of the overall seats in the floor crossing exercise throughout the country, made up of 104 proportional representation and 24 ward seats. The gains by the ANC were as follows: 51 from the DA, 18 from the United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP), 16 from the UDM, 7 from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), 6 from Independents and the rest from small parties. However the ANC also suffered some 16 losses; 7 to the IFP, 5 to the UDM, 3 to the DA and 1 to the Independents. Another major development during the floor crossing period was the formation of five new parties. These were the Universal Party, the Black Consciousness Party, the Sport Party, the Phumelela Ratepayers Association and the Belastingbetalersverenging.

Political floor crossing caused a shift in the balance of power within some of the local municipalities across the country resulting in some parties losing their majority control of municipalities to other parties or party alliances. This is unprecedented in post-apartheid democratic South Africa. Political floor crossing has thus become a topical issue and the whole process has been marred with controversy with losers in the process challenging its prudence and legitimacy. Smaller South African parties were the main losers.

The changes in the majority party (or party alliance) at the local sphere caused by political floor crossing have the effect of altering the prioritization of development projects and funding within the Integrated Development Planning (IDP) process. The IDP process paralleled the overall transition of local government that culminated in the local government elections of 5 December 2000. In fact, Pycroft (1998) contends that the concept of integrated development planning lies at the heart of developmental local government and this would facilitate the elimination of apartheid structures.

According to Scott (2002:486) local authorities have been "... given more powerful tasks than ever before in terms of being the agents of poverty reduction, service delivery, economic growth and spatial reconstruction and are kept constrained to act within national policy guidelines". However, it is important to understand the changes that came along with the whole process of transition to the current form of local government in order to consider the implications of political floor crossing for development at the municipal level. It is against this background that the researcher intends to study the developmental implications of political floor crossing at the local government level.

Conceptual Framework

Urban Political Theory

This study is guided by urban political theory. Rappa (2001:7) distinguishes urban political theory from political theory in four ways: '(1) as a sub-field of political science that accentuates work and concepts related to the study of the urban place; (2) as a sub-set of urban and regional planning; (3) as a sub-

discipline of human geography; and (4) as a potential discipline of its own'. Rappa (2001) describes urban political theory as referring to the extent to which contemporary political theory may be used to enhance the creation of knowledge and intellectual explanations of the form, substance and structure of urban centres. Urban forms mean the impressionistic landscape that is perceived by the urban dwellers, tourists and other short-term visitors. Urban substance means the demographic data on urban places, the nature of what Rappa (2001) refers to as the 'real' life in the urban place. Urban structures mean the whole physical architecture of the urban place.

Urban political theory conceptualizes what happens on the political scene as a determinant of what takes place at the low level that includes the urban area. It is this intricate relationship that the researcher conceptualizes at the local government level because of the changes taking place at the political playing field. The shift in the balance of power is conceived to have an effect in the change of development priorities of the municipal authorities, thereby determining the urban form, substance and structure. There are many theories of urban politics, but this study will use regime theory.

Regime Theory and Urban Politics

Regime theory was first used in the study of urban politics from the 1980s, and it provides a framework for analysis that captures key aspects of urban governance at the end of the century (Stoker, 1995). Stoker discusses regime theory at great length and contends that it provides a new conceptual framework and more particular theoretical statements about causal relationships and behaviour in urban politics. The theory puts emphasis on

the interdependence of governmental and non-governmental forces in meeting economic and social challenges. There is acknowledgement that significant differences are found from country to country.

Stoker (1995) goes further to say that:

Decentralisation and shifting responsibilities within the state, increased financial constraints, and the development of privatized services using both for-profit and non-profit organizations, have also created additional complexities for local governments. This concern with 'governance' emerges in a range of policy areas: economic development, human capital and training programmes, crime prevention, environmental protection and anti-drug campaigns (p. 55).



Thus regime theory is seen as providing a new dimension on the issue of power, as it directs attention away from a narrow focus on power as an issue of social control towards an understanding of power expressed through social production. Stoker (1995) argues that regime analysis directs attention to the conditions under which effective long-term coalitions emerge in order to accomplish public purposes.

Regime Theory, Pluralism and Neo-pluralism

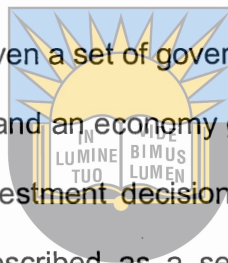
Stone (1989:145), quoted in Stoker (1995), contends that 'regime theory has many antecedents'. Elkin (1987:18), quoted in Stoker (1995), says:

The way in which popular control operates in contemporary cities is largely a consequence of the division of labour between state and market as that is manifest in cities. This division,

which stems from the corresponding arrangement of the national political economy, means that ownership of productive assets in the city is largely placed in private hands. Public officials share responsibility for the level of citizen well being with these private controllers, but these officials cannot command economic performance, only induce it. The concern of public officials with citizen well being stems largely from their being subject to election or appointment by those who themselves have been elected.

Regime theory takes as given a set of government institutions subject to some degree of popular control and an economy guided mainly, but not exclusively, by privately controlled investment decisions (Stone, 1993 in Stoker, 1995).

Therefore a regime is described as a set of arrangements by which this division of labour is bridged.



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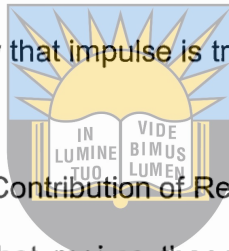
Stoker (1995:56) supports the idea that:

David Judge is right to argue ... that regime theorists have taken on board the central thrust of much of Marxist inspired work of the 1970s. Namely that business control over investment decisions and resources central to societal welfare gives it a privileged position in relation to government decision making.

There is need to take into consideration the contextual forces of community decision making that Stone (1980:979), in Stoker (1995), refers to as 'systematic power' and therefore says 'public officials form their alliances,

make their decisions and plan their futures in a context in which strategically important resources are hierarchically arranged’.

Regime theorists support the idea that politics matters. The basis of regime theory is that urban decision makers have relative autonomy. On the other hand, systematic power is limiting but the room for the influence of political forces remains. The organization of politics leads to very inadequate forms of popular control and makes government less responsive to socio-economically disadvantaged groups (Stoker, 1995). Thus Elkin (1987) in Stoker (1995) argues that the roots of the city’s failures are not in necessity of earning its keep but in how that impulse is translated into action.



The Contribution of Regime Theory

Stoker (1995) contends that regime theory is attractive in that it starts to address the questions that come from the common ground it shares with neo-pluralists. Regime theory then moves beyond neo-pluralism by offering distinctive answers to the following questions and thus provides a broad framework for analysis to examine the diversity of politics within cities. The questions are as follows:

What are the implications of social complexity for politics?

What does systematic advantage of certain interests imply for the nature of urban governance?

What forms of power dominate modern systems of urban governance?

What role is there for democratic politics and the role of disadvantaged groups?

According to Stone (1986), quoted in Stoker (1995), complexity is central to the regime perspective. There is a web of relationships made up of institutions and actors where diverse and extensive patterns of interdependence characterize the modern urban system. It is difficult to trace the lines of causation, and the policy arena is full of unpredicted spill over effects and unintended repercussions. There is also fragmentation and the lack of consensus in the system. Social control or command power is confined to specific aspects or segments of society. The study of regime politics is concerned with how these domains of command power join forces and resources for 'a publicly significant result' that might be a policy initiative or development (Stoker, 1995:58).

Stoker states further that complexity and fragmentation limit the capacity of state as an agency of authority. When complexity becomes clearer, the state emerges as a mobilizer and coordinator of resources, and this is also what regime analysis focuses upon. However the state can impose its discretion, or even mediate between parties. Stone (1989, 227), quoted in Stoker (1995), therefore argues that politics in complex urban systems is about bringing enough cooperation among disparate community elements to get things done. Government needs to work with and alongside other institutions and interests to be effective through blending their capacities.

In response to social change and conflict, governmental and non-governmental parties are encouraged to form regimes in order to facilitate action and empower themselves. Thus Stone (1986:4), quoted in Stoker (1995), defines a regime as 'an informal yet relatively stable group with

access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions'. The parties in the regime have an institutional base, that is, their source of power and the regime is formed on an informal basis.

Within the regime, cooperation is initiated and thereafter sustained through formation of ties based on solidarity, loyalty, trust and mutual support rather than through hierarchy. Stoker (1995) says that the regime partners attempt to assemble long-running relationships rather than secure for themselves access to immediate spoils in order to accomplish difficult and non-routine goals.

There is the realization that no group is able to exercise comprehensive control in a complex world. In this way regime theorists do not view governments as responding to groups on the basis of their electoral power, but they are driven to cooperate with those who have resources essential to achieving a range of policy goals. Thus Stone (1993:8) quoted in Stoker (1995) says:

Instead of the power to govern being something that can be captured by an electoral victory, it is something created by bringing cooperating actors together, not as equal claimants, but often as unequal contributors to a set of shared purposes.

Thus regime theory is seen to emphasize how the structure of society privileges the participation of particular interests in coalitions. In this respect Stoker (1995) says that there are two characteristics needed by regime partners for them to be effective. The first one is the possession of strategic knowledge of social transactions and a capacity to act on the basis of that



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knowledge. The second one is the control of resources that make one an attractive partner.

The composition of regimes is also very important to appreciate how they operate. The key participants in most localities are elected officials and business. There is also a variety of community interests that may be drawn based on minorities, neighbourhoods or organized labour. Civil society fits within this category. However Stoker (1995) says that it is useful to add a fourth broad group of technical or professional officials. These bureaucrats may be employed by elected local government, or working for various non-elected local agents of central or regional government departments.

Power is viewed as structured to gain certain kinds of outcomes within given areas of governmental effort. Once the power to govern is achieved and if things get done then power will have been successfully exercised, and to some extent there is no relevance of whether the mass of the public agreed with the policy initiative. However, Stoker (1995) hints that regime theory recognizes the role of popular politics, elections and participation in liberal democratic politics. Opposition to policy agendas can be mobilized and disrupt established policy regimes.

In reaction to the opposition, established regimes seek to incorporate certain marginal groups, to make them part of their programme. According to Stone (1989:186-91) quoted in Stoker (1995), "... people are brought in ... less by being sold 'big ideas' or 'world views' and more by small-scale material incentives". On the other hand, regimes may also practice a politics of exclusion trying to make sure that certain interests are not given access to

decision making. Overall, regimes have developed mechanisms for coping with the wider political environment.

There is also an important point made that policy preferences do not simply exist. In the uncertain world they have to be formulated and they have to be developed within the dynamic of the political process. The preferences are subject to the effect of the logic of the situation and evaluations of what is possible. This is because there is need for regime formation to have a shared sense of purpose and direction that is in turn influenced by appreciating what is feasible and what is not. The governing coalition must be in a position to mobilize resources proportional to its main policy agenda, for it to be viable.

Stone (1993) cited in Stoker (1995) identified four types of regimes to be found in United States of America cities. There are maintenance regimes that seek no major change but rather to preserve what is there. A developmental regime needs more resources and thus attempts a more complex governing task to promote growth or counter decline. Middle class progressive regimes look for environmental protection and control over growth and, they engage in a complex form of regulation as their core governing task. There are also opportunity expansion regimes, which in order to achieve their ends require considerable mass mobilisation.

Regime theory is therefore viewed as an ultimate model of policy choice in the urban milieu. According to Stone (1993:2), quoted in Stoker (1995), regime theory holds that public policies are shaped by three factors. The first one is the composition of a community's governing coalition. The second is the nature of the relationships among members of the governing coalition. The third refers to the resources that the members bring to the

governing coalition. The members of the regime formulate their policies in the context of the socio-economic environment, which presents problems as well as opportunities. Thus Stoker (1995) states that the underlying issue in the regime approach is the extent to which a regime achieves a sustained capacity to act and influence developments in key policy areas.

The Application of Regime Theory

Stone (1989), in Stoker (1995), describes politics in Atlanta from 1946 up to 1988. There was a single regime that managed to maintain stable cooperation and resolute commitment to an activist agenda of economic growth despite some element of resistance. There was a dominant policy push towards full-tilt development and this showed the prosperity of a certain perspective and the adoption of policy measures that drew considerable government spending and risk. The regime made sure that its overriding policy aim was against significant possible opposition and alternative policy options.

There were two principal groups within the regime in Atlanta. The first was the business elite that had amalgamated to have a single voice: The Banks, major departmental stores, daily newspapers, utilities and the Coca Cola Company in particular. The other partner was the political force represented by black mayors and this was in the context of the emergence of black electoral majority in the city. The black middle class also managed to manipulate the political resource to mobilize supporters. The two coalition partners became change-oriented elements bent on capitalizing on the opportunities open to them through the full-tilt development strategy.

On the business side there was an opportunity for economic success and expansion. To the black middle class, there were some incentives for high quality housing, employment and small business opportunities. The perceived benefits were commensurate with the development of trust and cooperation between the regime partners extended through shared civic institutions and informal exchanges. There was the realization that each partner could not pursue its objectives single handedly.

Thus Stoker (1995) urges that 'the active mobilization of the resources of both sides through a network of civic cooperation created a regime that was capable of pursuing a development agenda that was beneficial to both partners' (p.64). To this effect Stone (1989:198), in Stoker (1995), concludes that the Atlanta regime had 'a means to achieve a publicly significant result that an otherwise divided and fragmented system of authority could not provide'. This emphasizes the fact that once a regime is established it becomes a powerful contender in urban politics. Any opposition will either be forced to adapt or engage in the difficult task of erecting a stronger counter-regime.

Wilks-Heeg, Perry and Harding (2003) realized the generic emergence of the entrepreneurial city in Europe and opted to use the urban regime concept as a theoretical account to understand how European integration is serving to reconfigure metropolitan governance. The increase in public-private partnerships and other similar arrangements in cities indicate the emergence in Europe of urban regimes that became the drive behind United States urban politics. The city governments and local business come into close cooperation on the basis of mutual interest to promote local economic

development. The city governments depend on development and growth to generate income, particularly through business taxes. On the other hand, the local corporate organizations have commercial interests that can be furthered only through local economic development. These can include, for example, land owners and property developers.

Wilks-Heeg *et al* (2003) say that European integration provides conditions in which such mutual dependencies become evident. Mayor (1994) and Harding (1997), in Wilks-Heeg *et al* (2003), agree that in particular, capital mobility and inter-urban competition may encourage regime-type arrangements, since both city authorities and capital share some common interests in putting forward the conditions that assist to lure inward investment and corporate relocation.

Le Cales and Harding (1998) in Wilks-Heeg *et al* (2003), however question the efficacy of interpreting public private partnerships in Europe as the emergence of United States style urban regimes. The question is whether the focus of activity in the majority of European cities has in fact shifted from social provision to economic development. This arises from the fact that there is a sharp contrast between United States of America cities that depend on business taxes and European cities whose income is largely from central government grants and taxes paid by local residents.

A number of limitations of applying the regime model to European cities have been raised (Wilks-Heeg *et al*, 2003). The first one would appear as if development coalitions do not have the same extent of salience as they do in the United States context. Secondly, whereas coalitions in the United States have land available at their disposal for development, in European cities the

land is owned by public development projects where the private sector appear to be far more risk-averse. The other limitation is that large-scale development projects in major European cities have involved national governments as a major player.

Research Problem

Political floor crossing shifted the balance of power in some municipalities in South Africa thereby distorting the composition of councils elected on 5 December 2000. According to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) (2001) the constitutional transition in the sphere of local government went through a more complicated process as had been the case of national and provincial arena. Integrated Development Planning (IDP) was also introduced a part of this transition. The passing of the Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998 was the only way an electoral system resulting in overall proportionality with all votes of equal value could become a reality (IEC, 2001). Thus the IEC (2001:7) says, 'the 5 December 2000 elections were therefore the founding elections for South Africa's first democratic and fully represented municipal councils. These elections had the same historical significance for local government as did the 1994 elections for national and provincial government'.

Given the significance of the 5 December 2000 local state elections, one would have hoped to have changes in the composition of the municipal councils through the ballot in five years time after the expiry of the current term. However, the constitutional change allowing floor crossing and its subsequent enactment in the later part of 2002 came short of this expectation. This constitutional change also has to be looked at in light of the changes in

alliance partners at the political party level, since it is part of the motivation for political floor crossing.

Implications of the shift in terms of how the new dominant party or alliance focuses on local development need to be studied. There is a hunch that political floor crossing that leads to a shift in political control at the municipality results in significant changes in the nature of development at the local government level. These issues have to be analysed in the context of the IDP process since this is the mandatory way of looking at all development at municipal level.

Stellenbosch Municipality is the case study. It is one of the municipalities in the Western Cape where there was a new dominant political alliance following political floor crossing. The municipality has 35 seats. Before political floor crossing, the DA was the majority alliance with 15 seats, followed by the ANC with 14 seats. The remaining 6 seats were distributed amongst the other small parties: Amalgamated Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), the Alliance For The Community (AFTC), and the Kayamandi Community Alliance (KCA). When floor crossing occurred, the new ANC-NNP alliance gained five defectors, three from the DA and two from the AFTC, thus giving it outright majority.

Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of the research is to examine the effect of political floor crossing on local development in a municipality in South Africa. To achieve the aim outlined above, the researcher set the following objectives:

1. To outline the nature, causes and results of political floor crossing.

2. To examine how issues relating to local development in Stellenbosch Municipality were tackled before political floor crossing.
3. To explain how the assumption of power by a new regime due to political floor crossing influenced local development in Stellenbosch Municipality.

Research Location

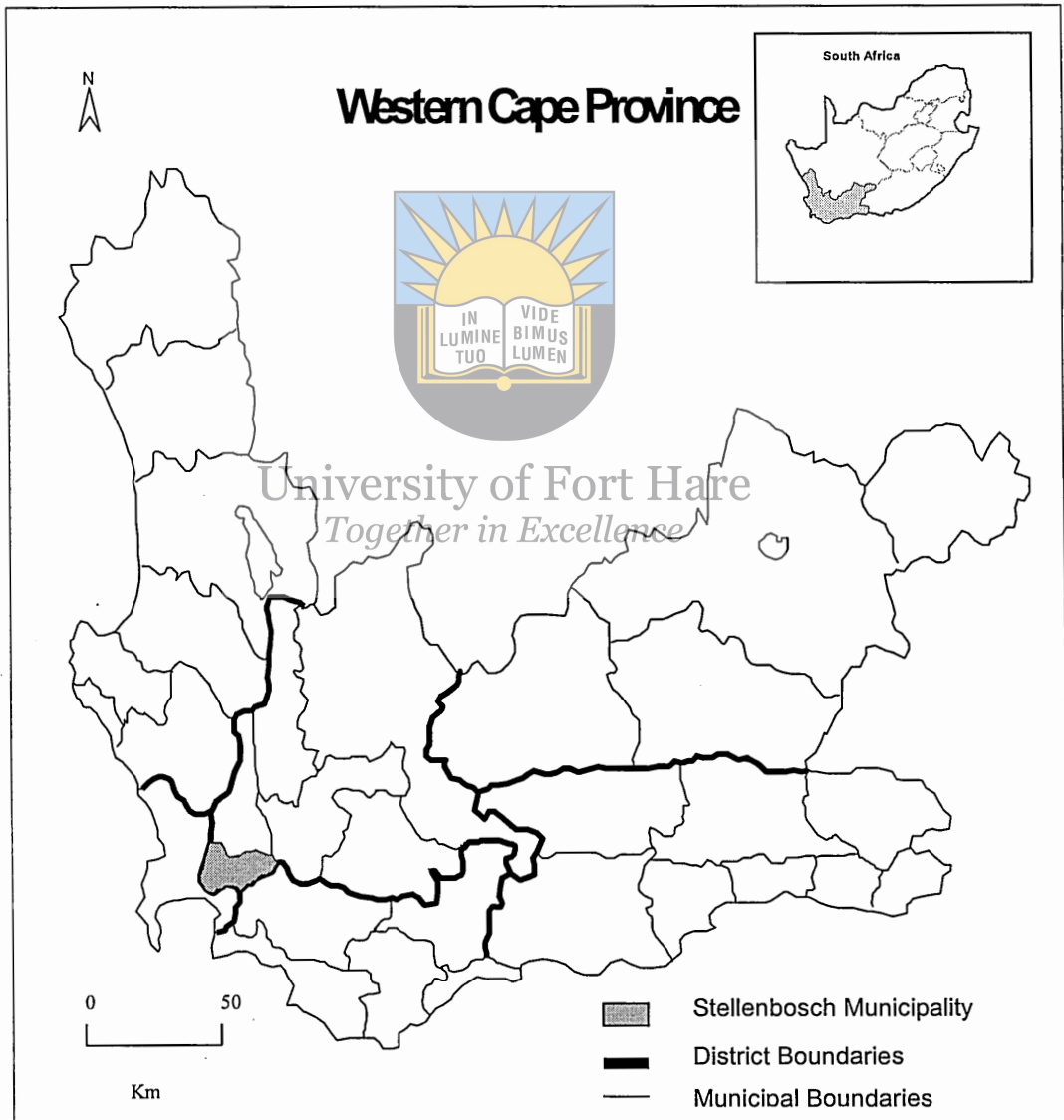
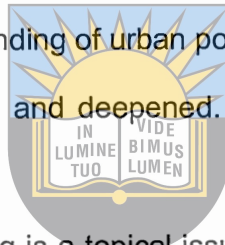


Figure 1. The Location of Stellenbosch Municipality

Stellenbosch Municipality (see Figure 1) is located in the Boland District Municipality of the Western Cape Province of South Africa. More information relating to Stellenbosch Municipality will be presented in Chapter Three.

Significance of the Study

Stoker (1995) recognizes that studies need to move from theory through empirical application and back to theory. There is need to substantiate the claim by regime theory that its framework of analyzing urban politics is viable to describe and explain the diversity of power relations in different localities. In this process an understanding of urban political theory and regime theory in particular will be enhanced and deepened. This will stimulate and act as a basis for further research.



Political floor crossing is a topical issue at the national, provincial level and the local level. This has brought with it regime change, for example, at the sphere of local government. Therefore studying this topical issue in terms of its developmental implications at the municipal level is important. It is envisaged that this research will contribute towards the body of knowledge particularly with respect to the theoretical approaches.

There is no doubt that policymakers will make use of this research in the formulation of other policies relating to development in the country. One has to bear in mind the fact that the majority of the citizens of South Africa are still disadvantaged and are in need of a better quality of life. Therefore the developmental implications of political floor crossing need to be studied in terms of whether they make a real difference in the lives of people whom developmental local government is targeting. Municipalities also have to

balance the needs of all communities. These challenges facing local government can only be gradually addressed if effort is made to understand them. This study is an attempt in that direction and therefore should prove significant.

Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter One explains the background to the overall study. Chapter Two focuses on the literature review of all issues relating to the study. Issues pertaining to the research methodology and techniques are the preserve of Chapter Three. The background to the study area (Stellenbosch Municipality) is dealt with in Chapter Four. The research results and their discussion will be dealt with in Chapter Five. Finally Chapter Six presents the conclusion and recommendations for further study.

The logo of the University of Fort Hare, featuring a shield with a sunburst at the top and the Latin motto 'IN VIDE LUMINE BIMUS TO LUMEN' on a banner below.

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CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

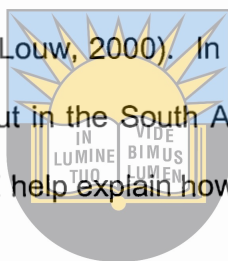
This chapter outlines the literature relevant to the study. A trend noticed in the research process is that two distinct classes of information emerged. There is literature relating to general politics. This concerns issues surrounding electoral systems, party politics and policy formulation, voting patterns, democratic institutions and transformation. On the other hand, there is literature referring to the nature of local government, the Integrated Development Planning (IDP) process and municipal management. The issue of political floor crossing is a recent one in post-apartheid South Africa. Thus there exists a gap between what has happened at the higher political sphere of policy formulation in terms of constitutional change and the subsequent effect at the lower government sphere in terms of changes in the trajectory of local development stemming from changes in the dominant party or party alliance as a result of political floor crossing. The study is therefore situated within this gap.

Dominant Party Systems in Africa

There is reference to the existence of dominant party systems in Africa regardless of the electoral system or multipartyism (Bogaards, 2000; Louw, 2000; Nijzink, 2001; Pottie, 2001; Southall, 1998, 2000). In particular, Bogaards (2000:163) discusses the fact that Africa witnessed a new wave of democratization since the 1990s and at the end of the decade there was one-party dominance and single-party rule even with the (re-)introduction of multi-

party elections and the demise of one-party states. The incumbent authoritarian regime can manage to remain in power through the ballot box or there can be an overwhelming win by the democratic opposition that later consolidates its position.

A salient feature of a dominant party system is that one party has an outright majority in the legislature. Pempel (1990) in Bogaards (2000) actually specifies that the dominant party must dominate the electorate, other political parties, the formation of governments and the public policy agenda. There is little prospect for rotating political elites, because one party becomes overwhelmingly dominant (Louw, 2000). In this respect there is no reference to political floor crossing but in the South African context the dominant party system is crucial as it could help explain how the process could have evolved.



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The South African Political Domain
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Transition to Democracy in South Africa

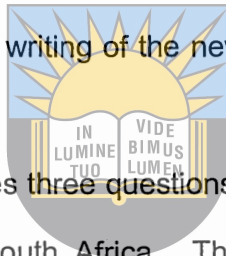
The universal suffrage election of 1994 in South Africa is seen as the mark of the eventual transition away from apartheid towards democracy (Southall, 2000). According to Pottie (2001:30), '... the effective handing over of political authority from the apartheid to a popular government was crucially tied to discussions about the mechanisms that would ensure the sustainability of democracy in the longer term'. South Africa has since 1994 become a freer country to live, since other developments came along with this democratic dispensation. Some of them are the removal of colonial-racial restrictions, racial dictatorship being replaced by the constitutional state, the constitution is one of the most advanced liberal and democratic document of its kind in the

world, and the successful conduct of the second 'free' 1999 election (Southall, 2000) stemming from the enfranchisement of black South Africans (Deegan, 2002).

Public participation has also been seen as a way to evaluate the effectiveness of government policy in promoting a growing democracy in South Africa. This is because the ANC felt that after the protracted period of repression, people had to see the current political institutions as responsive to their demands and inclusive of all constituencies (Deegan, 2002). Thus people would be embraced in the democratic transition, for example, through their participation in voting, writing of the new constitution and involvement in civic activities.

Southall (2000) raises three questions of the ongoing debate about the quality of democracy in South Africa. The first one is about the tension between democracy and South Africa being seen as a dominant party state. There is the suggestion here that the ANC will manipulate state power to satisfy its needs through undermining the constitution (Habib and Taylor, 1999). This stems from the fact that South Africa is deeply divided with the ANC facing daunting social, economic and legal problems, tempting it to use authoritarian methods in trying to impose order upon a chaotic and disorderly society (Louw, 2000).

The second question is about the insidious conflict between democracy and constitutional liberalism. This arises from the fact that majority rule will drive for equality at the expense of individual rights and there is the likelihood that executive power will override constitutional protections. Southall (2000:148) argues further that, "... the ANC's penchant for 'transformation' will



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lead to an interventionist state which will erode individual as well as group freedoms and ... contribute to under-performance of the economy”.

The third question revolves around South Africa's capacity to promote a level of economic growth that will match the much needed deepening of democracy. This comes from the observations that the country has a heavy burden of apartheid social backlogs and it being a Third World country, even if it has a world class constitution. There is pressure to deliver in living standards, education, health and other basic areas to meet the expectations of the respective demands.

There is the contention that the ANC effectively dropped its neo-socialist Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and adopted an economic rationalist strategy called Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) (Louw, 2000). The RDP was gradually withdrawn because of resource constraints (Deegan, 2002). The policy shift to liberal economic practices was due to the realisation that it was important if foreign direct investment was to materialise in significant proportions to revitalize a stationary economy, create employment and make a significant contribution to the impoverished masses (Spence, 1999). It also marked the effective collapse of the South African left that has failed to match the appeal of black nationalism (Louw, 2000).

Pycroft (1998) gives several reasons why the RDP collapsed and subsequently replaced by the GEAR macroeconomic strategy. There was failure of the RDP to deliver expected outputs particularly under the enormous constraints facing the new government. There was also hesitancy within vital policy quarters in the ANC government to leave behind the left-wing

development objectives which were ignorant of the goals that the RDP were after. There was oversight of the influence of the global economy on how South Africa would carve out its development needs and potential. The RDP Office is said to have been institutionally weak, making it difficult to coordinate development activities. Lastly, the same RDP office was not successfully linked to the delivery departments of the national and provincial spheres of government.

Emerging African National Congress Hegemony

In post-apartheid South Africa the African National Congress (ANC) has emerged as the dominant party continually boosting its stronghold at all sphere of government (Louw, 2000). For example, the 1994 and 1999 election outcomes proved, "... the ANC as hegemonic, enjoying a near two-thirds majority in parliament and effective control of seven out of South Africa's nine provinces [except KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape], with the opposition being in a state of fragmentation" (Southall, 2000:148). Due to its dominance the ANC has gradually amended the South African Constitution with reference to political floor crossing legislation, and Pottie (2001:32) argues that this would threaten the balance of power that had been obtained through the transition to democracy.

The emergence of ANC hegemony can be traced back to the 1994 democratic election in which it replaced the former ruling National Party (NP) as the country's dominant party (Southall, 1998). However there are noteworthy issues that Southall (1998) raises which show how the ANC's

dominance perpetuated through centralisation of control using the machinery of the state. There are four processes of centralisation of control.

The first one is the rewriting of the transitional interim constitution and promulgation of a new constitution. With respect to the issue of the constitution, Southall (1998) indicates that there are significant changes that bring about a definite shift of power to the centre. Unlike its predecessor the current constitution does not make provision for enforced power sharing in government. For example, the interim constitution allowed for the leader of the second largest party in parliament to be appointed as the Deputy President and this is not so in the new constitution. Another notable change is the introduction of the idea of cooperative government as a system that would allow national and provincial government to work together for the common good instead of competing. In essence this downplayed the idea of federalism.



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In addition, there was elevation of local government to an independent sphere of authority that is interdependent and interrelated with other spheres. Associated with this development is the grant of fiscal autonomy to local authorities. The local municipalities would raise their own finances through service levies, property taxes, licences and service delivery, besides the share from they receive from national revenues.

Secondly, there have been efforts to limit the autonomy of the ANC's structures at provincial level. The idea to contain provincial autonomy is taken from the perspective that the party leadership needed to bring some sort of order upon the political landscape through flexing its authority, in a bid to turn around the economy to address the needs of the electorate.

The third process is the exercise of party discipline within parliament. Southall (1998) observes that after 1994, parliamentary committees were open to the public and there was a lively new breed of Members of Parliament (MPs) that would call for executive accountability. However this trend seems to be fading away. This could be due to pressure upon the ANC MPs to avoid embarrassing the Ministers. Otherwise they would toe the party line, with devastating consequences like expulsion as in the case of Bantu Holomisa, now the leader of the United Democratic Movement (UDM).

Fourthly, the ANC imposed administrative and financial constraints upon the provinces. When the new provinces were formed, some inherited functioning administrations while others were a merger of the former homelands and white only areas. This created an inequality in capacity, resulting in difficulties. However, all the provinces found it difficult to keep expenditure within budget. The government's response was to tighten financial and administrative discipline. For example, the National Party Western Cape led provincial government was constitutionally constrained to raise its own revenue. Southall (1998) explains that the ANC argued that the NP was supposed to change its budgetary priorities by cutting on administrative and personal costs instead of cutting on health and education. This would go a long way to confront historical racial inequalities.

Another trend observed by Lodge (1999) is the decline of activist influence on the policy making processes within the tripartite alliance after 1994. A possible explanation is that there is inconsistency between the ANC's traditions as a liberation movement and the organisational requirements of effective party structures in a liberal democracy. The

limitations on the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) to be able to challenge the ANC through confrontation exacerbated the situation. Lodge (1999) therefore concludes that there is an emerging oligarchy tendency, given the ANC's internal culture and its trajectory of power relations with other parties in a dominant party democracy.

Party Politics in South Africa

There is a plethora of work referring to general party politics in South Africa. Venter (1998) defines multi-party democracy as any system in which opposition parties are allowed to form and peacefully contest elections. On the basis of this definition, there is no doubt that multiparty democracy exists in the country, judging from the large number of parties in the country stretching from the dominant one to the smallest ones representing niche communities. For example, thirteen parties contested the 1994 election while sixteen parties contested the 1999 election (Spence, 1999). About seven parties were represented in the National Assembly after the 1994 election, and this increased to thirteen after the 1999 election (Taylor and Hoeane, 1999).

Three parties performed dismally in the 1999 election, namely the Socialist Party of Azania, Government by the People Green Party and the Abolition of Income Tax and Usury Party (Taylor and Hoeane, 1999). Since then the number of political parties has increased, with the formation of some new parties due to political floor crossing. For instance, by the end of the window period on political floor crossing in 2002, the IEC (2002) reports that five new parties were formed.

Kotze (1999) assessed the NNP's electoral strategy and performance in the 1999 election. This election was a watershed one for the NNP, as its support dwindled from more than one-fifth (82 seats) of the electorate to about one-twentieth (28 seats), from the 1994 election to the 1999 election respectively. As a traditionally white-only party the NNP faced a challenge to increase its support not only numerically but also to broaden its base within diverse population groups. The party suffered a number of setbacks including its withdrawal from the Government of National Unit (GNU), the resignation of Roelf Meyer, its chief negotiator in the pre-1994 political deliberations followed by that of its leader F.W. de Klerk. A young and inexperienced Marthinus Van Schalkwyk took over the leadership of the NNP. It is against this background that the NNP entered the 1999 election.

The NNP projected itself as a modern party with a representative support base and belief in the equal treatment of cultural, language and religious communities in South Africa. The party also adopted the strategy of engagement politics which is different from the aggressive opposition adopted by the DP. Kotze (1999) observes that the mixed support base of the NNP created problems for its campaign as it was difficult to rely on one message through the attempt to be inclusive of all its principles. This is in contrast with the DP that gained overwhelmingly white support in the 1999 elections.

Much of the remaining support of the NNP in 1999 was from the coloured voters of the Western Cape though it came second (38.39 per cent) to the ANC (42.07 per cent) in this province. The NNP had many problems part of which were the fact that it was the party of apartheid and entered the election as an opposition party, it ran a poorly conceived campaign and did

not have a leader of the calibre of F.W. de Klerk who was personally more popular than the party in 1994 (Taylor and Hoeane, 1999). The ANC's provincial organisation instigated a number of high profile defections from the NNP in a well crafted strategy to make inroads among potential coloured voters (Nijzink and Jacobs, 2000). Nevertheless the NNP joined hands with the DP to form a governing coalition, which thereafter faltered in the Western Cape Province.

Spence (1999) provides a commentary on events since 1994 up to the 1999 election with respect to the performance of the ANC against other parties. The South African political development under the ANC has managed to survive and consolidate the democratic dispensation in the light of the violence that disturbed the negotiation process at the dawn of the 1994 election and posed a threat to a new and untried Mandela regime. Politically the regime satisfied the principles of good governance and thus the ANC managed to retain legitimacy amongst the majority of the voters by gaining two-thirds of the seats in the National Assembly in 1999.

The role of Mbeki as the new leader of the ANC and of the government before and after the 1999 election should not be underestimated (Louw, 2000, Spence, 1999). He played a central role throughout the campaign and though he is not as charismatic as Mandela, he possesses managerial skills and is also well known abroad in political and business arenas (Spence, 1999). Mbeki also projected the impression of a hard-working good administrator who does not tolerate corruption and crime (Louw, 2000).

Spence points out that critics have perceived Mbeki as autocratic, a democratic centralist and highly amenable to criticism. In spite of all this,

Mbeki led the ANC to a landslide victory, making inroads, for example, by gaining new support from coloureds in the Western Cape. Louw (2000) contends that part of the ANC strategy in this region was to re-activate the leadership of the United Democratic Front (UDF), thus winning the majority of the seats (18 out of 42) in the Western Cape legislature as compared to the NP that came second (17 seats).

With this win Taylor and Hoeane (1999) raise the issue of how much power the ANC government would exercise, given its almost two-thirds majority. According to them the DP, NNP, and the UDM felt a two-thirds majority would be highly detrimental to the consolidation of South Africa's growing democracy as the ANC would entrench one party dominance. Thus the DP adopted a 'fight back' approach in a bid to stop the ANC from gaining absolute power.

Piper (1999) analysed the Inkatha Freedom Party/Africa National Congress (IFP/ANC) race for first place in KwaZulu-Natal as the closest of any in the country but concludes that overall the 1999 election further consolidated the institutions and culture of liberal democracy. The IFP won 41.9 per cent of the provincial ballot compared to the 39.38 per cent of the ANC. Rivalry between these parties in the KwaZulu-Natal Province has always been tight, characterised by spontaneous clashes between supporters leading to fatalities (14 000 lives in 15 years) during the period prior to the watershed 1994 election. There is an observation however, that the ANC/IFP rivalry has shifted from ethnic confrontation of the past towards inclusive and cooperative politics (Munro, 2001; Piper, 1999). Therefore Piper (1999) concludes that the 1999 election in KwaZulu-Natal marked a great advance in

the consolidation of democracy as it signified the return of politics in the province back into the South African mainstream.

Nijzink and Jacobs (2000), on the other hand, argue that during the 1999 elections, there was no province more contested than the Western Cape and with its New National Party/Democratic Party government, politics in the province had become polarized. This emanates from the institutional and political context of multi-party government formation. Even though it became the biggest party in the province, the ANC did not have the majority of seats in the legislature (50 per cent plus one) to secure election of their premier candidate to lead the province. Institutionally there was no provision for compulsion to have the winning party included in the multi-party government as was the case with the South African Interim Constitution of 1993. This Interim Constitution included a provision stipulating that a party with at least 20 seats in the National Assembly should be entitled to proportional representation in the GNU.

Politically, Nijzink and Jacobs (2000) believe that owing to the dominance of the ANC at national level, there are two conflicting views of how the elections in the Western Cape Province were perceived. The first view is that there was need for a broad coalition to govern the province in order to speed up transformation. The other view was that the province had to become the bastion of multi-partyism and opposition in the context of the dominance of a single majority party. So under the present parliamentary system, the provincial government in the Western Cape formed through the DP/NNP alliance and the sidelining of the ANC meant that the party winning the plurality of votes was not included in the new government.

In the Eastern Cape, through a critical analysis of the United Democratic Movement, Ndletyana (1999) argued that the party had threatened the dominance of the ANC though its support base is regionally concentrated in the Transkei. In the June 1999 election the UDM received 3.42 per cent of the votes cast, making it the fifth biggest party in the country (with 14 seats in the National Assembly, but it has since lost 10 due to political floor crossing), though it faced two major constraints (Ndletyana 1999).

The first constraint is that the UDM ran short of a forum from which it could showcase its strengths to the voting public. The party was relatively still unknown and therefore did not stand a fair chance of attracting supporters from well established parties like the ANC. Secondly, as a new party, the UDM was not eligible for parliamentary financial support, making its campaign less effective due to financial constraints. However, Southall (1999) asserts that even if the UDM fails to develop a national appeal it can remain a crucial player in the Eastern Cape.

A prominent feature of the elections in South Africa is that voting patterns have coincided with racial divisions (Kotze, 1999; Louw, 2000; Mare, 2001; Mattes and Piombo, 2001; Taylor and Hoeane, 1999). Kotze (1999) uses the sociological or structural model that emphasizes the impact of social structures including ethnicity, class and religion on support of political parties. The model confirms that voting in the country is mostly group-based, and interpreted along the lines of a group's position in society and the relationship it has established with various political parties.

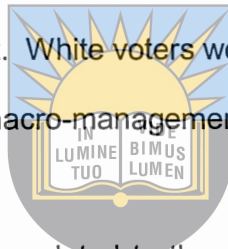
Louw's (2000) analysis of the 1999 election along racial lines is insightful. The ANC won the election with 66.3% followed by the DP with

9.7%, the IFP with 8.6% and the NP with 6.9%. The argument is that the parties (ANC, DP, IFP, NP and UDM) used similar platforms in their campaigns and therefore the only differentiating factor was racial and ethnic loyalty to parties. Thus the IFP attracted the traditional Zulu vote; the ANC overwhelmingly garnered black voters, while the NP was generally seen as non-black despite its overtures to embrace an inclusive impression.

The DP opted for a niche role, after realising the hegemonic position of the ANC. The UDM's partnership idea shown in its dual leadership structure did not attract to it significant non-black support. This also marked the failure of the politics of racial partnerships at least for that time, and perpetuation of the race-based past of South Africa. The Minority Front (MF) targeted the Indian minority. The ACDP managed to attract a support base of entrenched black and Afrikaner voters (1.4 % of the vote). The Freedom Front (FF), Federal Alliance (FA) and Afrikaner Unity Movement (AEB), all of the right targeted the conservative Afrikaner constituency.

Mattes and Piombo (2001) however caution that what is important is how we interpret the relationships between race, ethnicity and voting patterns, because correlation does not equal causation. They suggest that race offers various possibilities on how it affects voter choice. The first is where the voter's race is seen as an expression of racial or communal identity, solidarity or loyalty. There is a divergent view that race might have a moderating effect on people's voting patterns since voters of different race groups use different voting criteria when making voting decisions. Also voters of different races make different evaluations of the same set of criteria.

These propositions have been used in a model to predict partisan behaviour and voter choice in South Africa beyond racial lines by including knowledge of voters' evaluations of economic trends, government and political parties. The assumption was that voters support parties and candidates who they view will govern the best in future. The findings using this model offer a different insight into how to analyse race and voting patterns. For example, it is argued that black voters put more emphasis on their image of the ANC as a party, followed by their opinion of overall performance, pre-existing ANC partisanship, and government performance in service delivery when deciding whether or not to vote for it. White voters would weigh performance ratings on good governance and macro-management of the country heavily for or against the ANC.



The propositions are related to the understanding that South Africa is faced by widespread poverty, massive inequality and unemployment and what can be seen as multi-culturalism (issues relating to social identity, especially race) (Mare, 2001). Mare (2001) contemplates that to address the central issues of contemporary South African society, there is need to start with the tenets of democracy because the struggle was about the creation of a non-racial and non-sexist democracy. Using a theoretical background from Ernesto Laclau, Ronald Aronson (who has commented on democracy in South Africa) and Aletta Norval, Mare (2001) concludes that non-racialism in South Africa is not strong enough.

The argument by Mare (2001) is that the past lives on since it shapes how we deal with the present, and project into the future. The past is that South Africa was a racist and also a racialist society and so the present is

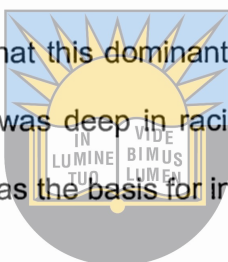
never without manipulation of that past. Race is used to refer to the use of biological characteristics as a means of classification and choosing particular bodily characteristics to represent supposed differences between individuals. Racialism is the belief that human beings have heritable characteristics that allow division between races. Racism would then be racialization of people and attributing negative and inferior qualities to people, thereby creating a hierarchy based on those differences.

Looking at the past, it can be seen that there was nothing on non-racialization during the apartheid era and more on the racialization of the struggle against white oppression. Thus the ANC, for example, opted for mobilization of black nationalism, a 'black consciousness' against white domination. It is against this background that non-racialism emerged as a fundamental principle for building South African society when in fact multi-racialism was at its best. Thus non-racialism is now far from being achieved as the reality and power of race still exist particularly when it is seen through the increasing inequalities.

Taylor and Hoene (1999) offer an alternative perspective to the dominant view that racial and ethnic factors can be used to provide the explanatory means for analysing voting patterns. They doubt whether South Africa is best seen as trapped in racial and ethnic politics, and suggest that such interpretation can be challenged. The first challenge is that the ANC does not have exclusively black support and never projects itself as a racially motivated party. Secondly, the idea of a homogeneous coloured vote does not tally with the voting patterns in the Western Cape, because the ANC actually made some inroads there, by increasing its share of the vote.

The third view is that there is tangible evidence to indicate that many Indian supporters voted for the ANC, substantiating the impression of being associated with a non-racial majority. Fourthly, there seemed to be a predetermined correlation between racial/ethnic identity and party support. This is contrary to the fact that pre-election opinion polls indicated a high proportion of voters who were undecided.

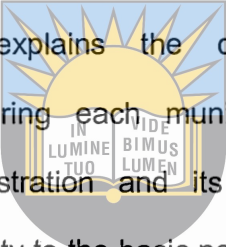
Finally it is suggested that voters are seen to knowingly exercise their choice more on the basis of socio-economic issues projected by the parties as compared to the presumed racial and ethnic identity. Therefore Taylor and Hoeane (1999) conclude that this dominant view should be ignored because the fact that South Africa was deep in racism and ethnicity under apartheid should not be used simply as the basis for interpreting current voting patterns.



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Local Government Transition in South Africa
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Under the apartheid regime, municipalities were responsible for a narrow range of service delivery activities with a minimal developmental or redistributive function, even though agreed goals for local government are developmental as well as service provision (Harris, 1999). Within the process of constitutional reform the ANC elevated local government to an independent sphere of authority (Southall, 1998). This constituted local government transformation in South Africa and the beginning of developmental local government and the IDP process (Pycroft, 1998). Pycroft actually describes the major steps that characterised the transformation. The first phase started with the enactment of the Local Government Transition Act in 1993.

This was followed by the interim phase brought in by the local government elections of November 1995 for all provinces (except KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape in June 1996) that moved local government toward a democratized state in South Africa. The third phase involved the publication of the Green Paper on Local Government of October 1997, the White Paper on Local Government of March 1998, and the subsequent Local Government Municipal Electoral Act, 700 of 2000. This is the one that legitimised the first democratic local government elections of 5 December 2000. Pycroft (1998: 154) says that:



The constitution explains the developmental duties of municipalities, requiring each municipality to structure and manage its administration and its budgeting and planning process to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community ... the concept of developmental local government, [is defined by] identifying four interrelated aspects: maximising economic growth and social development; integrating and coordinating the development activities of other role-players, including national and provincial government; democratising development by facilitating and encouraging the fullest possible participation by citizens; and leading and learning, giving councils a key role in building social capital and encouraging local solutions to local problems.

Kaboolian (1998) cited in Pycroft (2000) contends that the concept of developmental local government is derived from international efforts to

restructure the state (the local state included) under the concept of 'new public management'. New public management is grounded in principles of competition, privatisation, performance management and customer power (Pycroft, 2000). This shows the importance of private capital in the overall development activities in a municipality and this shall be part of this study.

There are three pieces of interrelated legislation that were enacted to embrace the whole transition phases of local government: The Municipal Demarcation Act, 27 of 1998; The Municipal Structures Act, 117 of 1998 and The Municipal Systems Act, 32 of 2000 (Pycroft, 2000). The Municipal Demarcation Act established a Municipal Demarcation Board that was charged to divide the whole country into municipalities and delimit wards within those where there was need (IEC, 2001). Municipal boundaries needed to be re-demarcated to facilitate redistribution and achieve democratic, accountable local government composed of financially viable municipalities (de Visser, 1999).

The Municipal Structures Act entitles the Provincial Member of the Executive Council (MEC) responsible for local government to determine the type of municipality that will operate in each province (de Visser, 1999; Pycroft, 2000). Authority within a municipality can be vested in an executive mayor, an executive council or the whole council (de Visser, 1999; Pycroft, 2000). However there are debates surrounding the feasibility of each form of control. For example, Cole (2001) points out some of the weaknesses inherent in the executive/scrutiny model, namely, the concentration of power in the hands of an exclusive group, undermining the role of opposition

councillors and doing little to foster relations between councillors and the electorate. This is a bone of contention in the political floor crossing process.

The Municipal Systems Act promulgates how a municipality operates, with particular emphasis on the IDP which is a five-year strategic plan outlining developmental priorities (Pycroft, 2000). The Act also provides for municipal service partnerships that allow municipalities to engage service providers for cost-effective service provision. This would constitute the capital regime in terms of the theoretical framework chosen for this study.

According to Pycroft (1998) the concept of integrated development planning is seen as a way of overcoming the inadequacies of the past followed by repositioning local government within a new developmental framework. As such, '... the developmental council will facilitate and coordinate service delivery, poverty alleviation strategies and local economic development initiatives within its area of jurisdiction' (p.155). The council is required to ensure that its development activities reflect the development aspirations of the local community after the community's participation in the preparation of the municipality's development plans (Pycroft, 2000). The strength of the IDP is the fact that it is directly related to the budget (Scott, 2002). However Deegan (2002) says that participatory processes must not be a hindrance to development, and narrow interest groups should not be allowed to drag the development process.

The development process at the municipal sphere would be enhanced by both horizontal and vertical integration. Horizontal integration ensures that the IDP of a municipality is integrated with IDPs of neighbouring municipalities to enhance synergies and coordination. Vertical integration allows the IDP of

a municipality to be in line with the expectations of the district, provincial and national spheres of government. This is important for smaller municipal councils that need the financial support of these higher spheres of government.

Pycroft (1998) contends that the actual form that developmental local government will pursue varies. This is because there is a diverse range of services that different municipalities offer to communities. There are municipalities that struggle to achieve the minimum standards of administrative, political and financial viability. For example, the organisational structure and capacity of rural councils is far less advanced than that of metropolitan governments like Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban (even if they have their particular problems).



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Local Government Elections in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Local government elections are of paramount importance to this study. In this regard Seekings (1997) asserts that elections in general constitute the basic mechanism through which citizens exercise influence over the state and this is relevant to the South African context. Seekings (1997) also analysed South Africa's first democratic local elections of 1995-96 with reference to the Western Cape.

The Western Cape Province in particular is essential to the study because it is the home of Stellenbosch Municipality and also for the fact that there was intense competition for control between the ANC and the NP. The Western Cape is also home to 11 per cent of the country's voters but

accounts for 14 per cent of the economic activity of South Africa (Seekings, 1997). The composition of the electorate is such that more than half of it is made up of coloured voters; the African voters are not in a majority and are outnumbered by whites.

Local government elections of 1995/96 were held amidst the process of transformation as set out in the 1994 Local Government Transition Act when new institutional structures of metropolitan, urban and rural areas were established. The results show that in November 1995 the ANC won total control of 21 Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) with major towns such as Paarl, Worcester, George and Mossel Bay included (Seekings, 1997). The NP won control of much of the Cape Town Metropolitan area taking control of five out of the six Cape Town Transitional Metropolitan 'Substructures' (TMSs) in May 1996.

Seekings further indicates that the ANC won a higher proportion of ward seats (36 per cent than PR seats (33 per cent)). The reason is that ward seats were allocated on a fifty/fifty basis between African areas on the one side and white, coloured and Indian areas on the other. This meant that the ANC's chances of winning ward seats were increased in comparison to winning overall votes. This is the same reason used to challenge the thinking that there was a major swing of votes in favour of the ANC. Thus evidence concerning trends remains inconclusive because there was only one non-racial, open election at local government level in the 1995/96 period (Seekings, 1997). However the South Africa local government elections of December 2000 are the most contentious as they are the founding elections



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(IEC, 2001) that provide the base to the local government structure that was affected by the floor crossing process.

According to the IEC (2001:5):

In total 284 municipal councils (6 metropolitan councils, 231 local councils and 47 district councils) were so established – a district council area covering the areas of a number of local councils. The Demarcation Board delimited 3 754 wards in 229 municipalities. In those municipalities with wards, half the councillors were elected by a proportional representation (PR) system using party lists and the other half in wards where individual candidates competed in first-past-the-post elections.

Lodge (2001) provides an insightful review of these elections (party political campaigns and the results) in the context of institutional reform and fiscal austerity. The establishment of wall-to-wall municipalities had its challenges. Before these elections, many towns were bankrupt as a result of the incorporation in 1993 of indebted townships into former white councils. There was also a decline in central government financial support to sustain service provision. Cross-subsidization was meant to redress inequalities by redistributing resources from wealthier areas to the poor neighbourhoods. There was also adoption of the privatisation strategy to mobilise private sector capital resources.

The ANC won four of the six metropolitan municipalities. It lost Cape Town to the DA (with 53.5 per cent) and also failed to garner an absolute majority in Durban (at 46.9 per cent). Overall the ANC won 60.7 per cent (compared to 58 per cent in 1995/6) followed by the DA (at 20.4 per cent) and

the IFP (at 9.8 per cent). Across the provinces the ANC won in seven of them except in KwaZulu-Natal (33.8 per cent) and the Western Cape (40.3 per cent). Various explanations have been offered for these results and in the context of the 1995/96 elections. The bottom line is that with the advent of political floor crossing, there is a new framework of looking at local government in South Africa given that in some instances it reversed the trajectory that came with its transformation culminating in the 5 December 2000 elections.



Floor Crossing at the Local Government Level

Political floor crossing has generated a lot of interest given the contestations that have marred the process. The UDM provided the principal opposition to the introduction of floor crossing legislation. Reported in the Daily Dispatch on 8 April 2003, Bantu Holomisa, the leader of the UDM, warned that voters would vent their anger during the next elections. He also reiterated that "... the UDM indicated many times that the ANC was hell-bent on creating a one party state. Despite the fact that the voters denied them a two-thirds majority, they have now taken a two-thirds majority through technicalities" (p.3).

AZAPO was one of the parties 'vehemently' opposed to political floor crossing for several reasons (AZAPO Department of Political Education, 2002). The first one is that floor crossing is not consistent with the principles of the proportional representation system. Since voters vote for the party, the seat belongs to the party and not the individual; therefore it would not make technical sense to defect. The UDM also argued the same line and said that

political floor crossing would distort the very proportionality that the system is fighting for in a modern democracy.

Even under the FPTP system where voters vote for the individual, AZAPO argues that politics without morals, ethics, trust and honesty declines into a dangerous game. This is because the party supports the candidate materially and financially, giving him/her a good name and history and therefore there is no morality in stealing the seat. At the same time political floor crossing would almost allow defrauding and cheating the electorate by corrupt politicians. In this way it becomes an insult to the will of the people.

There is reason that as time goes on the voters will lose confidence in the electoral system if at the end of the voting process their votes are not going to count anymore. Voter apathy will result. Also parties need to survive through bringing control, order and discipline amongst their members. Parties are an essential component of any system of government and this institution is endangered if there is no concept of party loyalty. AZAPO argues further that political floor crossing is a real threat to multiparty democracy. This is because the ruling majority party has been given an advantage of manipulating and tampering the results of elections to the disadvantage of small parties.

One of the challenges brought by the process of political floor crossing is that it is difficult to imagine its negative effect on the economy. Market forces favour a political environment that is stable and relatively predictable. Lastly AZAPO argues that South Africa needs transitory systems and mechanisms that are associated with stability and predictable outcomes and not promote a process that kills the spirit of collectivism and political pluralism.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES

Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology and the data collection techniques used in this study. It is important to outline the research methodology in relation to the guiding philosophy. There is need to justify the two in the context of the data that was needed for this type of study. The data collection techniques will also be outlined citing their strengths and challenges in using them. The nature of the data itself will be given. Lastly there is a discussion of the problems in collecting data, particularly in the field.



The Realist Philosophy

This study uses realism as the guiding philosophy of geographical enquiry. Barnard (1990:503) says that, "... geography has its own realist methodologist in Andrew Sayer and a highly successful practitioner in Doreen Massey, a radical survivor of the 1970's". Barnard (1990) goes on to describe the realist approach according to Sayer by stating that the way to explanation comes after three deeper probing questions:

- (1) What produces change?
- (2) What makes things happen?
- (3) What allows or forces change?

In regard to these questions it is argued that the vital part of research lies in the identification of the agents, mechanisms and structures through which change comes about and an appreciation of their meaning. Sayer (1984:161) actually says that if we are to explain why things behave the as they do we

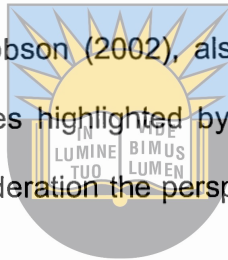
must understand their structure and the properties that enable them to produce or suffer particular kinds of change.

According to Robson (2002:29):

Realism can provide a model of scientific explanation which avoids both positivism and relativism... [it] is an attractive choice for those doing social research who wish to characterise what they are doing as scientific. Its advocates claim that it is scientific, in a sense which is fully in accord with currently influential approaches to the philosophy of science.

House (1991), cited in Robson (2002), also suggests that realism has the capacity to include features highlighted by the emancipatory approach, for example, taking into consideration the perspective of participants, and further promoting social justice.

Robson (2002) explains that in terms of realism, the outcome of a particular action comes after a certain mechanism acts in particular circumstances (that is the environment that allows the reaction to occur) (see Figure 2). In relation to this Robson (2002) makes propositions of a realist view of science. The first one is that there is no unquestionable basis for science, implying that there are no facts that are beyond dispute. Hence knowledge is a social and historical product that can be specific to a particular time, culture and situation.



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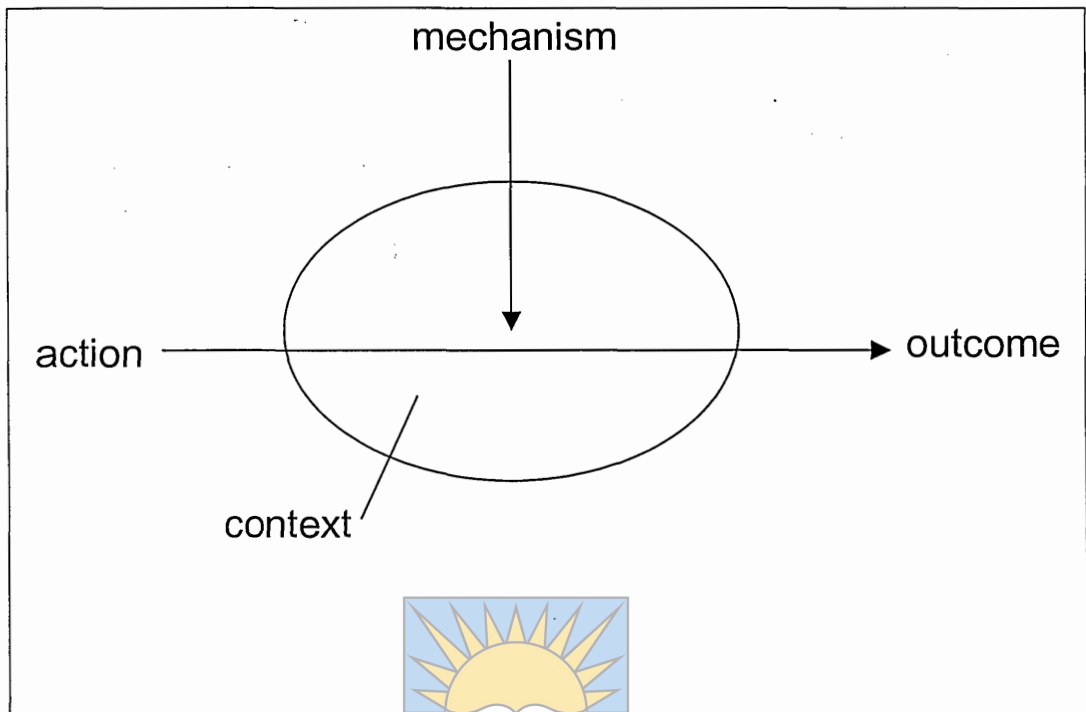


Figure 2: Representation of Realist Explanation
Adapted from Robson, C. (2002:31)

This is followed by the fact that science is there to create theories to explain the real world. Explanation is a process concerned with looking at how mechanisms produce events. In this regard the guiding principles are of structures and mechanism and not phenomena and events.

Laws are seen as statements about things thought to be 'really' happening, that is the continuous acting of mutually exclusive things that may not be understood at the level of events. Thus the real world is not just complicated but also stratified, such that social reality includes individual, group, and institutional and societal strata. Causation is viewed as a way in which entities act as a determinant of their basic structure. Therefore an explanation show how an event has occurred in a particular case and Robson (2002) asserts that events can be explained even when they cannot be

predicted. Robson stresses that at the core of realism is an underlying assumption that there is a reality that exists independently of our awareness of it.

Thus realism claims that the diverse things described by theories are those that actually exist. In science there is a tendency to generate rational benchmarks for which theory to accept or reject. The criteria used to classify the theories can be seen to be rational since there is a world independent of our experience. At the same time a theory may be wrong because they are founded on what is currently known, which is contextual and also incomplete.

Robson (2002) discusses that realism recognises open systems as the subject of study in social science. In open systems, causal processes may sometimes lead to particular outcomes, while at times they may not. The hypothesis is that there are one or more mechanisms working to trigger or interfere with certain outcomes. The research aim becomes that of obtaining evidence about the presence of these hypothesized mechanisms. It is possible to explain some event well after it has happened even though it is not predictable. It is not predictable because the actual set up of structures and processes in an open system are constantly changing. Thus the past can be explained by finding out the configuration that was present.

Intensive Research Design

This realist approach suggests the use of an intensive research design of which in-depth, open-ended interviews are a major way of gathering primary data. These were directed towards the key players who are linked to issues in

the study pertaining to political floor crossing and subsequently the developmental implications in Stellenbosch Municipality. This included people the Municipal Manager and other officials, Councillors, and representatives of major organizations, for example, a community alliance.

In this respect seven councillors were interviewed (three from the DA, two from the ANC, one from the ACDP and another one from the UDM). The idea was to balance the number of councillors to reflect the representation of their parties in council. This was not achieved owing to the problems encountered in securing interviews. Four principal municipal officials who were interviewed came from the offices of the Municipal Manager, the IDP Manager, Corporate Services Department, and the Spatial Development Planning Department. There was an interview conducted with the chairman of the Kayamandi Community Alliance (KCA).

With reference to the Realist method as advocated by Sayer (1992), there was need to examine each one exhaustively in terms of context, by looking at the actual relations amongst the identifiable agents so that interdependencies between activities can be brought out. This was an attempt to make "... the results more vivid because they describe the individuals and their activities concretely" (Sayer, 1992:242). The interviewees were selected one by one as the research proceeded. This allowed learning about the context of each interviewee, who would lead to the next respondent. This helped to establish the links between the agents in the context of their circumstances. This 'snowball' technique helped the researcher to obtain the most important information at first hand because of being referred to the key agents.

It is crucial to note that political floor crossing was a nationwide process. However, this study was not meant to extrapolate the results from the Stellenbosch municipality to the rest of the country. There was need rather to understand the phenomenon in terms of its contingency with reference to the municipality. As a result the outcomes from this study cannot be extended to explain the same phenomenon elsewhere. This is to avoid standardization which disregards the differences that exist between particular areas, and the unique circumstances surrounding them.

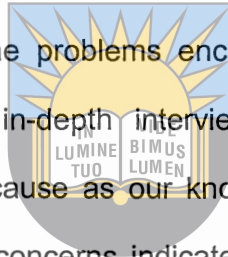
In-Depth, Open-Ended Interviews

Limb and Dwyer (2001) suggest that qualitative methodologies in geography span a range of techniques of which in-depth, open-ended interviews is one of them. These qualitative approaches have common characteristics, for instance "... an intersubjective, understanding of knowledge, in-depth approach, focus on personality and power relations, contextual and interpretative understanding" (Limb and Dwyer, 2001:6). They argue that qualitative methodologies are associated with an in-depth, intensive approach rather than an extensive or numerical approach.

There are reasons why the approach of in-depth, open-ended interviews was chosen in this study. They are a clear way of allowing people to speak for themselves about their own views and experiences of the world (de Vos, 1998; Smith, 2001) and the meanings they ascribe to it (Valentine, 2001). Valentine (2001: 44) states that in-depth interviews "... generate a lot of information very quickly; allows the researcher to cover a wide variety of topics, clarifies issues raised by the participant and to follow up unanticipated

themes that arise". Reality can be constructed from the world of the interview by obtaining an 'insider view' of the social phenomenon under study (de Vos, 1998:300).

The disadvantage of the method, according to Valentine (2001), is that it depends to a large extent on the interpersonal and listening skills of the interviewer. It is possible that the interviewer may not be well understood by an interviewee who might not be prepared to share his/her experiences. Aitken (2001) contends that it is unclear how power relations are exercised in the process, even though it is collaborative. These disadvantages shall be discussed in relation to the problems encountered in the field. However Aitken (2001) says that in-depth interviewing is attracting considerable attention in geography because as our knowledge of the method becomes broad, our questions and concerns indicate some sensitivity to a myriad of personal, political and place-based processes.



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Other Methods of Data Collection

The World Wide Web (Internet)

The World Wide Web (Internet) proved to be an invaluable source of information for this research and was used to strengthen the quality and accuracy of the references used as the basis for the research. Most journal articles (local and international) were found from online electronic databases hosted by the University of Fort Hare Library.

Archival and Library Research

Archival and library research was vital in order to trace the events surrounding the enactment of floor crossing legislation. The print media was exceptionally helpful in this respect as there were updates on the unfolding events in the political and local municipality arenas. An analysis of municipal IDPs (2002/2003 and 2003/2004 cycles), minutes of meetings and budgets were considered as crucial to the assessment of the relationship between the changes in political balance and what is taking place in terms of development at the local municipal level.

The Nature of Data Required

The qualitative nature of the data required was a means to justify the methods of data collection chosen for this study. There was need to enlist major issues to be raised in the interviews. These issues were selected on the basis that they help achieve the objectives set for the study.

Nature of Political Floor Crossing in Stellenbosh

Political floor crossing is the basis of the study and as a starting point it was essential to find out more on political floor crossing in the Stellenbosch Municipal Council. This would involve looking at which party or parties gained or lost seats in the council and by how much. There was need to find out what could have been the motivation for people to defect from their original party to another. Debates surrounding the floor crossing process in the context of the municipality were also important. This included the effects of

political floor crossing to the various political parties, the municipality and general public.

Local Development Issues in Stellenbosch

Major issues relating to development in Stellenbosch are of paramount importance. There was need to compare the former DP-NNP alliance and the new ANC-NNP alliance in terms of their perspectives on local development issues in Stellenbosch municipality. There was need to identify the developmental challenges facing the municipality and how the municipal administration attempted to address these issues before and after political floor crossing.

All developmental issues of a municipality are articulated in its IDP. In relation to this, there was a focus on the municipal developmental successes since the enactment of the IDP process. This was out of the realization that political floor crossing was a separate entity in the development discourse that was already set up by the overall transformation of local government. There was need therefore to focus attention on the effects of political floor crossing on the IDP.

The most important thing was to establish if there were any amendments to the municipality's IDP after the change in the majority political alliance in Stellenbosch, the nature of those changes and their justification. Constraints in the whole IDP process in Stellenbosch needed to be identified.

These were the overall themes underpinning the interviews conducted with all the people who participated in the data collection process. It is important to appreciate that since the interviews were open-ended, this

allowed for the emergence of new issues, some of which might have been overlooked in the original interview guide. There was also a chance to clarify the issues that arose within the discussions and thus put them in the context of the whole discourse. Though this ended up lengthening the interview process, this actually showed the strength of the method used.

The Urban Regime

Every urban regime is composed of the political and capital entities. The political regime was the major focus in the study since it is the one that changed midway after the 5 December 2000 elections with political floor crossing. The role of capital in the sustenance of the urban regime has already been highlighted in Chapter One. In this regard there was need to focus in detail on the nature of the influence of capital to the political regime on the overall development trajectory in the municipality. This is because it was envisaged that the way the new political regime would engage the capital regime would be different from the precedent political regime. This would certainly shape the path of municipal development in a different way.

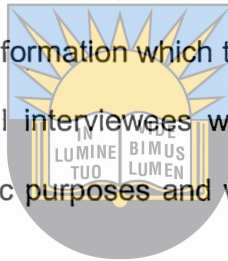
Problems Encountered in Data Collection

The research process has been a learning curve full of challenges that required going back to the drawing board so often. The most daunting problems were in the data collection process both from secondary information to primary data collection.

Most of the interviewees were busy and securing appointments with them was difficult. Even in cases where appointments were secured, the

actual face-to-face encounters sometimes proved fruitless as the original appointments had to be rescheduled. No appointment with any of the councilors who crossed from one party to the other succeeded. In cases where appointments were successful, the interviewees hurriedly answered the questions in order to speed up the interview process.

There is need to indicate that the study generally touched on politically sensitive issues. The sensitivities relating to the study created a hurdle as to how the researcher would position himself in the whole research process. From the side of the interviewees, particularly the municipal councilors, there was hesitation to divulge information which they regarded as classified. It was important however that all interviewees were assured that the information gathered was for academic purposes and would be treated with the strictest confidence.



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CHAPTER IV

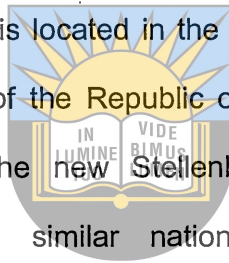
STELLENBOSCH MUNICIPALITY

Introduction

This chapter presents the background information concerning Stellenbosch Municipality. This includes its geographical extent, land use, population, and socio-economic information about the Municipality.

Stellenbosch Municipal Area

Stellenbosch Municipality is located in the Boland District Municipality of the Western Cape Province of the Republic of South Africa (see Map 1). The current municipality is the new Stellenbosch Municipal area that was demarcated following a similar nationwide process associated with transformation of local government. The new Stellenbosch Municipal area is composed of an amalgamation of the prior municipal areas of Stellenbosch, Franschoek and Pniel and part of a major portion of the previous Winelands District Council's area of jurisdiction (Stellenbosch Municipality IDP, 2002/2003 Cycle). The Municipality is made up of the two major towns of Stellenbosch and Franschoek and their rural hinterlands (see Figure 3).



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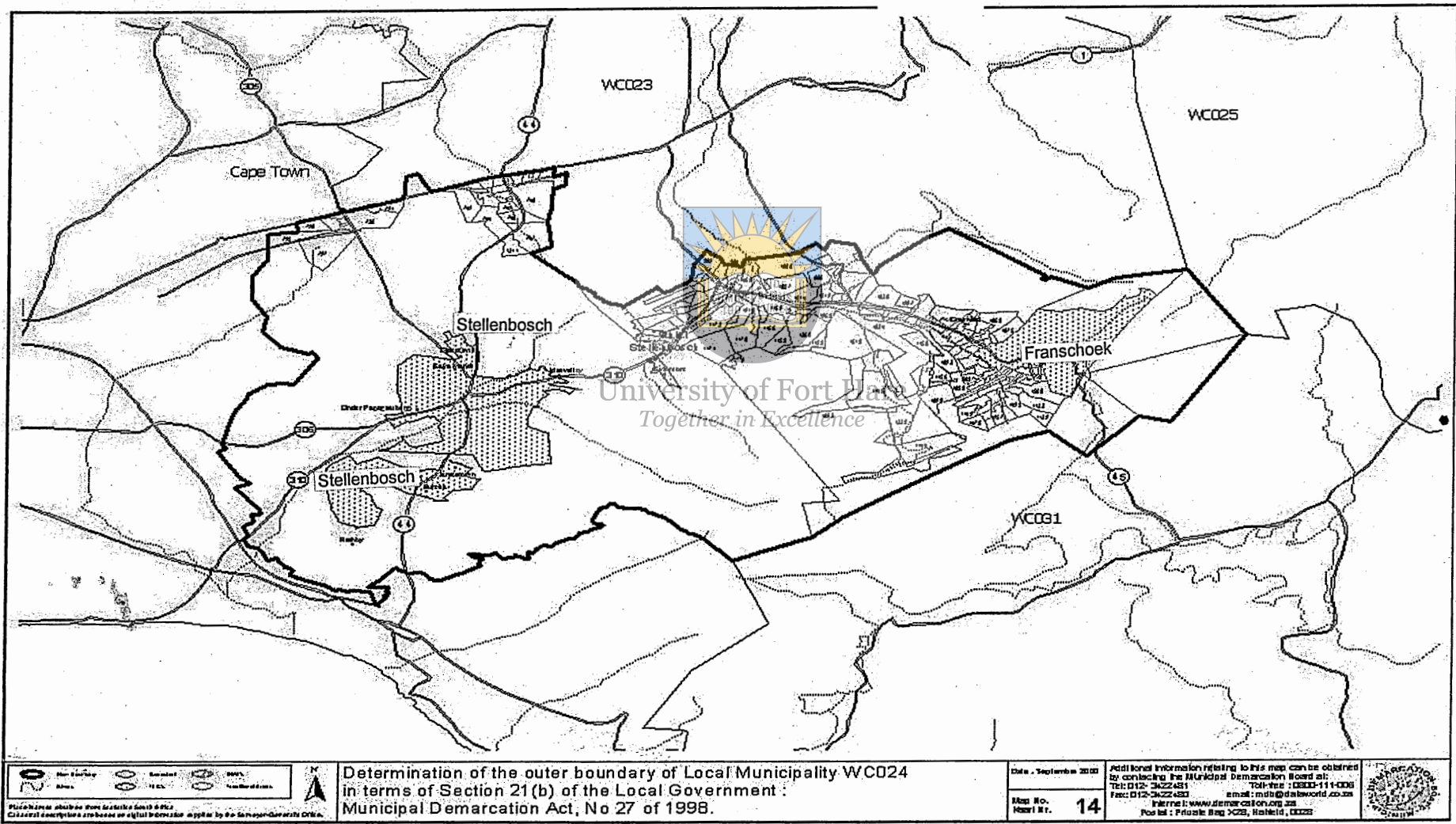


Figure 3: Stellenbosch Municipal Area

Stellenbosch as the biggest town is surrounded by De Novo, Muldersvlei, Klapmuts, Elsenburg and Koelenhof to the north; Johannesburg, Kylemore, Lanquedoc and Great Drakenstein to the east; Vlottenburg, Lynedoch, Raithby and Jamestown to the south and west, including all farms in between. The rural hinterland of Franschoek is made up of Wemmershoek, La Motte and all the farms in between. This new municipal area has a geographical area of approximately 900 square kilometres.

General Land Use in Stellenbosch

The Stellenbosch Municipality Integrated Development Plan (2003/2004 Cycle) describes the area under the jurisdiction of the Municipality. The Stellenbosch Municipal area is approximately 77500 ha in size consisting of about 6000 rural (of which 4300 are in agricultural use) and 13500 urban properties. The average size of rural units is 130 ha (including the vast mountainous tracts). The average size of agricultural units is 75 ha, and the area is intensively farmed and predominately rural in character.

According to a generalized land use of the area, there are two cover types occupying 83% of the area of which agricultural purposes uses 41% of it, while another 42% of the surface area is mountainous and covered by Fynbos and Natural Veld. Most of the rest is used by forestry (12%), whereas urban and other uses occupy less than 5% (see Table 1).

Table 1: Land Use of Greater Stellenbosch Area (1999)

Cover	Hectare	Percentage
Agriculture - Annual Crops	9048	11.67
Agriculture - Industrial	202	0.26
Agriculture - Perennial Crops	22806	29.42
Commercial	29	0.04
Forestry	9303	12.00
Fynbos and Natural Veld	32804	42.32
Industrial	220	0.28
Institutional	191	0.25
Mining	185	0.24
Rural nodes	35	0.05
Services	226	0.29
Sport and Recreation	259	0.33
Urban	2207	2.85
Total Area	77514	100.00

Adapted from Stellenbosch Municipality website: www.stellenbosch.org.za

Population of Stellenbosch

According to the 1996 census data the population of the Stellenbosch Municipality was approximately 103 740. This population is concentrated in Stellenbosch (56 621), which is the largest urban centre with more than 50% of the population. The second largest concentration of urban dwellers is in Franschoek with 6 553 residents. The other urban places in order of size are Kylemore, Pniel, Jamestown, Klappmuts and Raithby. The rural inhabitants are distributed fairly evenly through the rest of the municipal area, with densities of between 50 and 100 people per square kilometre.

The highest rural densities are found in the Berg River valley, the area around Kylemore in the Banghoek valley. Other higher density corridors are found along the major routes from Stellenbosch to Kuils River, Somerset West and towards Klappmuts. Migrants to the area are strongly concentrated in Stellenbosch.

Table 2: Stellenbosch Municipality - Population Size and Groups (1996)

PLACE	Black	Coloured	Asian	White	Unspecified	Total
Franschoek	128	322	4	1120	3	1577
Groendal	1369	3573	4	12	18	4976
Jamestown	54	1682	6	1	97	1840
Klapmuts	82	1326	5	92	10	1515
Kylemore	17	2379	5	0	33	2434
Pniel	12	2339	0	4	44	2399
Raithby	0	542	0	1	3	546
Stellenbosch	11611	21888	226	21912	984	56621
Non-urban	2936	24206	34	3793	863	31832
Total	16209	58257	284	26935	2055	103740

Adapted from Stellenbosch Municipality website: www.stellenbosch.org.za

There has been substantial increase in the population of Stellenbosch since 1991 with respect to its racial composition (see Table 3). The black population increased phenomenally from 1991 (with a mere addition of 600 people) through 1997 (increasing by 257%) up to 2000 (when there was a record increase of 6 243 people). This can be attributed to the dawn of the democratic dispensation in South Africa associated with loosening of restrictions on movement.

Table 3: Population Growth in Stellenbosch

POPULATION GROUP	1991	1997	2000
White	1060	1775	2 427
Coloured	2690	3320	3 723
Black	600	2144	6 242
TOTAL	4350	7239	12 393

Adapted from Stellenbosch Municipal IDP: 2002-2003 Cycle

Economic Profile of Stellenbosch

Information concerning the state of the economy of Stellenbosch to be presented in this section is derived from its 2003-2004 cycle of the 2002-2006 municipal IDP. The economy of the whole region of Stellenbosch region was estimated to be over R4.6 billion in 2000 that was approximately 3, 6% of the Western Cape Province's R125.7 billion. This Stellenbosch region registered an average 7.5 % real Gross Regional Product (GRP) growth per annum for the last 4-5 years and is among the fastest growing in South Africa. Table 4 below shows the major economic activities within Stellenbosch and their contribution to the overall regional economy.



Table 4: Stellenbosch Region Sector Activities for 1999/2000

Economic Sector	Gross Regional Product (in millions of Rands)	Gross Regional Product (as percentage of total)
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	467	10
Construction and Repairs	30	1
Financial and business services	1 891	41
Government and other services	255	6
Manufacturing	552	12
Trade	1 357	30
TOTAL	4 552	100

Adapted from Stellenbosch Municipality IDP 2002-2003 Cycle

The financial and business sectors contribute the greatest output. The reason is fast growth of linked business sectors in Stellenbosch town serving the rural hinterland and surrounding farms. This is augmented with an influx and

growth of wealthy semi- and retired residents including student, academic and professional populations.

Agriculture is a historical economic activity in Stellenbosch taking substantial land use. There is high quality fruit farming targeting the export market. Wine making is widespread and its success is shown by the sharp increase in the number of wine farms from 26 in 1994 to 104 in 2001. The wine estates have stimulated forward linkages with the manufacturing industries creating more employment. They have also been a key attraction for various tourist activities.

The construction and the property development sector have been vibrant due to substantial interest from local and foreign investors in properties. Large government contracts together with retail, restaurant and gold estate developments have stimulated this sector too. Investment projects are skewed towards the construction of tourism related facilities followed by middle to upper income housing projects.

The retail sector is valued at R1.4 billion and since 1996 it has been growing at an average of 20% per annum since 1996. This is associated with high growth of tourism visitors together with the diversification and increase of trading opportunities, for example, farm stall based outlets. Stellenbosch town itself has grown as a formidable centre with a diverse range of business, commercial and related services. Lack of space in the town has caused stiff competition, with high trading values of R14 000 to R19 000/m² being charged.

The total contribution of tourism is estimated at R690 million, making 15 % of the total GRP. Tourism is the fastest growing sector driving other

backward and forward linkages. Some of these linkages include local arts and crafts, tour operators, wine estates, upmarket restaurants, golf estates, special events and retail.

There is also the presence of a well established research, technical and academic sector in the Stellenbosch region. Stellenbosch University is the most conspicuous, with an enrolment above 12 000 students and offering a diverse range of courses in engineering, social science, law and business. Stellenbosch University is referred to as one of South Africa's top five tertiary academic institutions.

Stellenbosch town and its immediate surrounding areas contribute 93 per cent of the local regional economic output. The town of Franschoek is a competitive and successful destination of local and foreign tourism and continues to outpace other towns in South Africa. Pniel as a historical town also contributes immensely through tourism and coupled with local community development projects.

Stellenbosch Integrated Development Planning

The IDP process is spelt out clearly in the Stellenbosch IDP Process Plan (2002/2003). The organisational structure of the municipality is made in a way that ensures and facilitates the smooth initiation, planning, implementation and control of the whole mandatory IDP process and thus will be discussed here in this respect (see Figure 4). This organisational structure is the one that was put in place within the 2002-2003 cycle of the 2002-2006 Municipal IDP for Stellenbosch. There are changes to the municipal

administration that were effected following political floor crossing and these shall be the subject of Chapter Five.

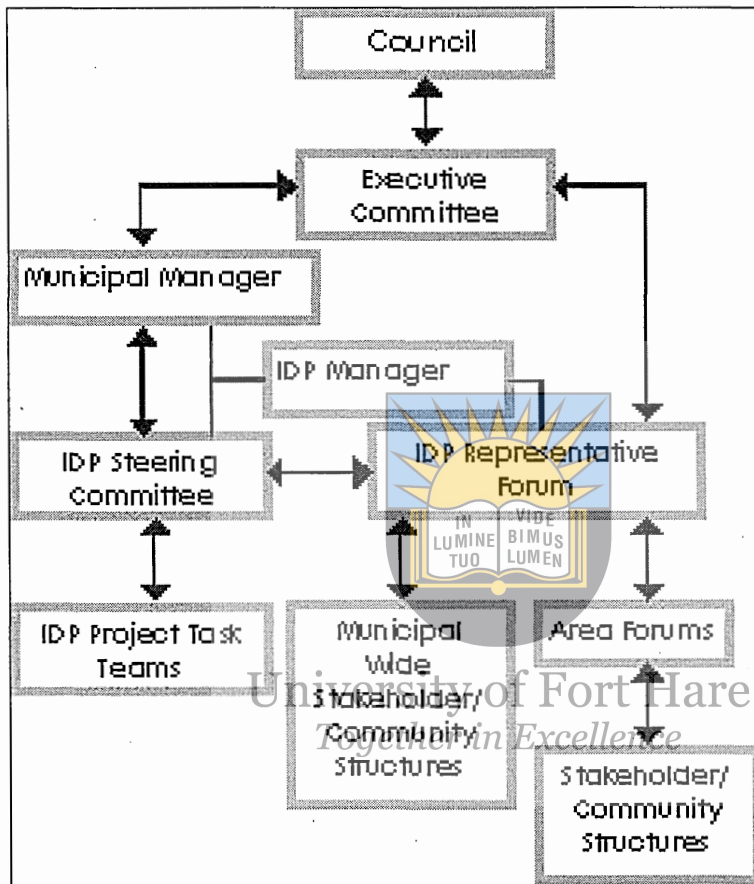
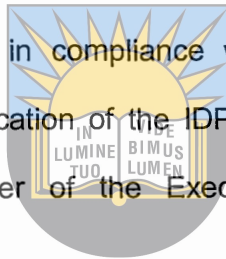


Figure 4: The Structure for Liaison of IDP in Stellenbosch Municipality

At the highest level of the organisational structure is the Municipal Council made up of 35 seats. This Council was constituted after the local government elections of 5 December 2000. Changes caused by the process of floor crossing in the composition of the Council have already been alluded to in Chapter One. The council is followed by The Executive Committee, charged in the Municipal Structures Act, section 30, with managing the drafting of the

municipality's IDP, assigning responsibilities to the municipal manager and submitting the draft plan to the municipal council for adoption.

The IDP Manager falls directly under the Municipal Manager and is mainly responsible for preparing the process plan and managing the process with regard to time, resources and people involved. There are also a number of considerations in this management process by the IDP Manager. There is need to involve all different role players. Communication with the public must be maintained to ensure their commitment and participation to the IDP. Time constraints should be taken heed of. The IDP should be horizontally and vertically aligned and be in compliance with the national and provincial requirements. The modification of the IDP is done in accordance with the proposals by the Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for local government.



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The IDP Steering Committee also works with the Municipal Manager. It is a technical working team made up of the Municipal Manager, the IDP manager and sector officials, together with nominated councillors. This Steering Committee is responsible over the Project Task Teams. These are small operational teams made up of a number of relevant municipal sector departments and technical officials. They are responsible for the management of the implementation of the projects and where applicable, with the community stakeholders affected by the project.

The IDP Steering Committee also works hand in hand with the IDP Representative Forum, which is the body that facilitates and co-ordinates public participation in the IDP process. An important aspect of this Forum is that it should reflect the geographical and social composition of the

municipality and represent the interests of various constituents on the IDP process.

Within the framework of the IDP Representative Forum there is provision for Municipal Wide Stakeholder/Community Structures and Area Forums. The Municipal Wide Stakeholder Structures are made up of overarching groups representing certain interests in the municipality. These can be groups of residents, community-based organisations, the independent sector (for example non-governmental organisations, academic institutions) and the private sector.

Area Forums represent the formal communication channel between the community and the Council. The Area Forum is tasked with identifying the critical issues affecting its area, facilitating discussions and decision making between stakeholders, linking the IDP Representative Forum and the community of each area and monitoring the performance of the planning and implementation process concerning its area. The Area Forum is made up of the councillor(s) representing the area, officials in the planning process, and representatives of stakeholder groups, advocates for unorganised groups, resource persons and community representatives.

The idea of Area Forums was directly related to that of Development Areas. The whole municipality was divided into Development Areas, each one made up of a number of neighbourhoods, or more than one election ward but not necessarily following ward boundaries. The Development Areas were demarcated on the basis of common interests and also the need to encourage cooperation between areas with different backgrounds (for example, urban and rural).

This is the municipal system that was adopted and implemented in Stellenbosch by the previous DA. With the coming in of a new ANC-NNP alliance into power following political floor crossing, there are a number of changes that were effected, for example, to the municipal system. These changes are a crucial component of this study, since they show how political floor crossing in the Municipality could have influenced local development (see Chapter 5).



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CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This part of the study presents and discusses the data collected in the field. There was a large amount of information collected on political floor crossing and its implications for development in Stellenbosch. This chapter classifies the information into broad categories aligned to the objectives of the study.

Political Floor Crossing in Stellenbosch

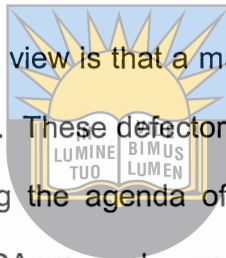
Motivation for and Debates around Floor Crossing

There was an overwhelming response from five of the councillors interviewed (3 from DA, 1 from ACDP and 1 from the UDM) that financial benefits and jobs were the most important factor that prompted councillors to defect from one political alliance to another in Stellenbosch municipality. One DA councillor called it 'filthy money' and said that for councillors who crossed, their allowances increased from R3000.00 per month up to R17 000.00 plus other perks.

The defectors were promised powerful positions that would be on a full time basis in the new administration. The positions promised were those of the Mayor, Deputy Mayor and Members of the Mayoral Committee. Another DA councillor alleged that out of the five defectors only one did not get a position with increased remuneration. However, that defector was appointed to the District Municipal Committee. This councillor is said to have defected due to pressure from the leadership in the NNP.

One DA councillor said that, "... the whole honey pot was created by the [National] Minister of Local Government to create an enabling environment through legislation". The UDM councillor also agreed that political floor crossing in the municipality was facilitated at the provincial level based on the offers.

The ANC councillors gave views somehow different from the rest. One of these was that the defectors really wanted to make things work in the municipality, as compared to what was happening previously. There was frustration within the DA as it was seen to be sidelining the black population in the municipality. The other view is that a majority of the defectors were from the NNP side within the DA. These defectors needed to portray their party as one that is now embracing the agenda of the majority of the people. So crossing the floor from the DA was a change of face by the NNP.



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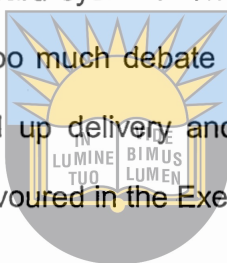
Changes due to Political Floor Crossing in Stellenbosch

Administrative Changes

Though externally influenced from above, a major change that came with political floor crossing in Stellenbosch was that from the Mayor-Committee system to the introduction of the Executive Mayoral system as preferred by the ANC. Under this system the Mayor and his committee have executive powers such that there is centralisation of decision-making. According to DA councillors the changes involved the retraction of delegations from the lower committees to be taken over by the mayoral committee. This is because opportunities for debates have been reduced since this has been internalised in the ANC and no longer open to all parties, thereby weakening the whole

council. The ACDP and DA councillors said that the opposition was virtually excluded from decision-making in the municipality. The participative atmosphere where everyone was represented came to an end. Thus the whole deal became exclusive and less inclusive.

The ANC councillors conceded that there was a change from the DA system of local government that was dominant in the Western Cape Province. The DA system of administration was associated with development areas (see Chapter Three). With the coming in of the new majority ANC-NNP alliance this was replaced by the ward system. The reasoning of the ANC was that under the DA there was too much debate that did not translate into action. There was need to speed up delivery and this required less talk. Giving power to a small bloc as favoured in the Executive Mayoral system would help towards this end.



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Effects of Political Floor Crossing on Major Stakeholders

Political floor crossing had differential effects on the major stakeholders in the municipality, particularly the political parties. It was clear that there was a shift in power and the DA was no longer influential. The DA was affected by the withdrawal of the NNP from the alliance nationally and this translated into loss of councillors at the municipal sphere, so Stellenbosch was no exception. The DA became the official opposition in the Stellenbosch Municipal council.

The minor parties simply play a representative role, because they are not significant in decision making. They are not considered relevant and they are further marginalised. For example, the AFTC was said to be in disarray

as a result of political floor crossing since they lost their most influential political figures in the municipality to the ANC camp.

The ANC took sweeping control referred to as “wall-to-wall domination” and started driving the business of the municipal council. The ANC’s preferred system of local government has a stronger centralising tendency. The ANC is alleged to have increased its grip on the fiscus in the municipality through its discretion to allocate subsidies from government. Previously, as a DA councillor said, the national government was not keen to support the DA in local government. So the overall ANC agenda is now promoted with the help of the alliance partner.

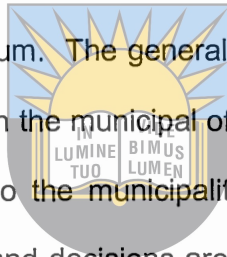
One DA councillor reported that even if the ANC has the majority of the seats in the alliance its partner, the NNP, was hampering its ambitions, making the whole alliance uneasy. A municipal official said that the people within the alliance did not speak the same language, meaning that they have not yet resolved their differences within the coalition. This was seen as a hindrance to development because each party has a different focus. The municipal officials also find themselves caught in between these opposing groups.

Positively the NNP gained shared control of the council and a new lease of life even if it has a small grouping in the new alliance. However, it lost favour with the electorate. The NNP councillors are seen as opportunists. Another councillor said that “... the NNP are part of the ruling coalition but they are merely puppets and they do not do anything’.

Divergent views also emerged on the effects of floor crossing on the municipality. The ANC seemed to cherish its increased control and indicated

that there was now a new focus on the previously disadvantaged people in the municipality. The political heads in the new alliance, particularly those in the mayoral committee, had increased their grip on the directors of the various departments in the local municipality. There was a new dimension of supervision in the implementation of projects. Decision-making within the local municipality has been speeded up through the executive mayor and his mayoral committee, and the limited debates in council.

The view of DA councillors is that the Planning Standing Committee in the Planning and Development Department is now ineffective because it meets fewer times per annum. The general impression is that there are now fewer checks and control on the municipal officials as a result. Floor crossing caused a lot of expense to the municipality. This is because there is an uneasy alliance in power, and decisions are delayed since issues stand over for a long time thereby frustrating officials.



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This is however contrary to the view that floor crossing and the change to the mayoral committee system of local government resulted in the removal of bureaucratic obstacles. This is because in the new system the Mayor and the executive committee work very closely with municipal officials. However there is the contention that this system is more autocratic and less democratic since the Mayor and the executive committee are not subject to democratic reviews.

To the public, the ANC councillors indicated that there was a new lease of life especially to the previously disadvantaged, since development was now focused on them. However, the opposition hinted that the public has lost faith in politics. The public now see all politicians as cheats including those who

did not defect. The public suffer most and a DA councillor said that the mandate given to political parties in the 5 December 2000 election was violated and political floor crossing was achieved with the use of national resources including taxpayers' money. The DA councillor contended that if it were ANC funds this could not have happened, thus the ruling party at the national level drew the state into the floor crossing process and political change at the municipal level.

Kayamandi Community Alliance

The Kayamandi Community Alliance (KCA) is one of the civic groups in Stellenbosch representing residents of Kayamandi Township. It was formed three months before the 5 December 2000 local government elections with the objective to have a representative in council. The KCA was formed after a fallout between the ANC and the community due to non-delivery, and it aimed to gather strength from within the community.

Historically Stellenbosch has been dominantly white. The Kayamandi Township was established in the 1920s. Since then development has been slow such that it was surpassed in terms of the provision of public facilities and amenities by other residential areas that followed it. The vision of the KCA is to bring real development which is acceptable to the residents of the area because according to its chairperson there seems to be no long term plan for Kayamandi. The Chairperson cited that the allocation of houses to farm workers ahead of the local residents of the township without a set procedure was proof of the neglect by the Municipality of the Kayamandi residents.

The KCA has been involved in a number of activities with both the municipality and the community. Presently the KCA has a representative in the incumbent council. The KCA participates actively in all public meetings called by the council. The organisation has also made written submissions to the council to raise issues affecting the people in the community, for example, compiling a list of the housing needs of the Kayamandi residents. There has been an awareness programme to make the people conscious of all issues affecting them. Meetings with various political parties representing the three wards in Kayamandi have been convened to address their differences so that they speak with one voice in council.

The KCA also raised a number of contentious issues in the interview process. The first one was on unavailability of land. The landowners in Stellenbosch have been unwilling to release land for the expansion of Kayamandi and the council alleged that it does not have enough resources to buy that land. However the KCA raised the issue that the council built a middle income suburb (Cloetesville), just next to Kayamandi across the railway line and main road.

Further to the east of Kayamandi is another upmarket suburb called Green Oaks, making a stark difference with Kayamandi which is largely a shanty area and overcrowded. The idea of densification has greatly affected Kayamandi and worsened the overcrowding through subdividing an already highly densely populated land.

The Chairperson contended that political floor crossing did not make a positive difference for the KCA but rather hindered its progress. This is because the shift to the executive mayoral system caused a lot of problems.

The KCA indicated that the municipality was still in the hands of the same whites who had already determined the fate of the people from Kayamandi.

The KCA has made inroads at the municipal level and is posing significant threat to the municipality and the ANC in particular. The people in Kayamandi are now conscious of what is happening in the municipality. The municipality is slowly moving towards addressing the needs of the people in the area who now have some formal representation. The future strategy of the KCA is now to mobilise a large following for the next election so that they can capture the three wards in Kayamandi. The KCA also recognises the need to engage the Stellenbosch University and local business in tackling their problems.



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General Effects of Political Floor Crossing
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The nature of debates in Stellenbosch Municipality particularly concerning the path to development has changed. The ANC councillors contend that there has been a shift from 'cosmetic' development to a form of development that focuses on the poor in the community. There was urgency to deliver within a short time otherwise future elections will rather turn the tide against the majority regime if nothing tangible is done for the electorate.

One DA councillor said that it is clear from the debates in council that there is a lot of mistrust amongst all councillors from all parties. The debates are thus less constructive. This has been exacerbated by the fact that the council meetings are now fewer (reduced from once a month to once in every quarter). The UDM councillor indicated that the Mayoral Committee was not

representative of all the parties in the council. Consequently, the opposition did not have any significant input into the deliberations within this committee. They have to request those on the committee to provide input on matters of interest on their behalf.

There were also varying ideas on whether the municipal goals in terms of development were changed with the change in the urban regime following political floor crossing. The ANC contend that new municipal goals have been set to address the needs of the poor who are fast becoming a majority in the municipality. The view of the DA is that the goals did not necessarily change because the plight of the poor was documented in the 2001-2002 IDP. However, the DA respondents said that the prioritisation of the goals changed. The need to speed up the implementation of the programmes is the drive behind these changes.

However the remaining councillors interviewed said that nothing relating to goals had really changed or if any changes had in fact occurred they had not been communicated to them. Thus they agreed that the ANC was trying to portray itself as the implementer of newly initiated projects. The reasoning behind this idea is that there is legislation in the IDP which obliges all parties in majority control of the municipalities to implement development programmes. Consequently, whoever is in control of council cannot reverse development initiatives stipulated in national legislation.

The previous regime focused on general economic development within the municipality. This, for example, involved inner-city renewal projects and support for tourism. It dragged its feet on projects meant for the low income groups whilst going for projects that have considerable benefit to the

advantaged groups in the city. For example, the current ANC-NNP alliance is focusing on housing issues given that the housing backlog for the low income group was estimated at 4 000 units in the Stellenbosch Municipality. Contrary to this view is the idea that the ANC-NNP does not have substantial plans for the disadvantaged. The ANC-NNP also promotes projects that are not sensitive to the environment.

Most councillors agree that there was no termination of the appointments of senior officials of the municipality. The other reason is that the officials appointed by the DP-NNP alliance are still the same that have been retained by the ANC-NNP alliance because of their integrity. However, one councillor indicated that some officials are considering voluntary severance packages whose cost is still to be negotiated with individuals concerned. Another councillor said that the current regime is waiting for the end of the 2000 to 2005 term to facilitate the exit of some officials who are reaching retirement age. In the end the ANC-NNP alliance hopes to put their own people who will be appointed from the national executive. This councillor also noted that the NP used to engage in this practice in the apartheid era.

The Capital Regime in Stellenbosch

The discussion has been on the political front in the municipality, thereby giving an insight of the dynamics of the political regime in Stellenbosch. However, these changes in the political regime should be looked at in terms of their influence and alignment to the capital regime. The role of capital has already been alluded to in Chapter One. It is now important to highlight the nature of the capital regime in Stellenbosch.

In Stellenbosch the role of the private sector cannot be overemphasized given the level of economic development and subsequent growth that has been recorded (see Chapter Four). The municipality has been an attractive destination for capital investment. According to the IDP the traditional agricultural base, the especially high quality fruit production, has witnessed consistent and rapid growth related closely to exports. Stellenbosch has become the country's premier wine production and export region due to the increase in wine estates coupled with investment in technologically advanced wine production systems.

Tourism facilities and related attractions have continued to be stimuli to the region's growth sectors of retail, transport and accommodation. An analysis of Stellenbosch region investment projects actually shows that tourism dominates (19 out of 35 recent, current and planned projects). There are also new opportunities related to the diversification of the economy. These have been seen through the increase in the number of new small, medium and micro business start-ups.

Privatisation has had considerable effect too, particularly in the forestry sector. There is no doubt that the council is obtaining revenues from all these investments which it in turn uses to maintain service delivery and sustain other projects.

The sectors in which Stellenbosch's economy is growing require a skilled workforce and this has left a large unskilled labour force unemployed. On the other hand, the informal sector has not been integrated into the mainstream of the economic development strategy of Stellenbosch. Consequently, there are limited informal sector opportunities.

Apart from the traditional educational institutions, Stellenbosch Municipality has implemented a multipurpose training centre in Pniel with the assistance of the Department of Provincial and Local Government. There has been a proposal to develop an economic development plan with a small business development focus for the Greater Stellenbosch Area.

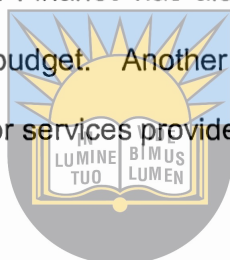
Economic development has received a new impetus as a focus area for the municipality since the transformation of local government. So council has started to embrace actively private sector initiatives. This has been achieved by starting to provide incentives to attract investment. Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) have been another means of stimulating economic development in Stellenbosch. For example, there has been a proposal for the Stellenbosch Municipality to build a conference centre in partnership with Stellenbosch University.

There are a number of PPPs particularly in the property sector (residential, industrial, commercial and recreational). In the urban renewal project, the Council is upgrading areas around the town, and businesses are going to buy-in those areas to set up their operations (particularly for retail and office purposes). The parking garage initiative is will be financed by private developers on council land. There is also a 5 000 square metre La Gare Station shopping complex under construction in Franschoek. Council has made it a policy that all construction contracts are awarded to companies on the condition that they engage locals to ease the pressure on unemployment.

There are a number of constraints concerning the financial capacity of the Council. There is still a limited tax base particularly with the restrictions that have been placed on taxation of rural property. This is contrary to the

perceived benefits of the concept of wall-to-wall municipalities that was expected to widen the tax base by incorporating the former district council areas. However as time goes on, the further integration and harmonisation of tax regulations of the rural areas are expected to contribute positively into the mainstream of the Stellenbosch regional economy.

The ability of the Council to raise external finance mainly for capital requirements is still limited. Consequently, the Council is forced to rely on internal sources of finance which do not necessarily fulfil its requirements. The National Department of Finance has also imposed growth limitations on the operating and capital budget. Another constraint noted relates to the public's willingness to pay for services provided.



University of Fort Hare Budgets in the Integrated Development Plan *Together in Excellence*

The budget is also a good indicator of the nature of development priorities in Stellenbosch. A highlight within the 2002/2003 budget is that subsidies amounting to approximately R8 million were cut by the Boland District Council. The reason was that Stellenbosch did not require assistance as compared to other local municipalities. This is an indication of the relatively good financial base of the municipality within the District Council. An implication of the cutback in support was a decrease in expenditure coupled with an increase in tariffs.

The provision of electricity (38.9 per cent) is the largest contribution to the operating budget of the municipality. This is followed by property tax at 19.3 per cent of the total operating budget, water (10.4 per cent), and other

services at 9.2 per cent. Traffic services contributes 8.6 per cent, followed by sewerage (5.9 per cent), refuse removal (5.0 per cent), rentals (1.4 per cent) and finally subsidies (1.2 per cent). The contribution of property tax shows the strength of private ownership of property in Stellenbosch. This is also shown by the minor contribution of subsidies in the running of the municipality. However, the income from electricity to the Council is threatened because of the plan to transfer this function to a regional distributor.

In terms of capital expenditure Stellenbosch Municipality needs to fast track delivery of services to areas that were previously under the control of the District Council because of the backlogs that had accumulated. It is not surprising that about 43.5 per cent (about R16 million) of ad hoc capital expenditure was directed towards housing and township needs. Ad hoc expenditure within the capital budget is financed from external sources such as grants and subsidies and used for projects that facilitate development under the ANC-NNP regime. The whole capital budget amounted to R63 million (with R38 million as ad hoc expenditure and R25 million as basic expenditure). Basic expenditure is the contribution of the Council to the whole capital budget.

Integrated Development Planning

An important consideration is the assessment of the developmental challenges facing Stellenbosch Municipality. Housing is one of the challenges, and demand is greatest for the previously disadvantaged and low income groups. The housing backlog had to be complemented with

infrastructural development in the same areas. The greatest challenge to this housing issue is the apparent non-availability of land upon which to develop housing projects. The land is locked up in agricultural activities surrounding the towns in Stellenbosch Municipality.

There is the need to facilitate economic growth to create employment. The problem of unemployment was seen as a national problem that need not be addressed at the local level only. Crime was also associated with unemployment, so the solutions planned for unemployment would also be helpful in bringing down crime.

Major successes have been achieved by the IDP since its inception in the municipality. The manner in which the IDP process was implemented in Stellenbosch Municipality was regarded as amongst the top five in the country. The public participation process enshrined in the IDP process was seen as extraordinary in Stellenbosch. Overall public participation helped to identify the most pressing problems and their subsequent prioritisation for directing the meagre resources.

Steps have been taken to address the challenges daunting the municipality. There have been concerted efforts to initiate housing projects and considerable progress has been achieved in this regard. In terms of crime, under the DA regime there has been a strengthening of a partnership between national police, municipal police, neighbourhood watches and Stellenbosch University campus control in the case of Stellenbosch town. This partnership has increased the capacity to reduce crime. Unemployment is still a problem, in spite of what the municipality to reduce it.

Consequently, one councillor argued that the assessment of the success of the IDP in Stellenbosch is disputable because it depends on the standards one uses. The success can therefore be said to be patchy. For example, public participation has been hailed, but the problem with it is that it raises people's expectations in a situation where there are resource constraints. There is friction between the demand to perform and the capacity to do so.

A constraint of the IDP process is that it slows decision-making, and the Council suffers from time constraints because they have to follow all the stages. It is difficult to capture all the needs of the people during the public participation process and this causes discontent as the people perceive that they are not listened to. This has created a bad reputation for councillors. The process also allows certain groups to dominate if others do not participate. For example, the Mayoral Committee has put the IDP process at its mercy, since it excludes the opposition and thus can ignore recommendations. The ward participatory system according to the DA is administratively difficult to handle. The way the ward committees are to be constituted is complicated and not necessarily democratic, because there are a lot of rules.

The IDP process was hailed as having changed the way business is run in the municipality. It has been seen as an aid to development because it has structured the municipal planning process and has ensured a more inclusive approach to local planning. A major change to the IDP process in Stellenbosch is the adoption of the ward participatory system associated with the change in the system of local government.

The concept of development areas and the area forums from the DA council were disbanded. Another noticeable change is the change in the priorities of the development goals from a focus on the higher socio-economic groups of population to the previously disadvantaged. For example, the ANC-NNP regime in Stellenbosch has not prioritised issues like safety and security. Instead it has prioritised the training of the unemployed and disabled, and the provision of low-income housing. A DA councillor said that it is obvious that the ANC is targeting the low income groups to prepare itself for any forthcoming elections.

The justification for some changes in the IDP is that there is the need to strive to correct the inequalities of the past. Changes that relate to the new prioritisation following the ANC-NNP alliance majority reflect the real needs and aspirations of the people, particularly those who feel that they had been neglected.



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It has been clear from the interviewees that an area that has always been neglected is that of low income housing and this has been prioritised in the 2003-2004 IDP cycle. Conditions in Kayamandi black township were referred to as deplorable and that it was a mammoth task to improve conditions. Given the resources, Kayamandi is one of the areas that needs a lot of attention followed by Cloetesville and Idas Valley.

The problem of housing has also been compounded with the shortage of land for expansion. Consequently, to address the issue of housing in Kayamandi, the issue of land has to be sorted first. Resources can be devoted to buying new land. Another way is to densify the upmarket areas and create a higher residential capacity of the historic core. The UDM

councillor also added that the issue of free basic water and electricity promised by the national government in the 5 December 2000 election was still outstanding.

There was concern by the DA that traffic in Stellenbosch town was increasing to the extent of exceeding its present holding capacity. In future the transport system needs improvement in terms of constructing bigger roads, parking garages, cycling paths and pedestrianisation of the centre.

Implications of Changes to Development

Political floor crossing made changes to local government in the country that were analysed for Stellenbosch Municipality. A characteristic feature of these changes is related to the focus of the new governing alliance and the urgency in implementing development related projects. This requires looking at some of the tangible developments that have taken place on the ground.

The Planning and Development Department provided most of the information to be discussed here. There are several issues that have been highlighted by the official interviewed from this Department. First, spatial plans must address issues raised in the IDP. The role of public participation had to be strengthened. There had to be a new spatial development framework for Stellenbosch. The priorities had to be on housing (particularly low income) and local economic development with the aim of creating jobs.

The new spatial development framework had to adhere to specific principles. There was consideration of the population of each area. For example, 30 per cent of the population in Stellenbosch is rural with farming as a major activity. This required planning for the workers in terms of their

housing needs. There was also consideration of how to plan for the overall development of the farming areas, for example, in terms of road and railway services for accessibility to the markets.

Through the public participation programme, various proposals were put across. However, the new spatial development framework that was adopted did not manage to resolve the concerns of all the stakeholders. The major constraint facing all the new proposals was the shortage of financial resources.

In relation to the housing projects some considerable development had taken place in Kayamandi black township with financial assistance from the Provincial Government. The shanty type of housing (see Figure 5) in the present location is undesirable and that is gradually being dismantled to be replaced with proper houses.

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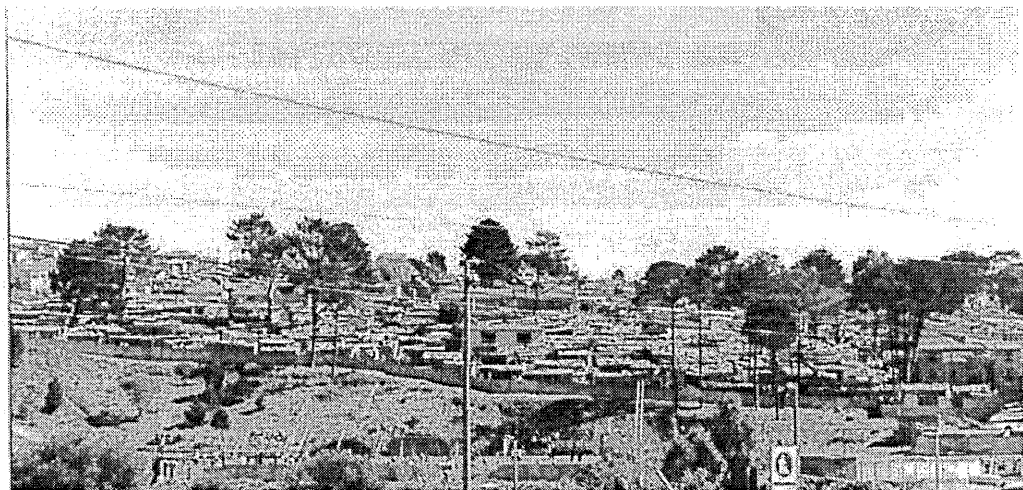


Figure 5. Shanty houses in Kayamandi, Stellenbosch Municipality, 2003

On the other hand there is construction of new apartments (see Figure 6) at a site next to the present location of the township. There are blocks of flats and

next to them are individual housing units. These units meet required housing standards and benefit the low income group, for example, those staying in the shanty type of housing (see Figure 5).



Figure 6. The new type of housing under construction in Kayamandi, 2003 .

There are 176 housing units under construction in Kayamandi started under the ANC-NNP regime. In Cloetesville there are 220 units planned there. The Lanquedoc housing project is made up of 440 housing units for the low income group. Anglo-American Corporation is involved in a housing project in Franschoek made up of 770 units. In Klapmuts there is also another housing project. These are but a few of the housing projects indicated by the official from the housing department.

Contentious Debates in Stellenbosch

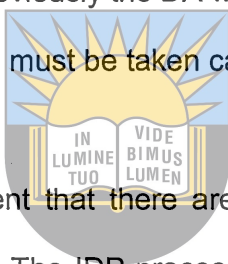
The way political floor crossing has been viewed in the Municipality is of importance in this study because it has generated a lot of interest due to its far reaching implications. For example, there is an indication of the withdrawal of the affluent part of the community from active politics and development in

Stellenbosch. Other parts of the Stellenbosch community have adopted a wait and see attitude. The media that used to have a spotlight on Stellenbosch has started to ignore what is happening in the municipality.

The bottom line of this argument for withdrawing from municipal activities is that it is no longer attractive to be a councillor. Thus one councillor reiterated that “democracy has gone for a loop in Stellenbosch” and argued that there is now a similar situation like that in the days of apartheid. The town is managed dictatorially since the opposition’s voice no longer plays a critical role as before. Previously the DA was trying to help the poor, but it is just that everybody’s needs must be taken care of. Now the municipal system has become exclusive.

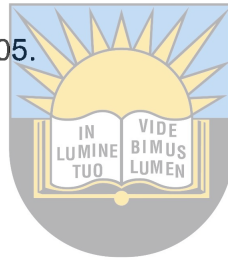
There is an argument that there are sections in the community that were ignored for too long. The IDP process was one way of addressing the plight of the poor by ensuring their involvement through the public participation programmes, for example, the introduction of the ward system. However, projects that were meant to benefit the previously disadvantaged groups were not keenly implemented. Thus political floor crossing was seen as a way to change the tide in favour of the poor. There is now the adoption of pro-poor policy in Stellenbosch Municipality.

Unfortunately, the poor people were not organised in a way that would bring them to the front. Those who purport to represent them are making a good living out of it. The KCA seems to be addressing this concern by working with the community since it is an organisation born from within the poor people.



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Reflecting on what happened in Stellenbosch in relation to political floor crossing, it can be said that what the future holds for the political parties is unpredictable. This is because in the Year 2004, there are two landmark events that have a bearing on the balance of power either nationally or locally. The first is the general election scheduled for the first half of 2004. Secondly, according to the rules of political floor crossing, the second half of 2004 will witness another round of political floor crossing. The outcomes of these two events will certainly have an influence on the political and developmental outlook of Stellenbosch. This influence can also be projected to the local government elections of 2005.



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CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

Introduction

This is the final chapter of the study that situates the case of Stellenbosch within the context of the theory of regime politics. There is need to reconcile the theoretical framework and the empirical information as an assessment of the goals and objectives that the study sought in the first place.

Towards Regime Politics in Stellenbosch

The study has shown the dynamics of the political regime at the local municipal level. There has also been an analysis of how the political regime aligns itself with the non-governmental forces within its jurisdictional area to assert a perceived common purpose.

It can be appreciated that the state influenced greatly what happened at the local level. The whole process of the initiation, tabling and adoption of floor crossing legislation was triggered at the national level. The effects of these national policies have had a domineering effect on the provincial government and this trickled to the local level and manifested itself, for example, through the defection of councillors.

The question of power and how it is perceived is a crucial component within regime theory. In this study it is clear that in 2002 there was a shift in the balance of power from the DA to the ANC-NNP alliance. The new alliance in Stellenbosch, with the blessing of the national and provincial governments started to exercise its newly acquired power to influence the direction of

development. Stellenbosch, since the advent of floor crossing has changed greatly.

Regime politics in Stellenbosch can thus be understood better if there is an analysis of the nature of the new regime. Out of the different types of regimes identified it can be suggested that the one in Stellenbosch is a developmental one. This can be seen through the changes that the ANC-NNP regime in Stellenbosch implemented since it assumed power. The assumption and centralisation of executive power is the hallmark of the new regime. For example, there is fast tracking of decisions within a small group of ANC-NNP alliance councillors in the Executive Mayoral Committee.

There has been commitment of resources to promote growth in the municipality. The focus towards the poor for example, through the initiation and implementation of low income housing programmes, has shown a bold step of exercise of power. The supervision of the development programmes has been intensified to ensure that tangible results are achieved within a short period and this shows the pervasive effect of the power.

Decisions by the ANC-NNP regime have been reached from a background of resistance by current opposition that constituted the preceding DA political regime. That regime was seen as isolationist and fearful of the public and hence it did not articulate the real needs of the poor and disadvantaged. The turn around by the current ANC-NNP regime was through the realisation of the urgency to start to redress the apartheid imbalances. The policy choice of the new regime has been that of integrating the low income sector into the mainstream of Stellenbosch society, both socially and economically.

The composition of the new regime in Stellenbosch is still dominated politically. One of the reasons is that the government still plays a key role in bankrolling the activities of the municipality through grants and subsidies. The hierarchy of power has ensured that local government (despite the fact that it is an independent sphere of government) still remains within the grip of both provincial and national governments through vertical integration.

The non-governmental side of the regime is not tied either. The IDP process is one way to appreciate the role of the non-governmental side by allowing its input through the public participation process (particularly in Stellenbosch where it has been hailed as a success). However decisions after the public participation process rest with council. The power of the non-governmental side cannot be ascertained especially through its influence in the mobilisation of resources to implement programmes.

There is the technical or professional component of the regime. This has not changed with the coming of the new regime. One of the reasons why there was no change is that this group is strictly professional. Therefore it is working very well with the new political heads. There is also a contractual explanation to it. The municipality would lose a lot of money if it were going to terminate performance management contracts signed by the municipal officials. Municipal officials therefore, are not a hurdle in the decision-making process.

There is reason to believe however, that private capital has played a significant role in the development of the municipality. The property sector is one example in which private capital has flourished and continues to do so under the new regime. Revenue in terms of tax from this sector is a cash cow

to the municipality. A case in point is the involvement of Anglo American Corporation (an international conglomerate) in a housing project (770 units) in Franschoek. Numerous cases of the robust private capital sector can be identified through the major employers in Stellenbosch, the majority of whom are aligned to the wine and tourism-related activities.

The increasing role of private capital in Stellenbosch can be seen through the transition of local government into one that is developmental. There is a trend that seems to be emerging through the gradual withdrawal of the state in supporting the local municipality. For example, it has been indicated that Stellenbosch could no longer be subsidised by Boland District Municipality. This certainly will create a gap that will possibly be filled with the injection of capital from the private sector to finance municipal developmental projects. The role of the financial sector in Stellenbosch could contribute significantly in this regard.



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The interaction of the capital and political components of the regime has somewhat been passive. This comes from the observation that the Council was generally setting up infrastructure conducive to investment. Capital investment would then naturally follow on the basis of this infrastructure and the presence of a strong market (based on the presence of a dominant white population and nearness to Cape Town). However, with transition there has been the realisation of the important role of the private sector. Thus council has actively engaged the private sector through the PPP strategy to tap its strength.

Synergies have been established between the two components of the regime leading overall to the achievement of the public goals. It is clear that

in its pursuit of profit, capital brings the much needed resources to the governing coalition. The political regime brings with it the policy incentives that are conducive and the necessary stabilising effect to ensure long term benefits of investments. The political regime for its continual existence in power must be seen to be acting in the interests of its constituency to remain in power. This can explain why the ANC-NNP regime in Stellenbosch has rushed to implement projects (housing and skills development) that were seen as development priorities to the disadvantaged group.

There is the argument that the ANC-NNP political regime was not established through a normal electoral process, unlike the preceding one that came into power after the 5 December 2000 election. The public did not approve of political floor crossing since they did not have a say in the whole process. The fear that the public would dispose of the ANC-NNP regime that came through political floor crossing in the next local government elections is enough motivation to act now in the 'right track' of delivery. This fear of reprisals could explain why there is fast tracking of decisions to kick start development projects.

The current regime is exclusive. The delegation of major council duties to the Executive Mayoral Committee has had an effect of making sure that opposition interests are not given access to decision-making. The other way in which the ANC-NNP regime has reacted to opposition is the incorporation of certain marginal groups to make them part of their programme. This explains why there has been a focus on the disadvantaged people as part of the agenda of the current ANC-NNP regime.

The sustenance of the present dispensation in Stellenbosch is arguably unfathomable. There are a number of factors that need to be looked at in this regard. The people within the local ANC-NNP coalition are not speaking with the same voice such that it can bring some instability. However, if the coalition is to crumble it will be at the national level where it was engineered.

The next round of political floor crossing will determine the nature of the ruling ANC-NNP coalition in Stellenbosch. This will be with regard to whether that coalition would have consolidated itself by bolstering support from more defectors or weakened through defection from its ranks. The forthcoming general elections in 2004 and local government elections in 2005 could also have an effect that cannot be substantiated at the moment.



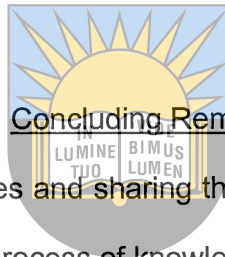
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Areas for Further Study
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This study can serve to stimulate further studies in the related areas of local government, urban politics and development. This is so because it is only a narrow look in the broad fields of knowledge. Conclusions reached at in this study cannot necessarily be substantive without further related studies. It would therefore be highly encouraged to pick up from the themes discussed and add more knowledge.

The results of this study cannot necessarily be applied to other areas other than where the research was conducted. The concepts used to carry out the study can be alike. However, according to the realist methodology adopted in this work, there are contingent factors that are unique to Stellenbosch that cannot necessarily bring the same meaning to any other

area. The way forward in this respect would be to critically look at what has happened in the Stellenbosh Municipality and devise strategies that pay particular attention to contingent factors in a new area of interest. This does not imply superimposition of the Stellenbosch case elsewhere.

Finally it is important to note that there are innumerable possibilities for further study of which the Stellenbosch case can act as a precedent. For example, this study was at the local municipal level. Other studies can be conducted to look at the same phenomenon of political floor crossing at the district, metropolitan (for example, Cape Town), or provincial levels.



Concluding Remarks

This study had its challenges and sharing these experiences will broaden our scope in the never ending process of knowledge construction. This study was grounded in regime theory and the politics of urban development. The conceptualisation of power and coalition building was seen to be the basis of both the theory and the empirical evidence emanating from the study. Development is a difficult process to explain given the understanding that it is affected by a complex interplay of factors.

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APPENDIX A

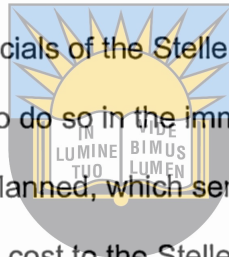
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TO THE MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS

1. What factors are most likely to have prompted councillors to defect from one political alliance to another in the Stellenbosch Municipality?
2. Did political floor crossing and a change in the majority political alliance bring about any significant changes to the way in which the Stellenbosch Municipality conducts its business, especially with regards to issues of development?
3. What have been the most significant effects of the change in the majority political alliance on each of the following:
 - a. The Stellenbosch Municipality?
 - b. The general public?
4. How did the nature of the debates on development issues change since the new political majority came into power following on political floor crossing?
5. Has the new majority political alliance established new municipal goals in respect of development issues?



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6. In what way(s) could the former DP-NNP alliance be different from the current ANC-NNP alliance in terms of their perspectives on local development issues in the Stellenbosch municipality?
7. Which principal role players are likely to constitute the new urban regime in Stellenbosch? How has the urban regime changed – if at all – since the ANC-NNP alliance in Stellenbosch?
8. Has the new majority political alliance terminated the appointments of any of the senior officials of the Stellenbosch municipality? (If no) are there any attempts to do so in the immediate future? If the termination of appointments is planned, which senior positions are most likely to change, and at what cost to the Stellenbosch Municipality?
9. What are the major developmental challenges facing Stellenbosch municipality?
10. What are the major developmental successes achieved by the Municipality since the enactment of the IDP process?
11. Is the IDP process an aid or hindrance to development in the municipality?
12. What are the constraints faced in the whole IDP process in the Stellenbosch Municipality?



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13. What changes or amendments (if any) have been taken place to the Municipality's IDP after the change in the majority political alliance in Stellenbosch?

14. What were the major municipal budgeting priorities in respect of development during the term of the Democratic Alliance control of the Municipality? What are the current budgeting priorities on development issues since the change in the political regime in Stellenbosch?



15. What was the justification for these changes?

16. Which sector(s) of development have not yet received attention in the Municipality because of budgetary constraints?

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17. Given the opportunity or resources, which community areas within the municipality would you wish to be improved?

18. What attempts, if any, has the Stellenbosch Municipal Council and its officials engaged in to incorporate further the poor communities in the decision-making processes of the Municipality?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TO THE MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS

1. What are the major responsibilities associated with your post?
2. How are these responsibilities related to the IDP process?
3. What are the policy guidelines driving development in the municipality?
4. Are these guidelines different from the ones before floor crossing last year (2002)? If they changed what could have been the main motivation?
5. What are the effects that were brought with political floor crossing?
 - a. To your duties?
 - b. To the IDP process?
 - c. To the overall development of the municipality?
6. Are the effects of political floor crossing enabling or hindering your work?
7. How do you compare the former DA-NNP alliance and the present ANC- NNP alliance in respect of development priorities in the Stellenbosch Municipality?
8. Do you see any shortcomings within the IDP process?
9. Are these shortcomings in any way related to political floor crossing in the municipality?
10. Is there anything that you would wish to be done with respect to political floor crossing to bring any improvement in the municipality?



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