A case study of four small-scale job-creation projects in Philippolis and lessons for local economic development projects in small towns

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Abstract

This article deals with the lessons learned from four small scale job-creation projects as part of the local economic development in the town of Phillipolis located in the southern Free State. The Free State Rural Development Programme (FSRDP) of the Department of Social Work of the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein planned and executed the four projects. They consist of a washing project, a rusk project, a coffin and carpentry project as well as a printing-press project. It was found that in most cases, the people involved were merely interested in obtaining an income; and a fixed job was more attractive to them than a private business with the numerous risks attached to it. The project leaders had insufficient experience to deal with the management and the distinctive problems associated with income-generating projects and thus all came to a standstill.

GEVALLESTUDIE VAN VIER KLEINSKAAL WERKVERSKAFFINGS PROJEKTE IN PHILIPPOLIS EN LESSE VIR PLAASLIKE EKONOMIESE ONTWIKKELINGS PROJEKTE IN KLEIN DORPE

Hierdie artikel behandel die lesse wat uit vier kleinskaal werkskeppingsprojekte as deel van plaaslike ekonomiese ontwikkeling in die dorp Phillipolis in die suidelike Vrystaat geleer word. Die Vrystaatse Landelike Ontwikkelingsprogram van die Departement Maatskaplike Werk by die Vrystaat Universiteit in Bloemfontein het die vier projekte beplan en uitgevoer. Dit bestaan uit 'n wasprojek, 'n beskuitprojek, 'n doodskis en houtwerkprojek asook 'n drukkerspersprojek. Daar is gevind dat die betrokke mense in die meeste gevalle net geïnteresseerd was om 'n inkomste te bekom; en dat 'n vaste werk meer aanloklik vir hulle was as 'n eie besigheid met veelvuldige risikos daaraan verbonde. Die projekleiers het nie genoegsame ondervinding gehad om die bestuur en onderskeie probleme wat met inkomste-genererende projekte geassossieer word te hanteer nie en dus het alles tot 'n stilstand gekom.

MOHLALA WA DIPHUPUTSO TSE ENTSWENG DIPROJEKENG TSE NNE TSE NYENYANE TSA PHUMANTSHO YA MOSEBETSI PHILIPPOLIS LE SEO RE KA ITHUTANG SONA KA DIPROJEKE TSA NTSHETSOPELE YA MORUO DITORO-PONG TSE NYENYANE

Kgatiso ena e bua ka seo re ithutileng sona diprojekeng tse nne tse nyenyane e le karolo ya ntshetsopele ya moruo motseng wa Philippolis Freistata e ka borwa. Lenaneo la Freistata la Ntshetsepele ya Metse le tlasa Lefaphala Mesebetsi ya Setjhaba Unibesithing ya Freistata, Bloemfontein, le ile la sesinya le ho thakgola diprojeke tsena tse nne. Diprojeke di arotswe dikoto tse nne, e leng projeke ya ho hlatswa, ya dibaskeiti, ya makase le ya mapolanka, ho kenyelletsa projeke ya kgatiso ya lesedinyana. Ho ile ha fumanwa hore boholo ba batho ban eng ba na le seabo ba ne ba e na le kgahleho ya ho fumana lekeno; mme mosebetsi o neng o tsitsitse e ne e le se ka pele ho bona ho e na le kgwebo ya poraefete e neng e na le dikotsi. Baetapele ba diprojeke ba ne ba sena tsebo e phethahetseng ya tsamaiso ya diprojeke le mathata a mangata a mabapi le ho etsa lekeno mme seo se ile sa etsa hore tsohle di eme tlekelele.

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1. BACKGROUND

This article deals with four case studies and approaches the subject from a practical point of view. In this sense it tries to contribute to what Watson (2002: 178) means in an article "Do we learn from planning practice" on learning lessons from case studies of contemporary, real-life phenomena within the so called 'practice movement' in planning theory.

On a world-wide basis, one of the solutions for eradicating poverty and underdevelopment is the creation of urban jobs within a capitalist system (Preston, 1996; Jacobs, 1985; Castells, 2000; Rist, 1997). Through successive decades of development, governments have tried to achieve this objective — through capital growth to stimulate job-creation in the sixties; income redistribution in the seventies; and a basic-needs approach in the eighties, in an attempt to get development off the ground (Botha, 1990: 20-24). At present the bottom-up approach, as part of a globalised free-market approach, is regarded as a means through which development will take place. One of the techniques used in this regard is local economic development. Local economic development entails local people working together to achieve sustainable economic growth that will bring about economic benefits and improvements in the quality of life of all members of the community. In South Africa, Tomlinson (1994: 216) found that the most compelling reason for attempting a local development strategy was related to the then current (1994) depression and the extent of unemployment. According to him, other means had to be found to transform the situation. In a Local Economic Development document entitled LED Financing: National Government Programmes, at least 35 new programmes for grants and subsidies were introduced. The aim is that Local

Economic Development (LED) should be 'outcome based on local initiative and driven by local stakeholders' (RSA, 2001: 1). Rogerson (2002: 95) defines LED as:

> a process in which partnerships are established between local government, the private sector and community-based groups in order to manage existing resources for job creation as well as the stimulation of local economies.

The notion to help people to help themselves — don't give a man a fish, teach him to fish — seems sound. The idea is that, if everybody contributes, the community will benefit as a result — something like the story of 'stone soup'. Once a situation is reached where local economic development has to be implemented in local municipalities that are either bankrupt or on the verge of bankruptcy, with limited human resources, trouble starts. This is corroborated by Atkinson (2003: 9), in her finding that:

> The DPLG³ has made large grants available to municipalities to promote LED. Hundreds of entrepreneurial projects launched. have been However, very few municipal staff — if any — has experience of offering entrepreneurial support or of managing alternative private sector or community support for LED initiatives. Many of these projects have encountered severe difficulties, as community members battle on by themselves to keep their micro businesses afloat, and municipalities have to stand by helplessly, lacking the staff, time, and skills to intervene meaningfully.

The assumption in the above paragraph is that unemployed people at local level should simply be given a chance to become entrepreneurs, and that they will automatically use their potential to initiate development, even in the most underdeveloped and secluded areas of the country. Furthermore, these projects were viewed from a socialistic perspective in respect of providing employment; but little emphasis was placed on a sound financial basis — in terms of which such initiatives should be profitdriven. According to Swanepoel and de Beer (1997: 61) the poverty situation in most third world countries is so grave that people look "upon the state⁴ as the only saviour."

As the money for starting projects took the form of donations, in some or other form, to specific groups of people, the assumption is sometimes made that all the participants should share equally in the projects and work together in the communal interest (van Niekerk, 1993: 53).

The rural areas of the Free State are characterised by serious developmental, educational and social problems, as well as a lack of services (RSA, 1994: 51). At the end of 1998 the community leaders of Philippolis approached the MEC for Welfare in the Free State and asked for more extended services in their region. Officials of the Provincial Department of Welfare appealed to the Free State Rural Development Programme (FSRDP) of the Department of Social Work of the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein to extend their development projects to Philippolis. In partnership with the Department of Welfare and the Kerklike Maatskaplike Dienste⁵ the University allocated four final-year students and a lecturer to this project, which started developmental services in February 1999. These services were continued and extended and in 2002 Philippolis became one of the Free State University's flagship projects, as part of its Community Service Programme. Several other University departments became involved in 2003: and present projects range from therapeutic services, human development, empowerment and capacity-building to garden projects, job-creation projects and a research project on the position of farm workers.

2. PHILIPPOLIS

From a holistic perspective, human beings are viewed in their totality (Steyn, 1989: 32-35). The influence of culture should be used to develop entrepreneurs. Using this holistic approach, a combination of different disciplines should be working on each of these projects. For example, economists, behavioural scientists and political analysts may need to work with anthropologists, town planners and others, depending on the nature of the specific project. Unfortunately, most of the projects conducted in Philippolis did not have a multi-disciplinary team to advise them.

Philippolis is the oldest town in the Free State. It was founded as a missionary station by the London Missionary Society in 1823, for work among the Bushmen or San people, and was named after Dr Philip (cf. Venter, 1991: 9). Three years later Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of one of the Xhoi tribes, settled in the town at the invitation of one of the missionaries. The Griqua inhabitants made no plan for the layout of Philippolis. As a result, the town gives the impression of being unplanned as streets are of different widths, and some are very narrow (Smit, 1987: 49). Thereafter, Afrikaner-Voortrekkers settled in the town, followed later by the Sotho, Xhosa and other African people.

The main road from Cape Town to Johannesburg used to pass through Philippolis, which is approximately 170 km south of Bloemfontein, but a new highway that bypassed the town was constructed in the early 1970s. This led to a reduction in local businesses; for example the number of filling stations dropped from five to one. At the beginning of the 1990s, the model-C Afrikaans-speaking high school was closed, and relocated to Fauresmith. This led to an exodus of children to other centres such as Bloemfontein. The long-term effects included the subsequent closing down of the primary school as well. As a further consequence, most people who take their children to school in Bloemfontein also conduct their business there. This in turn has led to a negative growth in the local economy.

At the same time the farming community, mostly comprised of stock farmers who farm on an extensive basis, declined from 126 farmers in 1955 to 33 in 2002 (Steÿn, 2004: 60). Farmhands who lost their jobs moved to the town. This, together with the natural increase of the population, with a growth rate of 19% per year for the past decade (and with 50% of the population aged under 19 years), ultimately created an urban problem (Africon, 2000).

³ Department of Provincial and Local Government

⁴ This will include the provincial as well as the local government.

⁵ "Welfare Services of the Church" in this case, those of the Dutch Reformed Church of the Free State.

With an urban population of nearly 6 000 in Philippolis, the population composition in terms of race has drastically changed over the past century. In 1911 there were 65% (750) whites, 24% (271) blacks and 11% (121) coloureds (RSA, 1976). This has changed to a respective composition of 17% whites, 51% blacks and 32% coloureds (Du Plessis, 2002: 2). In addition to this, Philippolis was regarded as a 'poverty pocket' in 1988, owing to the fact that 51% of the working sector (aged 21-60) were unemployed. with an average income per person of R120 per month in the townships (Du Plessis, 2002: 2).

Although an integrated development plan was drafted with a view to enabling the town to become a single community, no real development took place. A movement of blacks and coloureds into the traditional white area occurred, as this area has a wide range of good housing at relatively low prices. The Afrikaans-speaking white community is an elderly community, with very few children and young people. The two other communities are relatively young, but the coloureds are Afrikaans-speaking, while the blacks are comprised mainly of Sotho and Xhosa-speakers. Both of the latter groups, although urbanised, still harbour certain traditional values, in terms of which responsibility towards the family and the tribe is considered important. For decades, young people from all these communities have been leaving the town to make a living elsewhere. As a result, the entrepreneurial sector is continually diminishing.

3. FOUR JOB-CREATION CASE STUDIES

Four case studies in respect of job-creation, ranging from a small washing project and a rusk-baking project to a coffin-making project and a printingpress business, will be discussed in detail.

In most cases the projects were initiated by the Free State Development Programme (FSTDP), and business plans were drawn up by the Department of Social Work at the University of the Free State. Quotations were requested and in one case, namely that of the coffin project, the University of the Free State Foundation in Johannesburg found a sponsor.

The files for each of the projects were used as a basis for the evaluation of

the projects. These include the planning as well as the minutes of meetings and all documents relating to the execution of the projects. The project initiator, facilitator and, to a certain extent, the project manager, shared her views of the possible reasons for termination of the projects. No quantification of data was made as only four projects were evaluated. This was mainly because a real feel for the situation in which one is working was regarded as sufficient, considering "the most sophisticated statistical sampling techniques in the world can serve ... to obscure rather than illuminate the truth" (Wilson & Rampele, 1989: 15).

3.1 The washing project

This project was started in 2001, and was terminated in 2003. It was a joint project of the FSTDP and the community.

3.1.1 Aims of the project:

- To empower women by giving them the opportunity to generate their own income;
- To teach the women skills in respect of how to handle washing; and
- To build up basic business expertise.

3.1.2 The course of events

An international group, Tiger Moon Sanctuary, bought more than 30 000 hectares of farm-land near Philippolis, with the aim of rearing the South Chinese Tigers and rehabilitating them into the wild. In addition, owing to the architectural heritage of the town, the private sector in Philippolis has successfully contributed a great deal towards preserving and renovating buildings, as well as launching other initiatives to promote tourism. With the large number of guest houses in town, as well as game reserves outside the town, along with the Tiger Moon Project, a need for a washing service was identified.

The community was approached and nine women indicated that they would be willing to participate. When the training started, only two of these women turned up; and thus the selection process occurred on a more or less spontaneous basis.

A washing machine was borrowed from another project and two irons, two ironing-boards, a washing bucket and clothes-pegs were bought. In total, an amount of R450-00 was spent.

The women were trained by the local domestic science teacher in the techniques of washing and ironing. Subsequently, the women were technically able to handle the washing in a professional way. Unfortunately, the volume of washing was not sufficient to keep them continually provided with a full day's work; and on some days, there was no work at all, as the project was tourist-related. The women started doing other small chores. However, as it was difficult for clients to contact them, since the women did not have any telephones and did not keep regular business hours, they lost more and more work. The Tiger Moon Project was stopped for more than a year, owing to a lawsuit. In this way, the women lost their biggest client. Their income declined and eventually the project was terminated.

3.1.3 Possible reasons for termination:

- The market for washing was limited;
- No market research was done before starting the project;
- It was initially hoped that the tourism industry in Philippolis would grow at a faster pace and that more guest houses would use the service. However, this did not materialise in practice; and
- Poor management skills also contributed towards the termination of the project.

3.2 The rusk project

This project was started in 2000 and terminated in 2002. The project was the result of participatory action research on unemployment, during which in-depth consultations with unemployed people took place. A 'monitor' of unemployment had to be included. Questions were asked concerning the types of skills that the people had, and how these skills could be used to generate an income; and the project was realised on the basis of the answers to these questions.

3.2.1 Aims of the project were:

- To empower women by giving them an opportunity to generate their own income;
- To teach the women rusk-baking skills; and

• To impart basic business skills to the women.

3.2.2 The course of the project

A group of women, together with the FSRDP, agreed to get the project going; and with the help of social work students, the project was started. The group initially consisted of nine women. Three were elderly women; three were middle-aged; and three were younger women.

A local teacher/farmer's wife taught the women the skills of rusk-baking. The women acquired the necessary proficiency quite easily. Social work students assisted with the project, especially with the marketing of the rusks, and also with regard to the basic business principles that needed to be followed.

An amount of R1 300-00 was invested to buy pans and ingredients. The women were divided into three groups, and worked from three houses, each of which contained an available oven. In the first six weeks, relatively good profits were recorded, and a joint bank account was opened. However, the ovens subsequently began to break down, and it was not always easy to have them repaired. As the women were unable to deliver some of the orders on time, the project started to dwindle.

Some of the younger women found permanent jobs and left the group. Some of the older women received a pension, and were not enthusiastic about making a living from rusk-baking. After a year, the project was terminated.

Several attempts were made to obtain a sponsorship in order to buy stoves or ovens. The United States of America's (USA) Embassy showed a serious interest in the project at one stage, but afterwards backed out, on the grounds that 'White people' were beneficiaries and it was a Universitydriven project. This erroneous conclusion had been reached because of the Afrikaans surnames of some of the coloured women, since many coloured people share certain Afrikaner names and surnames.

3.2.3 Possible reasons for termination:

 The lack of good apparatus especially stoves and ovens;

- The lack of perseverance under difficult circumstances, especially by the younger women; and
- The fact that the older women received pensions and were therefore not highly motivated to make a success of the project.

3.3 The coffin and carpentry project

The coffin project was started in 2001 and is still running.

3.3.1 The aims of the project are:

- To generate an income for previously marginalised people;
- To teach participants the skills of carpentry; and
- To assist participants to acquire basic business expertise, ranging from management and marketing skills to the giving of quotations, quality control and production planning.

3.3.2 The course of events

The project was initiated by a white entrepreneur and two black partners who approached the FRSDP for assistance in formulating a project, as well as in finding a sponsor for a possible carpentry shop. Coffin-making was identified as a local economic development project, in the light of the perceived demand for a large number of coffins in rural areas, owing to the increased mortality rate resulting from AIDS. Two black men and a white carpenter entered into this partnership, with the white man acting as an artisan to train the two black men in coffin-making. After a year, the two black men became distrustful of their white partner in respect of the handling of the money. They felt that their contribution to the project had not been fairly rewarded in terms of financial compensation, and they thus withdrew from the partnership. This left the two men without tools and capital.

A second potential sponsor visited the project after the separation, and was convinced by the two black men that the project could still be successful under their own management. A grant of R20 000-00 was made available by the Donaldson Trust to buy equipment for the project. The necessary tools were bought and a venue was secured to serve as a production site. This venue was part of the old golf clubhouse. The two entrepreneurs also made use of the venue as a base for a dairy project, which they managed at the same time. The idea was that their time would be occupied with the milking early in the morning and late in the afternoon, and that they would spend the rest of the day making coffins. At the beginning of 2004 they received a further R10 000-00 from the sponsor to buy wood.

The two entrepreneurs started producing coffins, but as yet, production has not reached its full potential. The project is still under way.

3.3.3 Possible reasons as to why the project is not more productive and successful are:

- The two men have divided interests, as the dairy project takes up a great deal of time, especially in times of drought when extra feed for the cows has to be secured. This leaves little time for the production of coffins;
- A major, local undertaker business has started to market cheaper coffins, and it is thus very difficult to compete in this market;
- The local undertaker is a member of another family group, and is not inclined to buy coffins from the local producers; and
- The two men are not financially dependent on the coffin-making for an income, and thus do not accord the appropriate degree of priority to the production of the coffins.

3.4 The printing-press-project

The project was initiated in 2000 to cater for a demand for local printing work. The project has been shelved for the time being.

3.4.1 Aims of the project are:

- To generate income for unemployed young men;
- To teach skills in the printing trade; and
- To impart basic business expertise to the participants, including skills in managing a business, marketing, giving of quotations, quality control and production planning.

3.4.2 The course of events

During the 1980s, Philippolis had a printer and a printing press. However,

the press was closed down, owing to a divorce and the division of assets. At the beginning of this century, a local newspaper was started in Philippolis, called the 'Philippolis Pos(t)'. In view of the growth in the tourism business, a need for a local printing press was identified; but no market research was carried out.

In 1999/2000, a group of people, who could collectively be referred to as a 'steering committee, came together to discuss the matter. An executive committee was formed, comprised of two volunteers from each of the three communities (black, white, and coloured). Together with the project leader of the Free State Rural Development Programme, and afterwards also joined by two members of the permanent staff, they held brainstorming sessions; and the first need identified was the need to obtain a sponsor who would be willing to finance a business plan, which would firstly need to be drawn up.

A great deal of research was devoted to the business plan. Firstly, it was necessary to determine what equipment would be needed for the printing press and its offices. Quotations were requested and an estimated minimum capital outlay of R90 077-95 was budgeted for, plus operating expenses for the first year. An amount of R16 840-00 was budgeted for insurance, rent and paper for this period. No money was allocated to training or transport. The staff of this printing press would have been comprised as follows:

- technical staff five permanent members;
- a marketing agent (part-time);
- a bookkeeper / financial manager (part-time);
- an office assistant; and
- newspaper staff a full-time editor and part-time staff.

Another team prepared a programme for training in the life-skills required by office assistants and specialist workers.

The Development section of the British High Commission in Pretoria approved a proposal to provide financial assistance for the project. An amount of R108 000-00 was allocated. This allowed for the purchase of most of the technical material needed for the printing, as well as ink, paper and an amount of R24 000-00 for training in project management, business skills and office administration, in the form of ongoing mentoring for a period of one year. Also included was a Vodacom phone shop to the value of R24 000-00, including five phones and airtime worth R12 500-00, along with a loan. The idea was that this would be a communication centre that could assist with the generation of funds for the printing press.

The sponsor demanded that 14 unemployed local black and/or coloured people should be accommodated in the project, and that these persons should have joint ownership.

Unemployed persons were screened and 14 were selected to participate in the project, and also share ownership of the press. These persons were then trained in basic office administration and the skills required doing the printing work, along with the management skills needed to give quotations. Initially the printing press with its 14 employee-owners was operated under the supervision of people with several years of experience in the industry. The business showed a profit, and small salaries could be paid to the participants. However, the leadership of the experienced advisors had to be withdrawn after a period and a problem arose in the management of the business. Some of the participants demanded higher wages, while some of the money 'leaked away' as a result of corruption; and very soon the accumulated debt was overwhelming. After the first year, only four of the original 14 participants were left. Three of the original participants had found other jobs, while the remainder simply returned to being unemployed, or to carrying out occasional work in the community. After another two years, only two persons were left, who tried to pay off the debt during the following year. However, they were unsuccessful, as they were unable to make the business financially viable again. Fortunately, the British High Commissioner had stipulated that he reserved "the right to repossess equipment attached to the grant in the event of [its] not being used in the way intended or in the event of the operation ceasing to operate" Creditors could thus not seize the assets.

At the moment negotiations are taking place to involve a person with proven entrepreneurial skills in the project, who might possibly be able to steer the project along a profitable path again, thus providing work for some unemployed people.

3.4.3 Possible reasons as to why the project was not more successful are:

- The stipulation of the sponsor that 14 people should be involved in the project, all of whom had to be co-owners, without any particular person being the manager or the owner; and
- Although the two people who carried on with the project until it came to a standstill had acquired good technical skills and could produce good printing work, they did not have the management skills or sufficient self-discipline to make a success of the enterprise. On some days they did not turn up for work at all, and this resulted in work being delivered or produced late.

4. CONCLUSION

These four projects are among the more successful projects that were established in Philippolis, as discussed by Steÿn (2004: 61-62) in his research on local economic development in Philippolis. All four projects could have been viable if they had not been established on the basis of the assumption that all people are entrepreneurs who are just waiting to get their own businesses going. In most cases, the people involved were merely interested in obtaining an income; and a fixed job was more attractive to them than a personal business with numerous risks attached to it. Furthermore, the lack of the necessary self-discipline in regards to going to work at fixed hours, especially in the case of a service-orientated business, as well as the need to deliver products or services on time, led to the decline of the washing and the ruskbaking projects, as well as the printing press. The coffin project did not close down, because the two men involved have other sources of income; but their production rate is so low that the enterprise is not really operating as a viable business. As the money initially invested in the project was a grant, there is no pressure on the beneficiaries to repay the capital, or to replace equipment or to expand the business. If they had been real entrepreneurs, they could have expanded into the funeral business and, in this way, could have created their own market, thus

bypassing the tribalism that has hampered their business endeavours.

The printing press, which comprised the largest operation, came to a standstill mostly as a result of the sponsor's requirement that 14 unemployed people from previously marginalised communities should be employed, and that these persons should have equal shares in the ownership of the press. In the first place, there were too many employees to make this business affordable, and few profits could be made. Furthermore, the possibility of a joint venture with a white printer/ manager/ entrepreneur was excluded from the beginning. The joint ownership created a great deal of tension; and as there was no manager to direct finances and to induce employees to be productive, debts were incurred that ultimately sank the business.

Grants and handouts are not the best way to start a business. It is essential that there should be persons who are willing to shoulder responsibility and who are aware that the capital input must be paid back, and that money should be put aside for the purpose of replacing equipment. The rusk-baking project failed because no money was set aside to repair or replace the stoves that had been made available by three women. The washing project would ultimately have been faced with the same problem, as the washing machine which had been lent to the participants would sooner or later have needed repairs. The equipment for the printing press had to be replaced regularly as such equipment only has a limited life-span, particularly the electrical equipment.

The following may also comprise additional reasons for the failure of the projects:

After 1994, initiators of development started to follow the fashion of job-creation as a means to alleviate poverty, in an artificial manner. Sponsors were more than willing to contribute money, and there was a temptation to produce more projects in order to obtain more sponsors. People with a strong empathy for those in need, joined these initiatives; but they did not have the necessary knowledge or skills to implement them. Both the University of the Free State and the sponsors benefited from the projects. As a result, the development of projects was enthusiastically promoted.

- Project leaders had insufficient experience to deal with the distinctive problems associated with income-generating projects. This corresponds to Nel's (2001:1018) critique that smaller centres have capacity constraints. For one thing, their marketing research was incomplete, in the sense that some areas were not covered at all, such as research on the nature of the development of similar projects. Good theoretical sources were available on the subject, but few good practical examples could be found. To date, little has been learned from mistakes made by others. Inevitably, mistakes were made in the process. By means of trial and error, these stumbling blocks were discovered.
- The community of participants, including the project leaders in specific projects, could be held accountable for incompetence. lack of motivation and other failings. However, few of them would have participated in the first place if they had known beforehand what they were letting themselves in for. They were all so overwhelmed by the fact that companies and sponsors were taking such an interest in ordinary people, and by the willingness of these sponsors to make large amounts of money readily available. Few of the participants anticipated what would actually be required, and took a 'leap into the unknown,' without being prepared for the eventualities and setbacks that arose.

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