

A typology of development planning in sub-Saharan Africa

3.1. Introduction

The preceding chapter has highlighted that newly independent African states were able to make significant progress in relation to at least two of the four fundamental challenges outlined above, namely economic growth and social development, through concerted state actions and public sector investment. However, after initial widespread endorsement of strong state intervention in the development process, this view changed quite drastically following the global economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. To some extent, this was based on the inability of African states, regardless of ideological orientation, to withstand the economic and social crisis. There was also growing evidence that state control had contributed to inefficient resource use, shortages, parallel markets and corruption (Ghai, 2000). Equally important, if not more so, was the ascendancy of neoliberalism with its ideological critique of both Keynesian-oriented and socialist-oriented approaches to development. As the global political economy changed quite dramatically, the influence of external financing institutions and multi- and bilateral agencies on the development agenda in sub-Saharan Africa became more and more pronounced. The notion of development planning became increasingly disused and discredited in the process. Against this background, this report consciously reintroduces and (re)defines development planning as a means of talking about the central role of the state in the development process. A working definition is proposed, which is further elaborated on below. This is followed by a typology of development planning and a summary of the development planning frameworks that currently seem most critical in guiding the development planning process in sub-Saharan Africa.

3.2. When planning fails: contested perspectives

Despite the pronounced aversion to state intervention, efforts at state control and planning

have continued to play a central role on the subcontinent (Martinussen, 1999). African states have continued to produce numerous development plans, usually covering five-year cycles. Yet, there are numerable instances where such plans have not resulted in tangible changes in accordance with stated objectives. Chapter 2 has pointed to the various reasons that have been identified for the disappointing track record of development planning in sub-Saharan Africa, often depending on the ideological standpoint of the commentator. It is clear, though, that the failure of development planning cannot be blamed on domestic factors only. Global terms of trade, escalating external debt and other aspects of the global political economy, regional dynamics on the subcontinent and even climatological conditions all have a significant impact on individual countries and on what type of development is feasible and sustainable. The significance of these endogenous factors also makes clear that there are limits to what development planning can achieve and that it will not be able to solve all dilemmas of development (Conyers and Hills, 1984).

One of the central criticisms levelled against development planning in sub-Saharan Africa is that over the past few decades it has persistently implied an a-historical and a-contextual approach to development in general and to development planning in particular. A contextual interpretation of planning implies that each society should define its development goals and the paths of achieving these goals, based on its history, its economic characteristics, its social systems and political and institutional factors. Yet, the history of planning in sub-Saharan Africa and other developing countries shows a legacy of 'blueprints', standardised models and the adoption of uniform strategies, regardless of domestic realities. To a large extent, this is the result of a variety of forms of interference by external financing agencies and of donor conditionality,

where development finance (in the form of aid, trade or debt relief) has been made conditional on the adoption of a certain 'plan'. Wolfe (1996) has observed that this trend towards aid conditionality started in the 1970s, when the United States made aid conditional on the adoption of fixed 10-year development plans, purportedly to make aid more effective. This external influence on, if not manipulation of, development agendas and paths of development in sub-Saharan Africa has resulted in inappropriate and even detrimental development interventions (see, amongst others, Hydén, 1994; Mkandawire, 2001). The fact that these development plans were usually not based on local realities and local needs often resulted in a significant disjuncture between stated intentions and real outcomes. Also, to access badly needed external funds and in order to be seen to observe 'international good practice', some African states simply went through the required motions. Once the plan was produced, it was often forgotten or ignored.

3.3. (Re)defining development planning

In light of this historical baggage, it is probably not surprising that development planning seems to be an ill-defined concept in contemporary development literature. Where the concept is used, it is often presented as a self-evident notion and its theoretical underpinnings are not made explicit. In fact, development planning is often equated with economic development planning, which points towards the dominant interpretation of development as being tantamount to economic growth. Alternatively, most of the literature on planning concerns *urban* planning, which is indicative of the long history of state interventions in controlling, managing and sustaining urban areas. Otherwise, planning is usually defined by its adjectives, such as rural planning, health planning, physical planning, and so on.

This chapter reintroduces development planning as a means of talking about 'planning for development' and, more specifically, state-led and state-managed development (see also Cheru, 2002a). For the purpose of this report, the following working definition of development planning is proposed:

Development planning refers to state-led development and is a complex and participatory process of: a) decision-making about the most appropriate priorities, strategies and resource allocations aimed at reconciling the oft-competing goals and values of locally appropriate development in the interest of a common public interest (which

can only be served in practical terms by recognising the existence of a multiplicity of interests and power imbalances); and, b) the implementation of these decisions.^{xxi}

In unpacking this working definition, the following points are worth noting:

1. The working definition emphasises the central role of the state in the development process. This is not to presuppose that the state is the only decision-making or implementing agency of development interventions. Clearly, other actors like the private sector, civil society and international development partners also have important contributions to make. The emphasis here on state-led development serves to highlight the critical role of the state in setting the development agenda (i.e. visioning) and the parameters for development, which will enable other actors to work towards the realisation of common development goals. At times, it may imply that the state has implementation responsibility, although responsibility for programme delivery does not rest exclusively with the state. State-led development also suggests that the state has an important oversight role to ensure that both the processes adopted and the outcomes pursued are consistent with the parameters set out at the outset.
2. The definition highlights that development planning is concerned with the public interest. As others have suggested, the object of planning is to contribute to the Good Society (Campbell and Fainstein, 2003). However, there are a wide variety of interests and prevailing power imbalances in any given society. Unless this is recognised, development planning will, inadvertently, serve to entrench the interests of the most vocal, powerful and organised sections of society. This means that the aim of realising the public interest can only be achieved in practical terms if development planning successfully reconciles the multiplicity of interests in accordance with values like social justice and diversity. This points to the centrality of participation, particularly of elected representatives at all levels of government and of local communities and their representative organisations.
3. Embedded in the definition is an appreciation of development planning as both a political

process and an arena of technical competency.^{xxii} The political dimension of development planning is reflected in the agenda-setting and visioning role of the state, the emphasis on development planning as a process of making strategic choices about priorities and resources, the recognition of the centrality of participation and partnerships in the planning process, and the oversight role assigned to the state. These all point to the central role of parliaments, members of the Executive and local Councillors in the planning process. The technical dimension of development planning relates to the selection of strategies and associated tools, instruments and techniques best suited to realise certain goals. These include instruments for data collection and interpretation (e.g. information management systems), implementation tools, mechanisms to facilitate participation and manage partnerships, and assessment tools to review progress made. It is worth noting that despite the aura of scientific rationality and neutrality, planning tools and techniques are not value-neutral, neither is their application. The imperative is to ensure that technical knowledge is applied in a way that maximises the politically agreed objectives and priorities.

4. The definition emphasises the importance of locally crafted (through the difficult and conflictual process of public participation and engagement) and domestically owned development plans. The emphasis on 'local' or 'domestic' here further presupposes an acknowledgement of contextual factors that determine both the specific nature of development challenges and the development potential (including organisational capabilities) that exist in a particular society. By implication, nationals and their elected representatives should be the initiators, the beneficiaries and the adjudicators of the development process – roles that are more often than not fulfilled by external actors or agencies (see Ohiorhenuan, 2002).
5. Notwithstanding the emphasis on locally appropriate development and domestic ownership, both the planning process and planning outcomes are informed by guiding principles, such as social justice, democracy, institutional effectiveness and efficiency, economic growth with equity, and ecological

integrity. These guiding principles are not only interdependent, but also potentially contradictory. Thus, the challenge for development planning is to promote consistency between these principles as much as possible (see also Van Donk, 2002).

6. Development planning involves a wide range of activities taking place at different functional, spatial and operational levels. Although often pursued as discrete and neatly demarcated rational systems of action with distinct objectives and foci, in the messy reality of the real world there is a significant amount of overlap and potential contradiction, if not conflict, between different planning systems. Thus, there is an obvious need for coherence and consistency between them.
7. The production of a development plan is only one aspect of the planning process. It is not the ultimate purpose of planning – in fact, it may not even always be the most appropriate output (Conyers and Hills, 1984). Instead, plans are means to achieve the stated development goals or objectives.

The working definition outlined above presents a normative interpretation of development planning, rather than a descriptive analysis of development planning as it has been practiced in sub-Saharan Africa to date. At the same time, however, it also reflects current consensus in international thinking on issues such as the role of the state in the development process, the importance of participation and partnerships, the emphasis on local ownership and contextuality, and so on. These themes are underpinning the development planning frameworks that are currently gaining prominence in sub-Saharan Africa. The next section will outline the main types of development planning that are currently most critical in guiding the development process in sub-Saharan Africa.

3.4. Typology of development planning and associated frameworks

As highlighted in the previous section, development planning involves a wide range of activities taking place at different functional, spatial and operational levels. Each type of development planning has a particular historical trajectory and is the focus of extensive theoretical reflection and debate, which cannot be adequately reflected within the scope and space constraints of this paper. The historical overview presented in Chapter 2 referred to some of

the characteristics of economic, sectoral (health and education) and integrated area (rural and urban development) planning in the various decades since 1960, as well as to some of the achievements and limitations of those different types of planning. Clearly, the historical overview did not present an exhaustive discussion of any of these types of planning, but merely highlighted some of the key issues and experiences. Table 3.1 presents a summary overview of key types of development planning in sub-Saharan Africa in the latter part of the previous century.

This section seeks to identify those development planning frameworks that are currently most critical in guiding the development process in sub-Saharan Africa. Due to the purpose and nature of this report, not all development planning frameworks with relevance for sub-Saharan Africa can be presented here. Neither can the brief description of particular development planning frameworks do justice to the variety and depth of planning systems that exist on the subcontinent, let alone in specific countries.

Key types of development planning in sub-Saharan Africa

Following on from the distinctions made in the historical overview and in Table 2.3, we can identify four key types of development planning in sub-Saharan Africa. These are: economic development planning, sectoral planning, multi-sectoral planning and integrated area planning. Each of these types of planning is associated with one or more (possibly overlapping) development planning frameworks.

Economic development planning in sub-Saharan Africa is generally aimed achieving sustainable economic growth, raising social welfare and achieving or retaining national autonomy over the economy (after Mongula, 1994). Most commonly, economic development planning in sub-Saharan Africa is concerned with macroeconomic reform and stabilisation, focusing on the management of the recurrent budget deficit and inflation, trade liberalisation and exchange rate correction, privatisation and attracting foreign and domestic financial investment through the creation of an 'enabling environment'. In light of the negative consequences of structural adjustment, poverty concerns have (in theory, at least) become more integral to economic development planning in the past few years. Many African countries have developed, or are in the process of formulating, a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) or an Interim-PRSP (I-PRSP).^{xxiii} In the words of John

Ochiorhenuan (2002:24), the PRSP is supposedly a "poverty-conscious" macroeconomic framework. In other African countries, an alternative poverty reduction framework is in place. Another planning framework under the rubric of economic development planning is the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), which is meant to guide financial planning over multi-year planning cycles.

Sectoral planning is the most common form of planning in most countries and the basis from which national development plans are compiled. Sectoral planning is concerned with the various interventions a government can make in relation to specific sectors of the economy, e.g. agriculture, education, health, transport and so on. As West (1996) highlights, sectoral planning refers to interventions in those sectors where government takes a leading role, either because market failure is expected (e.g. in the case of education or health, where relatively low private returns serve as a disincentive to ensure equitable access and adequate coverage), or because private monopolies may cause exploitation of consumers (e.g. in relation to water supply, electricity, and so on). In the latter part of the 1990s, the Sector-Wide Approach (SWAp, or Sector Programmes – SP) became en vogue as a coherent sectoral framework, in part driven by the need for greater coordination and policy coherence between different donor agencies. The most common sectors in which SWAps are developed are health, education and agriculture (Berke, 2002; Lister, 2002).

Multi-sectoral planning, or integrated planning, has emerged in a variety of shapes and forms since the 1970s, for example in Primary Health Care (PHC), integrated rural development planning, gender planning, integrated environmental planning and, more recently, in multi-sectoral planning for HIV/AIDS and in PRSPs. In ideal form, multi-sectoral planning provides coordination and consistency between different sectoral responses and ensures that these responses strengthen and reinforce interventions by other sectors. Although conceptually appealing, the formulation and implementation of multi-sectoral plans have been riddled with contradictions, complexity and frustration. Faced by the devastation and developmental challenges posed by the HIV/AIDS epidemic, many countries in sub-Saharan Africa have developed a National Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS to guide their national multi-sectoral response to HIV/AIDS. Often, this is preceded or

accompanied by the establishment of a national structure or commission, which is usually responsible for planning and coordinating the national response to HIV/AIDS. In some instances, sub-national organisations are set up, with similar responsibility for planning and coordination at regional/district level.

Integrated area planning emerged as a result of inadequacies in sectoral planning and physical planning, concerned with spatial dimensions of development (often referred to as land-use planning), to address the multi-faceted and interrelated nature of development in specific geographic areas (Conyers and Hills, 1984; Lea and Chaudhri, 1983). The Rural Development Framework and the Urban Development Framework typically provide the basis for rural development and urban development respectively.

The institutional location for the different types of planning outlined above is central government. In addition, decentralised planning at district and/or local level is taking place on the subcontinent. In the past, decentralised planning more often than not meant the devolution of administrative functions, rather than of political authority. National Ministries of Finance and sectoral Ministries have been quite reluctant to relinquish control over recurrent and capital finances (Belshaw and Livingstone, 2002). Increasingly, decentralisation has been linked to local democratisation, which also involves the devolution of political powers. Clearly, the rationale for decentralised planning is very appealing: it is expected to facilitate community participation and integrated planning between different sectors in a particular locality; it is seen as a means to ensure that development plans are more relevant to local needs and to speed up decision making and implementation; and, it is anticipated to encourage more efficient use of resources and to generate additional revenue (Conyers, 2000). In practice, however, decentralised planning does not automatically live up to these expectations and it is proving to be a much more complex and conflict-ridden process. For the purpose of this study, the attention will be on national development planning frameworks rather than local/district plans.

From this brief description of development planning in sub-Saharan Africa, the following development planning frameworks are emerging as being the most prevalent and most influential throughout the subcontinent to guide economic development, sectoral, multi-sectoral and/or area-based planning:

- National Development Plan;
- PRSP (or I-PRSP), or an alternative planning framework for poverty reduction;
- MTEF;
- Sectoral plans, including SWAps;
- National Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS;
- Integrated Rural Development Framework;
- Integrated Urban Development Framework.

Each of these will be briefly discussed below.

Principal development planning frameworks

Of the main development planning frameworks in sub-Saharan Africa discussed here, the PRSP is increasingly heralded as the centrepiece of development planning, which should in a sense become an integrative mechanism for all national planning endeavours. It is for this reason that disproportionate attention is given to the PRSP in the discussion below. The PRSP has relevance for about two-thirds of countries on the subcontinent, thereby affecting around two-thirds of the total population. Although not all the observations made here will pertain equally to countries without a PRSP, most of these tend to have an alternative poverty reduction framework.

National Development Plan

The national development plan provides the long-term vision of national development, usually spanning 10-20 years, and reflects core objectives, key strategies to meet the objectives, how these strategies will be sequenced and sets out the policy process to pursue the objectives (UNCTAD, 2002a). The following issues should be central in the national development plan:

... the nature of growth mechanisms underlying the development process, including accumulation of physical and human capital, and productivity growth through an increasing division of labour, technological progress and structural change, as well as the efficiency of resource allocation; the type of structural transformation which may be encouraged as the economy grows; sources of finance for productive investment; the role of trade in the development process; mechanisms for promoting enterprise development and learning; environmental sustainability; and the generation and sustainability of livelihoods for all sections of the population (UNCTAD, 2002a:177).

The UNCTAD report continues to say that “creating

effective and capable States, and also a dynamic domestic entrepreneurial class willing to commit its resources to domestic investment rather than to luxury consumption or holding private wealth abroad, is a central institutional issue which also must be addressed in a developmental approach to poverty reduction" (UNCTAD, 2002a:177-178) – and as such these issues need to be reflected in the national development plan.

PRSP

It has been argued that poverty reduction strategies are becoming the overarching national planning instrument in many countries (UNDP, 2002a). In the majority of sub-Saharan African countries, this correlates with the PRSP. With its emphasis on poverty reduction, public participation and local ownership, the PRSP has been heralded as an innovative planning tool with the potential to realise integrated economic and social development. Whether the PRSP will realise this potential depends to a large extent on the nature and scope of the participatory process, the quality of the analysis, and the depth and breadth of proposed strategies, amongst others.

Already, there are some concerns about both the content and the process of the PRSP. In terms of the content, one of the main criticisms is that macroeconomic policies are exempted from a poverty analysis (ActionAid, 2002; Craig and Porter, 2002; Godfrey, 2001; ILO, 2002; UNCTAD, 2002a and 2002b; UNECA, 2002). Instead, poverty is generally addressed through certain pro-poor policies, chiefly in the public provision of health and education, and through the provision of additional safety nets and targeted spending to respond to the adverse effects of macroeconomic reform (seen to be only temporary in nature). African PRSPs most commonly include macroeconomic and structural adjustment policies, like non-inflationary budget policies, revenue generation through a broad-based consumption tax (e.g. VAT), market liberalisation and deregulation and trade liberalisation, yet without assessing the likely impact of these policies on poverty (UNCTAD, 2002b). Past experiences with SAPs show that such policies have detrimental implications for poor people and have resulted in increased and deeper poverty. This has led John Ohiorhenuan (2002:3) to observe that PRSPs seem more concerned with symptoms rather than causes of poverty, or with targeting "the shadow rather than the substance".

ActionAid (2002) has observed that in some African

countries, the PRSP reflects some improvement in the quality and depth of poverty analysis, although this finding could not be generalised to all countries. Yet, in most cases, poverty tends to be framed in a "naively technical" (but not neutral) way (Craig and Porter, 2002). Others have noted that the lack of poverty data and capacity for poverty monitoring – in other words, the absence of a 'knowledge infrastructure' – raises questions about the capability of the state to integrate poverty concerns into the macroeconomic framework (Ohiorhenuan, 2002; UN Economic and Social Council, 2002). State capability has already been eroded due to the civil service reforms under structural adjustment (Olowu, 1999). In spite of this, and regardless of the fact that African civil services are much smaller per head of the population than their counterparts in other parts of the world (Goldsmith, 2000; Olowu, 1999), many PRSPs continue to emphasise downsizing of the civil service. This further erodes the capacity of the state to ensure that poverty concerns are integral to macroeconomic analysis and strategy formulation. The combination of weak state capability and the absence of an appropriate knowledge infrastructure are likely factors in what UNCTAD (2002a:170) refers to as "the missing middle" – the fact that PRSPs generally lack clear strategies to meet the stated objectives and targets.

Other concerns with the content of PRSPs relate to the lack of attention given to employment and the need for productive development policies (ILO, 2002; UNCTAD, 2002a), the near absence of a gender perspective on poverty and economic growth (Zuckerman and Garrett, 2003), and the inadequate attention given to trade issues (Ladd, 2002; UNCTAD, 2002a). In addition, there has been weak integration of sector plans into the PRSP (Berke, 2002; UNCTAD, 2002a). Also, the focus on the architecture of the state through the emphasis on 'good governance' has raised mixed responses, particularly when one of the implications seems to be downsizing of the state, without due regard for issues related to the quality and accountability of the civil service.

In terms of the PRSP process, there are indications that in some African countries the PRSP has widened the space for civil society involvement to engage in public policy making, although this is not the case in all countries (ActionAid, 2002). Moreover, the space for civil society engagement narrows substantially as the process of developing and adopting a PRSP progresses. Also, the absence of clear criteria or a mechanism to assess

the quality of participation is an issue of concern (ActionAid, 2002; Godfrey, 2001). Of particular concern are the lack of parliamentary engagement and scrutiny (Craig and Porter, 2002; UNCTAD, 2002a; UNECA, 2002) and the lack of involvement of local Councillors (Craig and Porter, 2002; Ohiorhenuan, 2002). Others have noted that labour ministries, trade unions and employer organisations have not been sufficiently involved (ILO, 2002). Linked to the issue of process is the question about capacity, and more specifically the need for competent citizens and civil society organisations to engage effectively with the PRSP (Cheru, 2002c; Godfrey, 2001).

Concerns related to both process and content of PRSPs raise questions about ownership – a fundamental tenet of the PRSP. The fact that the PRSP has become a prerequisite to qualify for concessionary loans, debt relief and bilateral grants is seen to limit local ownership, especially in light of the dominant role played by international financing institutions in both the formulation and the approval of the PRSP. In light of this, UNCTAD (2002b) has argued that ownership is confined to social development programmes and safety nets, but does not apply to macroeconomic development strategies. Another issue noted is the narrow base of ownership within central government, as it is usually confined to the Ministry of Finance or the Office of the President, with little real engagement of other Ministries (Cheru, 2002c).

These areas of concern notwithstanding, many commentators recognise that the PRSP does hold the potential to be an effective development planning framework. Clearly, some fundamental changes in the conceptualisation, formulation and implementation of PRSPs are required to realise this potential.

MTEF

The MTEF is a key instrument for macro-budget planning and expenditure control in sub-Saharan Africa. Like the PRSP, it has been developed under international guidance and negotiated with donors and IFIs. Various African countries have already adopted the MTEF and it is expected that many of their regional counterparts will follow suit.^{xxiv} The MTEF links policy making to planning and budgeting. It covers three to four years, although it is envisaged that this time horizon could be extended as countries gain experience with the MTEF (World Bank, not dated). The MTEF is "... a top down strategic allocation guide and a bottom up

cost template" (World Bank, not dated:2). In other words, it combines fiscal targets (the 'hard budget constraint') set by the Ministry of Finance (and endorsed by Cabinet) with allocation of resources to strategic priorities that have emerged from a bottom-up estimation of costs. As such, the MTEF is the outcome of a process of negotiation between central Ministries (particularly the Ministry of Finance) and sector Ministries, in which Cabinet plays a decisive role. Whereas its intention is to promote financial predictability by providing a comprehensive budget, part of the MTEF's objective is "... to encourage the sectors to adopt a culture of strategic management and creating a competitive platform for resource allocation" (World Bank, not dated:3). In addition, the MTEF is becoming increasingly associated with making budgets more performance oriented and transparent.

Because most MTEFs are still relatively young, it is difficult to assess their role and impact in practice. However, a preliminary World Bank assessment found that the most developed MTEFs are found in South Africa, which has a higher capacity than most other countries, and in Uganda, where it has been introduced over a decade ago. In few countries, evidence suggested that fiscal discipline had improved or that it had led to greater financial predictability. Likewise, there was only limited evidence to suggest that the MTEF had facilitated better inter- and intrasectoral coordination. In addition, the review identified a need for better integration between the MTEF and the existing budget process (Le Houerou and Taliercio, 2002).

There is supposed to be a complementary relationship between the MTEF and the PRSP. Both frameworks share a focus on medium-term planning and are aimed at facilitating donor harmonisation. Yet, many observers have noted that in most countries those links are (still) very weak (see, amongst others, ActionAid, 2002; Ohiorhenuan, 2002; UNECA, 2002). Where the link has occurred effectively, for example in Uganda, it has led to unprecedented volumes of international funds, which have been channelled through central agencies directly to sector programmes at community level (Craig and Porter, 2002).

SWAps / Sector Plans

A common manifestation of sector plans in sub-Saharan Africa is found in SWAps. SWAps emerged in the latter part of the 1990s in response to the perceived failings of the project approach to complex issues within particular sectors; the

problems that existed with dual budgeting (in particular, the split between recurrent and capital expenditure); the donor-driven agenda in sectoral planning and associated conditionality; the administrative burden on recipient governments due to a lack of donor harmonisation; and, concerns about sustainability in light of the failure to build local capacity (Lister, 2002). The idea underpinning SWAps is that “all significant public funding for the sector supports a single sector policy and expenditure programme, under Government leadership, adopting common approaches across the sector, and progressing towards relying on government procedures to disburse and account for all public expenditure, however funded” (Lister, 2002). Like the PRSP and the MTEF, SWAps are medium-term planning frameworks, underpinned by consultation, government leadership and donor harmonisation.^{xv} It is worth noting that SPs (Sector Programmes) or SWAps do not equate with an entire sector, but generally involve only 50% of funding to a particular sector (Berke, 2002).

The experiences with SWAps to date show mixed results, with some clearly guiding sectoral planning and others having become dormant soon after being formulated (Berke, 2002). More recently, the alignment of SWAps and sectoral plans with the PRSP has become an area of focus. It seems that in some instances, the PRSP process has given impetus to new or dormant sector programmes. In other instances, however, SWAps or SPs pre-dating the PRSP seem to have difficulty in adapting to the targets and strategies set out in the PRSP (Berke, 2002). To a large extent, this is indicative of the fact that planning processes and plans produced (whether sectoral, multi-sectoral or otherwise) are not sufficiently aligned and integrated. The issue of alignment and integration of development planning frameworks clearly is a recurrent issue, to which we shall return later.

National Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS

The objective of the National Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS is to guide all government sectors to respond effectively to the multiple development challenges associated with the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Although it is too soon to assess the long-term impact of multi-sectoral planning for HIV/AIDS, it has undeniably added significant momentum to the response to HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. Amongst others, it has focussed collective energies on analysing the nature and manifestation of the epidemic and on formulating appropriate solutions.

Yet, despite the general consensus that HIV/AIDS requires a multi-sectoral response (as evidenced in most policy documents and plans concerning HIV/AIDS on the subcontinent), when it comes to analysis of and programmatic responses to HIV/AIDS, there tends to be consistent slippage to responses focusing on the individual level and on matters of personal behaviour (Decosas, 2002). To some extent, this could be indicative of the complex nature of multi-sectoral and integrated planning. But it also points to conceptual and methodological issues concerning the ‘source’ of HIV infection and what is considered the most effective (and morally and politically acceptable) entry point for intervention. Furthermore, it suggests that there can be a ‘translation gap’ between stated objectives, strategy formulation and implementation. Such distortion is obviously not unique to multi-sectoral planning for HIV/AIDS.

Another concern is that multi-sectoral planning for HIV/AIDS usually does not coincide with other national planning cycles, in particular the budget cycle. Again, this raises the issue of synchronisation of different planning cycles and alignment of development planning frameworks.

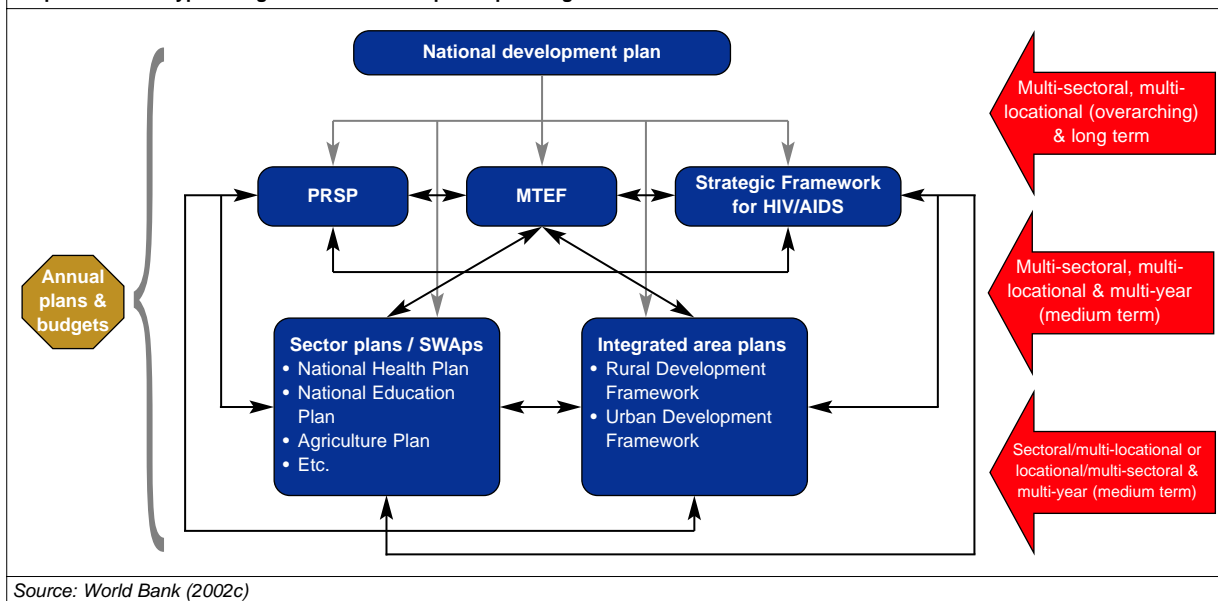
Rural Development Framework

The Rural Development Framework provides the framework for a consistent and coherent policy approach to rural development based on a medium to long-term vision of rural development. Informed by an analysis of rural realities, the Rural Development Framework typically outlines the goals, policy choices and strategies that would be best suited to realise the vision. Its main concerns generally are enhancing the productivity of the rural economy and reducing rural poverty through a combination of measures (e.g. employment creation, the promotion of food security, investment in social development and infrastructure, etc.). The framework also addresses institutional issues, such as the role of the state in the development process and mechanisms to facilitate participatory planning.

Urban Development Framework

The object of the Urban Development Framework is similar to that of the Integrated Rural Development Framework, but with specific reference to urban realities and the need to create sustainable urban settlements. Sub-Saharan Africa is characterised by fairly recent and rapid urbanisation.^{xvii} This brings with it a host of challenges related to the need to create viable, productive, equitable and sustainable urban settlements. Because urban areas also have

Graph 3.1. Ideal type linkages between development planning frameworks



Source: World Bank (2002c)

political, economic, social and environmental significance beyond their borders, the Urban Development Framework typically has to address these impacts as well.

3.5. Issues of integration and alignment

A key challenge facing sub-Saharan African states is to ensure alignment between the key frameworks guiding development planning. Evidence suggests that this is an area where significant space for improvement exists. Currently, most countries have parallel planning processes, with little integration and alignment between these processes and their outputs. Planning cycles are often not aligned, as was noted in the case of the PRSP, the MTEF and Sector Plans as well as in relation to multi-sectoral planning for HIV/AIDS and other planning cycles, particularly the budget cycle. There is also a lack of uniform data and reporting systems, consistent indicators and standardised guidelines for local level involvement that can be used across different planning systems (Berke, 2002; Lister, 2002).

Another, linked, issue is the need to ensure that the various (aligned) planning frameworks are translated into annual plans with clear targets and implementation strategies and into annual budgets. As the preceding overview has highlighted, there is significant room for improvement here as well.

Graph 3.1 represents an ideal type picture of the relationship between key development planning frameworks and their link to annual plans and

budgets. The way the planning frameworks are presented does not reflect a hierarchical order, with the possible exception of the national development plan, which is meant to be the overarching framework to guide all other development planning frameworks (see grey arrows). Whilst all development planning frameworks cover multi-year cycles, the national development plan provides a long term vision, whereas the other frameworks are more concerned with the medium term. In addition, the PRSP, MTEF and the National Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS are multi-sectoral and multi-locational (i.e. relevant for both urban and rural areas). Instead, sector plans are multi-locational, but not multi-sectoral, and integrated area plans are multi-sectoral, but not multi-locational. As Graph 3.1 shows, the relationship between different development planning frameworks is supposed to be mutually enforcing. Obviously, this starts from the premise that the various development planning frameworks are a true reflection of local needs and demands – in other words, that these are domestically designed and owned plans. Otherwise, greater synchronisation is likely to be associated with tighter conditionality and restrained room for manoeuvre for African states and their people.

The next chapter will explore possible links between development planning and HIV/AIDS. It will start by presenting the theoretical starting points for such an assessment. From there, it will apply these theoretical starting points to the various development planning frameworks identified here.

Table 3.1. Overview of key types of development planning in sub-Saharan Africa, 1960s-1990s

	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Economic development planning	Capital formation as the basis for economic growth, with primary exports and import substitution leading to rapid industrialisation. Also promotion of some form of economic nationalism.	Similar to the 1960s, with more attention given to distributional aspects of growth and to poverty (through planned sectoral investment).	Stabilisation through macroeconomic reform and structural adjustment.	Stabilisation through macroeconomic reform and structural adjustment. Increasing poverty and equity concerns, yet mainly delinked from macroeconomic planning.
Sectoral planning				
Health planning	Establishment of national health care systems and significant state investment to ensure free access to health care for all.	Shift to PHC (at least in theory), with emphasis on equity, participation, intersectoral collaboration & decentralisation.	Health sector reforms articulated in terms of equity, sustainability and efficiency. Drastic cuts in public sector spending and emphasis on the role of the market in service delivery, coupled with significant diversification of service providers. Introduction of user charges to generate revenue and emphasis on community involvement & decentralisation. Significant increase in donor involvement.	Revival of PHC ideas (e.g. 'community based health care'), with emphasis on participation, empowerment & decentralisation. Donors introduce sector-wide approaches (SWAps) for health development since mid-1990s.
Education planning	Transformation of the inherited racial education system (incl. 'Africanisation' of curriculum throughout all levels of the education system) to ensure access for all. Emphasis on primary and adult education; also promotion of higher education through guaranteed employment for graduates.	Shift to vocational and technical skills training, with particular focus on agriculture and rural development, as a means to stem rising levels of unemployment.	Drastic cuts in public sector spending and emphasis on the role of the market in service delivery, coupled with significant diversification of service providers. Introduction of user charges to generate revenue. Significant increase in donor involvement. Emphasis on primary education.	Donors introduce sector-wide approaches (SWAps) for education since mid-1990s. More emphasis on participation and partnerships.
Integrated area planning				
Rural development planning	Physical and infrastructure planning and/or self-help community development (with strong participation component).	Increasing concern with productivity and rural unemployment, focusing on diversification of rural economy, modernisation of agriculture sector and small farm productivity. Also, emergence of Integrated Rural Development Planning (IRDPs) (largely dependent on donor funding), basic needs provision and local development funds.	Elements of earlier forms of rural development planning, yet accompanied by a retreat of the state and increasing involvement of donor agencies, NGOs and local communities. Also, increasing recognition of the interdependence and complex interlinkages between rural and urban development.	Elements of earlier forms of rural development planning, yet accompanied by a retreat of the state and increasing involvement of donor agencies, NGOs and local communities.
Urban development planning	Master planning, focusing on physical/spatial dimensions of planning. Emphasis on urban-based industrialisation policies based on the view that urban development is beneficial for national development.	Significance of economic, social and political factors recognised, leading to large-scale development projects (e.g. squatter upgrading and sites-and-services). Yet, continuation of physical planning through the master plan, with little interlinkages. Strong anti-urban sentiment started to emerge.	Urban management approach, i.e. significant reduction in the role of the state in the implementation of development projects (incl. privatisation & commercialisation of state functions), focus on alternative sources of revenue (incl. private sector investment & service charges), and promotion of local community involvement in delivery and maintenance of urban services & infrastructure.	Shift towards strategic planning (within the urban management approach) as a dynamic framework for priority setting, implementation & the facilitation of participation and partnerships.

Sources: Ayeni (1999); Belshaw (2002); Bloom and Lucas (2002); Cheru (2002a); Court and Kinyanjui (1986); Devas and Rakodi (1993); Halla (2002); Hearst and Blas (2001); Hill (1997); Kinyanjui (1994); Mongula (1994); Mumtaz and Wegelin (2001); Nissanke (2001); Stren (1991); Walt et al. (1999).