# A reading of power relations in the transformation of urban planning in the municipalities of the Greater Pretoria region (now Tshwane): 1992 - 2002

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**July 2005**

# A READING OF POWER RELATIONS IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN PLANNING IN THE MUNICIPALITIES OF THE GREATER PRETORIA REGION (NOW TSHWANE): 1992 - 2002

**by**

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**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for**
**the degree Doctor Philisophiae (Town and Regional Planning)**
**in the Faculty of Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology**
**University of Pretoria**
**Pretoria**
**South Africa**

**July 2005**

*for Karien*

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank the following people who have contributed to this study:

- Prof Mark Oranje, for his guidance and support.
- The staff of the Town and Regional Planning Department of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality for their continued interest and support.
- Those family members, friends and colleagues who believed in me and supported me throughout this endeavour.
- All those who gave up their time to participate in my interviews, surveys and sometimes-nasty interrogations.
- The staff of the Academic Information Service of the University of Pretoria for their assistance.
- Wilma Henrico for assisting me with the final formatting and technical finish of the report.

Lastly, I would like to thank my Lord for providing me with this wonderful opportunity and the guts to complete this study.

**PREFACE**

Approximately two million years ago the earliest known hominids (predecessors of modern human beings) lived in the Greater Pretoria/Tshwane[1] area at the Sterkfontein and Swartkrans Caves - an area today known as *'the cradle of humankind'* or the area where humankind began. Since the Early Stone Age times, some 200 000 years ago, *Homo sapiens* and their predecessors have inhabited the Pretoria/Tshwane area in the vicinity of Wonderboompoort in the Magaliesberg where there was an abundance of edible plants and game for hunting.

With the arrival of the Iron Age about 1 800 years ago, the population profile of the Tshwane area changed dramatically. These people were mainly cattle herders, cultivators and hunters. Their principle industries were iron smelting and the making of pottery. Pottery found in the Groenkloof Nature Reserve is associated with the so-called Moloko tradition of the early Setswana-speaking societies. The Iron Age inhabitants were later followed by the Setswana-speaking people who settled in the west of Pretoria and the Ndebele-speaking people who settled in the north-east of Pretoria. During the early decades of the 19th century these people were dislodged by the Ndebele of Mzilikazi who came from Natal to settle on the banks of the Apies River. In c.1833, Mzilikazi moved to the former Western Transvaal.

It was more or less during this time that the first white travellers entered this area. They were known as the *Voortrekkers* (pioneer settlers). Lucas Bronkhorst is generally accepted to have been the first white pioneer to settle in the vicinity of Pretoria during the 1840s[2]. He settled on the farm Groenkloof. Pretoria was established on 16 November 1855. It was declared the capital of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republic on 1 May 1860. In 1864 the first attempts were made to establish a *dorpsraad* (town council) and the first permanent council was elected in 1903[3].

During the past 150 years Pretoria has developed from a small rural settlement into a significant metropolitan area with a population of 2.2 million inhabitants. This makes it one of the largest metropolitan areas in South Africa[4].

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[1] Pretoria was named after Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, its founder and son of Voortrekker Andries Pretorius. After the transformation of the local government on 6 December 2000, the local authority was renamed the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM). Since then reference was also made to the *City of Tshwane* - although the name change was (in May 2005) not yet formally approved by the various authorities. Within the context of this study, reference is made interchangeably to *the City of Tshwane* in the present state, or *the former City of Pretoria* when referring to the old dispensation. The word Tshwane is derived from the word *Tshwana*, which means *'we are the same/we are one because we live together'* (Tindall 2000).

[2] See van Schalkwyk (1993).

[3] See Tindall (2000).

[4] Information obtained from the Department of Town and Regional Planning of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality in 2003.

The City of Tshwane, is in many ways a city of contrasts. On the one hand, this city is well known for its abundance of state-of-the-art educational and research institutions; its strong economic base; its unique natural 'bushveld' environment; its diverse cultures; its excellent living conditions and the quality of its environment; as well as the illustrious Union Buildings, which designate Pretoria's capital city status.

On the other hand, this city, was previously (prior to the government transformation in 1994), seen and branded as the apartheid capital, with its overly conservative bureaucracy, the so-called Afrikaner *boere*-state. It was also here that Nelson Mandela was tried some 40 years ago. In 1994, Mandela was inaugurated in Pretoria as the first President of the 'new South Africa'. Since this transformation, the City of Pretoria/Tshwane's function as the administrative capital of South Africa and home of the President has been reinstated.

Today the new City of Tshwane is transforming itself and is developing into one of the smarter cities in the country. Reference is often made to terms such as the renaissance of Pretoria, or the rebirth of Tshwane.

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# CHAPTER 1
# RATIONALE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Throughout history, experiences and stories of transformation, be it the transformation of governments, institutions, organisations or systems, have been associated with conflict, resistance, protest, struggles - and power, power structures and power relations (Foucault 1972 and 1975; see also Foucault in Faubion edt. (1994: 122); and Foucault in Gutting edt. (1994: 237).

Although power is omni-present in almost all spheres of society (Foucault, see Chapter 2), the various forms and levels of power and the dynamics of power relations are specifically present and active in public and political institutions such as local governments. In view of these institutions' setting within the public realm and its relationship with political systems and influences, it became an/the arena for power games (see Forester 1987; Mc Cloughlin 1992; Mc Clendon and Quay 1992; Hoch 1994; Flyvbjerg 1996; 1998 a and b; Watson 2001; Allmendinger 2001; and Lapintie 2002). Often when these institutions or government systems are challenged, changed or threatened by new or external influences and powers, e.g. new practices or transformation, the volatile power relations become under siege.

Following on the groundbreaking work and new insights on power developed by Foucault during the sixties (see Chapter 2) many scholars in various disciplines have studied experiences of transformation in an attempt to unravel the complex dynamics of power relations. During the nineties and early 2000, a number of authors such Healey (UK), Flyvbjerg (Denmark), Hillier (Australia), and Forester (USA), Hoch (USA), Innes (USA), Mandelbaum (USA) and Watson[1] (South Africa) have also explored the nature of power relations within the ambit of urban planning and the local authority planning environment[2]. In spite of numerous efforts to study power relations in local authorities and to develop tactics and strategies to 'manage' power relations, there is still limited knowledge on this complex phenomenon with its hidden nuances - as is evident by the many power experiences and struggles in local authorities (see also Flyvbjerg 1996; 1998 a and b; Lapintie 2002; and Hillier 2002).

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[1] Vanessa Watson is a professor at the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics of the University of Cape Town, South Africa. Her Doctoral Thesis which was published in 2001 under the title: "*Change and Continuity in Spatial Planning: Metropolitan Planning in Cape Town under Political Transition*", amongst others also extrapolated the works of Foucault and Flyvbjerg with regard to the study of power relations in the City of Cape Town.

[2] For more information on power and planning, see McClendon and Quay (1972:118); Hoch (1984), Forester 1987: 305); Mc Auslan (1992: 97); Thomas (1995:5); Fainstein and Fainstein (1996: 269); Kogler (1996: 239); Davis (1998: 71); Flyvbjerg (1998); Yiftachel and Huxley (2000); Allmendinger (2001:221); Hillier (2002:47); and Lapintie (2002).

In South Africa, the recent government transformation process which effectively started in 1994, not only resulted in a new democracy, a new governmental dispensation or a *'new South Africa'*, but it also spurred a significant, rapid and radical transformation of local government in South Africa, as well as a radical transformation of urban management and urban planning.

These transformations were (during the 1990s), largely influenced, propelled and (re) directed by the socio-political changes as well as a number of emerging international trends with regard to urban planning and management (Harrison 2002: 172), *viz:* community involvement and participation; the new emphasis on social planning and communities; the emerging focus on strategic planning; the focus on environmental management and sustainable development; and the ever-growing relationship between urban planning and urban management and municipal affairs This new urban planning and management system in South Africa also developed in tandem with (and within the context of) a new democratic and developmental system of local government[3] (see discussion on these trends and systems in Chapter 4). These new urban planning and local government systems, which became firmly entrenched in a wide array of new, post transformation Acts and policies in South Africa[4], not only affected local government in South Africa as a whole, but ultimately had a major impact on urban planners, local authority managers, officials and politicians - and power, power structures and power relations in local authorities.

As was the case with many other local authorities in the country, the City of Pretoria/Tshwane was strongly influenced by the changes at national level (and indirectly by emerging international trends). During the period 1992 to 2002, the former municipalities in the Greater Pretoria region, and more recently the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM) made various efforts to develop and implement a new integrated, developmental and democratic approach to urban planning and urban management (see Chapter 5). The former transforming Pretoria Municipality which comprised one of the largest metropolitan regions in the country, was at one stage during the late 1990s, regarded by many local authorities and government departments in South Africa as 'the front runner' in local government transformation (and urban planning) in this country.

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[3] For more information on the post-apartheid planning system, see ANC (1992 and 1994); FEPD (1994); Castleden (1994: 14-16); DFA (1996), the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996); the White Paper on Local Government (1998); Planact (1997:18); CSIR (1998: B9 and B15); Pycroft (1998); Oranje, Oosthuizen and Van Huyssteen (1999:12 and 15); Oranje *et al* (2000); Rauch (2002); Republic of South Africa (1995,1996 a and b, 1997,1998,1999, 2000, 2001a and b); and Department of Constitutional Development (1997:8).

[4] The Development Facilitation Act, DFA (1995), Local Government Transition Act, 1996 (LGTA 1996), The Constitution (1996), White Paper on Local Government (1998), National Environmental Management Act (1998); Green Paper on Development and Planning (1999); the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (2000) and the more recent Draft Land Use Management Bill (2001) and the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001) (Republic of South Africa 1995; 1996 a and b; 1998 a and b; 1999; 2000; and 2001a and b).

This transformation of the urban planning and local government system in the City of Pretoria/Tshwane, not only had a major effect on the urban planners, but also affected many local authority managers and officials involved with planning and development, specifically those who had been moulded in the rigid, apartheid planning and local government system. This transformation presents a very useful example of the typical painstaking institutional and transformation issues that are associated with the new emerging forms of urban planning and management, specifically within the context of the unfolding/ transforming (developmental) local government system in South Africa. It specifically highlights the challenges and shortcomings of the new urban planning and management system[5], and indicates how difficult it is (even for a large metropolitan area with capacity) to effectively translate urban planning theory and policy into practice. These transformation processes in South Africa (and in the City of Pretoria/Tshwane) happened at such a pace and within such a dynamic transforming society, that it almost outpaced the capacity of local governments, urban planners, managers, councillors and officials to keep abreast of it. Although some local authorities, planning consultants and institutions in South Africa have documented and assessed the emerging practices, there remains a lack of documented experiences[6]. This created numerous challenges for academia, researchers, urban managers and planners, to 'write about', study and analyse the new approaches, specifically within the context of contemporary planning theory and practice.

Although this transformation was influenced by power structures and power relations, it in turn also had a major impact on these power structures and power relations. The Tshwane case presents a useful example and experience of the relationships between transformation in a local authority planning environment and the power(s) associated with such transformation. The Pretoria/Tshwane experience also presents an example of the complex web of inter-related power relations (the power web), the different types of powers and power structures, and the struggles, conflict and resistance associated with these powers, specifically within the local authority planning environment, as well as an example of the web of inter-related social relations (the social web), the dynamic process of communicative action (or lack thereof) as well as the power struggles, conflict and resistance associated with it.

[5] See Perception Survey (1999) and Interview Survey (2002). See also Oranje *et al* (2000); Harrison (2001 and 2002); and Rauch (2002).

[6] In South Africa, most research efforts on new forms of urban planning or the transformation of urban planning were done by academics or consultants who were appointed to assess a specific aspect of planning. Examples include the studies by Oosthuizen (1999); Oranje (2000); Harrison (2001 and 2002); Watson (2002); CSIR (2002); and Rauch (2002). There seems to be reluctance amongst planners to analyse, record and publish planning experiences and to share information and learn from each other. In general, many public officials are so caught up in transformation issues and inertia that they are unable to do planning research.

The above "problem" and challenges not only inspired the need to study and narrate the transformation processes in the City of Tshwane, but it also enthused the need to study power relations within the context of a transforming urban planning and local government system. As a result of the limited knowledge and theory which exists on power relations, specifically within the context of local government transformation in South Africa, this study set out to explore and unpack the various components of the complex power relations, its dynamics and characteristics, so as to contribute to the knowledge base of urban planning (within the context of power relations and local government transformation).

In view of the foregoing, the following research question/ problem statement is presented: *How did power relations affect the transformation of urban planning in the municipalities of the Greater Pretoria Region (now Tshwane[7]) during the period 1992 to 2002"[8], and how were these power relations, in turn affected by this transformation?*[9]

Although the study in some ways challenges the power theories and suppositions presented by other scholars such as Flyvbjerg, Hillier and Watson, it also builds on the work of these scholars (see also theoretical framework for analysis in Chapter 2). Notwithstanding the study's focus on power relations, the study also presents an important slice of the history on the transformation of urban planning and local government in the City of Tshwane and South Africa.

The value of the study is intrinsically underscored by *the narrative* itself and the experience presented by *the narrative* (see contribution of narratives in Chapter 3). This "lessons learning" not only contributes to the knowledge base, but also contributes to improving the overall understanding of urban planning (and urban management) in South Africa, specifically within the context of the unfolding democratic and developmental local government system. This could also assist local authorities, urban planners and managers in South Africa[10] (and in other countries) with the development and transformation of urban planning processes and systems. This also has significant value to academic and research institutions, government organisations, local authorities,

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[7] Although the study focuses on the transformation of urban planning in the Greater Pretoria region, the primary focus of the narrative part of the study was on the former City Council of Pretoria and its planning department. Prior to the establishment of the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council (GPMC) in 1995, and the amalgamated City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (later in 2000), the former City Council of Pretoria was responsible for almost 80 % of the former metro area. The former City Council of Pretoria also presents a good example (and case study) of the transformation of urban planning in the Pretoria/Tshwane region.

[8] The period 1992 to 2002 in the City of Pretoria/Tshwane can be distinguished as a distinct period in the history of the City in which a significant transformation of the local authority- planning environment took place.

[9] For more information on the characteristics of a problem statement, see Weidenborner and Caruso (1982:6); Smit (1995:7 and 22); Leedy (1996); Moore (2000); Barzun and Graff (1985: 5); and Botha and Engelbrecht (1992:72).

[10] Many of the smaller, newly structured local authorities in South Africa have difficulty to effectively plan, develop and manage their urban areas, mainly as a result of a lack of knowledge, skills and experience on urban planning and management. See also Harrison (2002).

as well as the various role players involved in urban planning, specifically those involved with policy and legislation making.

Structure of the thesis

Following on this introductory chapter (Chapter 1), an overview is provided on the *theoretical framework for analysis,* or the theory which contextualised this study (Chapter 2). This second chapter is followed by a detailed discussion on *the research methodology* that was applied for this study (Chapter 3). In order to contextualise the Tshwane story/ narrative, Chapter 4 presents an overview of the *contextual realities that informed, shaped and framed the transformation of urban planning in the municipalities of the Greater Pretoria/Tshwane region during the period 1992 to 2002.* Chapter 5, which forms the main component of the study, presents *a narrative on the transformation of urban planning in the municipalities of the Greater Pretoria region (now Tshwane) during the period 1992 to 2002.* This narrative is capped by a critical reflection on *the trans[formation], the trans[formed] and trans[forming] urban planning system in the City of Tshwane* (Chapter 6). The last chapter (Chapter 7) presents a concise summary and some concluding remarks on the *theoretical contribution of this study,* with specific reference to power relations.

# CHAPTER 2
# THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the central questions of planning theory[1] is whether planning theory can contribute to the practice of planning. Campbell and Fainstain (1996: 4) argue that planning is a messy, contentious field; planning theory should provide the means to address these debates and understand their deeper roots. McCloughlin (1993) further argues that human practices are based (unconsciously) on theory. Study of such practices must be theoretically informed. If planning theory is to be of real use to practitioners it needs to address practice as it is actually encountered in the worlds of planning officers and of elected representatives (Hillier 2002: 4). The development of planning practice is deeply connected to the most puzzling problems of planning theory. Without entering this theoretical field our practical efforts will be like *"fighting in the dark against an unknown enemy"* (Lapintie 2002: 2).

Within the context and ambit of this theoretical field (and relevant planning theory), this chapter develops a theoretical framework for analysis within which this study (and the Tshwane story) is located. However, within the scope of this study, it is not possible to give a full account of the whole spectrum of theories and therefore this theoretical framework will be limited to those theories and suppositions which are more directly concerned with power and power relations within the ambit of the local authority planning environment. McCloughlin (1993) confirms that there are a large range of theoretical positions and that it is important to be clear on which and why. Allmendinger (2001:221) argues that if we take the theme of the postmodern to include issues such as diversity, difference and opposition, then the question of power is central. Although there has been much theorising about power, there seems to be little agreement on the definition on the complex phenomenon of power (Hillier 2002: 47)[2].

[1] Campbell and Fainstain (1996: 1-2) argue that it is difficult to define planning theory in view of the fact that it overlaps with other disciplines and that it is difficult to define the boundaries between planning and other disciplines. They also state that (1) planning theory defines areas of inquiry and its central focus, and (2) it confronts principle issues that face planners. It is about the pressing and enduring questions in planning.

[2] See also definitions on power by Davis (1998: 71) in Hillier (2002: 47).

## 2.2 UNDERSTANDING "PLANNING AND POWER"

In order to conceptualize contemporary planning theories, specifically within the context of power relations, social rationality and the more recent *"communicative turn in planning"* (Healey), it is imperative to at least look at: (i) the critique on modernist/rational planning; and (ii) the influences (and thoughts) which had led to the unfolding contemporary postmodern planning theories.

The development of planning theory in most parts of the western world was largely dominated by modernist/rational planning theories and the application of the scientific rational planning model that emerged in the UK and the USA during the mid 1900s. The concept of rationality in planning developed through empiricism (the application of experience) and rationalism (the exercise of reasoning) (Muller 1994:7). As 'a type of planning' it was largely concerned with the scientific analysis and systems analysis in the planning process (Muller 1994:7; Stuart 1970: 1-5; Cuthbert 1985:89-90; and Sewell and Coppock 1977:1). Although this scientific approach broadened the base of planning methodology and elevated the 'professional scientific status' of the urban planning profession in most parts of the world, it over-emphasised the scientific, autocratic and undemocratic approach to planning, and the power of authority (and science). This scientific focus not only diminished the social focus of planning, but it resulted in a scientific rigidity and 'powerful rationality' that was widely criticised and resisted by anti-planners[3]. During the second half of the 1900s, the rational planning model was increasingly criticized for not directing and explaining planning activity satisfactorily[4].

Beauregard (1996: 227) argues that the disintegration of the modernist planning project, had led to the *"centrifugal disintegration"* of planning theory - *"...without a corresponding refocusing of knowledge around the social theories and a broadening of the planning debate"*. Taylor (1998); Yiftachel and Huxley (2000); Watson (2001); Allmendinger (2001); and Hillier (2002) however argue that the resistance and critique on the instrumental rationality and modernism in general led to numerous counter-positions in planning theory such as the social turn in planning.

During the sixties and seventies, a number of social movements developed in reaction to the excessively narrow emphasis on physical and economic development and the neglect of broader

[3] For a discussion on the above, see Muller (1994:8-10); Faludi (1996: 65); Sandercock (1998: 169); Minnery (1985:39); and Lindblom (1996).

[4] For more information on the critique on the rational planning model, see Muller (1994:8 -10); Sandercock (1998: 169); Lindblom (1996);Mellors and Copperthwaite (1987: 96); Hall (1996:332); Sewell and Coppock (1977:1); Carmona and Burgess (date unknown); Krumholtz and Clavel (1994: 1- 4); Watson (2001); Campbell and Fainstain (1996: 10); and Healey (1996 b: 234).

social development and social wants and needs[5], *viz:* the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s; and the proponents of Advocacy Planning[6], Radical Planning, Equity Planning[7], Marxist planning[8], and the Basic Needs Approach[9]. This reaction to the modernist project with its focus on instrumental rationality and neglect of the *'human urbanus'*[10] (in most parts of the UK, USA and Western Europe), had led to a new social awareness and a new focus on a wider remit of social issues[11]. This critique on modernist planning and the subsequent quest for new forms of planning is also associated with the "postmodern turn" during the same period (see Allmendinger 2001). According to Sim (1998:3), the postmodern turn is associated with amongst others; a commitment to cultural progress; the emancipation of mankind versus economic want and political oppression; the anti-authoritarian mind set; a new form of scepticism about authority, wisdom, cultural and political norms; the rejection of structuralism and its methods and also the ideological assumption that lies behind it.

Closely related to the above critique on instrumental rationality and the emerging social awareness is the (re)newed interest in democratic planning and community participation which developed in most democratic countries during the sixties and seventies[12]. Although the neglect of the social environment and the emerging social awareness highlighted the role of communities in the planning and decision making processes, democratic planning was mainly inspired by the development of the emerging democratic movements. Thomas (1995:18) argues that the influences that affected the new focus on participation came from the public administration theorists that emphasised the role of the community in administration. Sewell and Coppock (1977:1-2), argue that the role for the public in planning was rooted in both philosophical considerations - the general belief that the individual had the right to be informed and consulted on

[5] For more information on the reaction of these social movements, see Moser (1997: 47- 48); Claassen and Milton (1992:722); Alexander (1979:121); So *et al* (1979:500 - 6); Hall (1996: 32); and Sewell and Coppock (1997:1).

[6] Advocacy planning was also opposed to the organized, institutionalised forces of government and planning (which could not effectively deliver the necessary services to the people) (Alexander 1979:121). For more information on the advocacy planners, see Kennedy (1993); Hall (1996:332); Brooks (1996: 117); Fainstein and Fainstein (1996:270); and Sandercock (1998: 117).

[7] Equity planning focuses on the poor and elderly with few resources, the truly disadvantaged, and emphasises greater community. See also Krumholtz and Clavel (1994: 1-4 and 238); Teitz (1997:786-7); Fainstein and Fainstein (1996: 269 - 271); Sandercock (1998: 173 - 174); Campbell and Fainstein (1996:263); and Marris (1998:11 and 16).

[8] The Marxist urban planners regard the fair distribution of "real income' as central to the planning process - so as to benefit the groups that have the least. See also Klosterman (1996:160-161); Carmona and Burgess (unpublished); Sandercock (1998: 176); Hall (1989:246-7); Fainstein and Fainstein (1996:278 - 280); and Sandercock (1998:173 - 173).

[9] For more information on the Basic Needs Approach, see Carmona and Burgess (unpublished); and Abbott (1996:25-9); Sidabutar (1992: 17-24); Bastin and Hidayat (1992: 94-5); and Fritschi, Kristyani and Steinberg (1992: 152).

[10] Cited in Hillier 2002.

[11] This remit of social issues includes amongst others: meeting basic human needs and wants; addressing poverty in general; the promotion of equity in all its forms; basic community development; combating discriminatory practices regarding race, gender, and cultures; helping the poor minorities, the marginalised and the truly disadvantaged (the bottom of the social society); respecting and assisting elderly people, handicapped people, orphans, unemployed and inoperative people, the homeless, and social misfit in general; and the promotion of local economic development.

[12] For more information on the development of community participation, see So *et al* (1979: 552); Oosthuizen (1986: 203 - 4); Thomas (1995: 2 -3); Burke (1983: 106); and Sewell and Coppock (1977: 1); Hampton (1977: 27); Bekker (1996:29); and Slater (1984: 2).

matters which affect him/her personally, and pragmatic considerations - the general belief that plans or decisions failed to identify public preferences correctly. Fainstein and Fainstein (1996: 275) further argue that democratic planning is primarily associated with the mainstream of democratic thought and the argument by Alexis de Tocqueville, which states that "*Everyone is equal and has an equal right to advance his or her cause*".

This new form of democratic planning with its extended focus and its cross-sectoral and socio-political nature not only had a major impact on the roles of local authority planners, managers and politicians[13] but it resulted in numerous new power structures (in the form of representative community forums[14]), new types of power (e.g. the power of community leaders); and also new power relations (such as the power relations between communities and elected politicians)[15].

This social/democratic movement not only redirected the course of urban planning practice in most democratic countries, but it opened up a new debate in planning theory. Yiftachel and Huxley (2000) provide a new light on contemporary theory debates with specific reference to the way in which planning theorists have increasingly, since the 1970s, redirected the focus of planning theory from the modernist/rational or the instrumental rationality with its modernist limitations, towards the rational-communicative. Healey (1997:29) refers to *"the communicative turn"* in planning and the new intellectual wave that had been building up since the 1970s, which is labeled as argumentative, communicative or interpretative planning theory. During the last decade, a growing number of communicative planning theorists such as Forester, Healey, Hoch, Innes, Mandelbaum (and more recently Hillier), have taken a communicative turn in planning practice in describing and theorizing urban and regional planning.

This communicative turn in planning ultimately liberated planning theorists from the con(de)fined instrumental rationality as it engaged them in poststructuralist and multicultural discourses on the nature of knowledge, ethics, and justice (and power).This in turn led to a considerable number of planning theorists engaging in the communicative-pragmatic logic, accumulating evidence about speech, narratives, professional profiles, consensus building and negotiation (and power)(Yiftachel

[13] For more information on the impact of community participation on planners, see Wissink (1996:151); Thomas (1995:1- 2, 14, 34,178 -180); Koster (1996:100); and Slater (1994).See also Mc Clendon and Quay (1994: 40); Davidoff (1965 and 1996: 305); Sandercock (1998:175); and Flyvbjerg (1996:383 - 384) on the new social and political roles of planners.

[14] In many cases in the world, including South Africa, community forums became so active and powerful that a controversy arose on the actual role of the community and the elected politicians - specifically with regard to who has the right to make decisions. For more information on the above, see Rich (1983: 151); Ward (1996: 56); Shepherd in Abbott (1996: 20); Thomas (1995:1and 48); Fainstein and Fainstein (1996:269); Burgess *et al* (1997:152 -153); National Department of Land Affairs, Development and Planning Commission (1998:13); and Oranje *et al* (2000).

[15] For more information on the impact of these new (community) powers and power relations, see Thomas (1995:5); Susskind and Elliot (1986:156); Mc Clendon and Quay (1972:118); Bekker *et al* (1996: 85); and Mc Auslan (1992: 97).

and Huxley 2000)(underlined emphasis by author). Mandelbaum (1996 xviii) in Watson (2001) also states that there is a *"pervasive interest in the behaviour, values, character and experiences of professional planners at work"*. Theorists increasingly acknowledged the need to listen and register the daily interactive work of planning professionals (see also Watson (2001); and Mandelbaum (1996 xviii) in Watson (2001), Flyvbjerg (1998); and Hillier (2002). See also discussion on *"the practice movement"* in Chapter 3.

## 2.3 CONTEXTUALISING THE SOCIAL FABRIC IN THE LIFEWORLD

Although this study primarily took a Foucauldian viewpoint on the study of power relations as will be discussed in later paragraphs, it is believed that these power relations should be studied, also within the context of the social nexus and the web of social relations (and powers). Within the context of social/power relations, Habermas distinguishes between communication (which is associated with normal talk) and *"communicative action"* which is an action *"oriented to reach common understanding"*, an action associated with influences, strategic action and therefore power relations. Habermas further refers to the two concepts of *"lifeworld"* and *"systems"*. The "*lifeworld"* can briefly be defined as the social/cultural world or the realm of personal relations; while *"the systems"* could be e.g. the capitalist economy or the bureaucratic administration. These systems, which form the context within which the lifeworld operates, can suppress the lifeworld, creating conflict, distorting communication or communicative action - resulting in a power clash between the lifeworld and systems.

The interactive flow of knowledge, process of communication, and communicative (inter) action, negotiation, speech act, consensus building and negotiations, narratives at all levels, discourses and relations between *"different actors in the lifeworld"* (Habermas) provides a new/another perspective on the complex social nexus and the complex web of social relations in which we live our lives (Healey (1997: 57 -58). According to Healey (1997: 58), this complex web of social relations (hereafter referred as "the social web"), has points of intersection or nodes which are normally the common spaces of the institutions, associations etc or *"the arenas where systems of meaning, ways of acting and ways of valuing are learned, transmitted and sometimes transformed"*. It is the dynamics within these social webs that "create" different forms of power and power relations.

Thomas Wartenburg refers to the concept of a *"social alignment"* that "*provides a way of understanding the 'field' that constitutes a situated power relationship as a power relationship".* According to Wartenburg, this social alignment (within the context of power relations) can only be

created if the coordinated practice of the social agents (which form the alignment) are so comprehensive that the social agents facing the alignment encounter it as having control over certain things he or she might need or desire (see Foucault in Gutting edt.1994). This argument further indicates that power is distributed through a complex social web and mediated by social alignments (Foucault in Gutting edt.1994). Kogler (1996: 235) also states that power is a system of social networks that are founded as such within the 'social and historical lifeworld'.

This relationship between social relations and power is also underscored by Antony Giddens' structuration theory which amongst others states that we as humans or social beings live through culturally bound structures of rules and resource flows, and in, and through dense and diffuse sets of relational webs, each one of which presents an active context of our lives. According to Giddens, these webs are continuously shaped by structuring forces - also referred to as the power(full) forces all around us (see Foucault in Gutting edt. 1994).

Based on the foregoing discussion and the works of Habermas, Healey, Wartenburg, Kogler, Giddens, and Hillier, it is evident that the dynamic and interacting social relations (and communicative action) are, not only associated with power relations, but also responsible for "creating" specific power relations. During the late nineties and early 2000, various planners in the academic field, such as Forester, Hoch, Healey, Flyvbjerg, Lapintie, Hillier, Allmendinger, and Watson explored these social relations in an attempt to better understand the dynamics of it, as well as its relationship with power relations.

Although Habermas was "somewhat silent" on the issues of power, Foucault provided "power(full)" viewpoints on the social nexus within which Habermas' communicative action is exercised .

## 2.4 MACHIAVELLI AND FOUCAULT ON POWER

The question of the exercise of power has always played a central role in human sciences Allmendinger (2001:221). Machiavelli already in the early 1500s presented a useful (and somewhat shocking and evil) discussion on power in his classic work *"The Prince"* (Machiavelli)[16]. Machiavelli states that the wish to acquire more power is admittedly a very natural and common phenomenon. He presented various tactics and strategies, based on his combat experiences, on how to obtain power (at all cost), how to maintain power through prowess and fortune, and how to exercise power, by fighting by law or by force. Machiavelli's aggressive ways of "becoming a Prince" is typical of the dominatory power, which is so synonymous with power in general.

[16] Machiavelli's work was translated in 1961 by George Bull.

For many years power was seen as part of the juridical or dominatory authority concepts - something that was exercised (enforced) by some on others, similar to the powers held and exercised by "Machiavelli's Prince". Power in Western Capitalism was denounced by the Marxists as class or production domination while proponents of Soviet Social power referred to it as totalitarianism (Foucault in Faubion edt. 1994). It took many years for the Western world to realise that power is more than juridical and negative and that it could also be technical and positive (see also Allmendinger 2001; Foucault in Faubion edt. 1994: 122). During the 1960s, Foucault studied the mechanics of power in themselves *"on the basis of daily struggles at grass-roots levels, among those whose fight was located in the fine meshes of power"* (Foucault in Faubion edt. 1994: 122). Foucault, mainly based on his work *"Discipline and Punish"* (Foucault 1975, translated by Sheridan in 1977), radically reformulated the concept of power[17]. Drawing on the theories of Nietzsche, Foucault also linked power with the flow of knowledge (and communication) (Allmendinger 2001: 26; see also Forester 1982; and Hillier 2002: 49). Foucault's involvement with hermeneutic sociology and the study of people and institutions also resulted in a major (re)conceptualisation of strategic power relations in support of Habermas' theory of communicative action (Foucault in Gutting edt.1994: 236 - 237).

Unlike Habermas who believes that power can be 'bracketed' in consensus seeking process, Foucault believes that power can not be 'bracketed' in view of the fact that it is everywhere and that it comes from everywhere. Foucault largely redirected the focus on power away from the centre, the nodes (in the social web), the locus, institutions, and juridical structures etc. He argued that power was something that flows from the centre to the peripheries, that it circulates through individuals and binds them together in a net or web of relationships (Foucault 1996; Foucault in Faubion edt. 1994; and Foucault in Gutting edt.1994). This web (which was also referred to by Foucault as the general matrix of force relations at a given time in a given society) is loosely structured into disciplines within which power and knowledge are linked (Hillier 200: 49). Foucault specifically states that power relations are rooted deeply in the social nexus (Foucault in Faubion edt.1994) and that it has become embodied within local discourse and institutions (such as planning) (Foucault in Allmendinger 2001:219 - 220). Foucault in Faubion (edt.) (1994: 340) however argues that power only exists when exercised by some on others - it is not simply a relationship between partners but a way (the communicative action) in which some act on others. It's the type of behaviour between individuals and groups that create power - through communication and communicative action (see also Foucault in Gutting edt.1994: 34).

[17] Foucault's book *"Discipline and Punish"* presented an opportunity for inquiry and new kinds of knowledge of human beings - even as they created new forms of control. This book specifically highlighted the scale and continuity of the exercise of power (Foucault in Sheridan 1977).

Although Foucault and Habermas, as well as their follower-theorists, view social relations and power relations as different, non-interchangeable entities, it seems to be evident from the foregoing discussion that these social and power relations are somewhat related as they both form an integral part of the social nexus. This correlation between social relations and power further shows how strategic and communicative action mutually conditions one another, and secondly how a certain kind of power accompanies any speech action (see Foucault in Gutting edt.1994: 237).

Based on this premise of this "integrated" social/power web, a number of other Foucauldian "power arguments and theories" are presented[18]. Foucault argues that power is not only a supplementary structure over and above society. This implies that the state (authority) cannot occupy the whole field of power as it can only operate on already existing power relations - the so-called metapower. Foucault refers to *"the whole set of little powers"* or *"little institutions"* at the lowest level. Unlike Machiavelli's viewpoint on the power of *"The Prince"*, Foucault argues that power is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; instead power is a matter of subtle and meticulous control of bodies rather than the influence by ethical and judicial ideas and institutions. This aspect is further supported by Thomas Wartenburg's discussion on power, within the context of the social alignment discussed previously (see Foucault in Gutting edt.1994). Foucault argues that power is not only disposed by agents (in the social alignment), but also through the so called *"instruments of power"* such as buildings, documents, tools etc. (Foucault in Gutting edt.1994: 106). Power must be understood as a *"multiplicity of force relations"* that is *"produced from one moment to the next in all points and all relations"* (see also Flyvbjerg 2001:120). Foucault further argues that resistance is intrinsic to all power relations - *"where there is power there is resistance".*

These characteristics and dynamics of Foucault's "powers" are typical and reminiscent of the powers and power relations found in most planning environments, see McCloughlin (1992); McClendon and Quay (1992); Brooks (1996: 118 - 131); Marris (1998: 16); Flyvbjerg 1996; 1998 a and b; 2001; Allmendinger (2001); Watson (2001); Lapintie (2002); Hillier (2002); and Homann (2005). In view of the above, Foucault's power(full) theories (within the context of the social nexus) were used as a basis for the theoretical framework for analysis for this particular study, as discussed in later paragraphs.

[18] These arguments are derived from various readings and discussions on the works of Foucault, see Flyvbjerg (1998); Lapintie (2002); Hillier (2001); Allmendinger (2001); Watson (2001); Kogler (1996); Foucault in Gutting edt. (1994); and Foucault in Faubion edt. (1994: 345).

As a result of the dispersed nature of power, and the different types of power relations in different parts and levels of the so-called power web, this power web has the inherent potential to erupt (see also Hoch 1984). Allmendinger (2001:39) argues that, as a result of the power web that has no centre, we find micro political resistance to (increasingly) centralised forms of power, or the type of power possessed by *"The Prince"*. Foucault gives a central position to the concept of resistance by linking his power theory with that of localised forms of power struggles. He argues that resistance sets itself against every form of external determination that makes self-realisation impossible (Kogler 1996: 239). While Foucault was studying power, he also studied examples of resistance and opposition to power; anti-authority struggles; opposition of power over women; administration over people etc. Foucault identified three common types of struggles, *viz:* the struggles against forms of domination; exploitation; and subjection (Foucault in Faubion edt. 1994: 329).

Although emphasis is placed on the dominatory types of infra power [*sous-pouvoir*] such as juridical, economic and political power and panopticism[19] (Foucault), there are many other types of power present and active in the power web such as professional power[20], community/ neighbourhood power[21] (see Forester 1987; Hoch 1984; and Hillier 2002), and community and social power (Habermas). These different types of power (within Foucault's web of power) each with its own strengths and weaknesses can result in unbalanced power relations (Forester 1987: 305). The weaker party normally loses, because the type of mediation/negotiation is normally a political strategy applied in such a way to favour the "power at hand" (Forester 1987: 305). This creates a range of power relations that are contingent and fragile (Allmendinger 2001:26-39) and relationships that are marked by power struggles and conflict (Kogler 1996: 235). Again, these power relations, struggles and conflict are typical of the planning environment, specifically in the local authority environment with its political influences and powers, see Forester (1982); Hoch (1984); McCloughlin (1992), McClendon and Quay (1992); Brooks (1996: 118 - 131); Marris (1998: 16); Flyvbjerg 1996; 1998 a and b; 2001; Allmendinger (2001); Lapintie (2002); Watson (2001); and Hillier (2002); and Homann (2005). Planners often work in imbalances of power and with conflicting political goals and a "communicative infrastructure" that are shaped by power structures

[19] According to Foucault in Faubion edt. (1994) panopticism is one of the fundamental characteristics of power relations in our society. It is a type of power that is applied to individuals in the form of continuous individual supervision, in the form of control, punishment and compensation and in the form of correction. It implies the molding and transformation of individuals in terms of certain norms.

[20] Professional power relates to the power of e.g. planners - to influence developments, processes, procedures decisions, communities etc (Forester 1987: 303). Planners' information and knowledge is a strong source of power. It can be used to influence groups etc, it legitimises and rationalises the maintenance of existing power, control and ownership (watchdog). The information provides planners with the advantage of knowing where and how to find things and do things etc. (Forester 1982: 68; see also Hoch 1984).

[21] Neighbourhood and community power is a type of power that is created through democratic rights, "the voice" of individuals and groups and social expression (Forester 1987: 303 and Hoch 1984).

(Forester 1987:303). In the light of the foregoing it has become increasingly important for planners (and those professions working with power and politics) to better understand the dynamics of power and power relations. Planners will have to resist a "bad" concentration of power or dominatory centres of power (Allmendinger 2001: 219 - 221), and to address the wrong types of communicative action that can in fact become weapons in a continuous power struggle (Lapintie 2002; see also Flyvbjerg 1998; and Watson 2001).

Based on the work of Healey (1997), Hillier (2002), and Forester (1987: 306 - 310), a wide range of strategies could be used to address the conflict and the power planning dilemmas and to reach common ground or consensus. This aim of balancing power relations (and struggles) largely resonates with Healey's concept of achieving a *"shared language"* through a process of interactive imagining and consensus building (Healey1997). Hillier captured the essence of the challenge facing planners in local authorities with her theory on *"discursive democracy*". This theory, which largely draws on the works of Habermas and Healey promotes: *"a process of open discussion in which all points of view can be heard and that the policy outcome/s which result/s is/are legitimate when they reflect the mutual understandings (through reciprocity, reflexivity, respect, cooperation, etc.)"* (Hillier 2002: 77).

Not only does Foucault's theories present valuable insight on the typical power relations found in the local authority-planning environment as discussed earlier on, but his work also has significant value for planning, and more specifically the democratic and argumentative types of planning which seem to be dominating the planning praxis. His work enables us to better understand power in the multiplicity of micro practices that comprises everyday life, and to appreciate that power is a relational process rather than a commodity operating from the top down (Hillier 2001: 49). Watson (2001) states that Foucault's concept of power has value in terms of its diffuse form, while the idea of the "micro- physics" of power suggests its location in everyday practices. Foucault helps us to understand that power is omnipresent and that there are various different types of power on different levels, unlike the old perception that power is a bad, evil and dominatory force, or something in the hands of *"The Prince",* as presented by the classic work of Machiavelli. Foucault not only provides an understanding of the complex web of power relations, but his theories also help us to understand relationships and struggles between people in the lifeworld and in the planning domain. It shows how different powers work with, and against each other, and how power clashes can result in conflict. Foucault's work further helps us to understand certain types of behaviour and actions of individuals and groups, why they do or don't do certain things and why they react or resist certain influences, e.g. change. By having an understanding of power relations, individuals and groups, and planners working within such a power web could develop strategies to

exploit "good" powers and to combat "bad" powers. This could also help planners to deal more effectively with resistance, struggles and conflict. These aspects are much relevant in the planning environment and will therefore form part of the (theoretical) framework for analysis. There seems to be little doubt that future planning theory will have to focus more on the Foucauldian concepts of power and knowledge (Lapintie 2002).

## 2.5 POWER AND RATIONALITY - AND THE POWER OF (COMMUNICATIVE) RATIONALITY

Various studies, specifically in the field of planning have focused on the relationship and conflict between power and rationality and the role of politics in planning, see Forester (1982); Hoch (1984); McCloughlin (1992), McClendon and Quay (1992); Brooks (1996: 118 - 131); Marris (1998: 16); Flyvbjerg 1996; 1998 a and b; 2001; Allmendinger (2001); Lapintie (2002); Watson (2001); and Hillier (2002); and Homann (2005). These studies amongst others present an example of the web of inter-related social relations (the social web), the dynamic process of communicative action (or lack thereof) as well as the power struggles, conflict and resistance associated with it.

When it comes to the volatile role of the planner in the web of power relations and the planner's "contingent and fragile" relation with other powers in the web (specifically within the context of the 'lifeworld' and the 'realpolitik'), it is imperative to focus on the contributions by Bent Flyvbjerg on power (relations). Flyvbjerg who largely drew on the work of Foucault (Flyvbjerg 1998 b) developed a new insight on the conflict between *'power and rationality*'. Based on his recent case study in the City of Aalborg (Flyvbjerg 1998 a), he came to the conclusion that *"power defines rationality, and the greater the power, the less the rationality*". Flyvbjerg specifically emphasises the power of realpolitik "over" that of rational planning actions, i.e. *"the force of deliberate distortion of documentation, behind-the-scenes negotiations, undemocratic coalitions, and the dominance of rhetorical persuasion"; vis a vis "the force of the better argument"* as promoted by Habermas. This provides a new insight on the planner's role within the political arena and emphasises the need for planners to create consensus and to be neutral towards power.

Lapintie (2002) states that Flyvbjerg's arguments are relevant in view of the fact that it provides a comprehensive and painstaking example of planning in a local political context, and that it provides an antitheses of the Utopianism of both the rational and communicative approaches to planning. Flyvbjerg's spearhead (according to Lapintie 2002) is largely directed at planning theory that backs this *naivete*: the idea of common objectives and evaluation of alternatives based on scientific documentation; and the communicative idea of 'the force of the better argument'. Forester (1999) also views Flyvbjerg's work as *"superb and compelling",* but agrees with Lapintie that the

theoretical perspectives and analysis are over-generalized. See also critique on Flyvbjerg in Homann (2005). Hoch (1984: 342), based numerous empirical studies which were done during the last thirty years on the dominance of power relations in the conception, development and implementation of plans argues that the practical implementation of plans, allocation of resources are still mostly guided *by "the force of politics"* (Flyvbjerg) and less so by *'the force of the better argument"* as required by communicative action (Habermas).

Although the contributions of Flyvbjerg is recognised and highly valued in many planning circles, it can also be criticised (also from a Habermasian perspective) for not effectively focussing on "the power of (communicative) rationality". Firstly, if one accepts the 'power web relations theory' of Foucault and the notion that power is omnipresent and on all levels, then we must also accept the power of other less important structures in the web e.g. the planners, communities, officials (Foucault's *"whole set of little powers"* or *"little institutions"* at the lowest level). Secondly, as discussed previously (Healey, Wartenburg, Kogler, Foucault, and Hillier), power can be created or disposed through communicative action, speech, argumentation etc - the more effective these actions the stronger the power. Thirdly, when the omnipresent little institutions and little powers (Foucault) or agents are aligned and combined in a 'proper social alignment' (as defined by Wartenburg), exercising effective communicative action, new and stronger powers and power relations are created. Not only does this support Foucault's viewpoint, that power is not *"something over another"* but rather *"something in relation to others"*, but it also supports Habermas' argument relating to the "the force of the better argument". It further highlights the fact that good arguments and effective communicative action, specifically within a proper social alignment does not have to be dominated by *a* power structure - on the contrary, such communicative actions, if exercised properly have *the* "power" and potential to challenge the so called dominatory central power structures (and political powers).

Again taking a Habermasian viewpoint on Foucault, and respecting the viewpoints of Healey and Hillier, on communicative action, it is imperative to recognise the role that effective and appropriate communicative action can play in combating power conflict, specifically in the planning environment. Hillier (2002:32) states that communicative action can assist actors to express defense reactions to colonisation of the lifeworld, e.g. through local protests against certain power actions or institutions, e.g. the anti-nuclear movement. Lapintie (2002) also supports the notion that communicative action, if applied successfully, could be used to solve problems of traditional planning and the related power/authority dominance. Flyvbjerg (1998) further states that the works of both Foucault and Habermas highlight an essential tension between conflict and consensus as it emphasise the need for planners to think more in terms of conflict and power - and to seek

consensus (see also Forester 1982: 67; Brooks 1996:118- 31; Harrison 1997: 40; Marris 1998:16; Lapintie 2002;and Hillier 2002).

Flyvbjerg has clearly underestimated the power of social relations and alignments, and communicative action, and more so the potential and combined effect/power of such social actions/powers. Lapintie (2002) also argues that Flyvbjergs' statement of "power defines rationality" could be widely criticised if this rationality is construed as 'communicative rationality'. This power of (communicative) rationality has become specifically relevant in argumentative and democratic planning. In the light of the above, this study primarily focuses on the relationship between power and rationality, and more specifically within the context of the social nexus and communicative action.

Allmendinger (2001: 201-202) based on a case study of a redevelopment scheme in the city centre of Frome (Mendip District Council) also examined the phenomenon of power relations within a planning environment. He refers to the "micro politics" of planning practice which resulted from the conflict and friction between the various role players in the planning and decision making process, e.g. the planners, the politicians and the developers. Like Flyvbjerg, Allmendinger also highlights the power (domination) of the politicians and the CEO in the planning process, and the way in which planners' roles were marginalised. Allmendinger, however unlike Flyvbjerg, also recognised the rational power of the planners and how the planners exercised their knowledge /professional power in enforcing their ideas on the design and layout of the proposed development (the typical modernist rational process). Watson 2001 (130 - 131), based on her case study of spatial planning in the Cape Town Metropolitan Council (which also draws on the works of Foucault and Flyvbjerg), refers to the "micro physics of power" which have shaped the planning process. She goes further to emphasise the power(full) and central role which "discourse - coalition building" played in shaping the planning process and helping the spatial planners to exercise their power within the metropolitan authority - yet another example of the power of communicative action and combined social/power relations.

Lapintie (2002:13) argues that it is difficult to maintain the clear dichotomies between rationality, power and knowledge. Instead of a struggle between rationality and power, *"the realm of planning consists of a multitude of smaller and larger power struggles, where the possible roles and agencies of different actors are in fact constituted".* The above discussion, not only highlights the confusion and different opinions on the relationship between power, rationality and communication, but it also highlights the need to better understand power relations and the dynamics of power in

the complex and volatile planning environment. It is this complexity of power relations that have become so important in the study of planning practice.

## 2.6 A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

Based on the foregoing theoretical framework, a framework for analysis is presented. Within the context of the specific postmodern and naturalistic nature of this study and the research as discussed in Chapter 3, this framework must be construed as *a* framework that directs the analysis, and not *the* framework that (de) confines the study.

The study uses the transformation of the urban planning system in the City of Tshwane during the period 1992 to 2002 as a case study to analyse and deconstruct the dynamic and complex power relations in a local authority-planning environment (specifically during a turbulent period of transformation). This Tshwane case study furthermore unravels and narrates the way in which powers and power relations were affected by the transformation, and in turn how it affected the transformation of urban planning in the City of Tshwane. As a result of the integrated nature of the so-called power web and the social web (power relations and social relations) as discussed earlier on, the study specifically explores the dynamics of power relations within the context of social relations and alignments and communicative action. The study further unravels the nature of power relations, specifically at the intersections or nodes of the web and deconstructs the fine grain of the power web or the so - called micro physics of power (Watson 2001) in terms of the local authority-planning environment. In an attempt to better understand the effect and behavior of power relations, the study explores the different types and levels of power and its characteristics, the ways in which the different powers traverse and change in the web, the impact on each other (the general matrix of force relations), and lastly its impact on people and systems.

The study further unpacks the illusive power relations in a local authority planning environment with specific reference to the relationship between power and rationality and the ways in which “power defines rationality” (similar to the work of Flyvbjerg 1998 and Watson 2001 with regard to power and rationality). In response to these studies, the study explores the possibilities (and power) of the “the force of the better argument” or rationality (within the context of communicative action, local discourse and social power) and the affect which this could have on power relations - “the power of (communicative) action”.

# CHAPTER 3
# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

## 3.1 EMERGING RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES WITHIN "THE POSTMODERN"

As the "modernist project" began to dwindle, and as the new postmodern planning theories developed during the past few decades, i.e. the "communicative turn in planning" and the emerging focus on people, human action, planning practice (and power), the theory and practice of research methodology in the field of planning also went through a similar transformation. Not only did the new planning theories prompt new debates and propositions on planning and planning theory, but they also opened up new and more diverse postmodern approaches to research, specifically in the social sciences.

Notwithstanding the general critique on the modernist (planning) approach with its rigid, scientific, structural and rational focus (as discussed in Chapter 2), this approach was also criticised for dominating certain types of research and for not describing human action satisfactorily. This critique, supported and contextualised by the emerging focus on social rationality and "the postmodern", (re)directed the focus of planning research - towards studying planning practice, human action and the complex web of social and power relations. As planning became more concerned with the social sciences (and more part of it), planners increasingly started adopting more of the qualitative methods that were developed and applied by social sciences, specifically within the context of "the postmodern" (Allmendinger 2001). As Watson (2001) argues, "the postmodern" created a space for the emergence of new thinking and the ascendancy of new theoretical claims. Sayer in Allmendinger (2001: 211) qualifies postmodern methodology (within the context of social theory) as a methodology/ and approach that *"refuses all talk of truth and falsity; denies any relationship between thought and the world; rejects the possibility of empirical testing; asserts that we do not 'discover' things empirically but constitute them socially and theoretically; prioritises local knowledge over foundational metatheories; relativizes cultural differences"*[1].

This social focus on planning research and the open and flexible postmodern approaches, raised a concern (amongst others from the old school planners who were moulded in the modernist planning paradigm), that planning would not be able to achieve "scientific results" through social, qualitative research (Forester and Hoch 1996). Harrison (1998) however argues that pragmatists could recognize and adopt many of the potential contributions of postmodernism and still avoid

[1] See also Innes (1995); Allmendinger (2001); and Watson (2001) on the new postmodern types of planning methodology.

those elements of postmodernism that leave planners less able to act effectively. Allmendinger (2001:211-212) also recognises the challenge and concerns regarding the new types of postmodern methodology and discusses ways in which pragmatism and hermeneutics could be applied in postmodern research.

Allmendinger (2001:212) briefly explains the commonalities and the differences between pragmatism and the postmodern and the overlaps between pragmatic thinking and postmodernism. Pragmatic planning theory does not require necessary and certain knowledge - but reasons, descriptions, and beliefs - that others can recognise, understand, and use to guide their actions (Hoch 1996: 32). Hoch in Allmendinger (2001: 212) states that *"pragmatism does not tell us what ends to pursue, but offers a kind of inquiry that compares the value of different courses of action alternatively weighing means and ends - facts and values. It binds together what dualistic thinking keeps apart - knowledge and action or, perhaps a bit more precisely, theoretical reflection and common sense".* Hoch (1996) on Rorty further argues that pragmatists do not find the correspondence between truth and practice, but identify and describe the consequences of action. Hoch (1996: 32) further states that pragmatic orientation provides important insights for the reconstruction of a type of planning that can resist the encroachment of coercive power relations (the core component of this study). Although there are different types of pragmatism (Hoch; Allmendinger; Rorty; and Dewey), the type most applicable to this study (and naturalistic and postmodern research) relates to pragmatic phenomenology and hermeneutics.

Phenomenology promotes the belief that people should be studied free of any preconceived theories or suppositions about how they act (Allmendinger 2001: 214). Hermeneutics on the other hand is more concerned with, *"looking for the meaning behind actions - looking for an appreciation of why things take place rather than trying to explain it"* (Allmendinger 2001: 214; see also McBurney 1994; Hoch and Forester 1996). Pragmatic phenomenology and hermeneutics, like the postmodern, are based on the premise that *"human knowledge is subjective"*. This involves suspending the observer's view of *the world* so as not to contaminate interpretation (Allmendinger 2001: 213; see also Hoch and Forester 1996; Yiftachel and Huxley 2000; and Rorty and Dewey). Pragmatic phenomenology and hermeneutics as a methodological approach, is primarily associated with the so-called participant observation methods and detailed ethnographic studies (and social inquiry) where the researcher becomes part of the world of the subject being studied (see also Moore 1987; Jorgenson 1989; Yin 1994 and Harris and Judd 2002). Rorty refers to *pragmatic inquiry* which critically compares the relative efficacy of different varieties of speech and actions which people use to identify, meet and interpret their goals (Yiftachel and Huxley 2000).

Forester (1996: 512) states that science is a cultural form of argument, not a valueless, passionless use of magical techniques (so often found in the rational modernist paradigm). "*Instead of vying with one another to establish the definite rational model, we may do well to settle for the more modest expectations of critical pragmatism*" (Hoch 1996: 43).

### 3.2 THE PRACTICE MOVEMENT, PHRONESIS AND POWER

So far much has been said about the communicative turn in planning; the new theories, debates and propositions on planning; and the emerging postmodern planning methodologies. Within the context of these new theories and trends, and the new realisation of the lifeworld, it is obvious that a new interest and focus had to develop on the study of practice, the study of human action and behaviour, specifically within the complex web of social and power relations - as is evident in the work of Flyvbjerg (1998 a and b and 2001); Watson (2001); Allmendinger (2001); Hillier (2002); and Lapintie (2002).

This new focus on the study of practice (and people) has gained much attention in recent years and reference is made to *"practice writing"* or the so-called *"practice movement"*. Although *"the practice movement"* is regarded as new theory (Watson 2001), it is more *a* new movement or trend, or a new type of research methodology. The practice movement is not only associated with the study and description of practices and experiences, but also the interpretation and analysis of practice, in such a way that theories are challenged and new propositions are developed (see also Innes and Forester in Watson 2001). Innes (1995: 183) in Watson (2001) also refers to *"the new type of planning theorists"* as those *"who take practice as the raw material of their inquiry"*. She further argues that context-bound accounts of planning practice can give a better insight into the nature and possibilities of planning practice than the previous theories were able to do (Watson 2001). Today, many planning theorists such as Forester, Healey, Watson, Hoch and Innes hold a dominant position within the practice movement[2].

Within the context of the practice movement, Flyvbjerg (2001) in his recent book *"Making Social Science Matter"* presents a contemporary view of the Aristotelian concept of *phronesis*, which can be translated as *"prudence"* or *"practical wisdom"*. He argues that *phronesis* or as he refers to it as *"phronetic social science"* is related to the highest, *"expert"* level of learning as described by the Dreyfus model. According to Flyvbjerg (2001: 63), this phronetic social science is associated with a focus on values; a closeness of authors to the object of their study; a focus on details of practices that "*make up the basic concerns of life"*; extensive use of case studies; the use of narrative as

[2] According to Campbell and Fainstain (1996: 4) most of these theorists were inspired by Habermas.

revelatory tool; and a dialogical slant that allows for other voices than that of the author to be heard. This type of research (similar to the practice movement) is unequivocally practice-oriented as it primarily focuses on practical activity and practical knowledge in everyday situations (Flyvbjerg 2001:134).

This type of practice writing or *phronetic research* has become specifically appropriate in the study of power relations - as is evident by the works of Flyvbjerg (1998), and Watson (2001). Flyvbjerg (2001), largely based on Foucault's power theories, and his former study of power in the City of Aalborg (Flyvbjerg 1998 a and b), combines the principle of power with that of *phronesis*. Within the context of this added (power) dimension, he emphasises *"practical knowledge and practical ethics"* (Flyvbjerg 2001:56) and argues that *phronesis* is a *"sense of the ethical practical"* (Ibid 57). According to Flyvbjerg (2001) this proposition implies that practice is interpreted historically and in terms of politics and ethics. This underscores the need for researchers to use a methodology that takes account of the complex and unstable process according to which discourses can be both an instrument of power and its effect..." (ibid 124).

The relationship between the study of practice and power is further supported and illustrated by the works of Foucault. Foucault in Faubion (1994:10) refers to *"the archaeological and genealogical methods of research*" and his desire to write *"histories of the present"* and histories about practices and institutions (and power). Foucault's *"histories of experience"* were based on the perception that *"something is terribly wrong (intolerable) in the present"* (e.g. current social circumstances in an institution). His primary goal was not to understand the past, but to understand the present - or to use an understanding of the past to understand something that is wrong in the present. However whereas, the *archaeological method* is more concerned with writing the history of thought (as is evident in Foucault's book *"The Archaeology of Knowledge"* (Foucault 1969, translated by Sheridan in 1972) his *genealogical approach* is specifically related with the analysis of power and power relations and the imposition of power on bodies (See also Foucault in Faubion 1994:10). Foucault also supports the argument that the study of practice and power should be from the bottom up and not the top down (Allmendinger 2001). His theory that states that power is omnipresent in the everyday life further highlights the relationship between the study of practice and power. There seems to be some agreement that any analysis of power must not be done from a specific context - it must proceed from the diversity and uniqueness of the social and political contexts under consideration (Kogler 1996: 219; Flyvbjerg 1998; Watson 2001; and Hillier 2002: 47).

## 3.3 EXPLORING THE PRACTICE AND POWERS IN THE CITY OF TSHWANE THROUGH NATURALISTIC CASE STUDY RESEARCH

The Tshwane study is about people, people's behaviour, social and power relations between different people – it is about what people say; how and why they do and say certain things; how and why they act in a certain way; how they feel; etc. It is a story of people and change in a specific local authority (*real life* situation) during a 12 year time period. The Tshwane study is inherently a study of planning practice and power - hence the rationale for locating the study within the ambit of the practice movement, phronesis and the pragmatic phenomenology and hermeneutics as discussed in the foregoing paragraphs.

This type of practice writing is also typical of the naturalistic/ qualitative research methods[3] found in the social sciences and more specifically the case study method[4]. Gillham (2000: 5) states that the naturalistic style of case study research is a legitimate method of inquiry that makes it appropriate to study human phenomena in the *lifeworld*. Erlandson *et al* (1993: 14) refers to the shift to the new naturalistic paradigm that assumes that there are multiple realities, with differences among them that cannot be resolved through rational processes. Qualitative methods enable the case study researcher to carry out an investigation where other methods - such as experiments - are either not practical or not ethically justifiable. These methods have the potential to explore complexities that are beyond the scope of more controlled approaches. This seek to 'get under the skin' of a group or organisation - to find out what really happens and to see the case from the inside (Gillham 2001:11). Case study research stresses the holistic examination of phenomena (and the real life) and seeks to avoid separation of components from the larger context (Gillham 2001: 11; see also Yin 1994: 3; Erlandson *et al* 1993: 14; Flyvbjerg 2001:135 and Watson 2001).

The value of case study research is further underscored by Flyvbjerg who describes case study research as *"a method of learning"* and a process which produces the type of knowledge that makes it possible to progress from the lower levels of human learning to the higher levels (Flyvbjerg 2001:71). He (ibid 82) further argues that detailed closeness to real-life situations offered by *phronesis* case studies is helpful in developing a nuanced view of reality.

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[3] Tuffy *et al* (1996: 4) (based on a definition of Robert Emerson on field research) defines qualitative research as: *"the study of people in their natural environments as they go about their daily lives. It tries to understand how people live, how they talk and behave, and what captivates and distresses them...More importantly, it strives to understand the meaning people's words and behaviours have for them".*

[4] Yin (1994: 13) defines a case study as an empirical enquiry that *"investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real - life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident*" See also definitions by Moore (1987); Gillham (2000: 1); and Moore and Ormrod (2001:149).

Unlike some of the traditional social research methods such as historical research, case study research as defined above has the ability to cover a wider range of contextual conditions, through multiple sources of evidence and a range of research methods (Gillham 2000:13; Moore 1987; and McBurney 1994; and Yin 1994)[5]. It is not only an all-encompassing research method but also a primary research method in its own right (Yin 1994:8).

Participant-observation

Participant-observation is a very common and popular case study method, specifically in cases where the researcher is in the setting in some active sense - perhaps even working there. This method is all about "keeping your ears and eyes open", noticing things that you might normally overlook (Gillham 2000; see also Moore (1987); Erlandson *et al* (1993:28 - 29); and Hoyle, Harris and Judd (2002:392). Through participant observation, it is possible to describe what goes on, how things occur - at least from the standpoint of participants (Jorgenson 1989:12). This method creates the distinctive opportunity to view or perceive the reality from the viewpoint of someone from "inside" the case study (Yin 1994:87). This participant-observation method has exceptional value for studies, which focus on processes, relationships between people and events, continuities over time and patterns (Jorgenson 1989: 12; and Moore 1987). The method is appropriate for exploratory studies, descriptive studies and studies aimed at generating theoretical interpretations or critically examining theories and other claims of knowledge. Ultimately, the methodology aims to generate practical and theoretical truths about human life grounded in the realities of daily existence (Jorgenson 1989: 14).

Based on these characteristics of the participant-observation method, compared with the specific naturalistic nature of the Tshwane case, it is evident that the participant-observation method was an appropriate method to be used in the Tshwane study. What makes this method more relevant and appropriate is the fact that the researcher (as a participant and observer) was working in (and with) the environment (real life) which he was observing and studying. Throughout the research period, the researcher (as a planner and manager in the planning department) was continuously and regularly part of many discussion sessions, negotiations, workshops, meetings and debates related to urban planning - and an integral part of the web of power relations. This made it possible for the researcher to "observe as a participant" and to record these observations.

[5] Yin (1994:78) refers to the six sources of evidence that characterise the multi method approach, namely documents, archival information, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artifacts. See also Gillham (2000:13); Moore (1987);and McBurney (1994) on the case study methods.

According to Yin (1994: 87) there are various ways in which a researcher/participant observer can participate - from merely observing (from the outside), having casual interactions, to actually participating actively in the functional activities. The participant observation method followed in Tshwane was a purposeful, planned and structured endeavour that implied the active involvement, participation and observation of the real life, while actively involved with it, or actually working there - an *in sito* type of participant observation. Some of the observations of the Tshwane case were however also done from 'the outside', at a later stage, after the events had taken place. This type of *ex post facto* or *retrospective* participant observation is primarily concerned with writing about, and explaining things/phenomenon that you (as a former participant or worker in the particular environment) have observed and experienced some time ago. This method although less structured and more passive provided insights on the case study and also has value in terms of the fact that it can be done at a later stage and another place[6].

This active participation and insider's role can however result in bias of the observer (Yin 1994: 87), while the value of observations could be affected by aspects such as *"mood, prior knowledge or information, values and norms, religious conviction and all other factors that constitute human diversity"* (Moore 1987). See also later discussion on research integrity.

The participant observation method was also used in two recent comparable case studies on the typical South African local authority planning environment - namely the case study done by Watson (2001) and the more recent and very similar Tshwane case study by Homann (2005).

Questionnaires and interviews

During July 1999 a comprehensive perception survey was done to obtain inputs, comments and critique of some of the prominent role players that were concerned and involved with the development and transformation of urban planning in the City of Pretoria/Tshwane. The primary aim of the perception survey was to determine how the various role players involved with urban planning experienced the new planning approaches and more specifically the impact which it had on urban planning and the local authority in general. The questionnaire contained 31 open-ended questions on topics related to IDP and urban planning (see Annexure 1). The questionnaire was delivered by hand to 60 role players in the city who were selected to present the broader spectrum

[6] Throughout the study (1997 - 2005), the researcher was working in the Municipality (the case study). During these years, the participant "directly" observed - for the purpose of the study. It should however be noted that certain observations referred to in the study were made (*ex post facto*) at a later stage and in hindsight.

of urban planning[7]. In spite of various efforts to retrieve the comments, a poor response was received from primarily the councillors and the members of the Planning Zone Forums, and only thirty-three of the sixty questionnaires (slightly more than 50% of the questionnaires) were completed and returned[8]. This response did, however, represent the full spectrum of role players. Most questions were thoroughly answered and the majority of responses provided useful information on the various topics[9]. The questionnaires were analysed and processed and the responses of the various respondents were included and integrated with the relevant parts of the study.

One of the major shortcomings of the perception survey, which was completed in mid-1999, was that it only presented viewpoints on a certain component and time frame of the transformation of urban planning. For this reason a supplementary interview survey was conducted in 2002 (see Annexure 2). This interview survey (2002) also referred to by Gillham (2000) as *"elite interviewing"* aimed to obtain specific viewpoints from 14 selected role players on specific issues that were not effectively dealt with by the other surveys, or specific experts who were able to give answers with insight. These role players were selected mainly based on their close involvement with the transformation process as well as their expertise knowledge and experience on certain issues (see Annexure 2). Gillham (2000); Moore (1987); and Hoyle, Harris and Judd (2002) emphasise the importance and value of such face-to-face interviews and the richness of the communication that can derived from it. As was expected the responses of these interviewees provided useful information on the specific topics. In some instances specific selected role players were also informally interviewed or requested to provide opinions on certain issues about a particular topic related to the study. The purpose of these informal interviews was to obtain specific viewpoints on a particular issue or topic that had to be highlighted.

In order to establish an appropriate and open relationship with the interviewees, concerted efforts were made in this study, with both the perception survey as well as the interviews, to explain the purpose of the interview and the study and also the way in which the information was to be used in the study. As and where applicable, specific comments from interviewees were included or quoted

[7] The 60 key role players were carefully selected as those people who represented the broader spectrum of issues. These role players included Planning Zone champions, planners, planning consultants, councillors, and members of the Planning Zone Forums (PZFs). Apart from the community members and councilors, the selected sample represented a 90% majority of planners and managers who participated in the development of IDP during the nineties.

[8] The reason for the poor response could probably be ascribed to the fact that the questionnaire was very comprehensive and time-consuming.

[9] A summary of the responses is provided in Annexure 1.

in the story. In some instances, where very controversial and sensitive statements were made, the identity of participants was protected[10].

Historical research

Telling stories of practice and studying cases over a period of time is also closely related to historical research - the gathering of significant historical data and facts about major events, the organisation of these facts into a chronological sequence, and the meaningful interpretation of the "*patterns of rationality*" (Leedy 1997:173 - 177) that make historical facts appear meaningful[11]. This historical periodisation has considerable power as an organising principle and as a means of giving an integrated account of a highly systematic set of social phenomena (Moore 1987; Leedy and Ormrod 2001; and McCloughlin 1992: 23).

Contextualising and founding the case study

As in most research endeavours, a case study, although it focuses on a particular case, practice story or subject, it also has to be studied and analysed within the broader context of theory, other experiences and trends, and supported by sufficient information and data. This study therefore distinguishes between the following categories of documentation, namely: planning theory (as presented in the theoretical framework for analysis in Chapter 2); general literature on urban planning and related fields[12], such as literature on other case studies, experiences and practice stories, planning methodologies, and the emerging trends in urban planning; and lastly general documentation, information and data such as government publications, council resolutions, minutes of meetings, planning reports, news paper reports, statistical data, etc.

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[10] Any research project should be governed by the ethical principles of research, such as the right of privacy and confidentiality. For more information on these ethical principles in research, see Leedy (1997) on the *Résumé of a Professional Code of Ethics of the American Sociological Association (ASA, 1982),* and McBurney (1994 ) on the code of conduct drawn up by the American Psychological Association. See also ethical guidelines presented by Leedy and Ormrod (2001: 107) and Erlandson *et al* 1993; and Hoyle, Harris and Judd 2002.

[11] The historical research component of this study was supplemented by a comprehensive search for, and a study of, available and relevant information and data such as: specific legislation, policies, government sources and view points; conference papers; council resolutions; council reports and memorandums; minutes and proceedings of workshops, meetings and working groups; office memoranda and notes; brochures, newspaper and journal articles; guideline documents; training manuals; documented comments and critique; and statistical data such as attendance figures of workshops.

[12] Although the study of planning theory and the general literature study covered many parts of the world, the most references used throughout the study were derived from the United States of America and the United Kingdom. The purpose of the literature study was not to study a particular country's planning or to present a comparative analysis of planning in different countries but rather to study various literature sources and case studies that presented applicable and relevant information on the particular study in hand. These countries, specifically in the early 1900s influenced planning thought in many western countries and also South Africa. The English language in which literature was presented also largely contributed in the promotion of planning thought that developed in these countries.

Not only do these readings provide a useful base of knowledge and the required theoretical and contextual framework, but they provide the information, data, experiences and arguments which are necessary to support the research and its trustworthiness (see also later discussions on triangulation and research integrity). Homann (2005) also argues that a study of a variety of relevant documentation not only improves the validity of the findings, but it also assists to mitigate the inevitable bias of the observations of the observer/ researcher - an aspect which is of particular importance in case study research.

### 3.4 ANALYSING AND THEORISING THE CASE STUDY DATA

One of the biggest challenges of case study research with its plethora of data and information is to effectively analyse and process the data and information in hand, and to make sense of it all. Jorgenson (1989: 107) distinguishes between analysing and theorising. Whereas analysing implies the breaking up and organising of data, and the reconstruction and reassembling of data, theorising is *"the making sense of the data"*, the construction of meaningful patterns and organisation of facts in the form of an explanation or interpretation (Jorgenson 1989:107).

Theorising, however is more than just cramming data into a theoretical framework - it is about thinking and developing grounded theory *inductively* - theory that is grounded in the evidence that is turned up (Gillham 2000; see also Jorgenson 1989: 113), and a theory that is based on rich interpretations and study of practice (see also Watson 2001; Innes in Yiftachel and Huxley 2000; Erlandson *et al* 1993:28 - 29; and Hillier 200). The building of grounded theory is also associated with *"the weaving of the multiple sources of evidence in a narrative"* (Gillham 2000: 94), the interpretation of the *"chain of evidence"* (Yin 1994), and the *"study of the patterns of behaviour" (*Flyvbjerg 2001:45). Hillier (2002: 17) within the context of the study of power and social relations refers to a type of practice-centred theorising as *"a blend of individualistic interpretation, paradigm and a practical context"*. Theory normally grows and emerges from the analytical/theorising process, as this process evolves and matures, and as the relations, patterns and themes emerge (Jorgenson 1989: 107; Tuffy *et al* 1996; see also Erlandson *et al* 1993:28 – 29; and Gillham 2000). See also later paragraphs in this section on how narrative writing and explanations contribute to building theories.

The challenge for case study researchers is therefore to conclude their studies, not only by presenting descriptions of the major themes that emerged from the data, but also by utilising the themes and their interpretations to put forward theoretical propositions. These propositions should indicate why a certain phenomenon occurs and how concepts are related (Tuffy *et al* 1996: 111) - it

should provide a perspective, a way of seeing, or an interpretation aimed at understanding certain phenomena (see also Blumer and Agar in Jorgenson 1989).

Yiftachel and Huxley (2000) however argue that most theories in planning literature have been normative and prescriptive and as such they only covered part of the theorising endeavour - focussing on *"how things should be"* rather than explaining *"why things are as they are"* - the so called explanatory theory. Unlike the "armchair theorising" of the past, the new forms of theorising according to Yiftachel and Huxley (2000) is more about critically examining planning itself - more about looking for *a* theory than *the* theory (see also Watson 2001).

Closely related to the theorising process and the value of the emergent theories is the aspect of generalisability. One of the main concerns or critiques against the case study research relates to the fact that it provides little basis for scientific generalisation, i.e. to generalize from one case to another (Yin 1994: 10; Gillham 2000: 12; and Erlandson *et al* 1993: 15 -16). This implies that proponents of naturalistic inquiry (realising the above), have to settle for a deep understanding and exploitation of social phenomena as they are observed in their own contexts - and the need to ground theory before it is applied (Erlandson *et al* 1993 15 -16). This is why the naturalistic researcher has to use an inductive theorising process so as to *"make sense of what you've found after you have found it"* (Gillham 2000: 6 - 7). Yin (1994: 10) however argues that case studies, like scientific experiments, are generalisable to theoretical propositions as is illustrated by Jane Jacobs' famous book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*[13] (Yin 1994:10). Gillham (2000:12) in support of the above argues that although research findings may not be generalisable, "the theory" created from the facts may be usable by other people (Gillham 2000: 12). The ultimate aim of the theorising process is thus to achieve generalisable additions to knowledge, or new knowledge which could contribute to the development of new theory (Gillham 2000:15). Flyvbjerg (2001:184 - 87) is also sceptical of the ideal of summarising and generalization as the outcome of social research and argues (in support of Gillham above), that the value of narrative studies lies in the narrative itself as the narrative makes the contribution, through its specific nature (see later discussion on the narrative).

As discussed in previous sections, some research processes (many of those who are influenced by the modernist paradigm) aimed to develop *the* theory or *a* grand theory; provide answers and solutions to complex problems and phenomenon; or a structured, legitimate "right" answer to a

[13] Although this book is based on experiences of New York City, the chapter topics, rather than reflecting on the single experiences of New York, cover broad theoretical issues in urban planning such as the role of side walks, the role of neighbourhood parks, the need for primary schools, etc. In the aggregate these issues in fact present the building of new theory in planning (Yin 1994: 37).

stated research question; or scientific proof or support for a particular hypothesis, or a scientific discovery. Unlike these approaches, this research process within the context (and boundaries) of "the postmodern" and naturalistic research rather aims to create a *"good productive theory"* as described by Hoyle, Harris and Judd (2002). According to them, "a productive theory" is a theory that prospers and grows, a theory that opens up new insight, or a theory that addresses important significant social phenomenon or social behaviour that needs explanation. Instead of constructing grand theories, this study rather aims to present new perspectives on phenomena related to power and power relations within a local authority-planning environment. In line with the practice movement as discussed earlier, the study further aims to expose an experience of practice and power within a local authority-planning environment - an experience from which others can learn, and an experience that others can interpret and extrapolate. According to Foucault (1994: 16) theories are not intended to be permanent structures but rather temporary scaffolding, erected for those who might find it useful. Polkinghorne (1998: 175) refers to the *"open ended"* conclusion of narrative research. Just as this study resulted in expanding the knowledge base, others can use this study to produce, as Flyvbjerg (2001:71) proposes, *"a type of knowledge that makes it possible to progress from the lower levels of human learning to the higher expert levels".*

### 3.5 RESEARCH INTEGRITY, VALIDITY AND TRUSTWORTHINESS

In most research endeavours, the challenge is to ensure a legitimate, valued and plausible study with integrity and trustworthiness. Hoyle, Harris and Judd (2002: 418) and Yin (1994:36) argue that the ultimate way of testing the validity of research findings is to test the replicability (reliability), which implies that if someone else repeats the same research he/she must make the same conclusions to make it believable. However, unlike the pure physical sciences, and also the above viewpoint on replicability, naturalistic social science research, specifically the type located within the pragmatic phenomenology and hermeneutics is not, and cannot be, about "right or wrong", about replicability and scientific validity (alone). In support of this viewpoint, Polkinghorne (1998: 175) argue that although validity is associated with conclusions based on logic and measurement data, it should (within the context of naturalistic research and the postmodern logic) rather be construed as *"the more general understanding of validity and well-grounded conclusions"* (abbreviated emphasis by author).

However, if intellectual inquiry is to have an impact on human knowledge (by adding to the overall body of knowledge) it surely must be credible and trustworthy (Erlandson *et al* 1993:28 - 29; Yin 1994;Polkinghorne 1998:174;Gillham 2000:13;and Hoyle, Harris and Judd 2002: 18). According to Yin (1994: 9 -11 and 32 - 38) and Hoyle, Harris and Judd (2002: 18) the validity of case study

research depends very much on the integrity of the researcher and the way the research is performed (the quality of the research), and according to Polkinghorne (1998:174), the design and structure of the research process.

Gillham (2000:13 - 30) presents a number of determinants for ensuring trustworthiness[14], *viz*: the need for researchers to be careful of prejudices and preferences; the need for researchers to constantly challenge and scrutinise themselves; to look for the negative, opposite and contradictory evidence or evidence that qualifies or complicates the emerging understanding; to focus on representativeness of data and to ensure that all the shades of the picture are covered; and to look for the under the surface hidden evidence.

Gillham (2000: 19) further argues that the study of multiple forms of evidence in sufficient detail not only provides a *"thick description"* which improves understanding, but the use of different methodological approaches improves the validity and trustworthiness of the evidence (See also Allmendinger 2001: 217 and Erlandson *et al* 1993:). Although Gillham (2000: 10) agrees that all evidence is of some value, he also emphasises the need to appraise the trustworthiness of all evidence and to continuously assess what faith can be placed in the evidence in hand - almost like a juridical inquiry. Yin (1994: 98) emphasises the need to maintain the *"chain of evidence"* - similar to that in criminological investigations - to present and evaluate all evidence without any bias.

Closely related to the above is a method referred to as triangulation - a method which implies the multiple observations of the same phenomenon, or the convergence of different kinds of evidence, gathered in different ways but bearing on the same point (See also Gillham 2000:13; Erlandson *et al*. Yin (1994: 91 - 92) argues that the use of multiple sources of evidence in case studies allows an investigation to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioural sources of evidence - but more importantly it results in *"converging lines of inquiry"* or a process of triangulation which improves validity and integrity. Throughout this study (as and where possible), the various different sources, evidence and opinions were used through triangulation to support statements (and facts).

Within the context of case study research and more specifically the participant-observation method, the aspect of trustworthiness or validity and correctness of data can also be improved/addressed by checking one's ideas/findings with those in the culture/practice and to get feedback from the participants - a process referred to as member checking (Tuffy *et al* 1996: 113; see also Gillham 2000:13; Erlandson *et al* 1993:28 - 29; and Watson 2001).

[14] Similar strategies to improve and ensure trustworthiness are presented by Erlandson *et al* 1993:29.

Lastly, the aspect of trustworthiness and research integrity depends very much on the credibility and integrity of the observer/researcher and his/her relationship with the participants. It is imperative for the researcher to establish and build trust and relationships and to maintain these relationships with observers for him/her to collect accurate info and truthful information (Jorgenson 1989: 21; Tuffy *et al* 1996: 112 and Gillham 2000: 53). It is also important for case study researchers to be *au fait* with the limitations of (naturalistic) case study research so as to ensure validity of data and findings (See also Moore 1987). See also the disadvantages of the participant-observation method discussed earlier. The role of the researcher as an insider is particularly important, as the personal experience becomes a primary source of information - hence the need for the researcher to be very critical of this information and the personal experience (Jorgenson 1989: 93). Erlandson *et al* (1993: 15) and Yin (1994: 56 and 59) further highlight the question of researcher-bias and the challenge that researchers face to be open. On bias, Culler (1997) refers to the potential problems of "*unreliable or self conscious narrators"* which could undermine their authority to tell a story in such a way that they manipulate the story. He emphasises the need for a reliable narrator which could render *"the facts"* in the form of a narrative or story. Although researchers must try to be reliable narrators and researchers with integrity, they should also realise (and accept) that they are only human and subject to human failure, own biases, prejudices, values and norms etc.

The aspect of trustworthiness also largely depends on how the research findings are presented, specifically in narratives. Polkinghorne (1998:98) and Erlandson *et al* (1993:28 - 29) both emphasise how the linguistic quality of a reading/message (the way in which the story is written and presented) can enhance the validity of the research, and the way in which it will be received, interpreted and understood by the reader - the so called hermeneutic understanding. Based on Jakobson's communication modes, specific reference is made to the transaction between the sender (author), message send (story) and the receiver (reader) (Polkinghorne 1998). This highlights the need for the sender/teller (and researcher) to provide the truth and sufficient information, and to package and present it in such a way that it enables the reader to make his her own judgement.

### 3.6 THE NARRATIVE: RESEARCH TOOL AND STORY

Although narrative theory or narratology[15] is usually associated with literary theory (Webster 1996; Culler 1997; and Genette 1980), and a suitable style for presenting case studies (Gillham 2000: 22), the concept of narratives has become an important research tool in the social sciences. Polkinghorne (1998:21) refers to *"narrative explanation*" as a story that explains the significance of events that have occurred or *"explanatory narrative research"* - a methodology used to *"construct a narrative account explaining 'why' a situation or event involving human action has happened"*. While Polkinghorne (1998: 21) argues that narrative research is not really a new form of inquiry, Hoyle, Harris and Judd (2002: 392) state that it is an underutilised research method, and a method that yields information that could not be accessible by more traditional methods. In his plea for a new (phronetic social science), Flyvbjerg (2001:18) makes a compelling argument for the use of the narrative as a tool for such research and states that: *"Where science does not reach, art, literature and narrative often help us to comprehend the reality in which we live"*. He further argues that narratives are ideally suited to conveying complex and contradictory nature of real life. Unlike the fairy tale connotation usually associated with narratives, narrative in social research is about the process of writing "true stories" about actual concerns of people's lives (Polkinghorne 1998; Hoyle, Harris and Judd 2002: 392). This undoubtedly makes narrative research highly appropriate for the study of practice and power as described in the section dealing with the practice movement.

The narrative as a story is also a valuable method of presenting and sharing research with others. Stories expose readers to the experience of the planners/actors - how they learn, how they deal with conflict, how they develop good judgement, how power and power relations interact, specifically in the complex political world planners work in (Forester 1996: 507 and 518 - 9). Based on Dewey's pragmatic perspective, Yiftachel and Huxley (2000) argue that experience (as presented by stories) not only serves as a context for learning, but actually becomes the medium through which we learn. Telling stories of planning and power from the present and the past, in a context of ongoing inquiry and debate, sharing interpretations as researchers and theorists, not only amongst one another but with practitioners as well, offers a new sort of community in which planners can work to improve the democratic quality of practice (Hoch 1996: 43). The value of practice stories (experience) can be supported by Foucault (1994: 246) who distinguishes between the *"experience book"* as opposed to a *"truth book"* or a *"demonstration book"*. Based on his book *"Discipline and Punish"* which focuses on the lives and behaviour of prisoners, their families etc,

[15] See also Watson (2001) and Homann (2005) on the relevance of narratology, specifically within the context of planning stories.

the book (or rather the experience) when it was published had a major effect as it worked towards a transformation of people and institutions (Foucault 1975, translated by Sheridan 1977).

As is evident in the recent contributions by Watson, Flyvbjerg, Allmendinger, Forester, Hoch and Hillier, story telling and narratives have become particularly relevant in studies focussing on power and power relations (an aspect that forms the core of this particular study). It has increasingly become important for planners to study planning history and to become "*story tellers of practice*" (Hoch 1996). Hoch further argues that stories of resistance are quite common, given the fact that power relations are virtually unescapable in most planning activities (and omnipresent, according to Foucault).

Narratives and more specifically the narrating process within the context of social research, has become an important part of the theorising process as discussed earlier on. Narrating is not only about the recording of events in a particular sequence, but aims to discover and unpack the meanings of events (or the sum of events) - within the context of a particular story line (or plot structure)[16]. Polkinghorne (1998: 22) refers to narrative understanding as "*the comprehension of a complex set of events by seeing the whole in which the parts have participated"*, or narrative as a form of meaning making - about creating a higher order of meaning. It is almost like theorising the emplotment, or "developing theory from a story" (Polkinghorne 1998).

In line with the more flexible postmodernist writing trends, the narrative style presents a more flexible style of presenting and interpreting the facts and events - in the form of a poem, a novel or a story (Munslow 1999:10 and 15; and Himmelfarb 1997:161 and 165). In short, narrative writing presents a more inventive, imaginative, and creative style of presenting the past (Himmelfarb 1997:165). This style of writing, with its variations and story lines also has the potential to provide a friendlier and more effective way of communicating the facts (and the story) to the reader (Lewis 1998; and see also Watson 2001).

Narrative writing presents more than just that which happened on a specific date in history, as it creates the structure, flexibility and opportunity to present multiple stories, readings and meanings in one story (Munslow 1999:175). In most cases, a narrative presents what happened, when, where, how, within what context, what the impact and relevance was, how it was perceived, what caused the event, etc. It also describes the setting, what it looked like, felt like, the experience, perceptions, moods, and attitudes (Flyvbjerg 1998 a and b; Lewis 1998; and Watson 2001).

[16] Stories usually consist of plots (or organising themes). These plots weaves together a complex of events to make a single story and provide a meaningful constellation and integration of events (Polkinghorne 1998; and Munslow (1999:10 and 182). See also Homann (2005) on the distinction between plot structure and the story.

Normally these events are structured in a narrative by the conventional means of time, place, actors, and events.

Within regard to the required detail of the narrative/story, reference is made to the concept of *"thick description"* as a process that focuses on the fine grain of the observations or the story. See also Thompson in Hillier (2000); Erlandson *et al (*1993); and Gillham (2000: 19) on the concept of thick description. Homann (2005) refers to the *"densely woven detail of the narrative"* of the Tshwane case study that presents the reader with the social reality within which the experience took place. The narrative helps readers to understand complex evidence and thick descriptions or as Flyvbjerg (1998) argues, *"to assist readers to move around in dense case material".*

It should however be noted that the course of the Tshwane narrative has varying *"degrees of thickness"*. In some instances or certain time periods, places etc., a thorough *"thick description"* is provided on the fine grain or the various layers of the story, whereas lesser detail *("thin description"*) is provided in other areas of the story. This variation in detail is merely ascribed to the availability of data (or lack thereof) in certain areas and the particular relevance of data in a specific instance. It should also be noted that the story is primarily concerned with the transformation of urban planning and the question of power relations and therefore the story was mainly braided around events and experiences associated with the above. This intrinsically implies that little or even no detail is provided on events and experiences that are not related to, or associated with the main focus of this study. Unlike standard historiography which aims to focus on a full and balanced reconstruction of the past phenomenon, the Tshwane study, similar to the historical analysis done by Foucault, rather focuses selectively on just those aspects of the past that were important for understanding the present (See also Foucault 1994:15). Polkinghorne (1998) also refers to the periods of significance (*kairos*) in the narrative or the episodic patterns that are determined by a specific beginning and end and characterised by certain plots or groupings of relevant events.

Any story or narrative has to end at some point in time and in a certain manner. When viewed within the context of the theorising process it is of particular importance how a narrative is brought to closure (Webster 1996) and the way in which views, theories, or generalisations are presented. Although the narrative (Chapter 5) ends like most other stories (at the end of the story), the narrative is capped and "rounded-off" (to use Forester's expression) by a critical summary and analysis of the story (and more specifically the transformation process) in Chapter 6, as well as the final chapter (Chapter 7) which presents the phenomena and knowledge which emerged from the narrative, with particular reference to power and power relations.

Dealing with “me” in the story

During the period from 1992 to 2002, the author/researcher/observer played a role in the transformation of urban planning in the former City of Pretoria/Tshwane and as such is an important actor in the story. In view of the above, it was imperative to find an appropriate way to also address the author’s comments and viewpoints in the story. Since the inception of the study various options and styles of writing were used in an attempt to address this relationship between the author and the story. Initially reference was made to “the author” or “the researcher”. This style of writing in the third person has been described as "ambiguous" as it gives the impression that the author did not take part in his/her own study (see also Leedy 1997:294). In other cases reference was made to the first person - the active voice, also known as ‘active voice narratology’ (see Beauregard 1998; and Lewis 1998).

Although this style of writing became popular in recent planning narratives (see McCloughlin 1992: 23; Flyvbjerg 1998; and Watson 2001), in this particular instance, it created the impression that the author was writing a story about himself. However, in order to give a full and valid account of the story, it was imperative to fully address the viewpoints of the author/actor in the same way that another author would have addressed this actor’s comments. As a result of the above, it was decided to separate the author from the agent or actor and that reference be made directly to “Johnny Coetzee” (the actor), in the same way as reference was made to other actors. Webster (1996) distinguishes between the roles of the narrator (as the person who is telling the story) and the “focalizer” (the figure in the text from whose perspective events were seen). Although, according to Genette (1980: 7), these roles are not always the same as the role of the “focalizer” can shift from one character to another, The Tshwane narrative reflects the perspectives and views (and “focalization”) of the observer /narrator himself. This implies that the narrator is the same person as the figure in the text from whose perspective events are observed. In this case the “focalizer”/ narrator, viewed/narrated events - as they happen (ed), with the gift of hindsight and a combination of the above (see also Polkinghorne 1998; and Culler (1997) on *temporal aspect* of narration and “focalization”). See also previous discussion on *ex post facto* participant observation.

Although the former paragraphs present a discussion on a variety of complex research components, it should be emphasised that this particular Tshwane endeavour was very much an iterative process of thinking, reading, listening, observing, analysing, exploring, synthesising, theorising, writing and editing.

# CHAPTER 4

# THE CONTEXTUAL REALITIES THAT INFORMED, SHAPED AND FRAMED THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN PLANNING IN THE MUNICIPALITIES OF THE GREATER PRETORIA/TSHWANE REGION DURING THE PERIOD 1992 TO 2002

## 4.1 SETTING THE SCENE

Although the transformation of urban planning in the City of Pretoria/Tshwane during the period 1992 to 2002 was influenced by the departmental and organisational transformation of the planning department on the one hand and the City Council in its entirety on the other (as will be discussed in Chapter 5), it was largely informed, shaped and framed by a number of external influences or 'contextual realities'.

The most important and direct influence was the transformation of the urban planning and local authority systems in South Africa in the 1990s, specifically within the context of the socio-political changes in the country and the resultant new institutional, legislative and policy frameworks. Just as the socio-political changes in South Africa were inspired by the problems of the flawed apartheid system, so the need for a new urban planning system was bolstered by the critique of the so-called modernist/apartheid planning system. Apart from these national/local influences, the new urban planning system in South Africa (and the City of Pretoria/Tshwane) was also indirectly influenced and shaped by a number of international trends, specifically with regard to urban planning and urban management (Harrison 2002).

In order to provide a perspective on these inter-related influences, and a contextual framework within which the Pretoria/Tshwane story is narrated, a distinction was made between the following contextual components:

- The patriarchal planning system in South Africa[1]. This section deals briefly with the overall critique of the old rigid, autocratic and scientific planning system (within the context of apartheid); the impact that this system had on the development of apartheid; and how it spurred a quest for a new planning system in South Africa.

[1] "Patriarchal" in this context refers to the "old" outdated modernist planning system; the autocratic, superior, ruler (control) nature of the planning system; and the fatherly, male dominance (patriarch) system which characterised the old planning system in South Africa.

- The democratisation of urban planning in South Africa. This section deals with the emergence and development of community participation (within the context of the unfolding democracy in South Africa), and the impact that this notion had on the development of the urban planning and local government system in South Africa.

- The unfolding social awareness in urban planning. This section provides a perspective on the extended focus on social issues such as community needs and priorities, poverty, equity, etc, as well as the impact that this new social focus had on developing a new social consciousness amongst South African planners (and urban managers).

- The consolidation of (urban) strategic planning. This section provides an overview on the emergence of urban strategic planning and the impact it had on the development of the new urban planning and local government system in South Africa.

- The 'sustainable' environmental agenda. This section provides an overview of the emerging environmental awareness in South Africa during the late 1980s; the unfolding notion of sustainability or sustainable development; and the relevance of this for the transforming urban planning system.

- The new relationship between urban planning and (municipal) urban management. During the 1990s, this new (integrated) relationship largely shaped the new urban planning system, as well as the new developmental local government system in South Africa.

## 4.2 THE PATRIARCHAL PLANNING SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Prior to the 1990s, planning in South Africa was largely dominated by the typical modernist urban planning system[2] – a system that, in view of its rigid, non-integrated and non-democratic nature, did not support the developmental and democratic goals of the new South Africa[3].

As has been noted by many observers, the remnants of the apartheid planning system are still visible in many South African cities. From 1940 onwards, the South African planning system developed in tandem with the apartheid ideology in South Africa. As a result of this, the development of this planning system was largely influenced and somewhat reshaped by the strong

[2] The so-called modernist planning is commonly associated with a style of urban planning that dominated the period between the late 1800s to approximately the 1960s in most parts of the western world (see Chapter 2).
[3] See also ANC (1992); FEPD (1994); Harrison (2002);and Oranje *et al* (2000).

emerging apartheid and non-democratic ideologies that were largely associated with racism, discrimination, inequity, and the spatial segregation of different cultures and economic classes (developing and living separately or *apart)*.

For many years, as South African planners fought for recognition of their profession, they had to rely on the support of the national government to draft and pass legislation on the planning profession[4]. The majority of South African planners were employed by the national, provincial or local governments. As a result of this, it was difficult for planners and the planning profession not to support the government's policies, or to create the impression that they did not support the government's policies. Planners who worked for the national government had to 'respect' and implement apartheid planning policies, and in some cases even had to draft these policies and such legislation. Many planning consultants also had to make a living and therefore would not reject a planning assignment (such as a new structure plan) from the government or a local authority, even if it promoted apartheid or spatial fragmentation[5]. Notwithstanding the above, many planners who practiced during the apartheid years largely supported (and willingly implemented) the government's apartheid policies[6]. Some planning schools and planners[7], however, consistently resisted the apartheid movement and any form of planning that promoted discrimination and spatial segregation.

Although the national government's apartheid, non-democratic and top-down policies played a role in shaping the apartheid city and the apartheid urban planning system, this system was primarily shaped by the so-called modernist planning system - hence the need to provide an overview of this system, its influence, characteristics and shortcomings. This modernist planning system, which dominated the South Africa planning scene during the apartheid years (1940 to 1994), is largely associated with the concepts of land use control and zoning and structure planning that developed during the early 1900s in the USA, UK and Western Europe[8].

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[4] For more information on the development of the planning system and the planning profession within the context of the apartheid system, see Oranje (1997).

[5] This statement is largely supported by the many apartheid-related planning assignments and projects that were done by consulting planning firms throughout South Africa.

[6] During the early apartheid years the majority of the white, Afrikaans-speaking planners (who incidentally formed the majority of planners in the country) were supportive of the former government's apartheid policy as is evident by the overwhelming majority support that this government had amongst the white Afrikaans-speaking people.

[7] Planning schools from the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town during the 1960s and 1970s actively protested against apartheid. Academics such as John Muller and Dave Dewar often criticised apartheid planning and emphasised the need for a new planning system for South Africa. See also Oranje (1997) and Harrison (2001).

[8] See also Thomas *et al* (1983: 28); and Slater (1984: 14) on the origin of land use management and zoning. During the early 1990s, various pieces of legislation and ordinances were introduced such as the Housing Act of 1901(Netherlands); the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 and the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 (England), which amongst others provided the option for towns to establish town planning schemes; and the 1916 Building Heights Ordinance in the USA.

The land use management system, with its supporting town planning schemes, aimed to regulate development in an attempt to ensure harmonious development. However, it often resulted in limited ad-hoc planning, the demarcation of different land uses and spatial fragmentation, specifically in urban areas where there was a weak overarching spatial planning system (Awerbuch and Wallace 1976: 27, 31-32). This rigid land use management/control system ultimately became an ideal tool to enforce and promote separate and fragmented development in urban areas - in line with the South African government's apartheid policies[9].

During the mid-1990s, this land use management system was supplemented by the so-called structure plan system - a system that was primarily informed by comprehensive planning[10] and the development plan concept that unfolded during the 1930s/1940s in the UK and USA[11].

In South Africa, as in other English-speaking countries[12], this broader perspective on planning shifted the emphasis from overly land use management and zoning (policing/control system), to a broader form of urban planning with an extended focus on the overall and future (forward) planning of a particular urban area or region. In South Africa, this structure plan, however, proved to be incapable of addressing the broader aspects of urban development and, more specifically, the growing needs in terms of social and economic development.

As was the case with town planning schemes, the structure plan, with its strong focus on spatial development, land uses and the demarcation of different types of land uses, presented another 'ideal mechanism' for the apartheid rulers to create separate, non-integrated spatial development, in both rural and urban areas. The structure planning approach in South Africa was widely criticised by planners in the country for being too complex, for its lack of focus on implementation, its rigid and autocratic nature and its physical, master plan and blueprint nature. This critique is reminiscent of the international critique that was expressed on comprehensive planning from the

[9] See also Oranje (1997) on the impact of the town planning schemes.

[10] Comprehensive planning, in this context, refers to a type of planning that emerged in the early 1900s and must not be confused with the so-called comprehensive view or holistic approach to planning as promoted by contemporary urban planning.

[11] For more information on the development of these concepts, see Thomas *et al* (1983: 100); Harrison (2001: 179 - 180); Alexander (1979:120-121); Schultz and Kasen (1984: 297); Linchfield (1990:190); Bruton and Nicholson (1987:17); Awerbuch and Wallace (1976:27 - 33); Slater (1984:14 - 15); Weisbord (1992: 8 - 9); Healey 1995: 253 and 1996 a: 263; Burgess *et al* 1997: 111; and Beauregard (1996: 215). See also the Town and Country Planning Act (1968) and the Town and Country Planning Act (1971) (England), on the principles of comprehensive planning, structure plans and development plans.

[12] See also Slater (1984: 57); So (1979: 513); Healey (1995: 253 and 1996 a: 263); Vigar *et al* (2000: 7 and 15 - 21); and Burgess *et al* (1997: 111) for a discussion on these trends.

1970s onwards[13]. However, in South Africa the already flawed planning system that developed during the apartheid years and within an undemocratic government system seemed to have favoured these "undemocratic" planning principles.

This South African planning system was further reinforced by the (scientific) rational planning notion that emerged in the UK and the USA during the mid-1990s (see Chapter 2). The overly scientific focus as discussed in this chapter also contributed to the neglect of social planning and development in South Africa and largely hampered integrated planning – an aspect that was widely debated in South Africa during the 1990s.

In South Africa this patriarchal planning system, with its strong master plan, physical and control-oriented nature, ultimately created a fragmented spatial pattern that was characterised by racial, socio-economic and land use segregation, unsustainable human settlements far from the workplace, and poor quality places and environments[14].

During the late 1980s, progressive planners and NGOs[15] in South Africa increasingly experienced the flaws and limitations of this planning system, specifically within the context of the apartheid system. This realisation resulted in a reaction to and protest against government policies - very similar to the reaction of the advocacy planners and proponents of the Civil Rights during the 1960s and early 1970s (see Chapter 2 on advocacy planning). This reaction largely inspired and triggered the transformation of urban planning in South Africa.

### 4.3 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The concept of community participation[16] was largely neglected and in most cases absent during the days of the non-democratic South Africa (prior to 1994) - despite the perception that existed amongst some planners and politicians that political/public representation and the public notification of planning and development proposals represented proper participation. Although South Africa's isolation from the rest of the world made it difficult for planners to acquaint

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[13] For more information on the critique of comprehensive planning and development planning, see McClendon and Quay (1972: 52-7); and So (1979: 14 -15 and 513); Campbell and Fainstein (1996: 9); Lindblom (1996); Carmona and Burgess (unpublished); Burgess *et al* (1997: 111); Vigar *et al* (2000: 20 - 21); and Healey (1996 (a): 263).

[14] For more information on the impact of the old planning system, see Oranje *et al* (2000); Mabin and Smit (1997); Republic of South Africa (1998 b); Younge (1998); Republic of South Africa (1999 b); and Republic of South Africa (2001 b 66 -67).

[15] These NGOs included amongst others Planact, the Development Action Group, and the Built Environment Support Group. See Harrison (2001: 183).

[16] Community participation in this context implies the involvement of communities, citizens and all stakeholders in all the phases of the urban planning and development process. See also GPMC (1997:42 and 46); Scheepers (2000: 178); Turner (1997:167); and McClendon and Quay (1972: 118) for a description of these 'communities'.

themselves with emerging international trends related to community participation, many planners were greatly ignorant and consciously apathetic towards these trends. Others were just silently unaware of them.

The majority of South African planners, in view of their rigid mind-sets, had difficulty accepting the emerging trends on community participation. It was almost impossible for planners to promote community participation or democratic planning, or to inspire communities to participate in urban planning processes such as the development of a new township, as this did not form part of the government's planning model, or the modernist planning approach as discussed earlier on.

Although the concept of community participation had already reached its heights in the UK, USA and Western Europe during the 1960s (see Chapter 2), it only emerged in South Africa in the late 1980s when civic movements and progressive NGOs began to challenge local government as they raised concerns around issues of housing, services and the spatial and institutional fragmentation of the city (Harrison 2001:183 and 2002; Gelderblom and Kok 1994: 37); and Brynard 1996:39).

As a result of the growing environmental awareness at the time, environmental planners, activists and pressure groups also raised concerns about environmental issues, the neglect of the urban environment and, more specifically, the impact this had on the community[17]. This lack of proper spatial planning and environmental management highlighted the need for communities to participate in planning and development processes - almost similar to the impact of the federal urban renewal efforts[18] in the USA during the 1950s and 1960s.

As the international trends on community participation permeated the South African planning scene during the early 1990s, the African National Congress (ANC), through its public statements and policies, continually promoted the principles of community participation within the broader context of urban planning[19]. It was, however, only after the first democratic elections in 1994 that all communities and citizens were afforded, for the first time, the opportunity to meaningfully participate in democratic local government (and urban planning). Following the transformation, a

[17] The principles of community participation (specifically within the context of Integrated Environmental Management) were included in the Environmental Conservation Act (1998) and the Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) approaches, which were promoted by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (1998) (Republic of South Africa 1989; and Department of Environment Affairs and Tourism 1989).

[18] The federal urban renewal efforts resulted in, amongst others, the replacement/renewal of older residential areas with new commercial development and super highways. In this process large numbers of low-income residents, including a disproportionate number of African Americans, were displaced from their homes without any offer of equivalent alternative housing (the so-called 'black removal'). Americans became increasingly troubled about the mistreatment of the country's African Americans. See also Thomas (1995); and Burke (1983: 106 - 109) on how the above had spurred community participation in the planning process.

[19] See *ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa 1992*, and *Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) 1994* (African National Congress (ANC) 1992 and 1994).

number of new planning Acts entrenched the principles of community participation, the most important being the Development Facilitation Act (1995) and the Municipal Systems Act (2000)[20]. This new democracy not only transformed the nature of urban planning and urban management in South Africa. It also formally established community participation as an integral and inseparable part of the local authority/urban planning system and laid the basis of the comprehensive IDP system.

Unlike other democratic countries where the notion of community participation was, in most cases, phased in over a period of time (approximately from 1950 to 1970), it developed very rapidly in South Africa within a relatively new democracy during the 1990s. This rapid introduction of community participation, with its extended focus and cross-sectoral and socio-political nature, had a profound impact on urban planning and local government in South Africa and power relations in local authorities, see Chapters 5 and 7. Local authority planners and managers had to expand their functions (and horisons) to focus on a wider array of aspects related to urban planning and management such as local economic development and social development[21]. The new participatory approach also required of planners to engage with communities at all levels and to enter the political arena[22]. These new roles demanded of planners to acquire a number of new skills to facilitate community participation and political processes[23].

It was not easy for South African local government councillors, managers, officials and planners, who were mainly accustomed to the non-democratic, rigid and top-down way of planning and management, to adapt to the new participatory and democratic way of urban planning. In practice, public officials increasingly saw community participation as an unnecessary intrusion in the planning and decision-making process and in many cases felt threatened by or insecure about community participation[24]. Some 'old style' planners deliberately undermined the new principles and policies[25].

Although community participation was rejected or criticised by many planners, it created many new challenges and opportunities for planners to expand their horizons and to plan for the community. It

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[20] See Republic of South Africa (1995; and 2000).

[21] For similar viewpoints on the international arena, see Wissink (1996:151); Thomas (1995:1- 2, 14, 34,178 -180); Koster (1996:100); and Slater (1994).

[22] See also McClendon and Quay (1994: 40); Davidoff (1965 and 1996: 305); Sandercock (1998:175); and Flyvbjerg (1996:383 - 384) on the new social and political roles of planners.

[23] For a discussion on the new skills required for planners, see Rondinelli (1983: 375); Slater (1984: 14-15); Mc Clendon and Quay (1972: 42, 82 -86); Gelderblom and Kok (1994: 44); Minnery (1985: 181); Davidoff (1965 and 1996:318 - 319); and Friedman (1998: 30).

[24] See similar viewpoints by Thomas (1995:5); Susskind and Elliot (1986:156); McClendon and Quay (1972:118); Bekker *et al* (1996: 85); and McAuslan (1992: 97).

[25] See also Green Paper on Development Planning (1999:12).

also enhanced the role of councillors by giving them better opportunities to interact with the public they represented[26]. As in many other democratic countries, community participation spurred a new social awareness amongst urban planners and managers in South Africa as it made them more aware of community needs and priorities.

### 4.4 THE UNFOLDING SOCIAL AWARENESS IN URBAN PLANNING

Closely related to the concept of community participation is the new social awareness that developed in the USA, UK and parts of Europe during the 1960s and 1970s (see Chapter 2). This new social awareness, not only inspired a new social awareness amongst planners in South Africa, but also highlighted the problems of the rigid, autocratic, and scientific, apartheid (patriarchal) urban planning system and the discriminatory practices of the former government. This critique of the former urban planning and government system and the increasing concern with human and social issues resulted in a major reaction amongst (South African) progressive planners[27], civic movements, and NGOs such as Planact[28]. In an effort to address social issues and social development amongst the poor, South African "advocacy planners" embarked on efforts to assist communities and poverty groups with planning efforts outside the government arena[29] - very similar to the advocacy planning movement in the USA during the 1960s (see Chapter 2).

The social movement in South Africa, however, gained further momentum during the government transformation process (early to mid-1990s) as the new government policies and Acts began to emphasise the need for government (and planning) to focus on social issues, social restructuring and social development[30]. As was the case with community participation, the new democratic government, with its strong interest in 'the majority of the people' of the country, was highly receptive to the international social trends that had been almost inaccessible for many years (as a result of the country's isolation from the rest of the world during the apartheid era). Some of these social trends, such as Marxist planning, were considered necessary to restructure the socially fragmented society, specifically in urban areas. As the transformation processes unfolded during the mid- to late 1990s, South African planners and planning agencies increasingly focused on social issues such as poverty, basic needs, integration, equity, local economic development and

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[26] For more information on these new opportunities for local authority councillors, see Blakely (1994: 72);and Selman (1996:157).

[27] During the late 1980s planners such as Dan Smit, Michael Sutcliff, John Muller and Dave Dewar increasingly highlighted the problems of the 'physical' planning system as they promoted a new social consciousness amongst planners.

[28] See Harrison (2001:183; and 2002).

[29] See Mabin and Smit (1997); and Harrison (2001 and 2002).

[30] During the transformation period, many of the social principles were embedded in policy statements such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP 1994) and a number of new Acts such as the Development Facilitation Act (DFA 1995) and the Constitution. See also ANC (1994) and Republic of South Africa (1995 and 1996).

community development. This emerging social awareness played a major role in shaping the new urban planning system in South Africa. Ultimately (during the 1990s) it shifted the emphasis from the patriarchal urban planning system (which was so widely criticised by 'social planners' in South Africa) to a more social and people-oriented planning system.

The new social awareness not only had a major impact on the South African urban planning system, but also radically transformed the local government system in South Africa. Amongst others, it played a role in structuring the unicity[31] model in South Africa - a model that was specifically developed to create a more balanced and equitable spread of the overall tax base of metropolitan areas[32]. This unicity concept, with its consolidated tax base, for the first time really set the stage for integrated development and the equitable provision of services, specifically in the poorer areas.

The emerging focus on social issues (and people in general) had led to a new social responsibility in South African local authorities, specifically within the context of urban planning. By the turn of the century this social responsibility was firmly established by the Municipal Systems Act (MSA 2000), which amongst other things, outlined the local authority's role and responsibility with regard to social and economic upliftment of local communities; the provision of essential services; the empowerment of the poor; and addressing the basic needs of communities[33].

### 4.5 THE CONSOLIDATION OF (URBAN) STRATEGIC PLANNING

The concept of urban strategic planning, which was incidentally largely informed by corporate strategic planning,[34] played a major role in shaping and transforming the contemporary urban planning system - not only in other countries but also in South Africa. Today, the principles of (urban) strategic planning[35] have become an integral part of the South African urban planning and management system, as is evident by the integrated and developmental focus of the South African

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[31] In this context reference is made to the concept of the unicity, which implies a focus on the unity of different local authorities, the unity of communities and the integration of services and resources *vis a vis* the mega-city concept, which implies a focus on one big/mega local authority.

[32] See The White Paper on Local Government (1998) and The Local Government Municipal Structures Act, Act 117 of 1998 (Republic of South Africa 1998 (a and b)).

[33] See Republic of South Africa (2000).

[34] The corporate strategic planning process is synonymous with a number of interrelated, interacting steps in a logical sequence, such as the formulation of a vision, situational analysis or environmental scan; the setting of goals and objectives, developing strategies and actions; and strategy implementation and monitoring. See Nebraska Department of Economic Development (undated); Strategic Planning Advisory Committee (1998: 1); Kaufman and Jacobs (1996:325 - 326); and Tueke (1992: 303 - 309).

[35] For the purpose of this study a distinction was made between the classical 'corporate strategic planning', which focuses on the future direction of an organisation; and '(urban) strategic planning', which mainly focuses on the future of a city environment and its people (hereafter referred to as 'urban strategic planning').

urban planning system, as well as the new strategic and developmental focus of the local authorities.

Although strategic planning (as an urban planning and management tool) was popular in countries such as the UK, USA, and Western Europe as early as the 1970s and 1980s, South African planners and local authorities only started applying the principles of strategic planning[36] during the late 1980s/early 1990s. These strategic planning principles also started shaping the new *development planning* system in South Africa that was (for the first time in 1994)[37] promoted by the Forum for Effective Planning and Development (FEPD)[38] and the former Gauteng Department of Development Planning, Environment and Works[39].

The concept of strategic/development planning gained further momentum after the promulgation of the Development Facilitation Act 1995 (DFA), which amongst other things, promoted the concept of Land Development Objectives (LDOs)[40]. Although the DFA was not directly associated with the concept of strategic planning, South African urban planners and local authorities, possibly in view of the emerging influences on urban strategic planning at the time, interpreted the DFA and the LDOs in the wider context of strategic planning[41].

It was, however, only after the promulgation of the Local Government Transition Act late in 1996 that the principles of strategic planning crystallised within the context of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP)[42]. Although the IDP concept is not commonly used outside South Africa, its strategic planning component (and structure) is very similar to the city strategic plans and processes in countries such as the USA, Canada, South America, Australia, New Zealand, UK and

[36] The City of Pietermaritzburg applied the principles of strategic planning as early as 1985 in the process of involving communities in the planning process (Radford 1988: 20 - 21; Harrison 2001: 183). The City of Cape Town (Peter De Tolly) started its first strategic planning process, *The strategic metropolitan planning process* in June 1989 (Watson 2001). During the late 1980s/early 1990s, various consulting town planning firms such as Plan Practice and PLAN Associates also started applying the principles of strategic planning in the drafting of metropolitan/city plans, large-scale planning projects and environmental planning processes.

[37] Amond Beneke, former Chief Planner of the GPMC, argued that the principles of development planning/strategic planning, specifically within the context of the LDO and the IDP, were established and promoted by the former Department of Land Affairs in 1991. This department also referred to the so-called *ontwikkelingsbeplanningsproses* (development planning process). This process, which was, according to Beneke, then steered by Wollie Wolfaardt and Dries Potgieter, was specifically developed as a planning process for local authorities in the country. Beneke also argued that this process in many ways informed the Pretoria LDO (SMDF) process in 1996/1997 (Interview: Beneke, 2002).

[38] See also Harrison (2002: 3); DDPE (1994); Forum for Effective Planning and Development (1995); and Oranje *et al* (2000). Harrison (2001: 183) states that Dr Crispian Olver and Dr Laurine Platzky, who both previously worked for the progressive NGOs, were extensively involved with the conception of integrated development planning at national level.

[39] This Department was known in 2003 as the Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government. Gauteng is the province within which this case study, the City of Tshwane, is situated.

[40] See also Republic of South Africa (1995); Government Gazette 5759 (30 August 1996); and Watson (2001: 71).

[41] See also Eastern Gauteng Services Council (1997); KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government (1997); and GPMC (1997).

[42] Although the LGTA 1996 did not fully describe the strategic planning components of the IDP, the IDP concept mainly developed around the principles of urban strategic planning as is evident by the national guidelines that were developed by the Department of Provincial and Local Government in 2000. See Republic of South Africa (1996).

Europe[43]. The role of the IDP as a strategic urban planning and management tool was, however, finally "capped" at the turn of the century with the promulgation of the Municipal Systems Act, 2000[44]. However, as the IDP concept developed and matured during the late 1990s/early 2000s, mainly through the support and influence of the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ)[45], the IDP developed into a much broader local authority/urban management tool focusing on a wide array of local authority (operational) issues, and on urban and community issues. The national government, local authorities and research and academic institutions made various efforts to refine, develop and promote the principles of strategic planning (within the context of the IDP)[46]. Various IDPs or City Development Strategies, based on the principles (and process) of strategic planning, were compiled throughout the country. Although many of these IDPs were criticised for, amongst others, their lack of strategic focus[47], they largely contributed to shaping the South African urban planning system, and to a great extent the new developmental local government system.

Unlike the old rigid South African planning system with its emphasis on land use management and structure planning, strategic planning provided a broader strategic and developmental focus on the planning and management of the city as a whole. It highlighted the importance of action and implementation, and the need to focus on (selected) strategic issues. In the South African context, strategic planning specifically provided a framework that focuses on the (change) management of a complex urban environment. In view of its future-oriented nature, its overarching scope and its focus on development and performance, it became an appropriate and suitable model for the emerging new South Africa with its particular needs and challenges[48]. The structured strategic planning process with its distinct phases was seen as an ideal framework within which the challenging community participation processes could be addressed (integrated), specifically within the context of the social, economic, physical and institutional environments. It also provided a

[43] Although urban strategic planning processes in the world differ in nature and composition, a number of common denominators or phases were identified: situational analysis or environmental scan; visioning; the formulation of goals and objectives; the determination of strategic issues; strategy formulation, and implementation and monitoring (McClendon and Quay 1972: 51-52; North Shore City Council 1996; Brisbane City Council 1996: 21; Auckland City Council 1996; Strategic Planning Advisory Committee 1998; World Bank 1999; Crouch 1999; Civic Strategies 2000).

[44] The Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (MSA), amongst others, states that each municipal council had to adopt a *single, inclusive and strategic plan for the development of the municipality*. It further stipulated that the IDP had to be the *principle strategic planning instrument* in a municipality and that it had to guide and inform all planning and development and all decisions with regard to the planning, management and development in the municipality (Republic of South Africa 2000).

[45] GTZ is a German-based organisation, which amongst others, funded a number of IDP research projects, IDP training projects and the development and refinement of the IDP in South Africa. This organisation, which worked closely with the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG), the Council for Scientific Industrial Research (CSIR) and the University of Pretoria, played a major role in developing the IDP concept, IDP policies, and the so-called IDP guide packs.

[46] For more information on these efforts, see CSIR (1998 and 2002); Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) (2001); Rauch (2002).

[47] For a detailed discussion of the critique of IDPs, see Harrison (2001 and 2002) and Oranje *et al* (2000).

[48] Strategic planning provided an appealing alternative to the well-established, yet highly problematic rational-comprehensive planning process. See also McClendon and Quay (1972:56-57).

structure and process that could bridge the gap between urban planning and urban/municipal management - i.e. the link between vision, goals, strategies and human and financial resources and institutional structures and processes[49].

### 4.6 THE "SUSTAINABLE" ENVIRONMENTAL AGENDA

Although environmental planning and management have always been part (in some or other form) of the South African urban planning system, it was only during the late 1980s that planners, activists and environmentalists re-emphasised environmental issues, mainly in reaction to the ad hoc and fragmented approach to planning and the neglect of the urban environment. This heightened concern for the environment in South Africa had led to the concept of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM), which was introduced in 1998 in an attempt to address environmental issues holistically within the context of urban planning and development. The IEM concept, which had also been endorsed by the Environment Conservation Act in 1989, has since been increasingly applied by planners, environmentalists and specialists in related fields[50]. This integrated, holistic focus on the urban environment not only spurred a new environmental awareness, but also harnessed the related fields of environmental planning (and conservation) and urban planning and management[51]. As the principles of environmental management matured in South Africa during the early 1990s, it acquired a new look and definition, encapsulated in the form of sustainable development[52]. South Africa, like many other countries in the world, was also influenced and inspired by the famed 1992 Rio (UNCED) Earth Summit[53] with its focus on (urban) environmental priorities and sustainable development.

Following on the Rio Summit, a number of environmental management models, procedures, and policies were developed by, amongst others, the World Bank[54] and the International Council for

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[49] For more information on the characteristics of strategic planning, see Healey (1997: 13); So in McClendon and Quay (1972: 50 - 51); Campbell and Fainstein (1996 : 9 and 263); Kaufman and Jacobs (1996: 327 - 329); Mellville Branch in Awerbuch and Wallace (1976: 42-44); Blakely (1994: 78); Civic Strategies (2000); Strategic Planning Advisory Committee (1998: 4-5); Claassen and Milton (1992: 722); Thomas (1995:166); Nadin, Barton *et al* (1996:3); Daniel (1995:10); and McClendon and Quay (1972: 51).

[50] See Republic of South Africa (1989). See National Department of Environmental Affairs (Council for the Environment) (1998).

[51] For more information on the development of these concepts in the UK and USA, see Schultz and Kasen (1984: 416); Friedman (1987:21); Nadin, Barton *et al* (1996:3); Healey (1996 b: 246 and 1997: 8); Claassen and Milton (1992: 716); and Burgess *et al* (1997: 70 - 73).

[52] Although definitions in many cases differed in emphasis and content, the basic principles of sustainability relate to aspects such as the maintenance of the health of the biosphere, and maintaining and enhancing the quality of human life while respecting the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems. See also Nadin, Barton *et al (*1996: 13); the World Commission on Environment and Development (also known as the Brundtland Commission); and the Development and Planning Commission (1999: 41).

[53] This summit, which was held in Rio De Janeiro in 1992, was hosted by the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED), and was attended by representatives of 140 countries over the world.

[54] A direct follow-up to the Rio Summit, was a Strategy Framework Paper *"Toward Environmental Strategies for Cities".* See World Bank (1993).

Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI)[55]. As a result of the summit and the World Bank's request that all cities develop a Local Agenda 21[56], the primary local authorities in South Africa (the former Pretoria, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban local authorities) embarked on initiatives to develop local agendas or environmental plans for their cities. The Rio Summit not only heightened the concern for the urban environment, but also over time shifted the emphasis from planning policy, market facilitation and environmental protection, to a broader notion of sustainable development (Nadin, Barton *et al* 1996:8).

This emerging notion of sustainable development, with its strong focus on democratic planning processes and environmental management, and with its strong international status and support, seemed like an appropriate (and almost fashionable) concept to introduce into the new planning legislation and policies that were being developed in South Africa during the early to mid-1990s. This concept of sustainable development became an important topic on the agenda of the African National Congress during 1992[57]. In 1994 it took on a concrete form in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)[58] and was promoted by planning Acts and policies that were published in the late 1990s and in early 2000[59].

As the integrated and holistic focus on urban planning developed in South Africa during the 1990s, planners and environmentalists increasingly realised the important link between planning and environmental management, as is evident in the new generation urban planning efforts in the country*:* the Land Development Objective Processes (LDOs) (1996/1997); and the more recent Integrated Development Planning (IDP) processes (from 1997 onwards)[60].

In spite of efforts made to promote the principles of sustainable development and to integrate them into the broader urban planning and urban management system, the sustainable development initiatives focused primarily on the "green" natural environment, neglecting the focus on the built

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[55] Of particular importance to urban planning is the Sustainable Development Planning (SDP) process that was developed by ICLEI from 1994 to 1996. Sustainable Development Planning (SDP) "combines the principles and methods of corporate, environmental and community-based planning to create a public sector, strategic planning approach that reflects the imperatives of sustainable development" (ICLEI (1996: 6). For more information on these models, see World Bank (1993); ICLEI (1994; 1996); and Quinlan and McCarthy (1994:73).

[56] One of the most important documents adopted at the Rio Conference was the Agenda 21 document (Agenda for the 21st century), which provided a blueprint on how to make development socially, economically and environmentally sustainable.

[57] See "ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa" (ANC 1992).

[58] See ANC (1994); DDPE (1994); FEPD (1995); and Oranje et al (2000).

[59] See also DFA (1996), the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996); the White Paper on Local Government (1998); National Environmental Management Act (1998) (NEMA); Green Paper on Development and Planning (1999); the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001); and the Draft Land Use Management Bill (2001).

[60] See also UGU District Municipality (2002); DEAT and CSIR (2002); Kotzee et al (1998: 2-8); and Roberts (1996: 272).

environment[61] - a trend that was typical in countries such as the USA, the UK and Western Europe[62]. In South Africa this restricted focus on sustainable development, and an overly green/environmental focus, opened up another debate on the relationship between sustainable development (planning), urban planning and urban management[63].

### 4.7 URBAN PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

As discussed in the foregoing sections, community participation, social consciousness, strategic planning and sustainable development, all in their own right, promoted and required a closer (more integrated) relationship between urban planning and municipal (urban) management. It was, however, the composite effect of these planning trends (the integrated, people-oriented, developmental planning system) that eventually highlighted the need for an integrated urban planning and management system.

Apart from the above, the merger of urban planning and management during the past decade in South Africa was also influenced by the new entrepreneurial, democratic, developmental and strategic focus of local authorities[64] and the neo-liberal notion of New Public Management (NPM)[65].

Urban planners and managers in South Africa increasingly realised that they had to introduce new forms of urban management if they had any hope of addressing the enormous challenges of spatial and social reconstruction in urban areas; the enhancement of service delivery; spatial integration; and the development of previously disadvantaged areas in South Africa[66]. From 1992 onwards, South African local authorities were severely challenged to develop a new developmental role in achieving local socio-economic objectives, sustainable development, representative local

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[61] For more information on this phenomenon, see UN, Department for Policy Co-ordination and Sustainable Development (1997); Gilbert et al (1996); Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (1997 and 1998); Kellenberg, Seragelding and Steer (1994); ICLEI (1996 and 1997); and World Bank (1994).

[62] See Gardiner (2002); Environmental Affairs and Tourism (2001); Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism and CSIR (2001); Roberts1996: (273-274); Harrison et al (1998: 8); and Rauch (2002:1). For more information on the integration of these concepts, see World Bank (1994: 16); Healey (1994: 7); Selman (1996:126); Redclift (1987:145); Nadin, Barton et al (1996:4); Claassen and Milton (1992:715); and Gilbert et al (1996: 29).

[63] For more information on the impact of the new planning system on the urban planning and management system in the UK and USA, see Claassen and Milton (1992:715 - 717); Selman (1996: 109,126); Friedman (1987:21- 25); Witzling (1979:184); Nadin, Barton et al (1996:4); Friedman (1987: 21; Rondinelli (1983: 376 -383); and Slater (1984: 51).

[64] For more information on the entrepreneurial, democratic, developmental and strategic role of local authorities, see Scheepers (2000); Hill in Geldenhuys (1996); Heymans and Tötemeyer in Hilliard (1996); Koster (1996); Selman (1996); Green Paper on Development Planning (1999); CSIR (1998); World Bank (1999); Slater (1984: 24 -25, 37 and 64);Rondinelli (1983: 376 -383)and Pieterse (2002).

[65] The notion of New Public Management (NPM) developed during the 1980s in the UK, mainly as a result of the neoliberal reform agenda that was introduced by Margaret Thatcher. NPM is associated with an emphasis on private sector management; performance management; service delivery partnerships; and goal–directed budgeting. For more information on NPM and its influence on South Africa, see Harrison (2002: 178).

[66] See also ANC (1992 and 1994); FEPD (1994); Green Paper on Planning and Development (1999); CSIR (1998: B7); Development and Planning Commission (1998: 5); Oranje *et al* (2000); Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell (2002:85-86); and Parnell and Pieterse 2002).

democracy and equitable urban management. In short, they had to restructure and reshape their organisations in order to align their actions with the new planning environment[67]. National and provincial governments made various efforts to promote a closer relationship between urban planning and urban management and a strategic (planning) and developmental role for local government, as is evident by various planning Acts that were published, such as the DFA 1995, the Constitution, the Local Government Transition Act, 1996 (LGTA 1996), the White Paper on Local Government 1998 and the Municipal Systems Act 2000.

Of particular importance in South Africa is the Integrated Development Plan (the IDP), which emphasised the need for local authorities to prepare a financial plan in accordance with the integrated development plan, and to structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of its community[68]. Under the new Constitution, local government had to develop a new expanded planning and developmental role within the context of the IDP, which implies, amongst other things, a shift in emphasis from the traditional view of municipal service delivery[69].

This growing relationship between urban planning and management in South Africa gained a new momentum with the introduction of the concept of *developmental local government,* which began to unfold after the promulgation of the White Paper on Local Government (1998)[70]. This White Paper clearly describes the new developmental role and responsibility of local authorities as well as the challenges facing local government[71]. The White Paper specifically recognises the IDP as one of the most important co-ordinating and integrating methods and tools within the local authority to address these challenges[72]. Local authorities in South Africa have increasingly become more prominent in the post-transformation era and were seen as one of National Government's primary mechanisms in the process of urban development and restructuring.

The integrated relationship between urban planning, urban management and municipal affairs not only affected the nature of urban planning, but also had a major impact on the local authority, the municipal planning system and urban planners, managers and officials. As in many other cities in the world, this increasing complexity (and integration) of urban planning and management

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[67] See Koster (1996: 99-102); Gelderblom and Kok (1994: 37); Brynard (1996:39); Scheepers (2000:180); Selman (1996: 85); The Green Paper on Development Planning (1999); and Parnell and Pieterse 2002).

[68] See Republic of South Africa (1996).

[69] See Republic of South Africa (1996:63); Department of Constitutional Development (1997:3); and Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell (2002).

[70] See also Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell (2002: 75 -76) on Developmental Local Government.

[71] See also Department of Constitutional Development (1998); Pycroft (1998); Oranje *et al* (2000); and Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell (2002: 9).

[72] See also Department of Constitutional Development (1998:47-48); and Oranje *et al* (2000).

demanded of urban planners (and managers) to play a more strategic role, and to become more involved with policy formulation and implementation[73]. As a result of the above, planners also became more involved in the political arena. The 'political' nature of urban planning not only created a number of dilemmas and new challenges for planners, officials, managers and councillors, as discussed in other sections, but also resulted in a 'power-planning dilemma', see Chapter 7 [74].

The integration and consolidation of urban planning and urban management in South Africa became the basis of the IDP process, cities' strategic planning processes and the new unfolding notion of developmental local government. It also became an integral and inseparable part of the South African local authority system and a strategic/core function of most local authorities.

### 4.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

During the 1990s, the South African planning system was transformed from a rigid, scientific and autocratic system into a new integrated, developmental, democratic and people-oriented urban system[75] - a transformation that evolved in the UK, USA and Western Europe[76] mostly during the latter half of the 1900s. This new urban planning system, with its focus on sustainable development, people and social issues, strategic management and the integration of the apartheid city, largely replaced the inappropriate and discriminatory urban planning and urban management systems that existed prior to the 1990s. This planning system, which is largely supported by national legislation and policy frameworks, provided a new opportunity and context for the further transformation, reconstruction and sustainable development of the fragmented South African urban areas. Apart from this new focus on urban planning, the post-apartheid planning system[77] also became concerned with the South African urban condition with its unique, fragmented and neglected urban environment as is evident by its focus on integrated and sustainable spatial, social

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[73] For more information on the new strategic role for planners, see Rondinelli (1983: 375); Sandercock (1998:171); Friedman (1998: 30); Davidoff (1965 and 1996:318 - 319); Slater (1984: 24 - 25); Bair (1970: 18); Blakely (1994: 68 - 71); North Shore City Council (1996); Civic Strategies (1999); Koster (1996:115); Wissink (1996:151); and Stoker (2002: 31 and 38).

[74] See also Flyvbjerg (1996 and 1998 a and b; and 2001); Lapintie (2002); Brooks (1996:118 - 131); Marris (1998:16); Minnery (1985:39 and 182); and Harrison (1997: 40).

[75] For more information on the new forms of urban planning, see also Claassen and Milton 1992:715 - 717; Selman 1996: 109,126; Friedman 1987: 21- 25; Nadin, Barton *et al* 1996:4; Friedman 1987: 21).

[76] During the 1900s, urban planning evolved through various development stages and had changed significantly in substance and in professional outlook (Slater 1984: 24; Friedman 1987: 21 - 31; Hall 1989:228; Carmona and Burgess, unpublished; Beauregard 1996: 214; and Harrison 2001: 179).

[77] For more information on the post - apartheid planning system, see ANC (1992 and 1994); FEPD (1994); Castleden (1994: 14-16); DFA (1996), the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996); the White Paper on Local Government (1998); Planact (1997:18); CSIR (1998: B9 and B15); Pycroft (1998); Oranje, Oosthuizen and Van Huyssteen (1999:12 and 15); Oranje *et al* (2000); Rauch (2002); Republic of South Africa (1995,1996 a and b,1997,1998,1999, 2000, 2001a and b); and Department of Constitutional Development (1997:8).

and economic development, urban (re)structuring and spatial integration[78]. While this new (transforming) urban planning system is closely related to (and associated with) the concept of Integrated Development Planning (IDP) as described and promoted by South African legislation and policies during the mid-1990s/early 2000s, it should not be constrained by the limited definition of *the IDP*[79] as is currently experienced in many parts of South Africa[80].

In summary, this chapter provided an overview of the broader international and national context within which the South African urban planning systems (nationally and locally) have developed. The following chapter (which, amongst other things, is woven around the contextual components as discussed in the foregoing paragraphs) presents a narrative on how these contextual realities have informed, shaped and framed the transformation of urban planning in the municipalities of the Greater Pretoria/Tshwane Region during the period 1992 to 2000. The narrative specifically focuses on the impact that these transformations (both the national transformation and transformation within the City of Pretoria/Tshwane) had on urban planning policy and practice, urban management policy and practice and organisational structures and processes. Throughout the narrative, reference is made to how this transformation of the urban planning (and local government system) affected power structures and power relations and how this transformation in turn was affected by such powers.

[78] For more information on the concept of integration (within the context of the South African urban planning system), see Harrison *et al* (1998: 10 and 12); CSIR (1998); Development and Planning Commission (1999:14); Pycroft (2000:92 - 101); and Oranje *et al* (2000).

[79] The IDP is primarily associated with *the IDP plan* (a strategic plan) or the structured *IDP process*, with a number of distinct phases (similar to strategic planning processes), as clearly described by the Local Government Transition Act (1996) and the Municipal Systems Act (2000). See Republic of South Africa (1996 and 2000).

[80] See also later critique on the IDP.

# CHAPTER 5

# A NARRATIVE ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN PLANNING IN THE MUNICIPALITIES OF THE GREATER PRETORIA REGION (NOW TSHWANE) DURING THE PERIOD 1992 TO 2002

## 5.1 THE CITY OF TSHWANE: OPPORTUNITY FROM DISASTER

It was just after midnight, 3 March 1997, when a colleague phoned me to tell me that Munitoria was on fire. Munitoria (a word derived from Muni - cipality and Pre - toria)[1] was the official council building and headquarters of the former City Council of Pretoria. Before the fire, the 11-storey building accommodated some 2 200 workers in 13 council departments. It also housed the council chambers and most of the public offices. At that time the City Council of Pretoria was responsible for the largest component of the former Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Area and formed the core of the new Tshwane Metropolitan Municipal Council that was established in December 2000. The Munitoria blaze destroyed a large portion of the building. Most of the municipal infrastructure and information went up in flames.

Although this fire had an impact on the operation of the Council, the effective delivery of services and the morale of the staff, it also created many opportunities for the Council. It gave the Council the opportunity to actually rebuild and develop a new, more appropriate and effective local authority[2]. The fire ultimately destroyed many of the old municipal planning and administration systems, which were associated with the old patriarchal planning system. The Munitoria fire also created a new opportunity for planners to advance the transformation of urban planning and the development of the Integrated Development Planning System, which was then well underway in the City of Pretoria[3].

[1] The word 'Munitoria' was the result of a public competition that was held in 1964 to find a suitable name for the new Council building, which was to be occupied in February 1969 (Tindall 2000).

[2] See Tindall (2000) on the Munitoria fire.

[3] See also a publication on the Munitoria fire, entitled *Opportunity from disaster: The 'great' Munitoria fire*, which was dedicated to the staff of the City Council of Pretoria (Leitch 1997).

## 5.2 UTOPIA[4] AND SCIENCE F(R)ICTION

***The old planning system in the City of Pretoria (prior to transformation in the 1990s)***

Since the origin of the City of Pretoria in 1855, urban planning had mostly been performed by the engineering and land surveying professions and was mainly aimed at the management and control of land use[5]. Although the basic forms of urban planning always existed in some form or other in the former City of Pretoria, the first formal planning/policy documents date back to the 1940s when the first Pretoria Town Planning Scheme (Scheme No 1 of 1944) was promulgated on 29 November 1944[6]. These Town Planning Schemes, which mainly stemmed from the British *Land Use Zoning and Control system*, formed the basis of land use planning and management in most parts of the country.

Following the introduction of the town planning schemes, the City of Pretoria embarked on other forms of comprehensive and rational planning, which then permeated the South African planning scene. These forms of planning, with their strong emphasis on technical rationality, developed strongly in the City of Pretoria, in tandem with the development of the apartheid ideologies[7]. The former City of Pretoria was labelled by many South Africans as the *cradle of apartheid* for the role it played as the administrative capital in developing and promoting apartheid[8]. This apartheid system ultimately played a major role in shaping the autocratic, dominatory and discriminatory power structures in the country, not only on the National and Provincial levels, but also in Local Government. These powers and power structures were widely criticised by proponents of the anti-apartheid movement(s). This reaction, similar to "*the defense reaction to the Lifeworld"* as referred to by Hillier (2002), resulted in conflict, ongoing struggles and even violence in many urban areas in the country.

As the urban planning system developed and became more relevant during the mid-1900s, planners made various efforts to establish a separate and independent planning department. This

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[4] The term *Utopia* is originally borrowed from Sir Thomas Moore's book with the same title (written in 1516), in which he conceived it to be the heart of an ideal republic. The term is derived from the Greek "*Ou*", actually meaning "*not*", and "*topos*", meaning place. Ironically, it means no place, or alternatively, nowhere (Grulke 2000: 159; and Badenhorst cited by Steyn & Van der Westhuizen 1995:34).

[5] See also Oranje (1997).

[6] This first Town Planning Scheme was later followed by the Pretoria-Noord Dorpsbeplanningskema (1950), the Pretoria Town Planning Scheme (No 2 - 1952) (Herculus), the Silverton Dorpsbeplanningskema (1955) and the Pretoria Region Town Planning Scheme (1960). In 1974 these schemes were integrated and consolidated into the Pretoria Town Planning Scheme, 1974, which became the first consolidated scheme for the whole city (Tindall 2000).

[7] Although 'formal planning' only emerged in Pretoria during the 1940s, many planning actions in this city (prior to 1940) were governed by national planning legislation and policies such as the Public Health Act of 1919 and the Housing Act of 1920. For more information on the emergence and history of South African planning, see Oranje (1997) and Harrison (1998).

[8] When major political decisions were taken by the former South African government, reference was often made to statements such as "Pretoria announced..." or Pretoria decided...".

ultimately resulted in a Council resolution on 31March 1964, which stated that a new independent department should be established to manage the various aspects related to city planning and development[9]. This department was known as the Planning and Architectural Department. Its first Director was Mr NT Cooper, a land surveyor by profession who held the position of City Town Planner[10]. After much debate the name of the department was later changed to the Town Planning and Architectural Department, as it was argued that the word 'planning' was too broad and that the department had to focus on town planning *per se.*

During the early 1960s, this delimitation of planning (which was probably prompted by the land surveyor's focus) detracted the focus from the broader spectrum of planning. Although this detachment and separation of the planning function from the engineering function was seen as a step forward for urban planning (in view of the fact that it enhanced the status of the planning function), it later became so isolated that it was criticised for not integrating and 'talking' to the other departments concerned. This attitude of working in silos, and not communicating with or integrating other sectors, was very typical of the isolated urban planning system that dominated the planning scene during the 1950s/1960s.

Some years later (in 1972), after progress was made to develop a new planning system, the first major future-oriented planning framework - the 1972 Pretoria Master Plan or Policy Plan was completed and approved by the former City Council of Pretoria in November 1973[11]. This plan (which is incidentally largely based on the principles of comprehensive planning and the development plan concept as discussed in Chapter 4) emphasised, *inter alia*, the need for the planning process to maintain a balance "...*between the purely analytical on the one hand and the intuitive and philosophical approach on the other"* [12]. It also focused on a much broader scale and mostly dealt with strategic issues and the spatial conceptualisation of the city. Although the Pretoria Master Plan was seen as groundbreaking work at the time and a major step forward for spatial planning in Pretoria, it had a number of shortcomings, reminiscent of the general critique on modernist planning as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4. It focused primarily on the physical environment (more specifically land use and transportation) and did not focus sufficiently on social, economic and institutional issues. Furthermore, it was largely dominated by technical and scientific planning processes and neglected the notion of community participation and social rationality,

[9] According to Tindall (2000), this department was only established on 1 May 1964.
[10] According to Tindall (2000), the driving force behind the establishment of the planning department was Mr SWR Gildenhuys, a city architect and building surveyor.
[11] This plan, which was drafted in conjunction with the Pretoria planning firm PLAN Associates, Prof CJ Vlijoen (Specialist Planning Consultant) and Dr PWB Kruger (Traffic Engineering Consultant), was also commonly referred to as the 'Silver Fish' – a name derived from the graphic presentation of the cover page of the document.
[12] See City Council of Pretoria (1972).

which at the time (1972) almost did not exist in South Africa. Notwithstanding the above, these plans only focused on the old 'White Pretoria' and did not address the integration of different cultural and ethnic groups. The Pretoria Master Plan, which was seen as the policy framework for the planning department, was largely aimed at guiding spatial planning and land use management during the 1970s.

Soon after the Master Plan was published in 1974, the first consolidated Pretoria Town Planning Scheme (TPS) for the 'whole' Pretoria was approved (City Council of Pretoria, 1994). This TPS was seen as an extension of the initial master plan and later structure plans and policies, and aimed to control and manage land use applications and zoning, within the overall structure and policy framework[13]. Although the Pretoria TPS was criticised for contributing to the fragmented urban structure, it constituted an important part of the urban planning system in the former City of Pretoria. This system, however, did not change much during the following decades - not even during the transformation process of the 1990s.

As the Pretoria Master Plan and TPS matured during the 1970s, a more detailed (supporting) Pretoria Structure Plan was developed and eventually completed in 1980[14]. This structure plan inherited and further magnified many of the problems contained in the original master plan (as discussed above). In the 1980 Structure Plan, the City of Pretoria, which then still excluded the traditional non-white areas,[15] was divided into 19 planning/structure plan cells. Each of these cells (managed by a particular town planner) was described in terms of its general characteristics, population profiles and development trends. They mainly proposed, in very great detail (on the scale/level of street blocks and erven), land uses expressed in terms of the structure plan cell maps. These structure plans, however, provided very limited information on policy *per se.*

This piece-meal planning in many ways contributed to the non-integrated nature of the planning of the city and also to the lack of an overall holistic and strategic focus in terms of the whole city/region. Although the council planners provided much of the base information and assisted in compiling the 1980 Structure Plan, it was mainly compiled by planning consultants (Plan Associates) with limited participation from council officials and the relevant communities and concerned stakeholders.

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[13] The purpose of the Town Planning Scheme (TPS) is to *"co-ordinate a harmonious development of a municipality in such a way as will most effectively tend to promote health, safety, order, amenity, convenience and general welfare as well as efficiency and economy in the process of such development"* (City Council of Pretoria 1974).

[14] See City Council of Pretoria (1980).

[15] These areas included the former 'black' Mamelodi and Atteridgeville townships, the Indian communities of Laudium and the Coloured community of Eersterust.

This plan was amended, updated and published as *The 1993 Structure Plan*, in almost exactly the same format as the previous structure plan[16]. From the 1970s until the early 1990s, the planning department developed a number of more detailed plans and policies in support of the structure plans[17]. This (structured) planning framework played an important role in the planning and development process in Pretoria, specifically with regard to guiding and managing land use applications and new commercial and residential developments. These plans, in view of their physical/land use nature, could unfortunately not deal effectively with the broader perspective of urban planning as discussed in Chapter 4.

This planning system, which was largely informed by the international planning trends that developed from 1920 to 1950, dominated the spatial planning field for most of the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s in the City of Pretoria and largely shaped the spatial structure of the city. Planners generally saw the structure plans as *"a good guide for development"* and as the framework and skeleton for other 'subsidiary' planning actions in the city (see Perception Survey, 1999)[18]. The majority of planners (who always had to compete with the technical/ professional status of the engineering profession) strongly supported and promoted this technical and scientific process approach[19].

Unfortunately, the structure plan became a type of blueprint for planning and development during the 1980s and early 1990s - a very authoritative and rigid guideline document which was used/abused by planners in a very rigid and authoritative way. Very little space was provided for flexibility, creativity and interpretation. This almost artificial authority and power obviously created tremendous frustration amongst consulting planners and developers.

As the structure planning system matured during the late 1980s, it was widely criticised by planners, politicians and developers. It was overly rigid and had a blueprint nature. It

[16] See City Council of Pretoria (1993).

[17] Structure Plans included the structure plans for Hatherley, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, and Nellmapius. Guideline Plans included the guideline plans for Garsfontein-South, Willow Glen, Wapadrand, Waterkloof Agricultural Holdings and environment, The Willows/Lynnwood Ridge, Erasmuskloof, Valley Farm, Brummeria, Garston, Willow Park/Willow Brae, Montana/Magalieskruin, Wonderboom Agricultural Holdings and environment, Wonderboom Regional Recreational area, Zandfontein/Andeon, and Samcor Park. Action Plans were compiled for Riviera West, Daspoort, Rietfontein/Gezina, Bellevue, East Lynne, Middle Street-Nieu Muckleneuk, Erven 221-224 Lynnwood Glen, Sunnyside East, Erven 268-273 and 491 Erasmuskloof extention 3, Pretoria West, Hillcrest, Hatfield, a portion of Lynnwood and Brooklyn Avenue, Brooklyn Circle, a portion of Les Marais, Walkerspruit, Erf 757 Menlo Park. Planning Policies included policies for the location of filling stations, a policy for guest houses, a policy for home offices in Arcadia/Hatfield, a policy for group housing, a conservation policy for the Magaliesberg, etc. (Information obtained from Louis Robinson of the City Planning and Development Department 1999).

[18] During this period, this type of modernist/structure planning was also successfully applied and respected in other South African cities and in many other countries in the world.

[19] Oosthuizen (1999: 32 - 35) also refers to the rigid procedures and the problems of the control-oriented and detailed scientific approach to planning in Pretoria during the 1970s and 1980s.

overemphasised the rational, scientific and systems approach and development control. It lacked, among others, democratic and social properties; community participation; strategic direction and vision; and an emphasis on the management of growth and development (see Perception Survey, 1999).

This critique is reminiscent of the critique of the modernist planning approach as discussed in Chapter 2. The rigid structure plan, which was closely associated with the rigid Town Planning Scheme, in many ways established a confined planning system (within an already confined socio-economic environment). This planning system largely (de)confined the thinking and planning style of the Pretoria planners - one of the main reasons why planners found it so difficult to escape from their iron cages (Webber) during the 1990s. Not only did this planning system become a powerful tool (or an *"instrument of power"* as referred to by Foucault) that was used to direct and control development, but it also provided the planners with a *"rationality" or "professional power"* (as defined by Forester and Hoch), which became dominant in the web of power relations as described by Foucault.

The concept of structure planning/land use planning/physical planning in the City of Pretoria almost reached its peak when the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning published the *Greater Pretoria Guide Plan (GPGP)* in 1984, in terms of the Physical Planning Act, 1967 (Act 88 of 1967)[20]. The purpose of the guide plan was, *inter alia,* to lay down guidelines for the future spatial development of the particular area; to provide an overall planning policy; and to serve as a planning framework for provincial and local government (Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, 1984). As in the case of the structure plans, concerned stakeholders and communities were not involved in the drafting of the GPGP. It was a rigid, statutory document with very little flexibility. The GPGP did not really focus on strategic directions and development options. It was a typical example of a land use plan that aimed at directing future development and growth within, or outside, certain clearly demarcated, almost non-negotiable land use zones, for example, an industrial zone. In spite of its shortcomings, the guide plan resulted in a new regional focus outside the boundaries of the old Pretoria[21].

These two dominant planning functions or main pillars of planning - Land Use Management and Zoning (Development Control) and Structure Planning (Forward Planning) - ultimately resulted in

[20] In 1975 the Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act, 1967 (Act 88 0f 1967) was amended to give the guide plan action legal status. This Act was later renamed the Physical Planning Act, 1967 and further amended in 1981 by the Environment Planning Act, 1981 (Act 51 of 1981) (Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, 1984)

[21] Although the guide plan study area did not include the more remote urban and rural areas (such as Stinkwater and Hammanskraal), it did include the previously excluded non-white (group) areas as mentioned previously.

the development, in 1975, of two distinct and separate planning divisions in the planning department of the former City Council of Pretoria, each with its own unique web of powers and power relations. These were the Development Control Section (restructured in 1994 and referred to as the Land Use Rights Division) and the Forward Planning Section (restructured in 1994 and referred to as the Guideline Planning Division).

The Development Control Section was initially headed by Rocco Fullard (March 1975 to September 1986)[22]. Fullard, a land surveyor by profession, was a knowledgeable, experienced and respected land use manager/planner and an expert in the Pretoria Town Planning Scheme. Furthermore, he was extremely peculiar on the finest details, procedures and legalities - typical of the rigid planning system. He was mostly involved with land use management and had very little exposure to the broader Structure Planning (Forward Planning) or the later transformation of urban planning during the 1990s. In March 1987, Fullard was promoted to Deputy Director and in August 1988 to Senior Deputy Director. He retired in January 1993.

In March 1987, Mike Yates was appointed as the new head of the Development Control Section. Yates was a qualified town planner who also held a postgraduate degree in landscape architecture. Although Yates was initially mainly involved with land use management (largely in view of his particular responsibilities and position), he became extensively involved with strategic planning and IDP during the 1990s. Yates was generally regarded as a strong 'systems manager' who was much concerned with procedures, proper discipline, performance and strong professional and ethical conduct. In April 1994, Yates was succeeded by Tony Walker, a qualified town planner (April 1994 to July 2001). Walker was also regarded as a performance-oriented manager who managed his division with strong discipline and rules. Although Walker was initially mostly involved with land use management, he later became more involved with strategic planning and the development of the IDP, mainly as a result of the emerging integrated and strategic approach to planning. Although these managers (Walker and Yates) contributed to the development of the land use management system, their rigid and procedural management style largely supported the rigid and control-oriented planning system, which allowed little space for innovation and creativity. This organisational culture became so established in the 1990s that planners had difficulty shaking off their policing image to engage with more holistic and integrated forms of planning.

The Forward Planning Section, on the other hand, was largely concerned with the so-called forward planning or guideline planning; scientific processes and analysis; policy planning and

[22] These timeframes were obtained from Henriette Scheffer of the administrative section of the planning department during 2002. The breaks in the time frames present the periods in which acting managers were appointed while the positions of permanent managers were being considered.

formulation; the compilation, management and maintenance of structure plans, guide plans, land use plans, action plans, and development plans; the establishment and management of planning data and information; and scenario planning.

The Forward Planning section was initially headed by Jean Malherbe (July 1975 to January 1987), a qualified architect and town planner. Malherbe contributed significantly to establishing and promoting the 'forward planning' culture and also the notion of urban design in the City of Pretoria. In February 1987, Malherbe was promoted to the post of Deputy Director - a position he held until his retirement in June 1994. Malherbe was respected as a leader in the field of structure planning and urban design. Although he was also extensively involved in the structure plan processes, he tended to be more interested in projects on a more detailed 'urban design/architectural' scale. He incidentally played a major role in facilitating the planning, design and ultimate re-development of the Pretoria CBD area (the so-called Pretoria City Core Project) in the 1980s. Malherbe was always very popular as a colleague and friend amongst the planners, specifically of the Forward Planning Section. Some planners and people from outside the Council often referred to Malherbe's bombastic and autocratic style of management - a 'powerful' management style that seemed to have suited the patriarchal planning system. His style of planning also had an impact on the development of the rigid structure(d) planning approach with its strong design and 'plan' nature. These 'plans' were more concerned with the spatial structure, rather than the effect they would have on social and economic development, for example.

Malherbe often used 'the plan' as an "instrument of power" (Foucault), as well as the "the power of the better argument" (Habermas) to challenge supreme powers or "infra power" (Foucault) and political powers to approve certain plans and planning initiatives in the council. His concerted efforts (and sometimes good, rational arguments) often led to successful plan implementation. This not only indicates the types of dominatory autocratic powers present in the power web and the "micro physics of power" (Foucault), but it also indicates (in contradiction to Flyvbjerg's argument) how good arguments and rational actions, if effectively exercised, can challenge political power structures. Malherbe's continued and persistent argumentation also indicated that effective communicative action can dominate/define political power - the inversion of Flyvbjerg's theory.

As a result of Malherbe's promotion, Nic van der Westhuizen, a qualified town planner was appointed head of the Forward Planning Section in February 1988. Van der Westhuizen is commonly regarded as 'the gentleman' of the planning division in view of his exceptional tact and diplomacy, strong values and principles. He was extremely dedicated in his work and always inclined towards proper management, performance and strong discipline. Unlike Malherbe, who

focused mainly on the detail and structural aspects of planning, van der Westhuizen was mainly involved in high-level strategic work, policy formulation and metropolitan planning. He continuously liaised with national departments on matters pertaining to planning and policy. He was incidentally one of the first persons in the planning department to talk of strategic planning and initiated a Physical Development Strategy in the late 1980s. Nic van der Westhuizen was highly respected as a planner and also recognised by the Pretoria planning fraternity for the contribution he made to promote the bigger picture of planning. In October 1988, van der Westhuizen was promoted to Deputy Director - a position he held until 31 July 1993 when he took an early retirement. Many planners, officials and managers from other council departments argued that van der Westhuizen's retirement on the eve of the transformation process in the early 1990s was a major loss to the City of Pretoria and the planning profession in general.

In October 1988, Wilhelm (Skaap) Mouton, a qualified town planner and former chief planner in the Forward Planning Section was appointed as the new head of this section. Mouton was commonly regarded as a 'people's manager'. He had a very flexible and relaxed management style. Many planners often stated that Mouton was too relaxed in his management style and that he created a somewhat slack working environment with insufficient discipline and professionalism. However, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, he played a major role in the Forward Planning Section, specifically with regard to structure planning. He was strongly guided and supported by the forward planners, as well as the structure plan consultants at the time (Plan Associates). Even during the late 1990s and beginning of the 2000s, Mouton was always a strong supporter of the technical/scientific land use/structure planning approach and was strongly influenced and supported by the planners in his section.

Although each of the planning managers (as discussed above) had their strengths and weaknesses, few of them really had the attitude, skill, inclination and planning style required for the emerging strategic and integrated developmental planning system, as they were too concerned with rigid structures, detail and procedures. Van der Westhuizen was perhaps the only planner to exhibit a broader strategic perspective on planning.

The Forward Planning Section was a very isolated and close- knit family with a tight culture. These planners formed a very strong bond and strongly supported each other, both in the private and work domains. Throughout the transformation process (during the 1990s) it was evident that the planners, as a group, wanted to protect their comfort zone, each other's positions and their hallmark of planning practice. They specifically had difficulty accepting the new liberal forms of planning that seemed to have threatened the structure planning domain and the structure of the

department. It was fairly obvious that the so-called forward planners during the years had worked out a planning system that they strongly supported. The planners became well entrenched in the structure plan approach and were almost inseparable from this plan. It was clear that it would not be easy to change this well-established planning system or culture.

Some planners also argued that the majority of planners in the Forward Planning Section deliberately resisted any new planning initiatives that were introduced by the 'new' managers who did not enjoy their full support - more specifically, Mike Yates. Planners from the other planning division (Development Control) often referred to the comfort zone within which the forward planners found themselves. It was fairly easy for the planning professionals to come and go as they wished. The extended Friday afternoon pub lunches were, for instance, seen as a popular "team-building exercise" for 'the boys'. There was always a perception that planners of the Forward Planning Section were doing 'real planning' and the more challenging parts of planning, while the planners of the Development Control Section were mostly involved in boring administrative tasks related to land-use applications. Reference was often made (in a somewhat offensive fashion) to the 'scheme mechanics' - or the mechanical process of maintaining and 'fixing' the Town Planning Scheme. The Forward Planning Section, in view of its culture and structure, attracted mostly senior planners in the department, which resulted in a 'culture of seniority'.

This bond and social alliance that developed in the Forward Planning section is much proof of the strong social and power relations which existed in this section (see discussion on the social alignment and Wartenburg in Chapter 2). This alignment was so strongly supported and maintained by 'the agents' in the alignment that it resulted in a powerful social group. See also the relationship between social relations, social alignments, and power as discussed in Chapter 2. As will be discussed in later sections of this chapter, the power of this group became much evident in the way in which the group continued to defend the structure plan system, and the way in which it reacted to, and 'protested' against the transformation of the urban planning system and the ongoing attempts to restructure the Forward Planning Section.

The planning department with its two strong separate divisions (Development Control and Forward Planning) was often criticised for its many shortcomings and problems: the lack of integration between the two functions, specialisation of functions, office politics, unequal distribution of work, professional jealousy, duplication of work, lack of unity in department, and unhealthy rivalry (see Perception Survey, 1999). The separateness of the structure also hampered integration and coordination between these two closely related functions and divisions. The strong distinction between the two functions was largely amplified by the different personalities, cultures and

management styles of the respective managers. The separateness also resulted in a poor working relationship between officials from these two divisions, and conflicting power relations within (and between) the two planning sections.

The overall city planning and development function in the City Council of Pretoria was initially (prior to 1994) the responsibility of the Town Planning and Architectural Department (TPA). This department was restructured in 1994 and renamed the City Planning and Development Department. As part of this restructuring exercise, the Development Control Section changed to the Land Use Rights Division; and the Forward Planning Section changed to the Guideline Planning Division.

However, these two separate functions continued to exist separately until mid-1997 when a new integrated structure and planning function was established, mainly for the purpose of the IDP processes[23]. Although these two dominant functions or sections formed the main pillars of the planning function, the planning department was also concerned with other primary functions related to city planning and development, such as cartographic services, land surveying, building control, architecture, urban design, physical development services, project management and quantity surveying.

From the time when the planning department was established, this department was mainly dominated by land surveyors, quantity surveyors and architects[24]. These professions focused mostly on detail issues (and scientific measurements) and not so much on the broader picture of planning and development. Fritz Kraehmer, although an architect by profession, was the first person with a planning qualification to head the planning department. In spite of his planning background, Kraehmer was more concerned with detail architectural and urban design projects than with broader urban planning. He was a very strong autocratic 'leader' who found it difficult to communicate with people. His 'closed-door policy' was also reminiscent of the planning approach during his 'reign'. The type of power exhibited by Kraehmer can be closely associated with the "dominatory forms of infra power" referred to by Foucault and Machiavelli. This type of infra power exhibited by Kraehmer and some of the other managers resulted in a resistance by some officials against these powers. See also Foucault on "the struggle against forms of domination" in Chapter

[23] The White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001) is also very specific on the integration of planning functions and argues that: *"The key to successful local spatial planning, land use management and land development is the establishment of an effective link between the forward planning and development control functions."* (Republic of South Africa 2001b: 77).

[24] Since its inception in 1964, the planning department was headed by Mr N.T. Cooper, a land surveyor (1964 - 1967), Mr S.W.R. Gildenhuys, a building surveyor (1967 - 1972), Mr B.W.B. Ball, a land surveyor (1972 - 1978), Mr L.D. Breytenbach, a building surveyor (1978 - 1986), Mr F Kraehmer, an architect and town planner (1986 - 1993), and Mr M.W. Yates, a town planner and landscape architect (1993 - 6 December 2000). See Tindall (2000).

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Following the retirement of Kraehmer, Mike Yates was appointed as the head of the newly established City Planning and Development Department on 1 November 1993. The appointment of Yates had a huge and positive influence on the course of planning during the 1990s, as will be discussed in sections to follow.

During much of the planning department's history, most of the planners, including the top management, were white Afrikaans-speaking males[25]. Most of the planners completed their planning studies either at the University of Potchefstroom or the University of Pretoria. Both these universities were still strongly Afrikaans-orientated at that time and more conservative in their thinking than the English universities.

During the apartheid years, many of these planners and managers were associated with the old apartheid government regime and the former leading National Party. In general, the organisational culture (and management styles) that existed in the planning department was largely characterised as conservative, autocratic, narrow-minded and rigid - a culture that seemed to have suited the modernist style of planning, and also the type of infra power associated with such a system.

As a result of the well-established relationship and affiliation with the old planning methodologies, it was difficult for many of these (mostly the older planners) to adapt to the new democratic and developmental style of government and urban planning that emerged during the 1990s. Although the majority of planners argued that the old planning system was good at the time, and that effective, good and sound planning was done, it was widely criticised during the late 1980s and early 1990s, as the new integrated approach towards planning emerged (Perception Survey, 1999; Interview Survey, 2001). Various planners in and outside the City Council, consulting town planners, developers and academics criticised the old planning department and old planning approach for its fragmented and ad-hoc approach to urban planning. The old planning system was criticised, amongst other things, for its overemphasis of technical and physical issues; the lack of community participation; the reactive way of planning; the rigid and fragmented approach; lack of integration; and lack of vision (Perception Survey, 1999)[26] - and also the power(full) ways in which plans and policies (Foucault's instruments of power) were (ab)used to shape the structure and growth of the city.

[25] Of the ±30 qualified planners in 1985, there was only one female planner in the Forward Planning Section and another two female planners in the Development Control Section and no black planning staff. The black and female staff in the planning department was mainly restricted to administrative positions and technical support roles.

[26] Only two respondents noted the lack of emphasis on the neglected areas and the spatial segregation that was directly caused by apartheid planning (Perception Survey, 1999).

As the principles of community participation emerged in South Africa during the late 1980s, planners realised that they were not paying sufficient attention to community participation and consultation in the planning, development and decision-making processes[27]. This lack of meaningful community participation was probably one of the most important points of critique against the old planning approach in the City of Pretoria and also elsewhere in South Africa (see Perception Survey, 1999).

The old planning approach in the City of Pretoria (and also in many other South African cities or regions), with its primary focus on the physical aspects, did not effectively focus on aspects such as equity and fair distribution of resources; human needs and priorities; the poor, marginalised minorities and previously disadvantaged groups; women, children and the disabled (Oosthuizen, 1999; Perception Survey, 1999; and Interview Survey, 2002). This critique of the old Pretoria planning system is largely reminiscent of the critique expressed of the modernist planning system that dominated the planning scene in countries such as the USA and UK during the 1950s.

As the Pretoria planning system evolved during the 1960s to late 1980s, very little progress was made to transform and improve the urban planning system - specifically when compared with the transformation that took place during the same time in other parts of the western world. Although the planners were involved in a wide array of planning work, their work mainly related to day-to-day tasks such as commenting on rezoning applications and the evaluation of new township applications. Very few Pretoria planners were involved in research and, in general, very limited efforts were made to study and practice emerging trends. This in many ways resulted in planners becoming isolated and too entrenched in their rigid planning methodologies. This also later made it difficult for planners to broaden their horizons and take on board new planning methodologies.

In summary, the planning function in the former City Council of Pretoria developed into a strong and well-established planning function in the late 1980s with a particular organisational structure and male-dominated culture[28]. As the new planning legislation and policies and new approaches to planning began to develop during the 1990s and early 2000 in South Africa, the planning department, its organisational structure, leadership, gender and racial profile, as well as the approach to urban planning, continuously changed and developed as it was influenced by the

[27] Some planners and councillors in Pretoria argued that the normal advertising procedures, as prescribed by the rezoning processes or processes for township establishment, were sufficient to allow for public inputs and consultation. Others argued that the role of Ward councillors was to consult with the people and that this was sufficient participation.

[28] Oranje (1997: 71) refers to how planning (during the mid-to late-1900s) was promoted as a 'male profession'. Some planning documents produced during this time specifically referred to planners as *"intelligent men"* or *"men with vision"*.

contextual realities as discussed in Chapter 4.

The narrative that follows, deals with t*he transformation of urban planning in the municipalities of the Greater Pretoria region during the period 1992 to 2002.* The narrative presents a discussion on the emergence and development of community participation; social planning, strategic planning, sustainable development and the new forms of urban management as far as these pertain to urban planning. It specifically focuses on the impact that these approaches had on the urban planning system, organisational structures and processes and the people (planners, officials, councillors, managers and communities), and the various power structures and power relations in the local authority and the planning department. The narrative further unravels and unpacks the complex power structures and power relations associated with the transformation of the urban planning and local government system, see framework for analysis in Chapter 2.

Throughout the narrative reference is made to the planners' efforts (as well as their struggles, failures and successes) to transform the old rigid, apartheid planning system and to establish (and to adapt to) a new, more appropriate and progressive urban planning system. The story is ultimately narrated within the context of the overall (and ever-changing) national government transformation of the 1990s/early 2000s.

## 5.3 A NEW (DIS)COURSE ON URBAN PLANNING IN THE CITY OF PRETORIA

### *The beginnings of a new integrated approach to planning in the former City Council of Pretoria (1992)*

The majority of planners were mostly concerned with the old rigid forms of urban planning. During the early 1990s, however, a number of planners in the City of Pretoria/Tshwane and planning consultants were exposed to emerging trends such as community participation and strategic planning.

One of the first attempts to introduce some form of integrated and participatory approach to planning in the City Council of Pretoria was the Nellmapius township project, initiated by Nic van der Westhuizen, Chief Town Planner of the Forward Planning Section[29] in the beginning of 1989. Van der Westhuizen emphasised the need to integrate and involve all the different disciplines in the planning of the township (through inter-departmental/multi-disciplinary planning teams) and to consult the affected community of Eersterust, for whom the township was earmarked.

[29] See City Council of Pretoria (1989).

The focus on integrated planning and community participation, however, gained a new momentum in 1989 after the introduction of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) as discussed in Chapter 4[30]. At this time, this extended new form of integrated environmental management was not commonly applied in the city and very little information on the IEM concept was available. In an attempt to obtain more information on the IEM approach, Johnny Coetzee, who was then specifically involved in environmental planning and management in the planning department, attended a short course on Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) at the University of Cape Town's Environmental Evaluation Unit in December 1992.

In February 1992, Coetzee presented two papers on IEM, one to the former Transvaal Branch of the South African Institute for Town and Regional Planners, and one to officials of various departments of the City Council of Pretoria. These papers, inter alia, called for the importance of community participation in all the phases of the planning process and the need for planners and professionals from other related disciplines to apply the principles of IEM in their planning and development processes[31].

Rodney Corin, one of the senior engineers in the Engineering Department, had attended the same IEM course. He presented a paper on community participation and public scoping to the council officials. During the discussions that followed these presentations, some delegates expressed and confirmed the need to integrate the principles of IEM in the planning process, as well as their commitment to the process. These papers, however, merely presented a broad overview. They did not really contain much detail and theory and were probably not significant in terms of the international and national context. They introduced, for the first time however, the principles of IEM, structured community participation and integrated planning in the City Council of Pretoria. Although these efforts were seen by some people as an effort by Coetzee and Corin to aspire to more power through prowess (as in the case of Machiavelli's Prince) and the introduction of new processes, these efforts and introduction of the participative planning processes could also be seen as an effort to challenge and change the dominatory, autocratic powers that characterised the old non-democratic planning system.

Later that same year, the IEM principles (including the community participation process) were

[30] Although IEM focuses mostly on impact assessments and environmental management procedures, it also has much in common with urban planning and urban management, largely in view of the fact that it promotes the concept of community participation and integrated planning.

[31] See Coetzee (1992 a and b).

applied in a major urban renewal project in the City of Pretoria - the Pretoria City Lake project,[32] as well as the comprehensive PREMET transportation study aimed at developing a comprehensive transport plan for the City of Pretoria[33]. Although the members of these project teams were exposed to the new principles of integrated and participatory planning, they had very little experience of how to facilitate such planning processes.

The City Lake process was specifically criticised by various stakeholders for its shortcomings - the most important being that of limited consultation and the fact that community needs had not been satisfactorily addressed in the planning process. Some participants also argued that this process was done primarily to satisfy the community[34]. The City Lake project is also a good example of Foucault's "instrument of power" in the sense that "the power of the plans" was used to convince communities to buy in to the plan. In spite of its many shortcomings, this process certainly played a major role in highlighting the various facets and challenges of the multi-disciplinary/cross-sectoral approach to planning and largely stimulated thinking in the direction of an integrated approach to planning in the planning department. The PREMET study, on the other hand, also played a major role in exposing the engineers to integrated and participatory planning.

As the principles of IEM, community participation and integrated planning began to infuse planning in the City of Pretoria during the early 1990s, the well-established principles of strategic planning (as discussed in Chapter 4) also began to prompt urban planning in Pretoria. The first traces of urban strategic planning in the former City Council of Pretoria date back to the early 1990s when Nic van der Westhuizen (Chief Town Planner of the Forward Planning Section in the City Council of Pretoria, who was mainly involved with metropolitan and regional planning at the time), initiated and drafted a discussion document entitled *Physical Development Strategy for the City of Pretoria*[35].

The principles of urban strategic planning ultimately shaped the EMPRET planning model (which emerged in 1993), as well as the IDP processes, which emerged in 1996. Although some planners argued that the principles of strategic planning had always been part of planning, the majority of planners argued that the emergence of urban strategic planning led to a new integrated and

[32] See City Lake Pretoria (1992 and 1993); Toria (1992); and Robust (1994).

[33] The PREMET transportation study was facilitated by the transportation engineers, in conjunction with a firm of consultants.

[34] Due to a prolonged debate between the Council and some objectors to the process, and the lack of interest from the private sector, the City Lake project never came to fruition in its original form and in 2002 the site was allocated for the head offices of the Department of Trade and Industry.

[35] The City of Cape Town (Peter De Tolly) started its new planning process, the Strategic Metropolitan Planning process, in June 1989, when a group of planners convened to discuss the future spatial structure of the city. Strong emphasis was placed on the principles of strategic planning, spatial planning, spatial integration, community participation, as well as the non–spatial issues that affected the spatial structure (Watson 2001).

strategic way of planning (Perception Survey, 2002).

Following the famed Rio Summit in 1992, planners, architects and environmentalists in Pretoria indicated a renewed interest in environmental management and more specifically the notion of sustainable development. The planning department of the City Council of Pretoria collected and studied information on the principles of sustainable development and the Local Agenda 21 processes in an attempt to structure a Local Agenda 21 for Pretoria[36]. Of particular interest to this process, were the urban planning and management principles that were being promoted by the World Bank, and specifically the concept of Sustainable Development Planning (SDP) initially introduced by the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) in 1994. Although this SDP model is closely related to the concept of strategic planning, it provided a new insight on community/environmental strategic planning and the techniques that could be used to facilitate strategic/community planning.

As the new trends of community participation, strategic planning and sustainable development planning permeated the planning scene in the City of Pretoria during the early 1990s, it largely emphasised the opportunities to transform the archaic urban planning system and to challenge the dominatory powers and the bad powers of "the Prince". However, within the context of the well-established structure plan system, it was unclear how these principles should be integrated into this planning system. In an attempt to harness the new planning principles into one overarching, integrated urban planning/environmental management system, Coetzee drafted a short discussion memorandum entitled *Environmental Management Programme for Greater Pretoria*, EMPRET in short[37], in the beginning of 1993.

This memorandum briefly contained principles and thoughts on a new approach to planning for the City of Pretoria. This 1993 EMPRET paper largely emphasised the principles of strategic planning, integrated environmental management, community participation, and sustainable development planning. One of the cornerstones of the proposed EMPRET approach in 1993 was its definition or description of the environment, which emphasised the need to focus on (and integrate) the whole environment and its components, which included the natural, built, social and external environments.

In this way it clearly presented a shift in emphasis from the dominant physical environment to the

[36] The 1992 Rio Summit resulted in a world-wide call by the World Bank requesting cities to formulate a Local Agenda 21 for their cities based on the principles contained in Agenda 21.
[37] See Coetzee (1993 (a)).

broader city environment[38] and a shift from structure planning to integrated urban planning and management. On 22 March 1993, Coetzee made the first formal presentation of the initial EMPRET principles to the deputy Chief Executive Officer/Town Clerk, Dr Lucas Botha, Mike Yates (Acting Director of the Town Planning and Architectural Department), Wilhelm Mouton (Planning Director of the Forward Planning Section), and Hugo de Wet (chief planner involved with planning and environmental management). This presentation was a deliberate, dedicated and power(full) effort to convince the senior management to change the planning system - much in line with Habermas' *"power of the better argument"* and Foucault's *"instrument of power"*. After the presentation, Botha decided to establish EMPRET as a "special project" within the CEO's department.

Various in-house discussions were held in an attempt to further develop this initial approach. On 16 November 1993, Botha submitted a report entitled *Proposed Environmental Management Plan/Strategy for Greater Pretoria* to the Management Committee of the former City Council of Pretoria, which subsequently approved the report[39]. On the same day, Coetzee also presented a paper on EMPRET at a consultative conference, hosted by the Pretoria Committee for Cultural Development[40]. At this conference, attended by approximately 100 people representing a large number of stakeholder groups from Pretoria[41], the proposed EMPRET approach was widely accepted and supported[42]. Although EMPRET only contained broad principles and lacked detail in 1993, it was the first stab at a new integrated approach to urban planning and management in the City Council of Pretoria.

While one component of the planning department in 1993 was developing a new integrated/developmental approach to planning (EMPRET), another component was to finalise the 'new' 1993 Pretoria Structure Plan, which was somewhat contradictory to the EMPRET approach. This was almost the first conflict (and clash of powers) between the old structure/physical planning approach and the emerging integrated approach to planning.

Although many of the problems of the old 1980 plan were entrenched in the 1993 plan, the 1993 plan to a very limited extent demonstrated the new thoughts on planning that were beginning to emerge in South Africa and Pretoria in the beginning of the 1990s, such as community participation, social planning and strategic planning. The 1993 Structure Plan, for instance,

[38] The DFA (1995) and the LGTA (1996), and the subsequent LDO and IDP processes in 1997 also made a similar division of the environment, namely the physical, social, economic and institutional.
[39] See City Council of Pretoria (1993).
[40] See Coetzee (1993 (b)).
[41] See City Council of Pretoria (1994: 22).
[42] See Koortz (1994: 15); and Pretoria Committee for Cultural Development (1993: 23).

referred to a vision for the City of Pretoria. It recognised the importance of 'quality of life' and suggested a wider focus than just land use. The 1993 plan, which was compiled by a consortium of planners (Plan Associates, Plan Consult, and EVS), also extensively involved council planners and related council departments in the planning and final compilation of the plan (plans and documents). An important mind-shift of the new plan/process relates to the fact that it at least recognised the *"far reaching constitutional changes..."* that were taking place; as well as the *"... significant socio-economic and spatial consequences for Pretoria and the metropolitan area";* as well as the fact that these consequences had to *"... influence the development policy and strategies for the area"*[43].

On the eve of the transformation (1993), it was obvious that a new integrated approach to urban planning was emerging in the City of Pretoria. The first initiatives towards an integrated new planning system in many ways sensitised the planners, managers and politicians to some of the emerging trends and planning approaches. In view of the fact that most of the new ideas (for instance those contained in EMPRET) were still at a conceptual level, very few planners in the City Council of Pretoria actually reacted to the new approaches. The planners in the Forward Planning Section had often argued that the new approaches were merely a temporary trend or fashion that would go away. Mike Yates, both in view of his personal interest and his position as Executive Director of the Town Planning and Architectural Department, continued to play an important role in the development of the new principles, specifically EMPRET.

Those planners who did not support Yates' management style and personality were always sceptical of the new democratic planning processes that Yates was developing and promoting. He was often criticised for having broken with the age-old-tradition of structure planning. Unfortunately, insufficient effort was made with the conceptualisation phase of EMPRET to promote and involve planners, managers and councillors in the development of the new approach - resulting in a general lack of support and buy-in. This resistance to change was the result of the transformation, and also typical of the resistance to any new powers, or powers that could possibly threaten the existing power structures, see also Hoch and Forester in Chapter 2.

[43] See City Council of Pretoria (1993).

## 5.4 SOME THINGS/PEOPLE NEVER CHANGE

***The transformation of the former City Council of Pretoria's planning department (1993/1994)***

While some planners in the planning department were trying to establish a new strategic planning and city/environmental management model for the city (EMPRET), the former City Council of Pretoria adopted and approved a new Purpose Directed Management System (PDM) on 21 April 1993. The main purpose of the PDM was to restructure and improve the performance and effectiveness of the City, the City Council of Pretoria and its various departments; and to determine a new vision for the organisation.

The Town Planning and Architectural Department was ultimately restructured and, in 1993, resulted in the City Planning and Development Department, comprising the following divisions: Guideline Planning, Land-use Rights, City Development Control, Physical Development Services, Surveying and Cartographic Services and Support Services[44]. The Guideline Planning Division replaced the former Forward Planning Section and the Land-use Rights Division replaced the former Development Control Section.

The new organisational structure for the planning department, however, included a new Urban Design Section within the newly established Physical Development Services Division. The introduction of this new section was largely inspired by Jean Malherbe - an experienced architect and town planner, the former head of the Forward Planning Section and a former Deputy Director of the planning department.

Malherbe, mainly based on his architectural background, combined with his experience of physical planning and urban design, often expressed the need for the department to have a dedicated urban design section to bridge the gap between the broader planning issues and detail design. To the dismay of some urban planners, only planners who had obtained formal training in the seemingly new 'specialist field' of urban design were considered for the position of Chief Urban Designer. During the early 1990s the concept of urban design in the City Council of Pretoria, as in the rest of South Africa, came to be recognised as a 'distinct profession'. Some universities in South Africa, such as the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town, presented postgraduate courses in urban design, specifically for planners and architects. The initial intention was to provide planners and architects with additional specialised knowledge of urban design, urban structure and form, and specifically the overlap between architecture and planning. To the dismay of many experienced town planners (who saw the field of urban design as an

[44] See also City Planning and Development Department (1993).

integral part of urban planning), some urban designers argued that 'urban design' was a specialist profession that could only be dealt with by qualified urban designers[45]. This resulted in arrogance amongst many urban designers. The 'planner-urban designers' became instant architects; the 'architect-urban designers' became instant urban planners and even urban strategic planners. This emerging emphasis on detail (urban) design unfortunately over-emphasised the confined and rigid approach to urban planning (and certain parts of the city only), *vis a vis* the broader, integrated and holistic focus on the city (and people) as a whole.

As a result of the PDM restructuring, some directors and chief planners accepted retrenchment packages, resulting in several vacancies and new opportunities for emerging leaders in the planning department. The vacant positions were advertised internally only and eventually a number of new appointments were made in 1993 and 1994. Unlike the procedure in the past, where vacant positions in most cases were filled by the following successive candidate in the ranks, or the person most favoured in the department, a new appointment procedure and extensive appraisal process were used to guide the appointment of new managers, creating opportunities for younger planners also to be considered for management positions.

The first appointment that was made on 1November 1993 was the appointment of Mike Yates (former head of the Development Control Section), as the new Executive Director of the City Planning and Development Department. Although the planners in his former division favoured Yates as the new Executive Director, the planners in the Forward Planning Section favoured Jean Malherbe for this position due to the fact that he was 'in line' for the position, as well as the fact that he was respected as a leader in the field of structure planning and urban design - specialist fields that some planners believed were the prerequisites for such a position.

Soon after his appointment, Yates introduced various strategic interventions and projects such as the Pretoria Capitol Initiative, which was aimed at making Pretoria the Seat of Parliament. During the mid-to late-1990s Yates played a major role in developing suitable and appropriate planning approaches for the City Council of Pretoria, such as the development of EMPRET, the Pretoria Inner Process and the Integrated Development Planning processes. He also played a pivotal role in defining the new developmental role for local government and the strategic direction for the City of Pretoria.

Through the 1990s, Yates demonstrated a specific interest in the fields of strategic planning and

[45] This aspect was often raised by architects and urban designers during discussions held in the City Council of Pretoria.

environmental management and was also continually involved with strategic planning and corporate issues in the City Council. Many planners in the department often criticised him for focusing too much on strategic and corporate issues and for not focusing sufficiently on the people in the department and the more detailed planning issues and functioning of the department. Yates always had a very strong and uncompromising viewpoint on discipline and professional ethics[46].

Besides the appointment of Yates, other senior managers were also appointed in the planning department. On 1 April 1994, Tony Walker, Chief Planner of the Development Control Section, was appointed Planning Director of the Land Use Rights Division.

Although Walker mainly focused on the management of his division, he also became involved in strategic planning and contributed to the refinement of EMPRET and the later IDP processes, as well as the later restructuring of the planning department in 1997.

In February 1994, Wilhelm (Skaap) Mouton was reconfirmed in his position as Director of the Guideline Planning Division[47]. Although the functions of strategic planning and IDP originated in the Forward Planning Section (the forerunner of the Guideline Planning Division) and although these functions were mainly the responsibility of this division, Mouton and most of the planners in Guideline Planning contributed very little to the initial development of the new urban planning approach.

On 1 October 1994, a chief urban designer and four new chief town planners were appointed. Jaksa Barbir was appointed as the first Chief Urban Designer of the newly established urban design function. Barbir, a planner/urban designer/architect who had studied in, and emigrated from Croatia at the end of the 1980s, had a sound knowledge of, and vast experience of spatial planning, urban design and strategic planning. During the latter part of the 1990s/early 2000, he played an instrumental role in developing and promoting the principles of IDP and strategic spatial planning. In the middle of 1999 he also became a member of the IDP task team that, amongst other things, refined and promoted IDP in Pretoria.

In the Land Use Rights Division, Annemarie Borsje, Jan Cilliers and Theo Ligthelm were appointed as chief town planners. With the exception of Borsje, who became involved in the IDP processes

[46] See also later discussion on Yates' role in the department during the late 1990s and early 2000.

[47] In cases where a certain position did not become vacant, or where the inherent contents of a position did not change significantly as a result of the restructuring process, the incumbents of these positions did not have to re-apply for these positions, as was the case with Wilhelm (Skaap) Mouton, the former Chief Planner of the Forward Planning Section.

in 1997/1998, these planners did not really contribute to the transformation of the urban planning system in the City of Tshwane.

On 1October 1994, Johnny Coetzee was appointed chief planner in the Guideline Planning Division. The appointments of Borsje and Coetzee frustrated many planners, specifically in the Guideline Planning Division, mainly in view of the fact that the majority of planners in this division preferred other senior/more experienced planners (who were 'in line' for promotion) to be appointed in these positions. These planners often had to face direct critique and sometimes insult from their colleagues. After the appointments, many planners (mostly those who had not been appointed) criticised the adjudication process as being ineffective. Again, this state of affairs presents an example of the so-called resistance to power and the complexity of power relations within the power and social web as described by Foucault.

The Purpose Directed Management (PDM) restructuring process, which was *"one of the most radical changes in the council"* (Tindall 2000) eventually resulted in a much 'flatter' organisational structure, fewer departments, and the downsizing of personnel through natural attrition and voluntary severance packages[48]. The PDM restructuring (apart from the appointment of new managers), however, did not have much affect on the organisational structure and functions of the two planning divisions *per se* in view of the fact that the restructuring process was largely facilitated and 'manipulated' by the departmental and division heads of the department - typical of the dominatory "infra power" (Foucault) or "the power of The Prince" (Machiavelli). These managers mainly protected their powers as well as the existing power structures and power relations in the organisation.

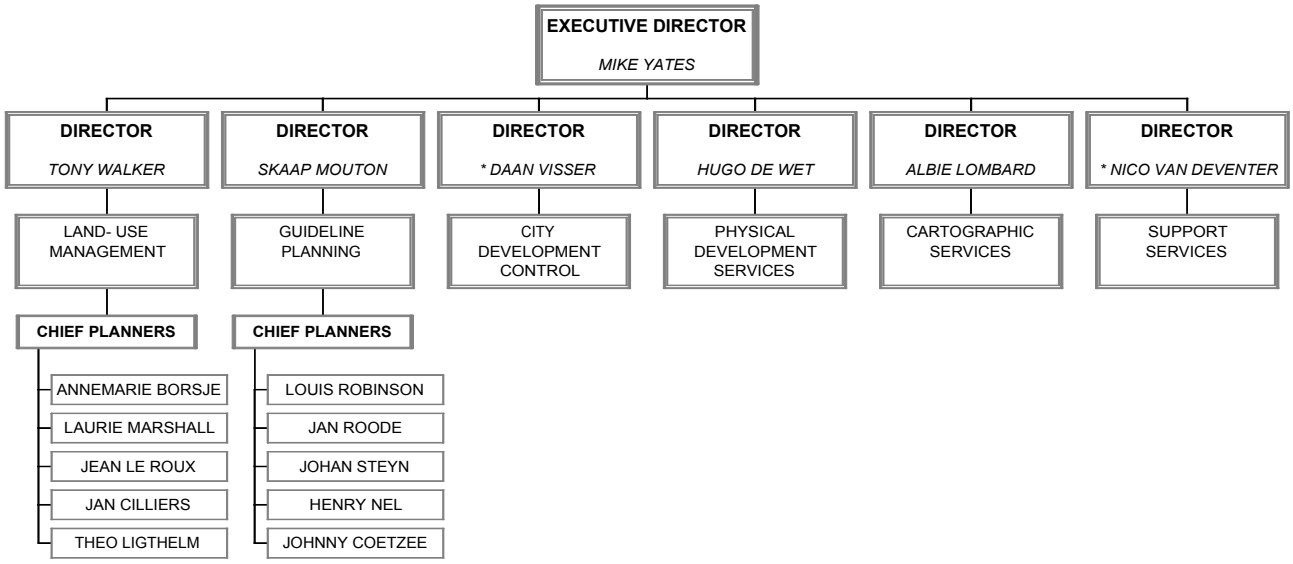
As a result of the above, very little was done to (re)create a new organisational structure that could more effectively accommodate the new forms of urban planning. The new name of the department did, however, place more emphasis on development, while the vision and mission statements of the new department emphasised aspects such as sustainability, environmental management, community participation and service delivery[49]. Although the restructuring process created the opportunity to appoint more people from other cultures and of the female gender, the whole new management, with the exception of Borsje, comprised white males. In the beginning of 2001 this profile was largely criticised by the new political structures, managers and officials as being "too male and too pale".

[48] See Tindall (2000).
[49] Information obtained from council reports and notes on the restructuring process.

As the 1990s progressed, and as the transformation processes unfolded in the City, the planners began to adapt to the new management. There were, however, always those planners and officials, specifically from the Guideline Planning Division, who continually expressed their frustrations and concerns regarding the transformation and the ongoing changes in the Council. This negative attitude later hampered the transformation of urban planning, as it made it difficult for the management to promote the new forms of urban planning.

Although this new leadership structure of the planning department initially had a negative affect on the general morale and attitude of the planners, the new leaders provided a fresh impetus in the planning department and a new momentum to the transformation of urban planning.

FIGURE 1: ORGANIGRAM OF THE CITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT (1994)




* DAAN VISSER LATER REPLACED BY LOUIS ROBINSON
* NICO VAN DEVENTER LATER REPLACED BY DOWLINE VISSER AND LATER VALERIE STEYN

## 5.5 THE DAWN OF 'THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA'

***The effect of the government transformation on urban planning in the Greater Pretoria Region: 1994 onwards***

In South Africa, prior to the government transformation in 1994, an extensive pre-transformation negotiation process was followed, commonly referred to as CODESA, in an attempt to negotiate a new democratic government structure for South Africa. This process, which was done in the midst of volatile political struggles and powers provides proof of the value of effective negotiation, ongoing speech act and the power of communicative rationality - and also the power of *"communicative action"* and *"the unconstrained force of the better argument"* (as described by Habermas[50]).

While the City of Pretoria was investigating and exploring new planning models and organisational structures for the city during 1992/1993 (almost pre-empting the impact of the transformation that was about to materialise), the old National Party government and the African National Congress (ANC) were preparing for the government transformation processes of what was at that time referred to as 'the new South Africa'.

One of the first visible outcomes of the transformation process, particularly in the former City Council of Pretoria, was the integration or inclusion of Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Eersterust and Laudium (the previously segregated Indian, Coloured and Black group areas) with the traditional, previously white Pretoria area. The area of jurisdiction (and the planning area) of the City Council of Pretoria almost doubled in size, from 400 000 people (in the old Pretoria), to almost one million[51].

Apart from this addition to the planning area at the time, senior officials and councillors strongly emphasised that those neglected areas should receive special attention in order to improve the imbalances of the past. Although some officials expected that this integration would imply a substantial additional workload, as well as an expansion of functions, the planners never really had any major problems coping with the extended municipal area. This, in some ways, created the impression that the planners did not have enough work to keep them fully occupied, or, conversely, that the planners did not devote the necessary attention to these additional areas. It was initially difficult for the planners to engage in these areas that had previously been excluded, in view of the

[50]The CODESA negotiations in South Africa also underline Habermas' challenge of *"making sense together while living differently"*. Habermas provided a rich seam of ideas about how to reconstitute the public realm through open, public debate.

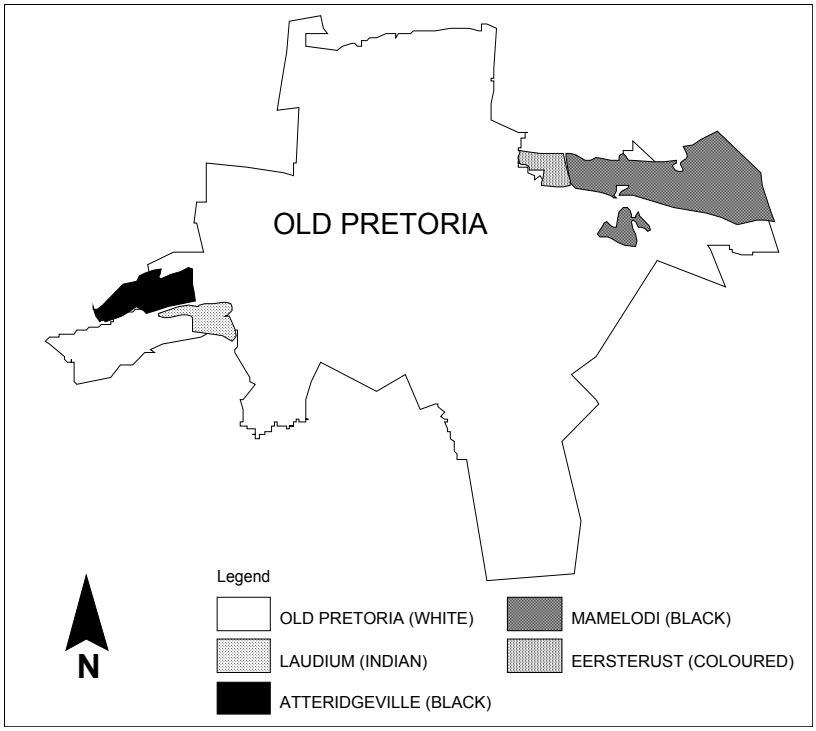
[51] These estimated figures were obtained from the data section of the planning department in 1999.

fact that they had very little knowledge and experience of these areas.

However, as the transformation process unfolded during the mid-1990s, these areas became more prominent and more efforts were directed towards them. This integration was also the first major step towards spatial integration in the City of Pretoria. Although many lessons were learned from the apartheid regime, the separation and neglect of these areas emphasised the flaws of the previous planning system and further underscored the need to plan and develop the city as an integrated whole.

When looking back at the overall metropolitan planning system in Pretoria - or the so-called guideline planning function, it is unthinkable that 'contemporary planners' in the late 1900s could plan a metropolitan area without looking at the city as an integrated whole - ignoring and neglecting some of the most important communities in the city.

FIGURE 2: THE INTEGRATION OF THE PREVIOUSLY SEPARATED AREAS WITH THE OLD PRETORIA AREA (1994)



The transformation process in the former City of Pretoria also gained a new momentum in November 1995 when the first democratic municipal elections were held in Pretoria - resulting in a new ANC-dominated electorate. As a result of the ANC's policies and its new focus on integrated planning and development, service delivery, spatial integration and the equal distribution of resources, the newly elected Pretoria Council supported and promoted the new emerging principles of integrated and democratic planning[52].

The new local government dispensation resulted in an entirely new local government structure for the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Area. This structure included, *inter alia*, the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council (GPMC) and three Metropolitan Local Councils (MLCs): Pretoria, Centurion and Akasia/Tswaing. This new local authority structure further implied a new division of functions between the GPMC and the three MLCs. This division of functions mainly implied that metropolitan functions such as bulk services and metropolitan planning had to be transferred to the newly established GPMC. The MLCs were responsible for local or city-wide functions such as planning efforts and development projects within the particular MLC area.

In many areas the GPMC resulted in a costly duplication of functions and sometimes created the impression of a new 'tier' of government, superior to the local councils. The lack of roles and responsibilities and poor relationships between the GPMC and the other MLCs often created friction and a threat to many officials in the City Council of Pretoria and also those in the other MLCs (see Perception Survey, 1999). Although the metropolitan function was seen as another step in the direction of integration and integrated planning, this local authority arrangement, with its dominant local (MLC) focus and the separate local authorities within one metropolitan area, was later criticised as being obstructive to integrated and equitable urban management[53]. As a result of the GPMC's perceived higher status or coordinating authority over the other "lower tier" MLCs, it created the impression of a super "central power" /authority (similar to the dominatory / infra power as described by Machiavelli and Foucault). This centralised power was strongly resisted by the other smaller/dispersed powers in the power web as described by Foucault. These new power structures not only disrupted the power web and the balance of power relations but it resulted in a power clash between the power structures of the GPMC and the various MLCs, mainly as a result of the problems related to undefined roles, responsibilities and powers.

The new local government dispensation - more specifically the GPMC with its expanded

[52] See also ANC (1992 and 1994).
[53] See later discussion on the unicity.

metropolitan responsibilities - ultimately had a major impact on the transformation of urban planning, particularly the later development of the IDP. The organisational structure of the GPMC was largely developed by Dr Lucas Botha (the same Dr Botha who had been involved with EMPRET in the City Council of Pretoria in 1993). Although EMPRET did not directly influence the GPMC organisational structure, it was obvious that Botha was promoting a more integrated approach to planning and development, as promoted by EMPRET. Botha was also appointed as the first CEO of the GPMC.

Since the establishment of the GPMC, a new Land-use and Transportation Planning Division was established under the leadership of Dr Louis Potgieter. Potgieter was commonly regarded as a very knowledgeable and experienced transport planner, a popular manager and a strong leader. This Division was divided into three planning functions: Transport Planning, Land-use Management and Metropolitan Guideline Planning. Of particular importance to this study, is the Metropolitan Guideline Planning section, and more particularly, the role that the head of this function, Amond Beneke, played in the later transformation of urban planning.

Beneke was a strong leader and an experienced planner who had the ability to change things and make things happen. He was an autocratic leader with a dominatory management style. It often looked as if Beneke was making it his mission to get to the top, no matter what the cost (see also Machiavelli's strategies of gaining and maintaining power). Although he often expressed ideas on the new forms of urban planning, he was still very much entrenched in the old rigid and structural ways of planning, as is evident in his rigid style of planning and management. Prior to the GPMC, the Guideline Planning Division of the City Council of Pretoria did most of the metropolitan planning. These planners became frustrated and felt threatened when this key component of their planning function was captured by the GPMC (and Beneke). This state of affiars created friction amongst the planners of the old Pretoria Council and the GPMC and also a clash of powers.

Unlike the former local councils, which only focused on a particular municipal area or an isolated area within fixed municipal boundaries, the GPMC, for the first time, established an integrated urban planning and development framework for the Tshwane Metropolitan planning area as a whole. Throughout the 1990s, the GPMC also initiated and implemented numerous planning and development projects across the spectrum of the urban environment and throughout the whole metropolitan area. The GPMC always played a major role in the process of developing and promoting the IDP in the former Greater Pretoria region. In view of the fact that the GPMC was a newly established organisation, it created an opportunity to appoint a new team of planners from other parts of the province and even the country - and thus a new or different impetus. This new

impetus should, however, not be construed as the impetus of the new planning paradigm.

Although some of the new planners (mostly the younger planners such as Henry Bezuidenhout and Hannelie Barnard) were associated with the emerging planning system, many of the planners (mostly the older planners such as Beneke) were still schooled in and moulded in the old fashioned way of 'NP government planning'. In spite of this, the new group of planners in many ways provided a counterbalance to the existing rigid structure planning system that then seemed to have dominated the planning system in the Greater Pretoria region. As the newly elected politicians and appointed top management were recruiting the new organisation, they used the opportunity to appoint more black people and women in the organisation and specifically in the more senior management positions. As a result of this, the GPMC organisational structure in 1995/1996 presented a more representative staff profile - although this structure was not at all representative of the wider population.

Despite the fact that many organisational and structural changes had taken place since the establishment of the GPMC in 1995, many people today argue that the GPMC (in view of its equity policy) paved the way for the establishment of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM), which was established in December 2000.

As the new forms of urban planning began to emerge and mature in the beginning of 1995, a new Regional Structure Plan for Greater Pretoria, known as the Greater Pretoria Regional Structure Plan (GPRSP)[54], was published in May 1995. The GPRSP, compiled by PLAN Associates and Stewart Scott Inc, was an attempt by the planners to create a plan for the larger metropolitan area as a whole - an area that included Cullinan, Bronkhorstspruit, Brits, and Hartebeespoortdam. The purpose of this plan was: *"...to satisfy the needs of the community - physical, spatial, economic, social and institutional - in the best possible way"*[55]. This purpose clearly emphasised a new focus on the community and a shift of emphasis away from the limited physical planning and all the critique attached to it. The GPRSP to some extent recognised the RDP principles and emphasised some of the later IDP principles and new trends. These included trends such as the integration and coordination of the different environmental components; the linkage of the plan with the budget; the integration of transport and land use; the emphasis on implementation and strategies for implementation; and the need for community participation. The plan focused on social issues such as education, security, health, community needs and priorities, economic development, employment and functional interaction. It also underscored the importance of development

[54] This plan was done in accordance with the 'old' pre-transformation/apartheid legislation: the Physical Planning Act (Act 125 of 1991); and the Regional Services Council Act (Act 109 of 1985)

[55] See City Council of Pretoria (1995).

facilitation as part of the implementation process. In spite of the positive aspects of this plan, it was still associated with the technical structure planning approach of the past, lacked a spatial and strategic vision and followed a strong sectoral approach. The GPRSP, with all its old characteristics, was initiated and developed by the old regime on the eve of transformation, with very limited consultation. This plan consequently received very little support from the new regime and ultimately never got implemented. The GPRSP, although within the context of the structure plan, incorporated some of the emerging principles and underscored the new thinking on urban planning that was unfolding in the city.

Soon after the government transformation in 1994, many planners, managers and officials experienced the impact of the government transformation process, and more specifically its impact on urban planning. They realised that they had reached a point of no return and knew that it was merely a question of 'going with the changes or being left behind'. As can be expected, many people, particularly those who found themselves in a comfort zone, feared the turmoil, uncertainty and unstable conditions that are normally associated with such transformation processes and also the new power structures. Many officials also feared that they might lose their jobs (or their power). Although some officials feared the uncertainty, many officials saw this transformation as a new challenge and a new opportunity. Yates often referred to the *"exciting times"* and *"the window of opportunity*". As the new local authority was settling down in the new structures and portfolios, the officials were cautiously observing and anxiously waiting for all the 'new things' to happen...

## 5.6 A NEW PLANNING MODEL EMBEDDED IN HOLISM

### *Environmental Management Programme for Pretoria (EMPRET): 1994 to 1995*

As the transformation progressed in the country and in the former City of Pretoria, Lucas Botha, Mike Yates and Johnny Coetzee increasingly emphasised the need to develop and implement a new urban planning system for Pretoria that would conform to the requirements of 'the new South Africa'.

To this end, Botha initiated a process in September 1994, aimed at creating forum structures to implement the RDP, and a possible local RDP for the City of Pretoria[56]. Following on this initiative, Botha requested Yates and Coetzee, mainly in view of their involvement with EMPRET and urban strategic planning, to advise him regarding the new RDP forum structures. They subsequently prepared a discussion paper entitled *Proposed Forum Structure for a Reconstruction and*

[56] Information obtained from notes and reports compiled by Botha in 1994.

*Development Programme for the Greater Pretoria (PRDP)*[57].

At this time, the Pretoria Structure Plan and its related guideline plans and policies directed all planning and development actions in the City of Pretoria. The City Council also had a corporate strategic plan aimed at directing and managing the organisational functions within the local authority and, to a limited extent, the city functions.

These frameworks all had a common aim: to plan, reconstruct, develop and manage the city and all its components. Yates and Coetzee had often stated that these new approaches and the juxtaposition of different planning and management frameworks created confusion amongst planners and urban managers. In support of this, they again emphasised the need for one overarching framework/plan/policy/programme/strategy that could integrate all components related to urban planning, development and management (including the RDP principles).

Yates and Coetzee, who were then strongly supported by Botha, argued that EMPRET, in view of the integrated, strategic and comprehensive nature of the plan, had the potential to become such an overarching and strategic framework/plan for the city[58]. Coetzee often referred to the above as *"The City Plan"*. This realisation led to continued efforts to review and refine the initial 1993 EMPRET principles in an attempt to establish an appropriate planning and city management system for Pretoria.

After numerous discussion sessions with concerned officials and councillors, a new EMPRET discussion document was compiled in December 1995. This document was entitled *EMPRET: A participatory, integrated and holistic approach towards planning, development and environmental management*[59]*.* In spite of some critique on the riddle of words contained in the title, it encompassed the essence of this construct.

The first draft document was submitted to all councillors and Council Departments for their comments. Unfortunately a very poor response was received from the councillors and the departments concerned. This poor response was a clear indication that Coetzee, who was in charge of this process, had not done enough to prompt the councillors and departments for their comments or to explain the strategic importance of the EMPRET document. The poor response can also be ascribed to the fact that the documents were circulated for comments during the December/January holiday season. The responses that were received, mostly from the key council

[57] See City Council of Pretoria (1994).
[58] The above is supported by various discussions that were held between Botha, Yates and Coetzee during late 1994.
[59] See City Council of Pretoria (1995).

departments, were however, very positive and supportive of the initiative.

In March 1996 a second draft document was finalised[60]. Although many officials and councillors regarded this EMPRET discussion document as an important document, it was never submitted to the City Council of Pretoria or the GPMC for formal approval and always remained an informal discussion document. In retrospect, it can easily be argued that Yates and Coetzee steamrollered the process (through the application and abuse of their "professional powers"), and that they did not want to risk submitting (their) precious new planning approach to the Council for approval, as there was a strong possibility that it could be rejected.

As the EMPRET approach was being developed during the first half of the 1990s - the time within which many of the international trends emerged in South Africa - the EMPRET approach was largely influenced and shaped by these trends. Similarly, EMPRET was developed during the time of socio-political transformation in the country, and was ultimately shaped by this transformation[61].

As a result of the above, it is no surprise that the EMPRET documents that were finalised in 1995/1996 (hereafter referred to as EMPRET) were strongly based on the principles of community-based planning, strategic planning and sustainable development planning (SDP), as discussed in Chapter 4. Within the context of the above, EMPRET promoted an urban planning structure and process that is largely reminiscent of the typical strategic planning processes and plans found in many other parts of the world[62].

The EMPRET framework (similar to the typical strategic planning frameworks) as a whole provided the outline, structure or skeleton (the framework) within which decisions could be made and proposals implemented. It aimed at providing a democratic and participatory framework for a local authority to plan more responsively, responsibly, interactively and holistically. It also aimed to facilitate multi-disciplinary and cross-sectoral analyses of local problems and issues and to mobilise private and civic resources in the community to meet public service objectives.

Within the context of the strategic planning process, EMPRET reinforced the principle of community participation, the need to focus on community needs and priorities and the need to involve communities in all the phases of the strategic planning process. It also promoted the concept of coordinating mechanisms such as inter-departmental or multi-disciplinary planning

[60] See City Council of Pretoria (1996).
[61] See also Harrison (1998) on the impact of the international trends and the socio-economic context on the transformation of urban planning in South Africa.
[62] See City Council of Pretoria (1995 and 1996). See also discussion on strategic planning in Chapter 4.

teams that could facilitate the strategic planning process[63].

While developing the EMPRET model, it was realised that the composition and structure of the Greater Pretoria region was too complex and diverse to effectively address and manage diversity in a sustainable manner. It was realised that local issues could not be effectively addressed from a metropolitan or citywide level. This prompted the idea of dividing the city into local planning areas or planning zones and to compile a Strategic Planning Framework (SPF) for each local area, within a hierarchy of frameworks.

This ultimately emphasised the need for a Planning Zone/Community Forum for each of the zones, which could facilitate community participation and coordination[64] - similar to the community planning forums found in other countries. Some planners, however, argued that the demarcation of such planning areas (and communities) could result in yet another different form of fragmented planning and development - something that could not be afforded in the 'new' urban era. The EMPRET model, however, strongly emphasised the need for integrating/coordinating mechanisms that could ensure integration and coordination between zones (local frameworks) to prevent any fragmentation of the urban area, as well as between the different levels of frameworks. This concept of Planning Zones, Planning Zone Forums and the hierarchy of frameworks and related community forums incidentally became the basis of the Pretoria IDP processes during 1997/1998.

Since the inception of EMPRET in 1993, strong emphasis was placed on the need to focus on the total urban environment and all its components, namely the natural, built, social and the so-called external environment, as well as the integration of these environmental components and their sub-components[65]. This was also reflected by the title of EMPRET, which emphasised the "*...integrated and holistic approach...*" and the need to focus on all aspects related to *"...city planning, development and environmental management...* "[66]. In 1997, many of the EMPRET principles were promoted in a policy document on community participation, which was compiled by Keith Griffiths for the GPMC[67]. This principle of focusing on different environmental components (holistically) was a major step in the direction of Integrated Development Planning. This division (or definition) of the environment also formed the basis of the Pretoria Inner City (SDF) (1996), whilst a somewhat

[63] See City Council of Pretoria (1995 and 1996).
[64] See City Council of Pretoria (1995 and 1996).
[65] The 1997/1998 IDPs were based on the physical, economic, social and institutional environments. The GPRSP (1995), DFA (1995) and the LGTA (1996), and the subsequent LDO processes in 1997 also promoted a similar division of the environment. See also Coetzee (1993); City Council of Pretoria (1995 and 1996).
[66] See City Council of Pretoria (1995 and 1996).
[67] See GPMC (1997:86 - 96).

similar division was used for the later 1997/1998 Pretoria IDPs[68].

As the EMPRET approach unfolded during 1995/beginning 1996, the planners in the department realised that EMPRET, in view of its strategic nature and the attention it received from top management, was becoming a reality. It was then obvious (within the context of the government transformation) that the urban planning system was changing radically and that a whole new set of power relations were being created.

The majority of planners in the Guideline Planning Division were sceptical about the new approach and argued that this 'liberal/left wing approach' could possibly replace or threaten the structure plan and even possibly those planners involved with the structure plan - again the resistance to new powers and also the fear of losing power. Critique was often expressed of the non-technical/social nature of EMPRET and its lack of focus on spatial planning. EMPRET, in view of the emphasis on the environment, unfortunately and wrongly created the impression that it was a green/environmental plan. Many officials raised their concern on the comprehensive nature of the model, which almost 'tried to be everything to everybody' and, to their view, had minimal practical application possibilities.

A planner in the Guideline Planning Division, who openly expressed her frustrations about the new EMPRET approach that encroached and threatened 'her' planning domain, once referred to EMPRET as 'Johnny's rubbish'. It is ironic to note that another planner also argued that EMPRET was basically the same as the old approach, except for the fact that it was populated with new terminology.

The above highlighted the fact that too little attention was paid to communication, information and education and also the need for more open communication between officials, and between managers and officials. The above also underlined the guideline planners' attachment to the concept of 'space and structures', and also the fear and reluctance of these planners to change, adapt, learn, explore and experiment. Ironically, these aspects are usually associated with the concept of guideline planning or forward planning - to think outside the box (space/structure) and to break new ground, so as to give guidance and guidelines for the future.

The planners from the other planning division (Land-use Rights), apart from some chief planners, were never involved with EMPRET, nor did they give any inputs or comments, mainly as a result of

[68] See also later critique on this 'artificial division' of the environment.

the fact that they were not invited or requested to participate. On the one hand, the management could be criticised for not officially involving these planners, but on the other hand their lack of action also indicated the general lack of interest and the overall reluctance of planners to learn and explore. Some planners were also sceptical of the involvement of Yates and the fact that he only involved 'certain people' in the process of developing the new model. Yates, however, always stated that he preferred to work with a small group of people on such projects. It was never his intention to perform this project behind closed doors.

Based on the above, it can be argued that more support and possibly enthusiasm could have been generated if more attention had been given to open communication and participation. It is ironic to note that, a planning model founded on participation, communication and transparency was developed in such isolation and by so few people.

Yates, however, soon realised the need to change the perceptions and culture in the department. To this end he requested Coetzee, in view of his extensive involvement with EMPRET, to develop and present a training programme for all the officials concerned (70 officials, mostly from the planning department).

Two one-day training sessions were held during March 1996 at the municipal training centre PREMOS, in Pretoria. These training sessions focused on general aspects related to EMPRET, strategic planning, the strategic planning process, the contents and aims of the plan, community participation, as well as on facilitation and community participation[69]. After the training session the delegates were requested to rate their opinion of the EMPRET process by completing a questionnaire. Although some officials again raised concerns regarding the practical implementation of EMPRET, the majority (90%) of all the officials supported the principles and the continuation of the process. The majority of the delegates also responded positively to the training session and stated that they found the session to be valuable and informative. These training sessions ultimately provided a good basis for the IDP processes in 1997/1998 as they focused to a large extent on the strategic planning process and community participation. The practical training session also sensitised the planners to the new approach and gave them a glimpse of how it could work in practice (Perception Survey, 1999).

While much effort was made to promote EMPRET amongst the officials, it was also realised that this model, which was founded on community involvement, also had to be presented to and

[69] A part of the training session was in the form of a practical role-playing exercise where the delegates were involved in actually facilitating certain phases or components of the process, e.g. the vision phase and the SWOT analysis.

negotiated with the communities, or at least the key stakeholders of the city. During the period March 1996 to June 1996, the planning department invited more than 100 key stakeholder groups and individuals in the city to attend different information and discussion sessions on the proposed EMPRET process. More than 30 smaller discussion sessions and workshops were held with these stakeholders.

Unfortunately these community workshops and information sessions focused more on presenting the principles and marketing the idea than on work-shopping the contents of EMPRET. Many stakeholder groups and role players raised concerns such as the cost of the process, its time frame, how to ensure involvement from all the role players, and the practical implementation and management of the process. In general the various stakeholders were very positive about the new approach and specifically the fact that it provided for consultation in the various phases of the process. This comprehensive information/consultation phase despite its shortcomings, in many ways established support and buy-in from the many stakeholder groups and sensitised them to the basic philosophy and principles of the emerging approaches.

Apart from the above, this process set a basis for building new relationships between the stakeholders and the local authority - something that was desperately lacking during the transformation. This consultation process, which was also regarded as the pre-process for the Inner City Process, ultimately set the stage for the Inner City Process that was scheduled to begin in July 1996.

By the end of 1995 it became obvious that EMPRET, which in 1992/1993 started off mainly as an environmental plan or Local Agenda 21-type of initiative, was developing into a more strategic, corporate and comprehensive planning and urban management model. It had the potential to address and integrate the aspects related to urban planning, development and management. Although it was only a theoretical framework in a conceptual phase, it acquired many of the characteristics of the international planning trends as discussed in Chapter 4. In this regard it largely succeeded in promoting the new forms of urban planning such as strategic planning, social planning, community participation and urban management in the City Council of Pretoria.

The EMPRET model was also the first real stab at defining and describing the contents of the strategic and community participation processes, specifically within the context of the urban environment. At the time when EMPRET was finalised (1996), the government transformation process was well underway, and various national departments started promoting similar principles,

as those contained in EMPRET[70].

Although EMPRET did not directly influence the development of the (national) LDO and IDP concepts that emerged in 1996 and 1997 respectively, it had much in common with these concepts - the reason being that all these concepts were inspired by the same emerging trends and socio-economic context as discussed in Chapter 4, and also more or less during the same (transformation) period (1992 to 1995). In the City Council of Pretoria, however, EMPRET largely formed the basis of the Pretoria Inner City Process (1996 to 1997) and the Pretoria IDP processes (1997 to 1998).

After the introduction of EMPRET a number of positive comments were released on EMPRET. The *Muniviro 1996*, official journal of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism reported, *"EMPRET is a dynamic approach aiming to integrate all components of planning, development and environmental management. This is a programme for sustainable development aiming to achieve economic, environmental and social sustainability*."

In a local Pretoria newspaper, *Rekord*[71], Greeff stated in 1996 *"If EMPRET is supported and successfully implemented, it has the potential to become the one and only overarching planning and city management system for Pretoria. EMPRET, being a participatory, integrated and holistic approach aiming to achieve sustainable development, is also the Pretoria City Council's response to the worldwide call by the World Bank, inviting all cities across the globe to formulate an Agenda 21 for their cities before 1996".*

This same newspaper later reported, "*The City Council of Pretoria has realised the need for a new approach to environmental management in the city to allow all stakeholders to help draw up a planning framework for the city"* (Rekord 1996 (1)). It also stated *"A development programme, known as EMPRET, is one of the most comprehensive projects ever launched by the City Planning Department."* (Rekord 1996 (2)).

Based on the foregoing, there can be little doubt that the EMPRET approach contributed much to the transformation of urban planning in the City of Pretoria/Tshwane (see also Perception Survey, 1999). After the finalisation of the EMPRET document in March 1996, the EMPRET process *"was looking for a place to be implemented"* - this place was the inner city of Pretoria...

[70] See ANC (1994); and Republic of South Africa (1995; 1996 (a) and (b)).
[71] *Rekord* is a Pretoria community newspaper, which is distributed to the different regions of the city.

## 5.7 "CHERISH THE HEART OF THE CITY"[72]

***The Pretoria Inner City Process: February 1996 to February 1997***

At the time that EMPRET was finalised, the inner city of Pretoria was deteriorating rapidly. Crime in the inner city was on the increase. The environmental quality of the inner city was decreasing as a result of littering and pollution. A new concern arose regarding the overall social decay and increase of street children and prostitution.

Major businesses started moving out of the inner city, mostly to the eastern suburbs of Pretoria. Major property groups such as Anglo American Properties (AMPROP) and SANLAM announced that they were going to cease new developments in the inner city areas[73]. Representatives from the business associations in Pretoria such as the South African Property Owners Association (SAPOA), the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Pretoria Afrikaanse Sakekamer regularly requested the City Council to address the problems of the inner city[74].

Jill Strelitz, a town-planner who was partially responsible for the planning/property portfolio of AMPROP, approached the planning department in 1995 to suggest mechanisms on how to better manage the inner city of Pretoria. This resulted in various follow-up meetings with Neil Fraser, the Executive Director of the Central Johannesburg Partnership. Fraser presented examples of cities such as Philadelphia, Washington and New York that had managed to reverse the process of inner city decay through effective city planning and management. These discussions not only highlighted the problems and threats; opportunities and challenges of the inner city, but also re-emphasised the need for an integrated and strategic urban management approach that could facilitate the effective development and management of the inner city - an approach similar to EMPRET.

As a result of the growing concerns in the inner city, Yates decided to proceed with EMPRET in the inner city[75]. He was eager to get started with the EMPRET process in the inner city as a pilot project before implementing the process in the other planning zones and local authority areas[76]. To this end, the planning department submitted a report to the Executive Committee of the City

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[72] *'Cherish the heart of our city'* was the slogan of the Pretoria Inner City Partnership (PICP) from 1996 to 2000.

[73] See Hasenfuss (1997); Muller (1997 and 1998); Adler (1998); Pretoria News (30 October 1997);and de Nysschen (1997).

[74] Personal communication, De Beer (Chamber of Commerce), Vorster (SAPOA), De Villiers (Pretoria Afrikaanse Sakekamer), 1996.

[75] The inner city area became Planning Zone 8 in 1997 and included the CBD, Sunnyside, Arcadia, Berea and Marabastad.

[76] In the beginning of 1996, when the Inner City Process started, there was still a big debate on the demarcation of planning zones, planning zone boundaries and ward boundaries. It was, however, decided to proceed with the Inner City Process and not to wait for the finalisation of the planning zones, as it was argued that the inner city area of Pretoria should not be limited by fixed boundaries as in the case of the other zones in Pretoria - the reason for this being that the inner city's function permeates all other zones in the city in view of its citywide function (See City Council of Pretoria, 1996).

Council of Pretoria, requesting approval to proceed with the EMPRET process in the inner city of Pretoria. Following the approval of this report on 20 February, a number of actions were taken to prepare for the process in the Inner City. An administrative office for the Inner City was established and a secretariat/public liaison officer, Elize Rautenbach, was appointed on a contract basis to facilitate community involvement and communication. A major marketing and communication campaign was launched in conjunction with the City Council's Directorate of Marketing in order to communicate effectively with the City's stakeholders[77].

A consultant firm, Keith Griffiths (Associates), was appointed to assist with the structuring of the process and to facilitate the workshops. In addition to this, a comprehensive database was compiled of stakeholders[78] in the city. An inter-departmental/multi-disciplinary City Council planning team, comprising representatives of the various Council departments concerned, was established to ensure inter-departmental coordination.

Johnny Coetzee developed a Strategic Planning Workbook[79] to assist the technical teams and participants in the various phases of the strategic planning process. An Interim Steering Committee was established to steer the planning process until a more representative committee could be elected. This committee consisted of a project manager, liaison officer, ward councillors, the Executive Director of City Planning and Development and other officials from the City Council to be appointed as and when necessary[80]. In March 1996, this committee officially started preparing for the Inner City Process. Unlike the former rigid planning processes that were mainly performed by planners, these institutional arrangements presented a new mechanism for integrated planning and community participation. Later that same month, Yates requested Coetzee to manage the Inner City Process. During the many meetings and workshops with the key stakeholder groups (the pre-process phase), valuable information was gathered on how to structure and implement the various phases of the process. As the Inner City Process unfolded, Yates and Coetzee realised that much detail planning still had to be done regarding the various phases and components of the process. The detail regarding the phases and steps in the process (for example, how to involve communities in the formulation of a vision) was literally developed (in many cases on a trial-and-error basis) as the process unfolded.

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[77] See also City Council of Pretoria, 1996 (newsletters); Groenewald (1996); and Muniforum (1996)

[78] This database contained, amongst others, the names, addresses, interest and affiliation and telephone/fax numbers of the various stakeholder groups.

[79] The workbook explained the various phases and steps in the strategic planning process in layman's terms. The workbook contained a number of worksheets that aimed to assist the participants with the formulation of a vision or a SWOT analysis, for example. This workbook ultimately proved to be a valuable tool in this process. See also City Council of Pretoria (1996).

[80] See City Council of Pretoria (1996).

For Yates and Coetzee, the Inner City Process was a major challenge and an opportunity for them to prove the value and application possibilities of the EMPRET principles that they had been promoting for the past four years. They soon discovered, however, that the Inner City Process was not a 'trial run'. It was a serious process that involved many stakeholders from various sectors and a dedicated effort (from all role players inside and outside the Council) was required to effectively implement the process, specifically within the context of the many problems of the inner city.

After much preparation by the Steering Committee, the first Inner City Workshop, the Vision Workshop, was held on 28 June 1996[81]. One of the major milestones achieved at this workshop was the establishment of the Pretoria Inner City Partnership (PICP)[82] - in short, the first Planning Zone Forum in the Greater Pretoria Area. The vision exercise that was initiated at the first workshop largely succeeded in uniting the partners and promoted further interest among stakeholders[83]. After the first workshop, some of the local Pretoria newspapers commented positively on the new approach to planning, the high level of interest in the PICP and the high level of community involvement[84].

The establishment of the PICP was not only seen as a new (community) power structure in the City, but it also resulted in a number of new power relations between the community and the local authority. Although most people (from the community and the local authority) initially did not see the power (strength) or potential power of this forum, they soon realised the powers as the forum engaged with the urban planning and management processes and municipal affairs of the local authority. These powers also became stronger as the community support base of the forum expanded - the power of alliances or social power as referred to by Kogler and Wartenburg in Chapter 2. The power of the PICP later in the 1990s resulted in a power clash and conflict between the community (powers) and the local authority/political (powers).

On 25 July 1996, a second workshop of the Forum was held to determine community needs and priorities (the second step in the process). One of the outcomes of this workshop was the establishment of 13 inner city working groups - similar to the so-called issue-based task teams

[81] This workshop was attended by □150 people representing a wide spectrum of stakeholder groups and issues

[82] In 1998, the PICP was registered as a Section 21 company under the name of Pretoria Inner City Association (The replacement of 'partnership' with 'association' was merely due to terminological requirements of the Registrar of Companies).

[83] The vision phase usually forms the core component and the basis for strategic planning. The vision phase usually results in a shared community vision, which expresses a local consensus amongst stakeholders. The vision also promotes participation and guides the group or stakeholders throughout the process (ICLEI 1996: 8 and 23; ICLEI 1997; CSIR 1998: D34; Nanus 1992: 3, 16 - 7; Weeks and Lessing 1993: 72; Auckland City Council 1996).

[84] See Groenewald (1996); Pretoria News (1997); and Muniforum (1996).

found in other countries[85]. These working groups, which were structured around the main critical issues, presented the broader spectrum of planning issues, and more specifically the focus on social and economic issues.

They ultimately played a major role in involving the communities and technical officials in the process of formulating goals, objectives and strategies[86], and later also in the implementation of projects. They represented yet another mechanism aimed at facilitating integrated planning and community participation[87].

FIGURE 3: 13 PICP WORKING GROUPS (1996)

| BUILT ENVIRONMENT | NATURAL ENVIRONMENT | SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT | EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT |
|---|---|---|---|
| * Physical structure<br>* Housing<br>* Transport<br>* Urban conservation and image<br>* Infrastructure and services | * Environmental education and marketing<br>* Development and utilisation of open spaces<br>* Holistic environmental management | * Human development<br>- Education<br>- Health<br>- Culture<br>- Homeless<br>- Social<br>* Safety | * City management and political issues<br>* City promotion<br>* Economic issues |

After some six months of planning and extensive consultation, the PICP and its working groups compiled a draft strategic planning document at the end of 1996 entitled *Strategic Development Framework (SDF) for the Inner City of Pretoria: Growing towards 2020*[88]. The draft SDF contained, among other things, a record and description of the community participation process; a vision statement for the inner city and a description of the vision; a description and problem statement of each of the 13 working groups or main issues; a set of goals, objectives, action proposals and strategies for each of the main issues; and proposals regarding the roles and responsibilities of the to-be-established Management Committee of the PICP. In January 1997 the draft SDF for the inner city was sent to the stakeholders and members of the Forum for their comments. The following month, an Inner City Strategic Planning Summit was held at the Sammy Marks

[85] In many instances, community-based or stakeholder working groups were established to facilitate community participation processes to focus attention on specific issues or groupings of issues or specific sectors. See also ICLEI (1995); Redclift (1987: 130); GPMC (1997: 114); ICLEI (1997); Department of Transport (1990: 20);and Brynard (1996:14).

[86] Based on a record of meetings and attendance figures held by Elize Rautenbach, more than 60 different smaller workshops and discussion sessions were held by the 13 working groups from September 1996 to December 1996.

[87] See also Yssel (1997), Rautenbach (1996) and Groenewald (1996b).

[88] See City Council of Pretoria (1997).

Auditorium in Pretoria. The main principles of the SDF were thoroughly discussed and eventually accepted, subject to certain proposed amendments. Although the SDF for the inner city was criticised for its shortcomings, many participants regarded it as a good product (see Perception Survey, 1999). After the finalisation of the SDF and the completion of the formulation phase of the process, the many participants were relieved when they realised that the EMPRET process, which initially seemed like a very complicated process, was 'working', even in a complicated planning area such as the inner city of Pretoria.

After the Planning Summit, local newspapers continued to commend the inner city initiative and the PICP on the completion of the SDF for the inner city[89]. The SDF was the first strategic planning document of its kind to be drafted for a local area[90] in Pretoria and its contents were reminiscent of typical strategic plans that existed in many parts of the USA, UK and Australia. Although the Inner City Process largely presented a shift in emphasis with regard to urban planning, the rest of the planning department was still mostly involved with the old forms of structure planning and land use control. Very few planners in the department actually showed an interest in the Inner City Process or the new SDF. This can be ascribed to the planners' fear for any new forms of power, which could threaten their powers (or the powers of their Prince) and also the resistance associated with such transformation or the introduction of new powers.

This further emphasised the lack of communication and the fact that the top management in the planning department was not doing enough to promote the new principles and to involve the planners in the new approach and to sensitise and educate them. This also highlights the strange 'local xenofobia' that existed amongst so many planners. Unfortunately the Inner City Process, when it started, was mostly seen as just another 'project' or experiment and not really the introduction or 'phasing in' of a new urban planning system. Although the other planning zones had not yet been finalised by the time the Inner City Process was launched, planners could at least have made some effort to adapt to and apply the new principles in their daily work. This implied that planners would have had to expand their focus from the rigid physical and land use planning to a wider focus on social, economic and institutional issues, as well as a new focus on strategic urban management.

As the Inner City Process unfolded during early 1997, the PICP continued to develop its management structures, roles and responsibilities. The Forum members elected the first Inner City Management Committee at the Inner City Strategic Planning Summit held in February 1997. This

[89] See Beeld, 13 February 1997; Pretoria News, 11 February 1997; and de Nysschen (1997).

[90] It should be noted that the only similar type of document was the Strategic Metropolitan Development Framework (SMDF), February 1997, which was drafted for the metropolitan area.

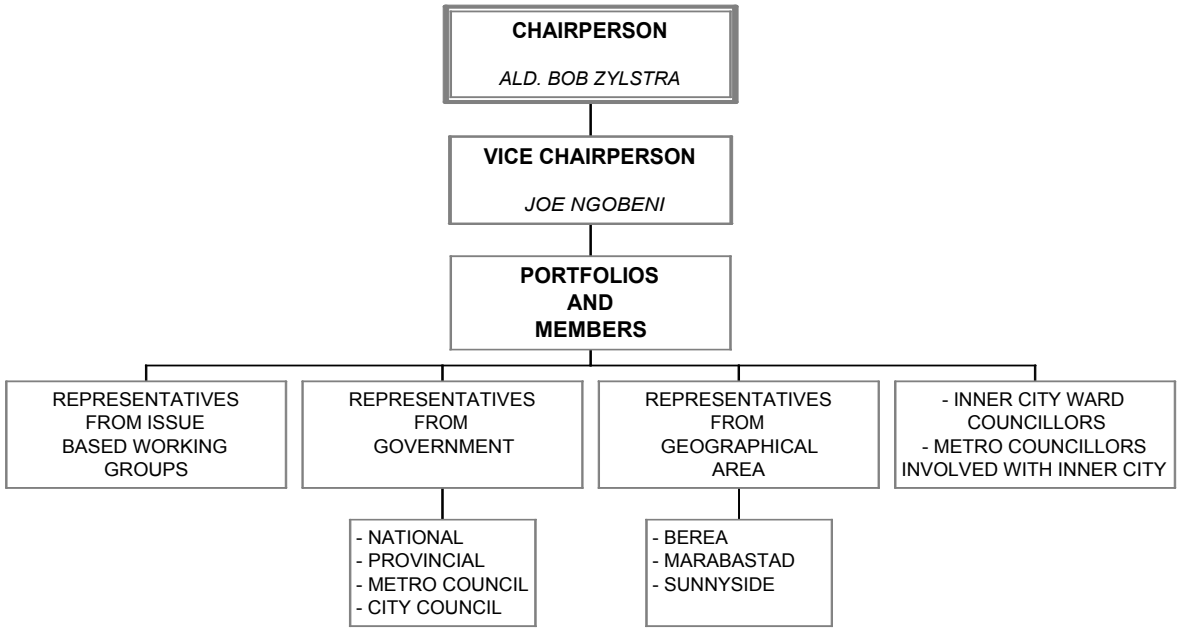
management committee was largely structured around the 13 working groups to present the broader spectrum of issues. The main aims of the Inner City Management Committee, within the context of the SDF, were, amongst other things, to represent the larger forum; to oversee the implementation of the SDF (watchdog function); to network support and raise funds for inner city projects; to be the main point of contact between the local authority and the community; and to make recommendations to the local authority with regard to new applications or new developments[91]. As discussed in sections to follow, this Management Committee with its strong leadership and supporting working groups became the "power hand" of the PICP and ultimately a big threat to the local authority power structures, and more specifically the political power structures.

At the first meeting of the PICP Management Committee, held on 12 February 1997 in one of the Mayors' committee rooms in the Sammy Marks Building, Alderman Bob Zylstra, a former mayor and retired quantity surveyor and businessman of Pretoria, was elected as the first Chairperson of the PICP. Joe Ngobeni, a Pretoria businessman, was elected as Vice-Chairperson[92]. Although the Management Committee started off on a very positive note, the PICP structure and process were soon criticised by councillors and members of the community for being too cumbersome and slow, while the management structure was criticised for not representing the wider spectrum of the community, more specifically the black communities from other areas, who mostly worked in the inner city.

Members of the Management Committee regularly discussed the problems and revisited its structure and composition in an effort to improve the functioning of the PICP (see Perception Survey, 1999). Within the context of urban planning, these management structures, with their strong leadership (functioning outside the cadre of the local authority with its rigid structures) formed an important part of the overall urban planning and management process. It formed an important link between the community and the Council. Problems and issues surrounding the structure and composition of the PICP Management Committee became a major point of discussion within the PICP and the local authority during 2000.

[91] See Pretoria Inner City Partnership (1997).
[92] See Beeld, 13 February1997; Pretoria News, 11 February 1997.

FIGURE 4: ORGANIGRAM – PICP MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE (FEBRUARY 1997)




The PICP and its newly elected management soon realised that the Inner City Process had created many expectations. A major effort was needed to implement the SDF and the strategies and action proposal it contained. After many discussions between members of the PICP, Yates and the incumbent City Councillor for City Planning, Alderman Derick Coetzee, it was decided to establish a new full-time inner city project team[93] under the leadership of Coetzee, to facilitate the implementation of the SDF for the inner city. The inner city project team soon structured and geared itself and started preparing for the implementation phase. Unlike the old planning system, where planning was done by the 'scientific' land use planners, the inner city planning team represented an inter-disciplinary approach and a wider range of disciplines*:* strategic planning, management, economics, marketing, communication, environmental management and social

[93] Four qualified and fairly senior town planners (Bernard Hanekom, Chris Swanepoel, Klaus Rust and Albrecht Heroldt) were redeployed from the planning department to deal with the overall planning and management of the inner city. Lodi Venter, also from the planning department, who has a masters' degree in Business Administration, was redeployed to the team and made responsible for economic development in general. Elize Rautenbach, who has a postgraduate qualification in marketing and communication, was appointed, initially on a contract basis and later on a full-time basis, and was made responsible for marketing and communication and the community participation processes. Marike Brown, who has a degree in public administration, was also redeployed from the planning department and made responsible for general administration. In 1998 Elize Rautenbach had resigned and was subsequently replaced by Desiree Homann, who has a postgraduate degree in journalism and had previously worked in the City Council's Marketing and Communications Division. In 1998 Lodi Venter was promoted and deployed in another division and replaced in 1999 by Laura Lourens, who has a diploma in Town Planning. Klaus Rust also left the inner city team in 1999 to assist with citywide planning.

planning.

Unlike the former autocratic approaches in the City Council where officials and politicians mainly decided on the priorities of projects and the allocation of funds, the PICP introduced a new process that allowed the concerned stakeholders to participate in the prioritisation of the inner city projects, as well as the allocation of funds to each of these processes[94]. This inner city prioritisation process, which was performed by the inner city project team, the inter-departmental team and the representatives of the inner city communities, ultimately resulted in a list of projects, weighted and prioritised according to their priorities[95]. The outcome of the prioritisation process or the prioritised list of objectives and projects formed the basis and guideline for later project implementation and budgetary processes and ultimately became a core component of the implementation process[96].

Following the prioritisation process, a comprehensive submission was made to the City Council of Pretoria to motivate the strategic importance of the inner city and to motivate a budget based on the prioritised list of inner city projects. On 29 June 1997[97] the City Council of Pretoria (after much debate in the Council meeting), approved the SDF for the inner city of Pretoria and allocated R15 million for inner city projects[98]. The prioritisation process, followed by the PICP in May 1997, was the first of its kind in the City of Pretoria where the community was afforded the opportunity to participate in a process of determining criteria and prioritising projects.

This represented a major step towards integrated planning and democratic local government. The sustained efforts of the community (and the PICP) to get approval for the SDF and to implement the SDF projects, present a good example of community power as discussed in Chapter 2, and also “the power of the better argument” as promoted by Habermas. Initially these new powers that emerged in the Inner City Forum and Management Committee were seen as typical of the “good” community power as described in Chapter 2.

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[94] The PICP was supported by a task team comprising Alderman Bob Zylstra (the Chairperson of the PICP), Councillor Fanie Venter (who was a consulting civil engineer at the time) and Johnny Coetzee. In May 1997 Dr Johan Anderson of AFRICON was appointed to assist the task team in structuring a prioritisation process for the inner city, mainly in view of his experience with similar prioritisation processes.

[95] The prioritisation process was mostly performed at a prioritisation workshop held in May 1997. Two weeks after the prioritisation workshop (22 May 1997), a follow-up workshop was scheduled to present the results of the prioritisation process to the participants and to allow opportunity for discussion.

[96] For viewpoints on the prioritisation process see Pretoria News, 23 May 1997; and de Nysschen (1997). See also Perception Survey, 1999.

[97] See City Council of Pretoria (1997).

[98] For more information on the media reports on the inner city budget, see Beeld, 30 June 1997; Beeld, 29 August 1997; de Nysschen (1997); Hoffeldt (1997); and Uys (1997).

This inner city prioritisation/budget process emphasised the important link between urban planning and management, and planning and municipal affairs. This process, which deviated largely from the traditional rigid way of budgeting, created a frustration amongst officials of the Treasurer's Department, and amongst certain politicians - mainly in view of the fact that the new participatory processes made it difficult for them to (autocratically) control and manipulate the budget (from the top) and to exercise their powers. They also saw this social power as a threat to the powers (and "the Prince"), which then dominated and controlled urban planning and management in the former Greater Pretoria region. This prioritisation process was also followed in 1998 (in the same format) for the IDP projects (1998).

Following the approval of the inner city budget, the PICP working groups and the inner city project team embarked on the implementation phase[99]. In the first year of implementation (July 1997 to July 1998), the PICP implemented the highest priority projects*:* the integrated safety and security project; the establishment of City Improvement Districts (CIDs); the management of the informal trade; projects related to the homeless and street children; and the comprehensive marketing and communication strategy for the inner city.

Apart from these development projects, the PICP (during the first year of implementation) also embarked on a number of high priority studies and investigations*:* the Integrated Spatial Development Framework (ISDF), the Marabastad IDP, and the Economic Development Strategy for the inner city. The reason for this was that very few such strategies and plans existed for the inner city of Pretoria. During the consequent years (July 1998 onwards), the PICP and the project team continued to focus on the implementation of the priority SDF projects.

Although the City Council of Pretoria continued to support the PICP financially, its contributions decreased annually, mainly as a result of the Council's weak financial position at the time, as well as the fact that the Council expected the PICP to raise funds from other sources, specifically from business[100].

As the PICP proceeded with its functions, the members of the project team became more organised and focused. They gained more experience and confidence regarding project

[99] At this time, the GPMC and the three MLCs had just initiated the formulation phase of the Pretoria IDPs.

[100] In 1998 the PICP, after having submitted a detailed business plan and motivation to the Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government's Vusani Amadolobha Fund, received a contribution of R1 million from this department for the physical upgrading of Marabastad, one of the neglected downtown areas of the inner city. The PICP also received a contribution of R1 million from the GPMC for inner city projects in 1998.

management and facilitation and also operated more constructively. The Management Committee reached greater clarity on its roles and responsibilities and functioned more effectively as well. A strong camaraderie developed between the members of the PICP project team. Many new relationships were forged between the members of the Forum, the Management Committee, the working groups and the project team. This momentum can largely be ascribed to the leadership of the chairperson; the enthusiasm and commitment of the members, officials and concerned politicians who wanted to succeed with this new initiative; the sustained open communication with the various stakeholders; and the financial and logistical support of the Council. In some sense the PICP as a group became more powerful and influential as the leaders and the community became more communicative/active - typical of the power of social groups and alliances as discussed in Chapter 2. The PICP already at an early stage of its existence proved the value and "power of communication and communicative action" and also the "power of communicative rationality" (see also Chapter 2).

As the implementation phase of the SDF for the inner city progressed, the planners increasingly became involved with a number of 'new' functions such as urban management, social planning and social development, economic development, community participation, development facilitation and conflict management - functions that were formally not part of these Pretoria planners' portfolios. Although the PICP planners sometimes found it difficult to adapt to the new working environment and planning methodologies, they were always willing to learn and practice the skills that were required. While the inner city team was making great strides to explore the new approaches to planning, most other planners in the City Council of Pretoria continued with the old forms of structure planning and land use management - showing very little interest in the new urban planning system that was emerging in the City. Apart from a few engineers who formed part of the inner city inter-departmental team, the other Council engineers showed very little interest - probably because of the non-technical nature of the Inner City Process.

As a result of the multi-disciplinary approach (within the context of the working teams), the engineers had to take part in 'integrated' discussions, which often focused on topics outside the engineering field. This lack of involvement from the technical departments can also be ascribed to the fact that not enough effort was put into promoting the new approach within these departments. As was expected, the other departments that were involved with economic development, health care, safety and social development, for example, were very supportive of the new holistic and integrated nature of the Inner City Process - as this approach provided the opportunity for them to participate in the planning and development process.

As the PICP became more focused in late 1997, the members of the PICP Management Committee decided to revisit the relevance and priorities of the 13 initial critical issues that formed the basis of the PICP. They realised that the large number of issues and working groups had complicated the process and had diluted the real focus on the most critical issues. After much discussion, the original 13 working groups were restructured and consolidated into five new issue-based inner city working groups - based on the revised critical issues: safety and security; physical development and infrastructure development; human resource development; economic development, city promotion and tourism; and homelessness[101]. During this time the emphasis of the inner city working groups shifted from strategy formulation to strategy implementation. The new working groups created an important mechanism for stakeholders and communities and interested individuals to become involved with project implementation. Apart from the issue-based working groups, various other partnerships, joint ventures, and ad hoc task teams were established to deal with specific projects, areas or issues, for example, the Marabastad Development Forum. The PICP always aimed to coordinate and integrate the activities of the working groups and task teams; to focus on common goals; and to prevent any duplication of functions or actions. Although the working groups and task teams initially experienced some difficulty getting structured, some of these groups, such as the Safety Working Group, played a major role in the implementation of PICP projects.

During the implementation phase, literally hundreds of Pretorians (from various sectors) became involved with projects and initiatives in the inner city through these working groups. Not only did these working groups result in better and new relationships between the Council and the community, but they also created a mechanism through which different parties (public, private and community) could combine efforts and resources to achieve a common goal - or a goal that would not have been achieved by one particular party only. These working groups ultimately underscored the national government's policy on democratic planning and developmental local government as discussed in Chapter 4.

Since its inception in July 1996, the PICP (which included the various concerned stakeholders of the city, the inner city project team and the various working groups) had achieved several milestones and had successfully completed a number of inner city projects across the spectrum of the urban environment[102]. The PICP also made significant progress in marketing itself, as well as

[101] Although the main structure of the working groups remained the same, some of the working groups were restructured in 1998, 1999, 2000, and again in 2001. In 1999 a dedicated working group for tourism was created. In 2000 a new working group for CIDs was established, as well as a new Housing working group in 2001.

[102] The most important inner city projects are the comprehensive Kwano safety and security project; basic business training programmes for informal traders; life skills and basic education programmes for street children; a comprehensive inner city tourism project; the implementation of several projects and programmes aimed at addressing the problems of

the inner city and the development potential thereof; in protecting existing investments; and in stopping the exodus of business and government functions from the inner city. Judging by the increasing interest that had developed amongst developers and property administrators in the inner city since 1998, the marketing and project implementation efforts of the PICP seemed to have succeeded.

During the period 1997 to 2001 the efforts of the PICP received extensive and regular positive media coverage as expressed through the following headlines: *Already a drastic decrease in crime* (Rekord East, 17 April 1998); *Circle of life opens at zoo* (Botha, 1998); *Economy of the inner city is growing* [translated] (Beeld, 26 February 1998); *Marabastad earmarked for tourism* [translated] (Beeld, 30 June 1997); *Development in the inner city planned with a goal* [translated] (Yssel, 1997); *Working together to make city safe* (Lessing, 1997); *More guards make the inner city of Pretoria safe* [translated] (Beeld, 26 May 1998); O*pportunities created for Government Boulevard* [translated] (Beeld, 26 February 1998); *Security guards bring down Arcadia crime* (Pretoria News, 14 April 1998); *Project to revitalise city centre* (Saviades, 1998); *Security officers deployed at city hotspots* (Pretoria News, 26 May 1998); *City Partnership ensures safer festive season shopping* (Pretoria News, 19 December 1997); *The informal sector well structured* [translated] (Beeld, 26 February 1998); *Cabinet nod expected for Government Boulevard* (Saviades, 1998); *Marabastad publication 'beginning of bigger things'* [translated] (Fourie,1998); *Marabastad gets its own guards* (Pretoria News, 19 May 1998); *Vacant building needed: housing facility for city's homeless* (Keppler, 1998); *Security highest priority for city centre* (Saviades,1998); *This is how Pretoria wants to become the Capitol* [translated] (Yssel, 1998); *Bold ideas on the city's future* (Pretoria News, 19 March 1998); *Group has scored since inception* (Hlahla, 1998); *Inner city of great value* [translated] (Doman, 1998); *Urban decay can be turned around* [translated] (Jordaan, 1998); and *Pretoria marches ahead* (F and T Weekly, 23 January 1998).

The Pretoria News (20 April 1998) also reported "*Pretoria's Inner City Partnership has become a model for cities throughout South Africa and fact finding teams from other cities have approached it for advice".* This highlights the fact that the media recognised the new approach to urban management and the efforts of the PICP.

The biggest breakthrough for the PICP was probably the strategic role it played in convincing

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the homeless in the city; various public awareness campaigns; the establishment of three City Improvement Districts (CIDs); physical upgrading projects in Marabastad; various city festivals and public events; a comprehensive 'top-up' street cleaning programme; plans for an African informal trade market and an inner city arts and craft market; and the establishment of an inner city environmental centre that implemented various environmental projects. Various studies and research projects were also completed.

national government to halt the outflux of government buildings from the inner city of Pretoria and the resultant cabinet resolutions in this regard[103]. After having learnt that the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) was negotiating a property deal in Hatfield (a suburb outside the inner city) for its new head offices, Coetzee and Desiree Homann (who was responsible for the PICP's marketing and communication), without consulting any PICP members, top management or politicians, set up a press conference with the Pretoria media to expose this 'move' (out of the inner city) to the larger public.

On the one hand, this exposure aggravated the private developers who were in the process of finalising a major deal with the Department; and on the other hand, it came as a surprise to the top management of the DTI who did not want any obstacles in the process or any bad publicity. This resulted in a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the former City Council of Pretoria, where this problem was discussed. The officials who were responsible for exposing the plans of the DTI were reprimanded for their unconventional actions. However, it resulted in further negotiations between top-level officials and politicians of the City Council and the DTI, and a decision by the DTI[104] to develop its new headquarters (to the value of R900 million) in the heart of the inner city on the old Trevenna City Lake site[105]. These actions, apart from the fact that they underlined the importance of proper urban planning and management, underscored the new facilitating, entrepreneurial, developmental and strategic roles associated with contemporary urban planning. These negotiations (sustained communicative action) also proved the value of good rational arguments and communicative rationality - and the value of "good power".

The inner city project team continued to submit progress reports to the PICP Forum, members of the PICP Management Committee, the GPMC and the City Council of Pretoria[106]. While each of the individual efforts contributed (in its own way) to the revitalisation of the inner city of Pretoria, the PICP project team always argued that the major impact resulted from the composite effect or the sum total of the various integrated efforts. The successful completion of all these projects (some of which were completed in a relatively short period of time with limited funds) proved the importance of integrated planning, community participation and the value of combined efforts. Unlike the traditional urban planning system, which in most cases resulted in 'plans' that could not be implemented, the new strategic, democratic, developmental and entrepreneurial type of urban

[103] See Department of Public Works (1998) and Saviades (1998).
[104] On 27 November 2001, at a meeting held at PREMOS in Pretoria, the Executive Mayor of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM) and the DTI jointly announced that the new DTI development and construction would commence in early 2003.
[105] At this time, the City Lake Project could not attract the necessary interest from developers and investors and was finally abandoned.
[106] See Pretoria Inner City Partnership (1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, and 2001).

planning and management, as applied by the inner city team, focused more on implementation - much in line with the government's focus on integrated development planning and developmental local government[107].

The successful implementation of the many inner city projects can be ascribed to the fact that the Inner City Process, eversince its inception, emphasised strategy implementation as well as the continued involvement of all stakeholders in this phase. The Inner City Process further emphasised the need to establish supporting structures and support systems that could facilitate the implementation and monitoring of the process. In this regard it is important to recognise the management and 'watchdog' role played by the PICP Forum and its management committee, as well as the logistic and financial support provided by the local authority.

Prior to the Inner City Process (1996), very few planners in the City of Pretoria paid attention to issues such as economic planning or social planning and had very little to do with project implementation. The Pretoria planners believed that these issues fell outside the cadre of planning, which then focused mostly on 'physical' planning. The planners involved with the inner city area (prior to the approval of SDF for the inner city in 1997) were only involved with the processing of rezoning applications, the evaluation of site development plans and new building projects or urban renewal projects.

The previous Pretoria Structure Plan, for example, only contained a brief description and a detailed land use map of the physical spatial pattern of the inner city. This plan did not focus on the broader economic, social and institutional issues of the inner city. It is ironic to note that so many managers and politicians have argued that these functions were only a limited part of local government and should not be seen as a primary local government responsibility. This perhaps explains the poor social and living conditions and environmental quality, as well as the lack of investment in the inner city. Although the inner city projects covered a wide spectrum of issues, the weight of these projects was more towards the social end of the spectrum. This can largely be ascribed to the active involvement of the 'social' stakeholders, the critical social problems of the inner city and the integrated (social) focus of the Inner City Process.

Between 1996 and 2000 the social working group and its related constituencies actively participated in the planning, development, implementation and management of a large number of

[107] See Chapter 4 for a description of these concepts.

social projects and programmes[108] - within the context of the SDF for the inner city. The churches of the inner city - under the strong leadership of Dr Stephan de Beer (a pastor and member of the Pretoria Community Ministries[109]) - played a leading role in the implementation of various social development projects and programmes in the inner city.

Unlike the former urban planning system, which largely neglected the focus on social issues, the inner city endeavours increasingly emphasised the need to focus on people's needs and wants; and hence, the appropriateness of integrated planning (which includes a focus on people). In spite of the progress made by the PICP to establish a new social/people-oriented culture and awareness within the urban planning domain (at least within the inner city of Pretoria), this momentum was largely obstructed by the archaic and fatalistic attitude of some of the senior influential managers and politicians in the City Council of Pretoria. Some officials (specifically from the Treasury Department of the City Council of Pretoria) argued that this 'type' of social development was not the responsibility of the local authority and that funds for such programmes had to be obtained from other sources, donors, businesses or the provincial and central government[110]. This point of view was strongly opposed by the members of the PICP and more specifically the Social Forum, who argued that social development was an integral part of physical or economic development and that it had to be addressed by, or integrated into the overall city building/management process.

Towards the end of 1999, the Social Forum, with the support of the PICP, became more organised and institutionalised in the form of a non-profit organisation. The 'social stakeholders' or members from the social working groups, however, continually and actively stressed the need for more integration, more attention to social issues, the need for better relationships and communication and, specifically, the need for more support and involvement from the local authority. They often criticised the local authority for its lack of participation in the process and for not providing sufficient human and financial support. This Forum increasingly put pressure on the Council to provide funds for new social projects or to at least sustain those projects that had been initiated with Council funds during 1997 and 1998. Although the Council allocated R500 000 (as a Grant-In-Aid) to the PICP's Social Forum at the end of 1999 (mainly because of a previous commitment that had been made by the Council), they eventually withdrew all financial support from the Social Forum.

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[108] The most important of these programmes were the inner city homeless and street children rehabilitation programmes, job creation initiatives, Adult Basic Education Training (ABET) programmes, skills development programmes, environmental education programmes, public safety awareness campaigns, social development programmes, a mobile library service for the aged, programmes aimed at combating child prostitution, the development of a comprehensive homeless policy and strategy for the inner city, the homeless/child care centre in Marabastad and various other ongoing social initiatives.

[109] The Pretoria Community Ministries (PCM) is a social organization comprising of a number of inner city churches. The main aim of this organization is to improve the social quality of the inner city and to provide shelter to the destitute.

[110] Personal communication: Maartin van Vuuren and Marelise Fourie.

This decision, amongst others, led to the closure of the Boikatsong Child Care Centre in Marabastad and the offices of the Marabastad Development Forum[111]. This created a frustration amongst the PICP members and the social working groups, who were committed to the social development of the inner city. It also seemed clear that very limited funds, if any, were going to be allocated to the PICP. This was the first real power clash between the PICP and the local authority. Unlike the value and power of "communicative action" and "good arguments" as described earlier on, the above actions present a good example of how "power defines rationality" as described by Flyvbjerg in Chapter 2.

Although the PICP members continued to criticise the local authority for its actions and attitude, they could also be criticised for not maintaining a relationship with the local authority, for poor communication, and for not effectively promoting the need for social development (or the need for the new approach to planning). Whilst a group of PICP members worked hard to promote the need for social development in the inner city, other PICP members argued that more could be achieved in the inner city if more funds were allocated to visible physical projects and new developments in the inner city. This in some way resulted in a divide between the members of the PICP. It also further increased the frustration levels of the members of the Social Forum.

Although the PICP was widely commended for its achievements and groundbreaking work, it was widely criticised by councillors, senior officials and members of the community for, amongst other things, not addressing the real issues; for focusing on too many issues; and for not achieving visible results (see Perception Survey, 1999). The PICP's organisational structure was also criticised for not representing the profile of the majority of the population.

One of the biggest problems of the PICP and its related structures was the undefined relationship between the PICP and the inner city team, and the PICP and the local authority. As a result of the integrated and holistic approach promoted by the inner city team and the PICP, the inner city team was increasingly exposed to and involved with the community and political issues in the inner city. Politicians in the City Council, amongst others, started questioning the relevance of these forums and public private partnerships (PPPs) and their leadership roles as elected councillors within these forums[112].

These concerns, on the one hand, underline the poor communication and relationship that existed

[111] Interestingly enough, one of the PICP members, Desiree Homann, who had left the inner city team, continued to assist this centre in her personal capacity.

[112] See also similar critique of some of the inner city initiatives in Johannesburg by Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell (2002: 128).

between the PICP and the politicians; and on the other hand, the reluctance of politicians to adapt to the new way of planning and management (and the new types of 'community power'). Some interviewees argued that the community-driven partnership approach and the strong community leadership within the forums were threatening the politicians and leadership structures in the local authority (Interview Survey, 2002). As a result of the mounting critique of the PICP and the realisation that changes had to be made to its process and structure, the PICP team embarked on a process to transform the PICP in the beginning of 1999.

The need for a new PICP structure was further inspired by a study tour to the USA in 1998 where many examples of inner city structures were investigated[113]. In an attempt to develop a new structure for the PICP, the firms, Partnership for Urban Renewal (Neil Fraser) and Complex Properties Solutions ('Fuzz' Loubser and Johan Malherbe) were appointed to assist with the PICP transformation process in view of their knowledge of similar processes. After much progress to develop a proposed process and structure, a discussion document was finalised and a preliminary report submitted to the Council by the end of 1999. The Council agreed, amongst other things, that a new PPP structure should be investigated and that a process should be implemented to promote the active involvement of business in this structure[114].

During the first half of 2000, the consultants and members of the PICP project team embarked on an extensive consultation process with businesses concerned with the inner city of Pretoria. Based on the inputs of, amongst others, the business people, a proposed structure and process for the PICP were developed, mainly based on a development corporation-type structure, of which business and the local authority would be major partners. After having presented and thoroughly work-shopped this proposal with the members of the PICP Management Committee and key role-players of the Council departments concerned, it was decided to submit a report to the local authority on a new structure and process for the PICP. In view of the complexity of the proposal and report, the PICP Committee decided to organise a preparatory workshop ('bosberaad')[115] for the councillors to scrutinise the proposals and the contents of the report. At this workshop, the incumbent councillor for City Planning (and the inner city initiative) and member of the Executive Committee of the Council at that time, Eitel Kruger, who was also convenor of the inner city's transformation process, indicated that he did not agree with the new direction the PICP was taking.

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[113] In 1998 members of the PICP and officials and a councillor of the City Council of Pretoria undertook a study tour to the USA to investigate inner city revitilisation programmes and City Improvement Districts in inner cities. This tour was organised and guided by Neil Fraser, a leading role-player in Johannesburg's Inner City Process and one of the leading figures on this topic in the world. Fraser also acted as a consultant to the PICP.

[114] See Pretoria Inner City Partnership (1999); and City Council of Pretoria (1999).

[115] The term 'bosberaad' is commonly used in South Africa to describe a workshop or meeting that is held in the bushveld or in a natural setting. Such a bosberaad is usually associated with a social function in the typical South African tradition.

To the surprise of the other members of the PICP, he indicated that he was not prepared to support the new structure for the PICP. He argued that it would not be desirable to establish such new initiatives at a time when the entire Tshwane local authority system was going through a transformation. In spite of the merits of this argument, the members of the PICP could not believe that Kruger (who incidentally supported this transformation process) only raised this issue after the whole investigation had been completed. One of the interviewees argued that Kruger had been instructed by his fellow politicians (just prior to the meeting) to halt any further development and transformation of the PICP in an attempt to terminate the PICP as a whole - and to terminate those officials and leaders of the PICP who seemed to have gained too much influence/power. The PICP was subsequently instructed not to submit any reports to the Council regarding a new structure and process for the inner city. This resulted in dissatisfaction and further increased the frustration levels of the members of the PICP and the project team.

This PICP transformation process resulted in many unfulfilled expectations among the communities and particularly business in Pretoria. Again, the above experience shows how rational actions failed primarily because they were divorced from power - the power and rationality issue as discussed in Chapter 2). If more politicians (power), or a different group of politicians (power), were made part of the transformation process from its inception, the above embarrassment for the PICP could have been avoided - or the new structure could possibly have received the support from the power structures.

In many ways this was 'the beginning of the end' for the PICP. Some senior officials and politicians, who have asked not to be mentioned, argued that a new 'political agenda' was emerging and that there was a deliberate strategy to terminate the PICP and to eliminate the Project Manager and the Chairperson. The PICP and its leadership structures were said to have become too powerful politically. It was obvious that the local authority's political powers (and the Prince) were threatened by the emerging community powers (and rationality). One way of dealing with this power clash was apparently to ab(use) the strong political powers, to eliminate those structures and efforts (and people) which created the threatening powers. Some interviewees, on the other hand, stated that there was a perception that the PICP was 'owned' by the opposition party, the National Party[116]. The PICP and the inner city project team were also continuously scrutinised and pressurised by some people from the community and business sector, as well as councillors. In the beginning of 2001 the PICP, in spite of all the good work, developed a poor image within the local authority. As a result of the above, many members withdrew from the PICP's

[116] During this period (1996 to 2000), the opposition party controlled all the inner city wards.

activities. Those senior officials who initially supported the PICP, such as Yates, as well as those politicians who were responsible for establishing the PICP, also slowly began to withdraw from the PICP...

When the new City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM) was established in December 2000, the newly elected councillors questioned the relevance and appropriateness of the PICP, as well as the other PPPs in the city, specifically within the transformed and transforming Tshwane local authority. The new council made it clear that it would not just accept and proceed with structures, initiatives and processes that had been established under the 'old regime' or former council, specifically those that were politically sensitive (or powerful), such as the PICP.

In the middle of 2001, Coetzee, the project manager of the PICP, was redeployed to establish and coordinate a new metropolitan planning function within the new Tshwane structure. It was never ascertained whether Coetzee was "removed" from the PICP, as part of the new strategy to eliminate the powers of the PICP, or whether he was really offered a new career opportunity in another department. Bernard Hanekom, one of the senior planners in the PICP team, was initially requested to act as manager and was subsequently appointed as the new manager of the inner city team in the beginning of 2003. In view of the strategic importance of the inner city function, this function was allocated to the office of the Chief Operating Officer (COO), Mr Wonder Nkosi.

Although the inner city team continued with a number of inner city projects, the broad PICP, as a community forum or PPP, was dying a slow death. Fortunately some of the partnership initiatives such as the CIDs could be sustained through the efforts of the business sector, while some of the stakeholders and service providers such as the Inner City Churches and the Berea Forum continued with their efforts to revitalise the inner city (in this case outside the framework of the PICP). When the Inner City Process started in June 1996, Yates, Coetzee and many other planners (and politicians) believed that this process and partnership approach would become the future model for urban planning and management in the City of Tshwane. Never did they realise that this process would be phased out only four years after its inception. While some people concerned with the PICP expected a new type of structure for the inner city, within the framework of the new ward system or new Tshwane structure, this unfortunately never materialised.

However, apart from the above, it can still be argued that the PICP had established and promoted a major shift from the old, rigid, limited structure planning approach, to a more integrated and democratic approach to planning. The Inner City Process also promoted a new emphasis away from service delivery and city building to a more comprehensive community service, which

encompassed economic development, environmental management, sustainable development and social development. This shift in many ways underscored the new entrepreneurial, democratic and developmental role of South African local authorities, as well as the new trends on urban planning as discussed in Chapter 4.

Although the Inner City Process (1996) preceded the concepts of IDP (1997) and Developmental Local Government (1998), it made great strides in establishing and promoting these concepts in the City of Tshwane (Perception Survey). The PICP ultimately became the prototype and role model for many of the Pretoria IDP forums that had to be established during the course of 1997/1998 (Perception Survey). The Inner City Process established and refined the principles of community-based strategic planning and provided experiences on, amongst other things, the logistical preparation of the IDP process; the structuring of the community participation phase; structuring the strategic planning process; the structuring and prioritisation of projects; and the management and implementation of projects. The PICP also made great strides in (re)defining the roles and responsibilities of community forums and PPPs in the City of Tshwane as a mechanism to involve the various stakeholders in the process of formulating and implementing strategies and projects.

This new urban planning approach, with its strong emphasis on community participation and community-based strategic planning, had a major effect on 'the town planner', as it exposed the planner to a variety of new roles that had previously not been part of 'the planner's role'[117]. The Inner City Process also had an impact on the way in which the local authority dealt with urban planning in general. During the mid-1990s the Inner City Process sparked a new holistic view and social interest, conscience or realisation amongst many planners, politicians, managers and community members in the city. The most important outcome of the process was most probably the many relationships that were established between people from various sectors through the working groups and workshops.

Some people described the Inner City Process as *"the example for planning in other planning zones", "groundbreaking work", "the building block", "pioneer", "front runner" and "the process that paved the way"* (Perception Survey, 1999).

[117] This aspect will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

## 5.8 THREE CITIES - ONE PLAN(NER)

***The LDO process followed in the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Area: February 1996 to February 1997***

At the same time that the first (strategy formulation) phase of the Inner City Process was conducted (February 1996 to February 1997), the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council (GPMC), in conjunction with the three Metropolitan Local Councils (MLCs) - Pretoria, Centurion and Akasia, initiated the process of formulating Land Development Objectives (LDOs) for the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Area - a process that was required in terms of the Development Facilitation Act 1995 (DFA).

Amond Beneke, Chief Planner for Metropolitan Guideline Planning of the GPMC was mainly responsible for The Pretoria LDO process. Although Beneke was assisted by the planners of the GPMC and the three local authorities, he was supported by a multi-disciplinary consortium under the leadership of consultant planner Theo Pretorius of PLAN Associates[118].

A year later, in February 1997 (incidentally the same time that the Strategic Development Framework (SDF) for the inner city of Pretoria was completed), the Pretoria LDO process resulted in a document that was referred to as the Strategic Metropolitan Development Framework (SMDF). The SMDF consisted of a vision statement, an integrated development framework, development standards with regard to the provision of physical and social infrastructure, physical, social, economic and institutional development strategies and a five-year implementation programme.

The development framework/spatial component of the SMDF was based on a Metropolitan Open Space System, a Primary Metropolitan Node and three additional Secondary Metropolitan Activity Nodes, six Strategic Development Areas and three Service Upgrading Priority Areas[119]. The SMDF was very much in the form of a strategic planning document that focused on a number of broader non-spatial issues, strategies, objectives and projects as the case with the inner city SDF. It also addressed the most important structural and spatial elements of the metropolitan area. Some planners (mostly those in support of the old structure plan approach) criticised the spatial framework component for being too broad. They argued that the spatial plans did not contain sufficient detail to guide land use decisions.

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[118] PLAN Associates, often referred to as 'PLAN', was one of the first town planning firms in Pretoria to be involved with structure planning and spatial planning in the City of Pretoria - from as far back as the early 1970s. Pretorius is a respected planner in the country with experience in spatial and metropolitan planning. During the 1990s he also became extensively involved with strategic planning and IDPs in South Africa.

[119] See Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council (1997).

However, in view of the metropolitan and strategic nature of the SMDF process, it was never the intention to focus on detail spatial issues. These had to be dealt with by the lower rungs of spatial frameworks. Although the DFA/LDOs resulted in a new, more positive emphasis on spatial planning, many planners argued that this new form of planning had diminished the role of 'real' spatial planning (within the context of structure planning) (Perception Survey, 1999; Interview Survey, 2000).

Although much effort was exerted to involve all concerned stakeholders in the process[120], criticism was raised of the community participation process, specifically with regard to the lack of involvement from certain sectors. The LDO process was also very much a 'one-person-show', which only involved a few selected planners.

In view the above and the overall dominance of Beneke and the GPMC, the planners from the various MLCs had difficulty taking ownership of the SMDF. Apart from the few planners who were nominated to form part of the process and project team, very few planners from the City Council of Pretoria were involved in compiling or finalising the SMDF. Beneke, who led the LDO processes in 1996/1997, agreed that they did not fully succeed in achieving the set goals, mainly in view of the fact that all the officials and stakeholders concerned did not participate in the process[121].

Looking back, it is ironic to note that during the period February 1996 to February 1997, two significant new (and very similar) processes were lodged in different parts of the city. On the one hand, the LDO process (which resulted from the DFA legislation) for the new greater metropolitan area as a whole was executed by the GPMC. On the other hand, the Inner City Process (which resulted from the former City Council of Pretoria's EMPRET initiative) was implemented for a part of the city only. Although officials from these two different local authorities knew of each other's processes, and in some cases even contributed to each other's processes, there was very little coordination and cooperation between these two 'tiers' of local government. The above not only emphasised the poor coordination and communication, but also the attitude that existed amongst these officials. Some officials were trying to build a new 'higher tier' mega local authority (the GPMC), while other officials of the City Council of Pretoria were trying to protect their domain and comfort zones[122]. Perhaps this was also a deliberate effort from the concerned officials to protect

[120] A large number of community participation meetings and smaller workshops were held in the various phases of the process during 1996 (24 May; 31 August; 7, 4, 21, and 28 September; 19 October; and four workshops in November 1996. A total of 1066 community representatives attended these workshops. See Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council (1997).

[121] Personal communication, Beneke (2002).

[122] These arguments were often raised and debated in discussions by officials of the City Council of Pretoria.

their powers and to aspire more power.

Contrary to the expectations of many officials, the LDO process had very little effect on the organisational structures and processes of the local authorities. The LDO process and the first SMDF, however, provided a new impetus to the transformation of urban planning in the City of Pretoria as it underscored many international trends, specifically the focus on community participation and strategic planning that were developing in the city.

It also gave further momentum to the City Council of Pretoria's EMPRET and Inner City Process that were well under way. Prior to the DFA (1996), many of the new planning principles (in the City Council of Pretoria) were either in a conceptual form contained in unofficial documents with limited status, or limited to the Pretoria (inner city) experience. The DFA, for the first time from a national and legal perspective, promoted the importance of the new approach and again emphasised the reality and rationality of the transformation process.

The SMDF, which can be regarded as the first real metropolitan strategic framework in Pretoria[123], set a strong platform for the later implementation of IDPs, specifically in Pretoria. It represented *"a dramatic change from the way planning was done in the past, as it requires(d) an integrated approach whereby the coordination of all aspects related to development - physical, social, economic and institutional - has to be attended to*"[124]. (Beneke also stated that the LDO process was the beginning of a *'new generation of planning'*[125]*)*. In 1997 this SMDF received the award from the MEC of the Department of Development Planning and Local Government, Sicelo Chiceka, for being *"the best (set of) LDOs"* in Gauteng.

## 5.9 THE MORE THINGS CHANGE, THE MORE THEY STAY THE SAME

### *The introduction of Integrated Development Planning (IDP): 1997*

Although many of the principles of IDP and other related processes such as EMPRET, strategic planning, local development objectives (LDOs), integrated planning and budgeting, were commonly used in Pretoria, it was only after the promulgation of the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA 1996)[126] late in 1996 that the term Integrated Development Planning or IDP was formally introduced.

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[123] At the same time (February 1997) the SDF for the inner city of Pretoria (a local area) was completed.
[124] See Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council (1997).
[125] Personal communication, Beneke (2002).
[126] See Republic of South Africa (1996).

Despite the fact that the IDP had much in common with these concepts in 1996/1997, the introduction of the seemingly new concept created a frustration amongst the planners and councillors of the GPMC and the three MLCs as they had difficulty understanding the role, relevance and status of the IDP and its relationship with the SMDF and LDOs[127]. They also had little idea of what the power of the IDP (and its related structures) would be and how it would affect the power relations in the local authority.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the LGTA in 1996 did not clearly spell out the contents and details of the IDP process to be followed, and provided only a very broad indication of the purpose and subject matter of the IDP[128]. The LGTA, however, was very specific on what the IDP was supposed to achieve as a municipal tool. Many local authorities and planners throughout the country interpreted the IDP as a holistic 'urban strategic plan' that aimed, *inter alia*, to (re)direct all development in a particular urban area and to (re)construct the fragmented urban areas[129].

In view of the fact that the Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government, regarded the IDP mainly as a metropolitan function, it was obvious that the GPMC had to take ownership and responsibility of the IDP process (at least the metropolitan IDP). As was expected, the GPMC again nominated Amond Beneke (Chief Planner for Metropolitan Guideline Planning of the GPMC, involved with the 1997 SMDF) as the manager of the IDP function.

In February 1997 Beneke established a Technical Coordinating Committee (TCC) to support him with the IDP function and the IDP processes. This committee included Nikki Ludick of the GPMC; Mike Yates, Tony Walker, Jan Roode and Johnny Coetzee of the City Council of Pretoria; Pieter de Haas of Akasia Town Council; and Leon du Bruto of Centurion Town Council. This committee was also assisted by Theo Pretorius from the PLAN Associates (who was appointed in 1996 as a technical advisor for the Pretoria LDO process). During February and March 1997 the TCC had several meetings at the offices of the GPMC with the aim of developing the contents of the IDP and the proposed phases, steps and principles of the IDP process. The members of the TCC ultimately reached a consensus agreement on the contents and format of the IDP, the process to

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[127] This frustration was often raised at meetings held by councillors and officials of the GPMC and the City Council of Pretoria during 1997.

[128] Oranje *et al* 2000 labelled this as a minimalist approach and argued that the legislation and provincial planning and development acts/bills deliberately avoided detailing the planning process that should be followed in the preparation, adoption and review of the IDP, and in so doing, providing the opportunity for maximum flexibility, local innovation, experimentation and the flexible evolution of the planning system in South Africa (Oranje *et al* 2000).

[129] Watson (2001:71) argues that some spatial planners saw this new legislation as the mechanism that offered them the opportunity and status that was needed for them to make a contribution to the efforts of urban reconstruction and development.

be followed and a number of key principles[130].

Unlike the LDO process, which focused mostly on 'land development', the TCC agreed that the IDP was a much broader process that had to focus on the development (and management) of all the components of the environment in an integrated manner. In this regard the IDP processes were largely braided around the structure of the social, physical, economic and institutional environment - similar to the structure of EMPRET and the Pretoria LDO process.

At the outset of the IDP process in Pretoria, the GPMC and the three MLCs reached a consensus agreement on a logical and simple format and contents for the IDP process and plan. This implied that the contents or components of the IDP (process and plan) would consist of a vision, a description and analysis of issues, a description of community needs and priorities, a statement of goals and objectives, strategies, programmes and projects, a framework for implementation and monitoring and a spatial framework. The TCC further agreed that the IDP process should be structured to allow the participation of all stakeholders in all the phases of the process. This format and the contents were reminiscent of the EMPRET process (1995), the Inner City Process (1996 to 1997) and the SMDF or LDO process (1996 to 1997), mainly in view of the fact that they were largely influenced by Coetzee, Beneke and Pretorius who had previously been involved with these processes.

Apart from the above, the TCC also supported and followed the principle of a hierarchy of IDPs or frameworks as proposed by EMPRET in 1995 and 1996. This hierarchy provided for a Metropolitan IDP, an IDP for each of the three MLC areas (as required in terms of the LGTA, 1996[131]), as well as a local IDP for each of the proposed 18 planning zones (in order to better facilitate community participation on a local level and to better address the local issues and diversity through local planning processes). This hierarchy of IDPs aimed to integrate and harness the planning zones into one integrated whole and to create continuity of services across the borders of planning zones. The hierarchy also aimed to bring the plans and implementation closer to the people. The hierarchy of IDPs in Pretoria created the opportunity to integrate technical or community inputs from local levels upwards, and to cascade strategies from higher tiers of plans downwards. This cascading effect implied that higher order strategies and broad strategic guidelines provide a framework and basis for more detailed strategies and ultimately the actual implementation of projects. The different local/planning zone IDPs also created the opportunity for the various

[130] See Technical Co-ordinating Committee (1997).

[131] The LGTA, 1996, determined among other things, that each local authority should develop its own IDP. This implied that an IDP had to be developed for the GPMC and each of the three MLCs.

areas/zones or local communities to develop a unique plan, vision or strategy for each of their areas.

The primary aim of the Metropolitan IDP was to focus on the metropolitan area as a whole and therefore it had to include a vision for the whole metropolitan area; an analysis of metropolitan issues; metropolitan goals and objectives; metropolitan strategies and projects aimed at developing and managing metropolitan functions; and a Metropolitan Spatial Framework. Similarly, the City IDPs (the Pretoria IDP, Centurion IDP and the Akasia IDP) were to focus on these local authorities' areas of jurisdiction as a whole and on citywide issues, while the local/planning zone IDPs were to focus on the local/planning zone areas and on local issues. The City IDPs were seen as the building blocks for the Metropolitan IDP; and the local IDPs were seen as building blocks for the City IDPs in so far as they provided inputs into these IDPs.

Although each level of IDP was seen as an individual or independent process, the TCC emphasised the integration between these IDPs. The TCC agreed that a uniform planning process should be followed for each of the IDPs to ensure consistency and integration between the various levels and zones (see later critique of this uniform process). Despite the fact that this hierarchy was widely supported by some planners for the reasons mentioned above, it was also criticised for being too idealistic, comprehensive and complicated and also for the fact that it resulted in much duplication (Perception Survey, 1999).

In an attempt to ensure the support and buy-in from the Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government, the findings and proposals by the TCC were also continually work-shopped with this department. A report on the above key points relating to the contents and format of the IDP was prepared by Beneke (on behalf of the GPMC's Technical Committee on Transport and Land-use), and approved by the GPMC in June 1997. Compared with the SMDF, the IDP (as defined by the TCC) had a stronger emphasis on spatial planning. Many planners saw this as a positive move in view of the fact that a perception existed that the traditional form of spatial planning was being threatened by the new planning approaches. This emphasis on spatial planning could be ascribed to the fact that the TCC consisted of town/spatial planners - planners who not only supported spatial planning, but also planners who wanted to protect the power of the plan (Foucault's instruments of power) as well as their professional powers.

Although the spatial planners promoted and welcomed the emphasis on spatial planning, this 'spatial/structure plan influence' detracted the focus from the strategic, holistic view of planning that was envisaged by the emerging trends to planning, as well as the local policies on planning as

discussed in Chapter 4 (see later critique of IDPs). The strong emphasis on spatial planning also highlighted the planners' attachment with the traditional way of spatial/structure planning. In view of the above it can be argued that the TCC was not structured properly and that it should also have included other disciplines such as strategic planning, social planning, economics, etc.

However, in spite of the above critique, the 'new IDP' firmly emphasised the integration of strategic planning, community planning and spatial planning. It also focused more on broader guidelines and mainly on a much wider geographic area. Unlike the previous SMDF, which primarily focused on the metropolitan area as a whole, the IDP also focused on the local levels. This created the opportunity for a bottom-up approach and a basis from which broader strategies or plans could be developed[132].

The IDP, in view of its strategic and comprehensive nature, gave further impetus to the transformation of urban planning in the City of Pretoria - a process that was well under way during 1997. The LGTA, 1996 (IDP) further underscored the principles of EMPRET, which, some three years ago, was nothing more than a vision for some planners.

After the promulgation of the LGTA and the introduction of the IDP during early 1997, even more planners realised that the planning system and power relations in the local authority were changing, or that it had finally changed. They knew there was no turning back. Despite this, the majority of planners (specifically in the Guideline Planning Division) still continued to criticise the new approach, while clinging to the structure plan. It was difficult for the planners to accept the new 'social and community image' of the urban planning profession - which then seemed to have been less powerful. A question frequently asked by planners relates to whether the new system was going to deliver the goods; whether it was going to address the challenges facing the fragmented City of Tshwane; and whether the new system was really going to be better than the old one.

The new IDP approach undoubtedly opened up a new debate and created an open framework for future urban planning. One of the prominent planners involved with the development of the IDP argued that the IDP had liberated and released planners from the old, technical, autocratic and rigid approach to planning (Interview Survey, 2002). One thing was certain, however, for the first time in many years, the urban planning system in the City of Tshwane had acquired the properties that were associated with international urban planning theory and practice.

[132] Personal communication, Theo Pretorius.

## 5.10 PLANNERS RISING FROM THE ASHES

***Preparing for the IDP processes: February 1997 to June 1997***

As the notion of Integrated Development Planning (IDP) unfolded during the first half of 1997, those planners involved with the process often expressed their views regarding the comprehensive and complex nature of the IDP processes that had to be applied in 22 different areas of the city (metropolitan area, three MLC areas and 18 planning zones[133]). What made the whole IDP endeavour more challenging was the fact that the concerned stakeholders and the public at large had to be involved in all the stages of all the IDP processes. Those planners involved with the IDP process realised that the IDP processes to be followed in Pretoria called for thorough preparation and a major effort and commitment from all role players. Prior to the implementation of IDPs at the beginning of 1997, the planning department of the City Council of Pretoria also realised that the existing Council structures and processes were not effectively geared to facilitate IDPs and that they had to set the stage, build capacity, and change cultures, attitudes, processes and organisational structures before even thinking of implementing the IDP process[134].

With the advent of the IDP processes, the majority of planners in the City Council of Pretoria were still confined to the old rigid approach to urban planning as discussed earlier - so much so that it was difficult for them to adapt to new processes. Planners from the Land Use Rights Division often stated that they were too busy with land use applications and that they did not have the capacity to deal with the additional IDP work. The planners in the Guideline Planning Division raised similar concerns. The negative attitude and reluctance to do more work or work that was different and new, largely emphasised the planners' resistance to change, as well as their fear of being moved out of their comfort zones. Planners were also concerned that the new system would disrupt the power structures and power relations in the planning department. They were specifically concerned about loosing their professional powers, and /or their powerful plans and instruments.

The Munitoria fire, just four months prior to the scheduled starting date of the IDP processes, not only disrupted the functioning of both the Council and the Department, but also destroyed most of the assets, data, documentation and planning information of the Department. The fire also destroyed a substantial amount of information that had been collected for this study, such as documents, articles, minutes of meetings and recorded comments from various role players. A

[133] The metropolitan area was divided into 19 planning zones. In 1997 /1998, the IDP process had not been applied in Planning Zone 8, in view of the fact that a similar process, the Inner City Process had been applied in this zone during the previous year.

[134] Personal communication, Mike Yates and Tony Walker.

major effort was made to recover planning information from town planning consultants and other organisations. The fire almost instantly created a backlog of land use applications, resulting in increased pressure on planners to process applications (rezoning and land use applications, township applications and the approval of building plans) under difficult circumstances. Many people had to relocate several times to offices elsewhere in the city. Planning teams such as the inner city team and the planning team for Zone 9 established temporary offices at the homes of the managers of these teams - indicative of the commitment of certain planners. There were also those officials who exploited the chaotic situation to take time off from work.

While the planners and officials were trying to build a new department, they also had to prepare for the largest community-driven planning exercise ever performed in Pretoria - a process that was new and somewhat strange to many officials. Although the fire created enormous confusion and disruption, it resulted in a new camaraderie amongst officials in the City Council. The fire also created new opportunities for the Council and the planning department, such as the opportunity to install a whole new and more effective electronic information system for the Council[135].

Establishing Planning Zones and Planning Zone Forums in the City of Pretoria

Before the IDP processes could commence in July 1997 (the scheduled starting date of the processes), the demarcation of the Planning Zones had to be finalised. Because of the size and diversity of the greater metropolitan area of Pretoria, with its complex composition and social structure, effectively addressing and managing diversity in a sustainable manner would not be easy. Consequently, the larger metropolitan area was divided into 19 Planning Zones, based on a number of criteria such as geographical features, ward boundaries, communities, etc.

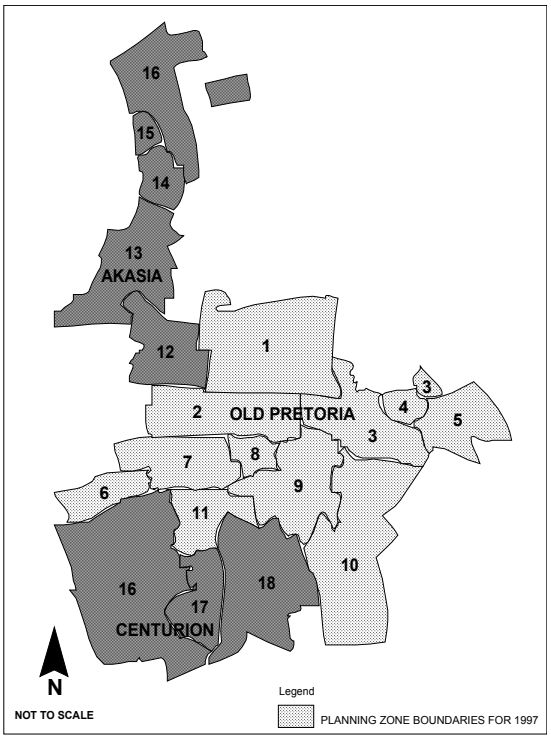
Initially some planners and politicians argued that this ‘artificial demarcation’ of the metropolitan area into different zones was just another way of fragmenting the already fragmented city into different zones that present a particular character or another way of creating different and separate areas. Although this zoned demarcation created the impression of ‘non-integrated planning’, the boundaries of these zones were drawn in such a way that they would integrate the different cultural and racial areas that had been formed during the apartheid years.

Specific emphasis was also placed on the integration of the wealthier areas into the poorer areas as part of a broader strategy to restructure the fragmented city and to redistribute income. In spite

[135] See also a publication on the Munitoria fire, entitled *Opportunity from disaster: The 'great' Munitoria fire,* which was dedicated to the staff of the City Council of Pretoria (Leitch J, 1997 (edit)).

of some critique of the boundaries and size of certain zones (by both planners and politicians), the majority of planners and politicians supported the principle of Planning Zones, as they argued that it provided a communication mechanism and resulted in more workable, functional and manageable planning areas, as well as a new opportunity to integrate the 'fragmented components of the city'[136]. The Planning Zones also created a framework and a basis to establish community forums or Planning Zone Forums (PZFs) for each of these Planning Zones[137]. Many politicians saw these forums as another mechanism that could create new power structures for them, while the communities initially did not realise the potential, which these forums had to create also power structures for, and within the community.

FIGURE 5: PLANNING ZONE BOUNDARIES OF THE GREATER PRETORIA AREA (1997 -2000)




While the demarcation of planning zones was being finalised, the local authority and the concerned officials and politicians continued to explore the concept of Planning Zone Forums (PZFs) as a mechanism to facilitate community participation, coordination and communication - in line with the

[136] See Perception Survey (1999); and Interview Survey (2002). The official newsletter of the former City Council of Pretoria (*Muniforum,* August/September 1996) also stated that: *"The Metropolitan Council and the three Primary Local Authorities will probably follow a consensus model to guide development within the various zones"* [translated].

[137] See also later discussion and critique of the PZFs.

proposals contained in EMPRET, 1995.

During December 1996, the GPMC established a technical working group and a Planning Zone Co-ordinating Committee (PZCC), which comprised representatives of the GPMC and the various MLCs, to manage the process of establishing Planning Zone Forums. After many discussions and debates between officials and councillors of the GPMC and the various MLCs, a consensus agreement was reached on the aims, composition and structure of the Planning Zone Forums[138]. Although there was much debate on the status of these forums, and specifically their role within the local authority, the majority of the members of the PZCC and the councillors agreed that the PZFs had to be an advisory/consultative structure and that they should not have decision-making power[139]. This resulted in uncertainty about the power of the forums and also conflict between the forums and the local authority power structures.

Initially (in 1997) the concept of PZFs was mainly aimed at facilitating community participation (within the context of local government) and not so much with the IDP. However, as the notion of PZFs matured, the planners involved with the structuring of the IDP process realised that the PZFs could also provide the ideal mechanism to facilitate community participation in the IDP process (as was envisaged by EMPRET). This resulted in the establishment of a joint IDP/PZF Technical Co-ordinating Committee in March 1997. This committee subsequently established an IDP PZF for each of the proposed Planning Zones/local IDPs, as well as a similarly structured IDP Forum for each of the other IDPs: a Metropolitan IDP Forum for the Metropolitan IDP; and a City–wide IDP Forum for each of the three City IDPs. In this context the Metropolitan Forum would focus on metropolitan-wide issues and interests; the City Forums would focus on the citywide issues and interests; and the local/PZFs on local issues and interests.

The initial aim of the IDP or planning zone forums in Pretoria was to steer and facilitate the IDP process and all its phases/components; to unite role players from across the spectrum to work towards common goals; to ensure effective and meaningful participation; to promote communication between the local authority, the stakeholders and the community; and to act as multi-purpose vehicles to be used by any level of government (national, provincial and local) for the purpose of participation (see also Perception Survey, 1999).

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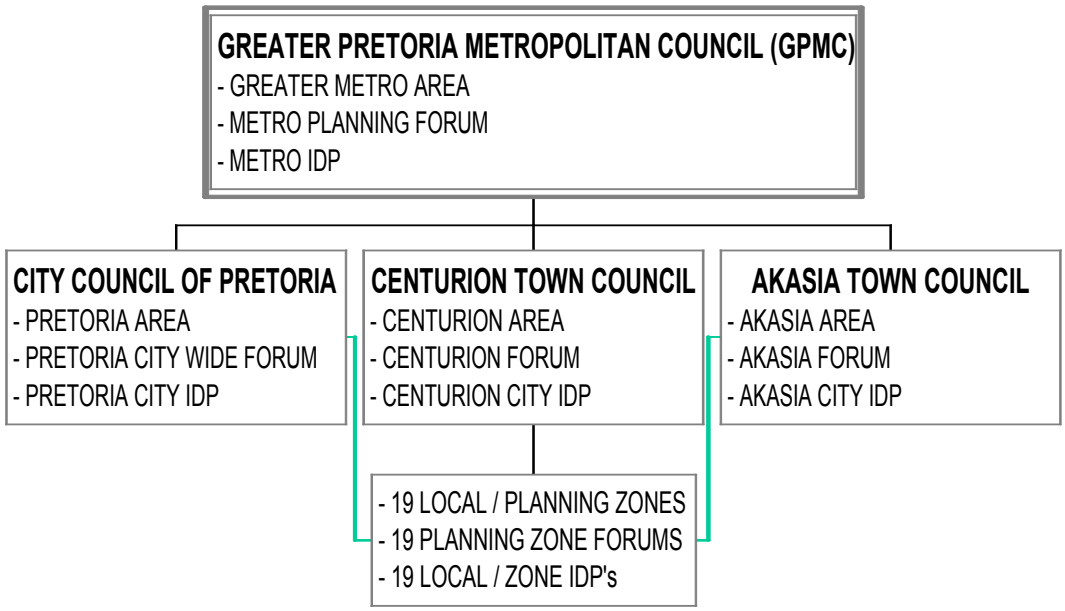
[138] See Planning Zone Forum Summits, 26 October 1996 and 30 November 1996; Strategic Planning Summit, 9 - 10 April 1997.

[139] See GPMC, 5 December 1996; GPMC, 20 February 1997; GPMC, 8 May 1997; City Council of Pretoria, 20 May 1997; GPMC, 26 November 1997. See also later discussions on the status of the forums and the associated problems.

These forums ultimately became an important mechanism in local democracy and the backbone for the IDP processes that were followed during 1997/1998. The concept of community forums was the first real asserted effort by the City of Pretoria to establish a joint local authority community mechanism that could support community participation and cooperative governance - in line with government policies.

Although these forums only came into being in the City of Pretoria in the mid-1990s, similar forums have been found in many other democratic countries since the 1960s. Although the PZFs were seen as a good mechanism for community participation and the IDP process, some interviewees argued that these motives were not the real rationale for the establishment of the forums and that the forums were nothing more than 'political window dressing' (to please the community). The whole issue of the PZFs, their status and the role of the politicians in these forums became a very interesting and burning issue at the turn of the millennium (as will be discussed in a later part of the narrative).

FIGURE 6: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES, THEIR AREA OF INFLUENCE, THE RELATED FORUMS AND THE RESPECTIVE IDPs (1997)




Soon after the start of the IDP process in July 1997, the GPMC and the various MLCs established planning zone offices for some of the planning zones and PZFs. The main functions of these offices and their staff were to provide a secretarial and administrative support to the PZF and the Forum Steering Committee and to ensure coordination between the respective local authorities

and the various role players[140]. Some of planning zone offices, such as the office for Planning Zone 9, which was initially situated in one of the city's community libraries, became a community/information office where citizens and community groups could enquire about the IDP, proposed planning and development initiatives and general neighbourhood matters.

These community centres played an important role in the IDP process and created a mechanism for the communities and the local authority to effectively communicate with each other. Although the former Pretoria local authorities 'supported' these offices (probably because they had to support them in terms of the agreed IDP mechanism), some officials and politicians expressed their frustration about the fact that they 'had to' support offices and staff that did not form part of the formal local authority structures. Notwithstanding the potential advantages these offices had for the local authority (and the people of the city), the local authorities with their rigid structures had difficulty understanding and supporting the rationale of these offices. Perhaps they saw these offices as yet another "instrument of power" or a power structure that could threaten the power structures and existing power relations in the local authority.

Departmental restructuring in the planning department: 1997

As discussed in Chapter 4, the new forms of contemporary urban planning, with their emphasis on community participation, social planning, strategic planning, sustainable development and urban management, had a profound affect on the organisational structures and processes, and power structures in specifically in local authorities. With the introduction of the IDP process at the beginning of February 1997, the planning department and planning functions of the former City Council of Pretoria were restructured in order to effectively facilitate the implementation of the IDPs.

Firstly, the 11[141] newly demarcated planning zones within the City Council's area of jurisdiction implied a new division of the planning functions and planning teams, which were then, still aligned with the old structure plan cells. Secondly, the integrated and holistic nature of the IDP required the establishment of dedicated and integrated (multi-skilled) planning teams for each of the Planning Zones to effectively facilitate the IDP processes.

Following this realisation, a new working group was established in the beginning of 1997 to explore a new organisational structure for the IDP/city planning component of the planning department.

[140] See PZCC 20 February 1997.
[141] Although the metropolitan area was divided into 19 zones, only 11 of these were in the City Council of Pretoria's area of jurisdiction.

This new structure would support the implementation of the IDPs in the newly demarcated planning zones. The working group comprised Mike Yates (Executive Director of City Planning and Development), Tony Walker (Director of the Land Use Rights Division), Nico van Deventer (Director of the Support Services Division), and Johnny Coetzee (who was extensively involved with the Pretoria Inner City Process and the IDP process).

After some deliberations, this working group proposed two new divisions: one dealing mainly with strategic planning and citywide issues (metropolitan planning) and one dealing with local development planning in the various planning zones[142]. This new structure implied a total integration and re-allocation of planning functions, and more specifically the integration of spatial planning and land use management (within the local development planning function). This structure introduced a new emphasis on strategic planning and the concept of integrated planning, and also recognised the different levels of planning within the hierarchy of plans. Compared to the old structure with its two isolated sections and distinct cultures, this structure, although not perfect, was a major improvement and a step forward for integrated planning.

[142] See City Planning and Development Department (1997).

FIGURE 7: PROPOSED ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE FOR THE PLANNING DEPARTMENT (JANUARY 1997)

| DEVELOPMENT PLANNING | |
|---|---|
| STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS<br>(Wilhelm Mouton) | LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING<br>(Tony Walker) |
| City Wide IDP | Planning zone 1<br>Planning zone 2 |
| Pretoria Inner City[143] | Planning zone 3<br>Planning zone 4<br>Planning zone 5 |
| Local Economic Development | Planning zone 6<br>Planning zone 7<br>Planning zone 9 |
| Legislation | Planning zone 10<br>Planning zone 11 |
| Strategic information | |
| Town planning scheme | |

Source: City Planning and Development Department 1997

The Executive Director of the planning department at that time (Yates) and the various chief town planners finally 'accepted' this structure in January 1997, where after the structure was presented and accepted (in principle) by the planners of both planning divisions. One of the chief town planners, Louis Robinson, initially objected to the new structure as argued that the proposed Strategic Directions Section was threatening the status of the old Guideline Planning Division (and the position of this section's manager) in view of the fact that it appeared to be so much "smaller". Not only does the above, present an example of the omni-present powers in the power web (as described by Foucault), but it also highlights the way in which professionals protect their power (and the power of the Prince) and how they aspired to new and more powers.

During 1997 it was obvious that a strong structure planning bond still existed within the Guideline Planning Division, as is evident from the way in which these planners supported each other and the way in which they jointly protected their function, working environment, comfort zone and

[143] In view of the strategic importance of the inner city as well as its "citywide" impact, it was decided to place the inner city function with the strategic directions section.

manager. Perhaps these planners wanted to cling together in an attempt to form a united front against the uncertainty and possible threats of the transformation processes.

Although the planners had some concerns about the new structure and the impact it could have on them, it was more a question of doubting and mistrusting the system; the fact that the transformation process was performed in some isolation; and also the *bona fides* of Yates who had involved only a small group of his 'personal favourites' in the transformation process. Yates specifically did not involve all the planners and managers as he probably realised that he did not have the support of all of them, specifically those in the Guideline Planning Division.

He probably also realised, that he was not the preferred Executive Director (in the eyes of these planners). More importantly, however, Yates sensed the negative attitude of these planners and the resistance he would receive from them. He often expressed his frustration with managers such as Skaap Mouton and Jan Roode who (in his opinion) did not fully support the transformation process. He was also concerned about the lack of discipline and professionalism in this division and the way in which this division was managed. For Yates, it was important to transform and (re)structure the planning department and to establish a new culture that could support the new approach to planning. It was (understandably) difficult for Yates to involve those managers and officials in the restructuring process whom he wanted to see being substituted by planners who were younger, more enthusiastic and more supportive of the new planning approaches. In view of his attitude towards strong discipline, he also considered it important to establish a new management structure with stronger discipline. For Yates this possibly meant new managers in certain key positions. This was a deliberate effort of Yates to substitute the seemingly old "bad' power structures with new, "better" power structures.

After the new structure had been presented to the guideline planners, they (surprisingly) easily accepted it - probably realising that it was merely a proposal 'on paper'. The real problems, however, came with the implementation of the structure, when managers, planners and support staff were allocated to the various new positions or functions and the new Planning Zones (and instructed to work in a new function).

The new structure implied that many managers and planners had to be relocated to different functions and Planning Zones in order to balance the workload. Although many planners and managers wanted to move to a different function or planning area, there were also those who resisted any change in their working environment. For these planners it was mostly a question that they just did not want to change; they did not want to support the transformation or give up their

comfort zones.

The planners in the City Council of Pretoria were very comfortable and familiar with this rigid and 'well defined' planning system that, in their opinion, had very few problems. These planners, for very obvious reasons, wanted to protect this familiar, well structured working environment against the unfamiliar, uncertain and seemingly vague new planning system.

As a result of all the conflict and negative attitudes, it was difficult for the managers to effectively implement the new structure and the new IDP planning teams. During this time, it was evident that the management had underestimated the impact that such a seemingly simple restructuring process would have on the morale of the officials. The resistance to the new structure also provided an indication that all the planners had not yet bought into the new planning approach that was developing.

Notwithstanding the above, it can be argued that more attention should have been given to the affected officials: informing them about the new approach and explaining the need for change and the fact that the system "just had to change". Perhaps proper communication and counselling could have eliminated many of the planners' fears and concerns. It could even have spurred a new interest in the transformation process and the new opportunities and challenges.

As the managers and chief planners tried to address the conflict and concerns surrounding the new structure, the documents on the proposed new structure had also been destroyed in the Munitoria fire. At this stage, time was running out and the managers had to finalise the IDP teams before they could get started on the IDP process. Instead of recreating or redrafting the structure and proposals, the management, almost in a state of dispiritedness, threw in the towel and proposed yet another new structure or 'working arrangement'. This structure was far divorced from the abovementioned 'ideal structure'. It is not clear why management did not continue to negotiate the former structure or why they presented an entirely new arrangement that also had a number of problems. Some people believed that management and the department were in a state of disarray as a result of the fire, and ultimately chose to take an easier way out.

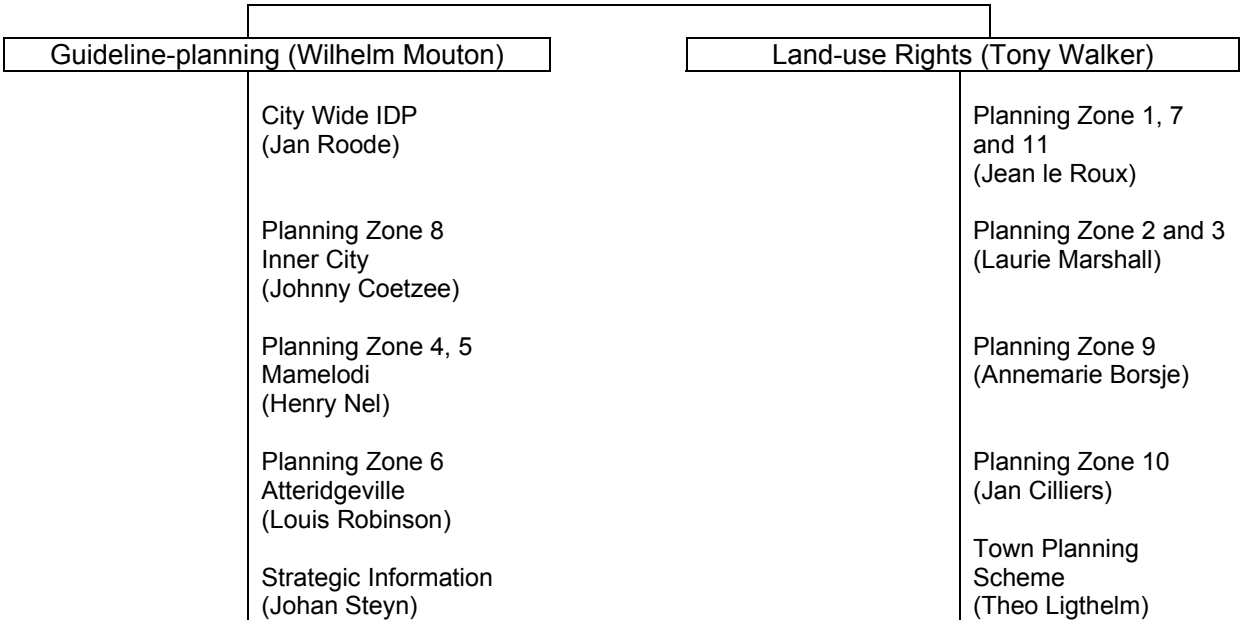
Apparently, the easy way out was to forget about the smart 'ideal structures' and to merely divide the managers and staff proportionally between the different Planning Zones so as to create the required IDP team for each of the IDP processes. Unlike the situation with the previous organisational structure where there was some consultation and debate on the design of the structure (and some strategy at least), the new structure was presented and simply imposed as the

final structure without any discussion. Whereas some of the former restructuring processes relied on communicative action and the force of the better argument as discussed by Habermas, Healey and Hillier in Chapter 2, the announcement and implementation of the new structure, without any consultation is more associated with the autocratic and dominatory powers of "The Prince".

Following this decision in July 1997, the two former planning divisions (Guideline Planning and Land Use Rights) were re-organised and re-divided into seven Planning Zone teams (one for each local IDP) and one citywide planning team (for the City IDP). The reason why only eight teams had been established in the former City Council of Pretoria instead of 12 (11 planning zones and the citywide zone) was due to the fact that the head of the department, Yates had argued that these teams had to be managed by the chief town planners in the department. The organisational structure, however, only made provision for eight chief town planner positions and it had not been possible to appoint more chief town planners. This resulted in a situation where some chief planners, such as Henry Nel, Jean le Roux and Laurie Marshall, had to deal with more than one planning zone and more than one IDP. The chief planners responsible for the IDPs were commonly referred to as the Planning Zone or IDP 'champions'[144].

[144] The term 'champion' in this context was used to refer to a person who takes leadership of a project or process and not the literal meanings of conquering, winning or victory.

FIGURE 8: PROPOSED ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE FOR THE PLANNING DEPARTMENT (JULY 1997)




The new structure implied that some planners had to work in a new planning area. It also implied that planners had to do planning work with which they were not familiar or that was not to their liking. In general, the planners in the Guideline Planning Division were reluctant to move out of their comfort zones. Most of these planners did not want to get involved in the new IDP with its new social and political challenges. They argued that their skills could be better applied in the fields of structure planning and the process of establishing townships.

The planners in the Guideline Planning Division, in particular, were not keen to work for Tony Walker with his strict procedures and rules. In particular, they did not want to break away from the well-established 'guideline planning family' and did not want anybody from outside to enter this close-knit unit. This apathy against the new structure and planning roles made it rather difficult to establish new integrated IDP teams and to develop a new urban planning system. Those planners who had previously been responsible for the planning of the safe, rich, white suburbs (close to their homes), often expressed concerns about doing planning work in unsafe, remote and neglected areas such as Mamelodi and Atteridgeville.

Mouton often expressed his concern about the safety of the planners, and more specifically, the safety of the female planners who, in his opinion, were more vulnerable working in those areas. For some planners, the new problem areas also implied more work pressure as a result of the

emphasis that was placed on the restructuring and development of these previously neglected areas. It also implied a different type of work, which many planners did not particularly like, such as the planning of low-cost housing, dealing with other cultural groups, working with poverty areas and informal settlements and working in poor environmental conditions.

It was already obvious that these 'new' areas, with their many social problems, lack of investment and spatial fragmentation required more of the new forms of planning and entrepreneurial thinking that were being promoted. For this reason, it could easily be argued that it would have been better if the management of the planning division had rather allocated younger, more enthusiastic planners to these developing areas. In most cases these younger planners were more accustomed to the new challenges in view of their more recent training (with a greater focus on contemporary urban planning theory). It also seemed as if the younger planners generally had a more positive attitude and open mind towards the restructuring and development of the fragmented urban areas.

The irony of this state of affairs is that any qualified planner (like a medical doctor, for instance), irrespective of his/her field of interest, age or gender, should be able, and 'professionally willing', to work in any area or condition or with any type of professional planning work. In view of this, it can be questioned whether the managers of the planning department did enough to communicate and negotiate the new system and to promote the new challenges and opportunities of the transforming urban planning system.

The planners in the Guideline Planning Division constantly objected to the integration of the two former planning divisions or functions, while the planners in the Land-use Rights Division welcomed this proposal. These planners, who were mainly involved with the processing of land-use applications, saw this integration of functions as a new challenge. They saw new opportunities in their work, namely that of also doing spatial planning, guideline planning, township layouts, design, policy-making, etc. The proposed integrated structure implied that all planners would do all these forms of planning. Planners in the Guideline Planning Division, on the other hand, frequently stated that the planners in the Land-use Rights Division did not have sufficient experience to deal with the establishment of townships.

This emphasised the somewhat arrogant attitude that existed in this section, as well as the reluctance of these planners to share their precious and 'important' work with other colleagues from the same organisation. For many planners, for example the guideline planners, a move to a new IDP team would mean a final break with the old structure plans and the old planning work that was so familiar to them. These planners were not prepared to sacrifice their comfort zones and did

not want these radical changes to affect their planning domain. It further underlines the lack of integration, communication and cooperation between these two (inter-related) planning sections - an aspect that dates back to the inception of the planning department.

This attitude was strongly criticised by the planners in the Land-use Rights Division, who did not agree with this statement[145]. These planners rightfully argued that the planners were appropriately qualified to do all planning work and that they could gain the necessary experience in a relative short period of time. In spite of this critique, the planners responsible for townships continued to do the township work, even after the implementation of the new structure.

As a result of personal, cultural, political and professional differences, some planners did not want to work for a specific manager. On the one hand, this emphasised the strong bonds that had developed between certain planners and groups in the department; and on the other, it emphasised the strong opposition between certain groups or individuals. In many ways this resulted in different camps such as the old and young, right and left wing, English and Afrikaans-speaking, men and women - but in most cases it related to those people in support of the transformation of urban planning and the new planning system, and those in opposition to it.

The restructuring process and the establishment of the new IDP teams highlighted a number of issues, specifically with regard to the transformation of urban planning. The reluctance of some people to move and transform indicated their unwillingness to accept the new planning system and their resistance to change. On the other hand, many younger planners almost desperately wanted to shake off the 'old boring' planning work that was associated with apartheid planning. Eventually, after much deliberation and negotiation, all the planning staff was allocated to the various new Planning Zones or planning functions.

Apart from the effect that the constant infusion of new legislation and planning approaches had on the planning department, the ongoing transformation also had a negative impact on the morale and attitude of the officials (See Perception Survey, 1999). Although this structure was still based on the two traditional planning divisions, it was a major improvement compared to the old structure, in view of the fact that it made provision for dedicated planning teams for each of the respective IDP processes, and specifically the fact that these teams within the Planning Zones were responsible for all planning functions within the zone - the former guideline planning and land-use rights functions.

[145] Personal communication, Borsje, Walker, Le Roux

This structure created the opportunity for planners in the City Council to perform planning in an integrated, holistic manner and to form dedicated planning teams that could focus on all aspects of planning in a particular Planning Zone, as required by the national planning policies. This also created the opportunity for planners to take responsibility for all planning and development actions in a particular planning area. During mid-1997, when this structure was finalised, there was already strong pressure on local authorities in the country to correct the racial and gender profiles of their organisations. In the planning department, the 1997 management structure, apart from one white woman, consisted mainly of white males - an aspect that became a major issue in the planning department and the Council in 2000.

In a further attempt to promote integration and coordination within the Council, and within the context of the IDP, an inter-departmental team was also established for each of the planning areas and related IDP processes[146]. These teams, similar to those established for the Pretoria Inner City Process (1996 to 1997), represented officials from the various Council departments and included, *inter alia*, engineers, planners, urban designers, safety personnel, health officers and landscape architects. Although these teams met 'occasionally' to discuss and integrate the multi-disciplinary inputs from the IDP, they never functioned effectively, mainly as a result of the rigid and isolated organisational arrangement or 'silositus'[147].

These multi-disciplinary teams also indicated how difficult and frustrating it was, specifically for the technical professions, to integrate and engage with other non-technical disciplines - yet another indication of the autocratic and scientific rigidity and power(s) that existed in the municipalities of the former Pretoria region.

IDP training in the planning department

As the preparation for the IDP processes unfolded, Yates realised the need for training and capacity building, specifically in the new planning approach. Although various efforts went into promoting the principles of IDP amongst communities, councillors, officials and planners throughout South Africa, and to develop training programmes and manuals, most of these efforts only came into being late in 1997/1998 after many local authorities had already started with their

[146] In many parts of the world, such coordinating mechanisms and inter-departmental or inter-disciplinary planning teams were established to promote inter-departmental coordination and integration within the local authority. See McClendon and Quay (1972: 19 -23); Slater (1984:24 and 73); Du Mhango (1995: 917-918); ICLEI (1997); So *et al* (1979: 74-5); and World Bank (1999).

[147] This term refers to a particular type of 'disease' that is found in organisations that are structured around isolated and confined departments or 'silos' (as presented by the graphic representation of the typical organigrams of these departments). This type of structure makes it difficult for departments to integrate with each other.

IDPs.

When the GPMC and the other local authorities in Pretoria started preparing for the IDP process, very limited information or guidelines on IDPs existed in South Africa[148], apart from the experience gained from the LDO and Inner City Processes. In view of the fact that national or provincial government (at the time) provided limited guidelines, the City Council of Pretoria and many local authorities had to interpret the legislation and develop their own guidelines on how to implement these processes. Even for the larger local authorities such as the City Council of Pretoria and the GPMC with all its capacity, this was a difficult exercise and a challenge.

This emphasises how difficult these challenges had to be for the smaller local authorities with no or limited knowledge and resources. Although this 'experimental phase' posed new challenges to the planners as it created the opportunity for them to explore, learn and break new ground, it also created frustration and confusion amongst councillors, officials, planners and communities (See Perception Survey, 1999), specifically during the uncertain and difficult time of transformation.

After consensus was reached on the contents and aims of the IDP process (approximately March 1997), the GPMC and the three MLCs made various efforts to prepare the officials, councillors and community leaders for the IDP process, to get all the role players to 'buy-in' to the process and to establish a culture for this process.

In the City Council of Pretoria, Coetzee and Yates also developed and presented information and training sessions to the officials, councillors and community leaders[149]. Amond Beneke, in view of his involvement with the IDP and his IDP responsibility, also presented information sessions to officials and councillors of the various councils and also to the technical advisors of the IDP process[150]. Although these training sessions were not sufficient to cover the entire spectrum of the IDP, they contributed to providing planners with the basic information and skills that were needed for them to participate in an IDP process (See Perception Survey, 1999). It also played a role in 'changing the culture' of the planners - a change that was seen as imperative for the success of the

[148] Examples of guidelines or publications were a handbook entitled *Integrated Development Planning - a Handbook for Community Leaders*, published by Planact in October 1997; and an IDP booklet entitled *Integrated Development Planning for Local Authorities - a User Friendly Guide* that was published in 1997 by the Department of Constitutional Development. The first IDP manual, compiled by the CSIR, was published in 1998.

[149] Johnny Coetzee presented a two-day training session for the planners of the planning teams (9 and 10 June 1997), followed by a one-day session for the planning consultants. These sessions focused, *inter alia*, on the local legislation, the IDP process, the contents of IDPs, case studies and guidelines for managing the process of formulating and implementing IDPs. See Coetzee (1997). Keith Griffiths (a professional facilitator), who was appointed by the City Council of Pretoria to coordinate the facilitation of the IDP workshops, also presented a training session on facilitation techniques to some of the planners and planning consultants to assist them with the IDP process.

[150] See Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council (1997).

new way of doing things in the City Council[151].

The appointment of technical advisors for the IDP process

The IDP planning teams of the GPMC and the MLCs soon realised that they did not have the capacity to do all the technical work required for the IDPs, more specifically the status quo reports and the spatial frameworks. After numerous deliberations, various planning firms or planning consortiums were appointed to assist the municipal officials with the IDP processes and, more specifically, the technical inputs[152].

Although some planners and politicians raised their concerns about the involvement of so many different consultants and the possible fragmentation of inputs, it was agreed that the many IDP processes, in view of their extent and nature, could not have been successfully performed by a single consultancy. The planning teams also argued that the IDP endeavour created an ideal opportunity to involve as many consultants as possible in this new learning experience. The consultants worked in close cooperation with the various IDP planning teams. Although the appointment of consultants was a costly exercise and sometimes difficult to manage and coordinate, it ultimately proved to have contributed significantly to compiling the IDPs, as well as developing and refining the new urban planning system.

Many consultants expressed the viewpoint that the IDP had created new opportunities for them in the sense that it had provided them with new knowledge and experience in the field of IDP. The consultants learnt from each other and from the Council planners; and the Council planners learnt from the consultants. Although the consultants clearly stated that they had learned much from the IDP endeavour, some consultants expressed their reservations about the prescribed, rigid IDP process format with its detailed steps and deadlines.

The consultants were not really allowed to experiment or to structure their own processes according to a particular environment. It was argued that more could have been learnt and achieved, and that more effective processes could have been structured if the consultants had been allowed more freedom and creativity. This could, in turn, have resulted in less failures and better IDP outcomes. In spite of various efforts to promote the uniform format, the IDP processes

[151] Personal communication, Yates.

[152] Various town-planning/development planning firms throughout Gauteng were invited to attend a briefing session on the proposed IDP process that was held at PREMOS in Pretoria on 6 June 1997. The consultants were requested to submit project proposals for the IDP process. An evaluation committee comprising all the councillors and chief planners of the various local authorities concerned was established to evaluate the submissions.

and the emphasis on the different component parts eventually differed slightly from area to area - mainly due to the varying characteristics of the areas and the varying approaches of the consultants. The prescribed structured process plan, however, played a major role in guiding the planners and consultants through the various phases of the IDP process[153] and resulted in a uniform set of IDPs (as envisaged by the Technical Coordinating Team).

Various planners and councillors in the former City Council of Pretoria warned against the extent of the involvement of consultants in the IDP processes. They argued that the IDP 'belongs' to the local authority and its communities and that the process is something that should be done by the local authority and in conjunction with the community. It is also argued that the role of consultants is seen to be limited to certain components only, for example, the collection of data or specific assignments that, for some reason or other, could not be done by the local authority or the community[154].

[153] See also later critique of the IDP guide packs and the rigid process plans (2002).

[154] For similar viewpoints on the role of consultants in the IDP process, see CSIR (1998); Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) (2000); Oranje *et al* (2000) and Harrison (2002). See also Thomas (1995) for similar viewpoints on international practices.

FIGURE 9: LIST OF PROJECT MANAGERS, CONSULTANTS AND RESPECTIVE CONSULTANT FEES FOR THE IDP PROCESSES: 1997/1998

| Area and project manager | Consultant | Cost of project |
|---|---|---|
| **METRO IDP (GPMC)** | | |
| Nicola Bezuidenhout/Amond Beneke/ Johnny Mahlala | Theo Pretorius: PLAN Associates | R 500 000 |
| **AKASIA/TSWAING: CITY–WIDE IDP** | | |
| Pieter de Haas, R Cele, H Koster | Judex Oberholzer: Urban Econ | R 699 600 |
| **Planning Zone A1** | | |
| Pieter de Haas, R Cele, H Koster | Johan Bierman: Van Der Schyf, Baylis Gericke & Druce. | R 450 000 |
| **Planning Zone A2** | | |
| Pieter de Haas/R Cele/Hannes Koster | Judex Oberholzer: Urban Econ | Part of City IDP |
| **PRETORIA: City–wide IDP** | | |
| Mike Yates/Jan Roode | Peter Dacomb: Plan Practice | R 726 000 |
| **Planning Zone P1** | | |
| Jean le Roux | Charlie Els: Els Van Straaten and Partners | R 192 000 |
| **Planning Zone P2** | | |
| L Marshall | Mike van Blommenstein: Van Blommenstein & Associates | R 215 000 |
| **Planning Zone P3** | | |
| L Marshall | Renier Minnie: Cadre Plan | R 225 000 |
| **Planning Zone P4/5** | | |
| Henry Nel | Marinda Schoonraad: University of Pretoria | R 350 000 |
| **Planning Zone P6** | | |
| Louis Robinson | Zelmarie van Rooyen: APS Plan Africa | R 360 000 |
| **Planning Zone P7/P11** | | |
| Jean le Roux | Piet van Zyl: Van Zyl & Benade | R 200 000 |
| **Planning Zone P9** | | |
| Annemarie Borsje | Doep Du Plessis/Hubert Kingston: Ferero Beplanners | R 257 000 |
| **Planning Zone P10** | | |
| Jan Cilliers | Henry Marais | R 200 000 |
| **CENTURION: City–wide IDP** | | |
| Leon du Bruto | Constand van Deventer: Urban Dynamics | R 355 000 |
| **Planning Zone C1** | | |
| Leon du Bruto | Constand van Deventer: Urban Dynamics | Part of City IDP |
| **Planning Zone C2** | | |
| Leon du Bruto | Shereen Rawat/ZA Shaikh: ZAS | Part of City IDP |
| **TOTAL** | | **R 4 729 600** |

Council approvals

Before the various local authorities could actually start with the implementation of the IDP processes in July 1997, they had to obtain the necessary Council approvals with regard to the budget for the process and the appointment of the technical advisors, for example. At the end of June 1997, at the last Council meeting of the 1996/1997 financial year, the City Council of Pretoria approved a comprehensive report entitled *Strategic Directions, Systems and Processes,* which was submitted by the Executive Director of the City Planning and Development Department, Mike Yates[155]. This report was frequently referred to as the 'omnibus report' as it contained a number of reports related to the new IDP approach. Through the approval of this report, the City Council of Pretoria accepted, amongst other things, the challenge to proceed with IDPs, and approved a budget of R2, 9 million for the formulation of IDPs (for its area of jurisdiction).

The other local authorities (the former GPMC, Centurion Town Council and Akasia Town Council) also prepared and submitted reports to their councils on the implementation of IDPs. These approvals not only confirmed the commitment of the various Pretoria municipalities to the IDP process and the new integrated form of urban planning, but also created the opportunity to proceed with the IDPs and the appointment of technical advisors.

Following Council approvals, the GPMC and the various other municipalities (MLCs) started preparing for the first IDP workshops, which were scheduled for July/August 1997. The various local authorities jointly implemented a comprehensive communication strategy in an attempt to promote the IDP process and to involve the larger public and communities of the Greater Pretoria region. In support of this strategy, a pamphlet (flyer), written in four languages (English, Afrikaans, Northern Sotho and Zulu) was distributed in all areas of the metropolitan region[156], followed by regular progress reports and newsletters, such as *IDP/LDO News* (a newsletter distributed by the GPMC)[157]. These efforts were greatly indicative of the various Councils' commitments to promote communication (and communicative action) and to involve the larger public in the community participation process - an aspect that had been grossly neglected in the former patriarchal planning system. After the approval of the IDPs, it became obvious that the IDP system had "the power" to radically transform the local authority planning environment and its related power structures and power relations.

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[155] See City Council of Pretoria (1997).

[156] The title of this flyer was *"An invitation to all people in the Greater Pretoria Area: Become involved in the compilation of integrated development plans for your area"*.

[157] Unfortunately, it was not possible to ascertain how many of these flyers were distributed and what the impact was of these efforts.

## 5.11 THE IDP PROCESS IN PRACTICE: CONFUSION, CONFLICT AND CRITIQUE

### *The IDP processes followed in the City of Pretoria: July 1997 to June 1998*

During the first half of 1997, the transformation of urban planning in the City of Pretoria was gaining momentum as the new principles of strategic planning, social planning, community participation, sustainable development and the new form of public management unfolded in the City of Pretoria.

Apart from the Pretoria Land Development Objective (LDO) Process and the Inner City Process where attempts were made to apply these principles in practice, these principles were still mostly confined to theoretical frameworks and policy statements. Those planners not involved with the previous LDO process or the Inner City Process, were unfamiliar with these principles and the new IDP process, which differed vastly from the old forms of structure planning and land use management that dominated most of their professional domains. The 1997/1998 IDP processes, which were commonly referred to as 'the first round of IDPs', for the first time started applying these new principles in practice, and on a citywide scale.

At the start of the 1997/1998 financial year (July 1997), the GPMC and the three MLCs officially initiated the process of formulating the first IDPs for their respective areas. The Technical Coordinating Committee (TCC), which had been established earlier in February 1997 to structure the IDP process, continued to steer the overall IDP process under the leadership of Amond Beneke, Chief Planner for Metropolitan Guideline Planning in the GPMC. The other members of the committee (all planners) were Nikki Ludick of the GPMC; Mike Yates, Tony Walker, Jan Roode, and Johnny Coetzee of the City Council of Pretoria; Pieter de Haas of Akasia Town Council; and Leon du Bruto of Centurion Town Council.

This committee was specifically responsible for the overall IDP process, and specifically the co–ordination and integration of the various IDPs within the former Greater Metropolitan area. The heads of the planning departments of the respective local authorities were ultimately responsible for the respective Metropolitan IDP, the three City IDPs, and the various Planning Zone IDPs (the IDPs within their area of jurisdiction). In the City Council of Pretoria, Yates was responsible for the Pretoria Citywide IDP and the 11 Planning Zone IDPs within this area of jurisdiction. As discussed earlier, a Planning Zone champion (chief town planner) was made responsible for the local/Planning Zone IDPs. These champions had to manage all aspects related to their particular IDP, such as the community participation phase, the planning consultants and the general logistics related to the process.

It is important to note that, except for one woman, Ludick, the planners involved with the management of the IDP were all white males, predominantly planners who had previously been involved with the old forms of planning during most of the apartheid years. These planners were mostly inclined towards spatial/structure planning and very few of them had experience of integrated planning. In view of the country's national policy at the time, as well as the emphasis on the restructuring of the black townships and the poorer neglected areas, it would have been better to include planners from other racial groups and the female gender, as well as planners with a wider planning interest.

The above town planning influence created the impression that the IDP was mainly a town planning exercise - an aspect that became a major issue in the former City Council of Pretoria. Some people from other departments argued that managers from other divisions, such as transportation engineers, could also have been considered for these positions. This Council's Human Resource Department, which was responsible, amongst other things, for municipal strategic planning, also raised its concern about the fact that the town planners were becoming too involved with municipal affairs. This aspect sometimes made it difficult to get the full support of related departments who also played a role in urban planning and development. In the City Council of Pretoria, the town planners' involvement with the important and strategic IDP process was further questioned by some people who still regarded the City Council of Pretoria's planning department as a department comprising of (many) corrupt, lazy, unprofessional and old-fashioned planners[158].

Soon after the beginning of the IDP processes, Yates emphasised the complexity of the IDP processes and the need to appoint a dedicated project manager who could assist the various Planning Zone champions and planning consultants with the general management and coordination of the various IDP processes in the City Council of Pretoria's area of jurisdiction - an aspect that had also been highlighted by some of the consultants. Yates subsequently requested Coetzee, in view of his experience with EMPRET (1993 to1997), the Inner City Process (since the beginning of 1996) and his involvement with strategic planning and IDPs at the time, to assist with the overall management of the Pretoria IDPs.

As the preparation for the IDP process unfolded, the IDP champions and the planners in their teams realised that this new IDP process was going to pose many new challenges and

[158] This statement can largely be supported by the ongoing discussions that took place between the top management of the planning department, the politicians, planning consultants and developers during the mid-1990s regarding this issue. See also Perception Survey, 1999.

frustrations. They also knew that they had to learn and apply new skills in order to engage with and facilitate community (and political) participation processes. It soon became clear that not everybody had the skill (and personality) to engage with the community facilitation processes and the public domain.

There were planners like Annemarie Borsje, Lettie Steyn (Planning Zone 9) and Jean le Roux (Planning Zones 1, 7 and 11) who had very little difficulty addressing and facilitating public meetings, coordinating different professions and sectors and engaging with political processes. These planners welcomed the new challenges and seemed to enjoy the new work. There were also those planners like Henry Nel, Louis Robinson and Laurie Marshall who, in view of their particular 'reserved personality' found it more difficult to engage with the public and in the political arena. Fortunately these planners were supported by either planners (in their teams) or planning consultants who could deal with the difficult social and public work on their behalf. Henry Nel, champion for Planning Zones 4 and 5 (Mamelodi), who is probably one of the 'quietest and most reserved' planners in the city and someone who would not easily engage in open discussions, was supported by Marinda Schoonraad (a lecturer at the University of Pretoria and consultant to the 1997/1998 IDP process) - a competent facilitator and public speaker.

In some cases the consultant planners were also confused and threatened by these new challenges. Some planners like Jan Roode, Skaap Mouton, Klaus Rust and Louis Robinson frequently stated that it was not their job to facilitate community workshops and political debates. Although some planners welcomed the new challenges, it seemed that others wanted to hide from the more difficult planning work. The reason why some planners resisted the new approach, or found it difficult to adapt, to open up to the community and to share the planning process with other role players, can largely be ascribed to the fact that so many of them were still entrenched in the old autocratic mindset and rigid top-down planning.

All the IDP processes started during the first workshops that were held during July/August 1997. At these workshops the new form of urban planning (IDP) was formally introduced to the respective communities and stakeholders of the various planning areas in an attempt to promote the involvement and participation of the communities and stakeholders in the process of formulating and implementing IDPs for their areas. For most stakeholders the first workshop was also the first encounter with the IDP process and the new forms of urban planning.

Some planning zone champions indicated that they were concerned that the communities would not support and accept the IDP process, mainly in view of the fact that they had not been

previously consulted or informed of the IDP process to be followed in Pretoria. Although some planners and participants found the process to be logical, simple and well structured, there were also those who frequently expressed their concerns regarding the rigid structure of the process and the lack of flexibility[159]. Some community members, although they supported the process, were concerned and unclear about their roles in the IDP process. However, in spite of some critique and concerns raised by the participants, the majority of participants supported the process as they realised that the IDP process, with its extended, strategic focus, and emphasis on integration and (physical, social and economic) development, had the potential to address the development challenges of the urban environment.

It was a major improvement to the old rigid and autocratic way of planning - an aspect that was often highlighted by some participants. The support for the IDP process can also be ascribed to the fact that it provided for extensive participation in all the phases and was structured to focus on the broader spectrum of the environment. The fact that the process was eventually accepted and supported in all the planning areas (the metropolitan area, the citywide zones and the various planning zones), can largely be ascribed to the fact that it was founded on sound planning principles and that it was properly structured and presented to the public. The community also realised that this process had been prescribed by the national government and supported by the various local authorities.

A major step towards creating a democratic urban planning system in the City of Pretoria was when the various Planning Zone Forums (PZFs) and the respective Interim Steering Committees[160] were established (at the first IDP workshops). The City Council of Pretoria initially provided some administrative and technical support to these forums and assisted them in defining their roles and responsibilities. The experience gained from the Pretoria Inner City Partnership (PICP) also contributed to the establishment of the IDP forums and their management committees. These interim forum structures, although not fully representative, already during the visioning phase of the process, ensured some participation and representation, and also ownership amongst the community and stakeholder groups.

Although the various planning zone champions largely facilitated the establishment of the steering

[159] In Planning Zone 9 (the old eastern area of Pretoria), community leaders of this Planning Zone, as well as interested individuals and ratepayers, used the opportunity to criticise the City Council, councillors and officials for not managing the city properly. After the Planning Zone champion, Annemarie Borsje, and the facilitator, Keith Griffiths, explained the components of the IDP process, the forum reluctantly agreed to proceed with the process.

[160] The IDP teams agreed that the 'permanent' or final management committees should only be elected at the end of the process when more clarity had been obtained on the leadership in the zone and the process itself, as was the case with the Inner City Process in 1996.

committees, the elected chairpersons of these forums played a leading role in their management, the community participation processes and the overall IDP processes. This emphasised the need for a formal mechanism for community participation, as well as the advantages of such structured community forums - specifically on the scale of Pretoria with its large population and diverse communities.

Initially the elected politicians saw these forums as a good mechanism for community participation, and something that could even enhance their political status (power). Never did they realise what the impact of these forums would be. Some of the local authorities saw these forums as something (outside the local authority) that they 'had to' support and something which had the potential (and power) to threaten the existing power structures in the local authority.

As the IDP processes progressed through 1997 and 1998, it became evident that the respective roles and responsibilities of the councillors, forum leaders and Planning Zone champions had not yet been clearly defined. The actual status and power of the PZFs and the relationship between the PZFs and the local authorities had not yet been determined either. Communities and stakeholders groups were not sure what was expected of them. These issues had never really been sorted out prior to the process and not enough effort had been made to provide the forums with guidelines on how to structure their forums and management committees. As a result of the history of the City's governance processes, the communities found it difficult to trust the Council and its officials and politicians.

The forum leaders were not sure what their leadership entailed. Some forum leaders such as Alderman Bob Zylstra (Chairperson of Planning Zone 8) had an attitude of 'working with the Council', always trying to limit any unnecessary conflict. Other forum leaders such as Joanne Bing (Planning Zone 9), on the other hand, clearly made the point (or thought) that she was the leader of the particular community, and that she was the (only) one with power. Bing often stated, *"the people shall govern".* She did not have a problem confronting any official or politician, or the local authority as a whole. The elected councillors, on the other hand, argued that they had been elected to represent the community and that they would take the lead in the planning and development of a particular zone. The above is also an indication of the conflict and confusion, which arose between the so-called community/social power (derived from the Planning Zone forums) and the dominatory power of "the Prince" (as described by Machiavelli). In this case, 'good" community power became so strong that it almost changed to a "bad" power. This undefined relationship between the forum leaders and the councillors (particularly of Planning Zone 9) obviously resulted in ongoing conflict between these role players and opened up a new

debate on the actual status of these forums and their role within the urban planning process, and also the power relations within the forums and between the forums and the local authority. Members of the various PZFs often stated that the forums had 'no teeth' and that they should have more powers to deal with matters that affected them directly. Some community members also stated that the community participation process was nothing more than 'window dressing'.

After the completion of the first IDPs and the establishment of the more permanent management committees in the beginning of 1998, the local authority requested all the forums to comment on rezoning applications and development proposals. In one particular case - the application for a McDonald's restaurant in Brooklyn - the forum objected strongly to the application. In spite of the 'consultation' with the 'powerless' community forum, the City Council of Pretoria decided to approve the application. This raised the frustration levels of the forum members and the community[161] and led to further discussions between politicians, the various forum leaders and members; and between politicians and the community forums. This aspect was never solved and remained an issue until 2000 when the forums were terminated. From the above, it was obvious that the forums, with their strong leadership, had become a threat and 'power problem' to the local authority's political structure. The elected councillors wanted to protect and exercise their powers; and the community wanted to exercise community power by participating in the planning and governance of the City.

This is yet another example of how political power was used to dominate rational actions, communicative action and the force of the better argument - the issue of "power defines rationality" as described by Flyvbjerg in Chapter 2. This, among other things, implies the domination of politics (or political power) over rational (planning) processes. In a nutshell, this means that rational planning actions cannot be successfully implemented without political support - hence the need to integrate power and rationality. The question that comes to mind however was whether the forum had made enough effort to communicate effectively (communicative action) and to present the better argument, and whether this was not merely the normal/traditional way of exercising dominatory power. A critique against this theory of Flyvbjerg, relates to the fact that he (possibly) underestimated the 'power of rationality' and the fact that rational actions can actually also be very powerful. Within the context of the 'power-rationality' relationship, it would perhaps have been more appropriate to refer to the balance or relationship between 'rational power and political power'. This relationship between power (politics) and rationality (planning), however, highlights the important relationship between urban planning and urban management, and between the

[161] Some of the frustrations regarding the above were also recorded in local newspapers (*Rekord East*, 1997; and *Pretoria News*, 1998).

community and the government. These power-planning dilemmas, specifically within the context of the IDP, furthermore emphasises the need for appropriate community structures and processes and clearly defined roles and responsibilities.

As the IDP community participation process evolved during 1997, it became obvious that there was still confusion about how to effectively facilitate and manage meaningful community participation within an urban/local authority environment. This can largely be ascribed to the fact that the local authority (politicians, officials and managers) was still framed by the old way of urban planning and management with its strong autocratic, rigid, technical, command-and-control characteristics. Bearing in mind the 'long history' and maturity of this old urban planning system and the effect that it had on local authorities, it is obvious to conclude that it was not going to be easy to introduce a new participatory urban planning system without conflict. What initially seemed like a fairly easy change to local authority structures and processes, turned out to be a major intervention with impact.

Although some community forums were initially confused and hesitant to accept the new approaches, they increasingly became more receptive to the new approaches and more committed to making the process work. The forums and Forum Steering Committees got more settled during the beginning of 1998 and continued to structure and refine the Forum Steering Committees and its roles and responsibilities. The establishment of the forums and their steering committees was a major step in the direction of participatory planning and decision-making. These formal and structured community participation mechanisms, which were established for all areas in the city, created new opportunities for communities to participate in a more structured way in the planning and management of the city and promoted a new relationship between the Council and the community. The communities that participated in the IDP process by and large welcomed and appreciated the new emphasis on community participation and the opportunity to participate in the planning of their areas (see Perception Survey, 1999)[162].

At the first IDP workshops, held during the course of July, August and September 1997, the various forums formulated the visions for each of the respective planning areas or IDPs. Although many planners and other participants criticised the visioning process for being 'too fluffy'[163], the majority of participants stated that it had contributed to uniting the various communities in the strategic planning process; it had provided a strategic direction; and it had set the platform for the

[162] After some of the first workshops, the *Pretoria News* (30 July 1997) reported that: *"The spirit of cooperation, consultation and transparency is evident in a new model of municipal management with which Greater Pretoria is taking the lead in the country"* (Uys 1997). See also comments of Fourie (1997) on the first workshops.

[163] A word used by one of the respondents in the Interview Survey (1998).

further phases of the process[164] (see Perception Survey, 1999). In most cases the visioning process also stimulated the interest of the various stakeholder groups to further participate in the process. In this regard it set the platform for the rest of the participatory planning process. Unfortunately, many of the Pretoria visions presented a view of the future that was too idealistic, ultimately resulting in unrealistic expectations[165].

Following on from the vision workshops (from August to December 1997) the various planning teams and forums proceeded with the rest of the phases of the strategic planning process, namely determining community needs, prioritising issues, formulating goals and objectives, analysing the status quo, developing the spatial framework and formulating strategies. As the IDP processes progressed during late 1997, planners and the communities became more confident and experienced with the new approaches and the notion of working and planning with the people.

There were also those planners who witnessed how their 'structure planning approach' was being diminished and replaced by a new, radically different form of planning. These planners continued to criticise the IDP approach for its lack of focus on spatial planning and the fact that, in their opinion, it was too involved with non-spatial issues. It became increasingly evident that planners, community members and politicians had difficulty adapting to certain phases and components of the process. It was 'difficult' for planners to effectively apply the theoretical principles in practice. The question that comes to mind is whether it really was that difficult, and whether it was not perhaps a case of the planners not wanting to make the effort. Another question relates to whether the local authorities (and the national government) had done enough to prepare and equip the planners to effectively deal with the various IDP processes.

In South Africa, unlike many other parts of the world where these principles were phased in over a period 30 to 40 years, these new principles entered and overshadowed the South African scene in a very short period of time, during a very turbulent transformation phase in the early/mid-1990s. In spite of all the training, preparations and structural changes in the organisation, this process did not always succeed in achieving the set goals of the new urban planning principles (Perception Survey, 1999; Interview Survey, 2002).

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[164] Oranje *et al* (1999: 20), with regard to most visions contained in the LDO/IDP documents, stated that *"The statements were very repetitive and often seemed to be a composite of all that is seen as good and praiseworthy at a given time".*

[165] In 2000, two planners, Kestell Serfontein and Johnny Coetzee, questioned the real relevance of visioning, and more specifically its ability to direct planning and development into the future. They argued that the concept of visioning was based on an unpredictable future and that it was not possible to align goals, strategies and projects towards such an unpredictable future. They also argued that it was better to use the more familiar present to shape the future, than to use the unfamiliar future to determine the 'now action' (Coetzee and Serfontein 2002).

Throughout the IDP process, the participants criticised the ways in which the community participation phase was planned and implemented. This critique primarily relates to the undefined roles and responsibilities of the community structures, the time-consuming process, the wish list of projects, the cumbersome nature of the process and the political interference and power play (Perception Survey, 1999)[166]. The community participation phase (which was mainly done through structured workshops) was also criticised for only involving certain community groups in the process, for example, those who could (afford to) attend the workshops. In many Planning Zones, the community participation phase resulted in conflict between members of the steering committees, councillors and members of the planning teams on issues such as the structure of the process, the respective role of the planning teams, the role of the Council, and the relationship between the PZFs and the Council.

Notwithstanding the fact that some councillors actively participated in the various phases and components of the IDP process, many role players expected the councillors to have played a more integral part in the process (Perception Survey, 1999). It also became obvious that the planners, community members and politicians did not have sufficient experience and knowledge on the notion of participatory planning and this newly evolving form of local democracy.

After the completion of the first round of IDPs, the concept of democratic planning in the City of Pretoria developed, from almost nothing in the early 1990s, to a significant, well-established and accepted community-local authority planning, management and communication system in 1998/1999. In spite of the critique of the IDP processes, it created many opportunities for communities to participate in the process of planning, development and management of the city. For each of the 22 IDP processes in the City of Pretoria, a formal community forum was established with supporting management structures to promote communication and participation. Various community working groups or issue-based task teams were also established to allow stakeholders groups the opportunity to participate in specific issues of the IDP process. These working groups specifically provided the community the opportunity to become involved in the implementation of IDP projects.

The participatory approach largely improved the community's understanding of planning and development and the Council's organisational structures, processes and priorities (Perception Survey, 1999). The new approach improved the Council's understanding of the community's needs and wants. As the IDP processes unfolded, various communication channels such as newsletters and websites were established to improve communication amongst stakeholders and with the local

[166] See also critique on community participation discussed in Chapter 4.

authorities - something that had never existed before[167]. Many of the community forums established Planning Zone offices in some of the Planning Zones to promote communication and participation and to provide an information service closer to the people. The IDP processes ultimately resulted in numerous new relationships between the stakeholders and between the stakeholders and the various Pretoria local authorities - and a total new and even more complex web of power relations.

As will be discussed in later sections, these PZFs were (unfortunately) terminated in 2000 when the new Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM) introduced a different mechanism for community participation in the form of Ward Councils.

Although the community participation phase of the IDP process was criticised for its shortcomings, many people regarded it as groundbreaking work and an honest attempt by the local authority to promote democratic planning or local democracy[168]. These community-planning processes were a giant leap in the direction of participatory planning and certainly brought the planning system in the former City of Pretoria a step closer to international best practices.

FIGURE 10: HIGH POINTS AND LOW POINTS OF THE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION PHASE OF THE 1997/1998 IDP PROCESSES

| **HIGH POINTS OF THE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION PHASE (1997/1998)** |
|---|
| Excitement of new process |
| Visible results of the process |
| New emphasis on participation |
| Focus on community needs |
| Break from apartheid planning |
| New type of democratic planning |
| Building of relationships |
| Involvement of community |
| Positive learning experience for many |
| New opportunities for officials |
| Establishment of community forums |
| Council approval of first IDPs |
| Community pride and ownership of process |

[167] Examples of such newsletters were the *Atteridgeville IDP News*, September 1997; *Ou Ooste - Old East*, Newsletter of Zone 9, October 1997; *Ou Ooste - Old East*, Newsletter of Zone 9, September 1997; *Zone 11 - Newsletter*, October 1997; *Zone 1 - Newsletter*, November 1997.

[168] As the process evolved during the latter half of 1997, extensive media coverage largely assisted in promoting the process amongst communities. Various references were made to the spirit of cooperation, consultation, transparency and active involvement of residents in the IDP process (Yssel in *Beeld*, 1 October 1997 and 19 November 1997; *Muniforum*, December /January 1998. Yssel in *Beeld* (19 November 1997) also reported on the problems that were experienced in some areas and referred to the poor attendance, the uncertainty with regard to the role of the IDP in the future and the way in which residents should be involved with IDPs. The GPMC distributed progress reports on the IDP processes to all consultants, project leaders and steering committees to inform them about the progress of the IDPs in the metropolitan area (GPMC 1997).

| LOW POINTS OF THE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION PHASE (1997/1998) |
|---|
| Poor attendance at meetings |
| Frustrations and conflict |
| Political interference and 'power play' |
| Cumbersome process |
| Lack of buy–in from councillors and officials |
| Resistance and reluctance of officials |
| Negative critique |
| Lack of visible results |
| Process created expectations in community |
| Lack of implementation |
| Slow implementation |

As a result of the particular structure of the IDP, which was based on the concept of the four environments - the social, economic, physical and institutional - as well as the broad spectrum of stakeholders that were involved in the process, the IDP process (formulation phase) largely succeeded in focusing on the social aspects of the city as discussed in Chapter 4. In spite of all the efforts that were made to promote a social consciousness amongst planners and politicians, (unfortunately) some planners and IDP champions were still stuck in the more technical domain, which in some instances, resulted in the social aspects not getting the necessary attention.

As far as the overall IDP process-structure (the phases and steps of the process) is concerned, participants made very few negative comments (Perception Survey, 1999). The structured IDP process was increasingly accepted as a process that could structure and facilitate effective and meaningful community participation. Planners realised that the process was suited to address and integrate the various aspects of spatial planning and land-use management on different levels (metropolitan, regional and local).

The IDP process, with its holistic nature, proved that it could equally address and integrate the various components and sub-components of the urban environment (the physical, social, economic and institutional environments). Planners, politicians, local authority managers and stakeholders increasingly recognised the IDP as a tool that had the potential to harness the distinct components of urban planning and urban management, for example, the planning-budgeting link, determining strategic priority areas and prioritising community needs (Perception Survey, 1999). Unfortunately the IDP processes (phases and steps) followed in Pretoria were to a large extent structured and applied without really understanding the contents, rationale and aim of the process outcome - namely to create a strategic urban planning and management document.

The final process outcomes (the SDFs or the IDPs) were in many cases merely a 'compilation or

consolidation' of the various process outcomes, for example, a compilation of the vision, goals, strategies, etc. As the process evolved, the emphasis changed from the broader perspective on *integrated development planning* to a more rigid and limited perspective on *the IDP*, which is mainly associated with a structured process, *the IDP process,* and the resultant process outcome, *the Integrated Development Plan*. The IDP process was trying to promote a new form of urban planning *(idp)*, but it was difficult to achieve this in view of the fact that *the IDP* was inherently concretised in a rigid structure that provided little space for innovation and flexibility (Interview Survey, 2002)[169].

One of the major problems of the first round of IDPs was the lack of strategic focus (Perception Survey, 1999) - an aspect that became an important issue within the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, as will be discussed in sections to follow. Throughout the process, communities and planners had difficulty distinguishing between the strategic issues and detail issues. This can largely be ascribed to the nature and structure of the community participation process that largely neglected the citywide or strategic stakeholders, and primarily focused on the 'local' stakeholders and local communities who were mainly concerned with local environmental issues. The lack of strategic focus also resulted in comprehensive community wish lists and a large number of goals, objectives and strategies, as well as many expectations that were almost unrealistic and unattainable (Perception Survey, 1999). As a result of the many strategies and projects (which were often not integrated), it was almost impossible to implement them, as it was difficult to link the projects (and wish lists) with the budget.

This lack of strategic focus was further underscored by the cumbersome and detailed technical status quo reports that were largely structured in terms of a rigid format prescribed by the Gauteng Department of Local Government and Development Planning in 1997[170] (see also Perception Survey, 1999). This format, which was also construed by planners as being the prescribed 'report format', resulted in a situation in which almost all IDP documents were structured according to these 'chapters'. This obviously made it difficult to present the IDP in an integrated and interesting manner and resulted in rather boring, cumbersome and complex IDP documents, which were difficult to read and were not easily understood by officials, managers, politicians and the communities.

[169] See also Coetzee and Serfontein (2002).

[170] This format suggested a detailed breakdown and analysis of the urban environment and its components. It provided a rigid structure and framework according to which all IDPs had to be structured. This Gauteng format in many ways presented a detailed checklist of all the issues that had to be addressed during the IDP process - irrespective of the relevance or priority of the issues.

Apart from the overall strategic focus, very few Council planners (and planning consultants) really understood the strategic level and the 'strategic' aim, contents and format of the Spatial Development Framework component, or its role in the IDP process[171]. The Pretoria planners frequently argued that the extended focus on strategic planning, community planning, community participation, social issues and institutional components, specifically in the case of the IDPs in Pretoria, had led to an under-emphasis of spatial planning or the 'de-spatialisation' of planning (Perception Survey, 1999)[172].

The lack of 'strategic understanding', which existed amongst many planners, made it difficult for them to 'think strategically' and to effectively formulate real strategies based on the set goals and objectives[173]. One of the most challenging phases in the IDP process was the integration phase that aimed to integrate the various inputs/outcomes derived from the strategic planning process[174].

Based on some people's understanding of the legislation and the new IDP approach (which is incidentally based on the premise of integration), *"everything had to be integrated with everything".* This often resulted in complex, forced and artificial integration processes. The integration phase was further complicated by the excessive number of 'isolated' objectives, strategies and projects, as well as the large scale and extent of the IDP processes - to integrate inputs from 22 IDPs. The problem, however, is not related to the many IDPs or the many issues the IDPs sought to deal with, but rather the way in which the integration between these IDPs was done (or not done).

In January 1998, the GPMC, under the leadership of Amond Beneke, held an integration workshop that aimed to integrate the inputs and components, specifically the integration of components between the metropolitan, city, and local IDPs. Although this workshop contributed in some way to harness the City IDPs, it did not succeed in integrating the IDPs and their components effectively. These problems regarding the integration of the IDPs also highlighted the need 'to integrate' - from the inception of the process, throughout the lifespan of the process.

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[171] The Spatial Development Framework, within the context of the IDP, is generally seen as a broad spatial framework reflecting the most strategic issues of the process and not detailed land use. For more information on the contents of spatial frameworks, see IDP Task Team (1999), Republic of South Africa (2000); Development and Planning Commission (1990); Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government (1997), and Perception Survey (1999).

[172] See also Harrison (2002) on the impact of the IDP on spatial planning.

[173] The CSIR (1998) presents a discussion on the meaning and relevance of strategy formulation within the context of the IDP and also proposes a process of how to formulate development strategies, which could be used as a guideline for the IDP process.

[174] This integration entails, among other things, the integration within a particular process (functional integration), the integration of issues, strategies, objectives and projects between different IDP processes on the same level, for example, between the three citywide processes, or between the various Planning Zones (horizontal integration), and the integration of issues between different levels of IDPs or plans (vertical integration).

Throughout the IDP process, much emphasis was placed on the notion of sustainable development - a notion that was/is widely promoted by national policies[175]. There was hardly a vision statement or a goal that did not include a reference to sustainability or sustainable development. As noted by many participants, these concepts were freely used by planners, communities and even politicians - in many cases without them really understanding the meaning of these concepts (Perception Survey, 1999; Interview Survey 2002). However, apart from the 'lip service', the concept of sustainability had been largely neglected through the IDP processes (see also Perception Survey, 1999; Interview Survey, 2002).

Throughout 1997/1998 it became apparent how the IDP processes began to reflect the theoretical/international principles and trends as discussed in Chapter 4. It became obvious how the emphasis began to shift from the patriarchal planning system to a broader integrated and holistic form of contemporary urban planning.

As the IDP processes came closer to completion towards the end of 1997, some Pretoria newspapers, as well as other publications, recognised and commended the new IDP approach that was being applied in various parts of the city. The media specifically referred to the (democratic) way in which the community was involved in the IDP processes, the Council's new approach to strategic planning, as well as the new way of budgeting (i.e. the involvement of communities in the budget process and the link between the budget and the city plan). This reaction by the media is rather indicative of the progress and the change that took place in the city's urban planning environment during 1997/1998[176].

## 5.12 "THE PLAN IS COMING TOGETHER"

### *Finalising and approving the IDP: January to March 1998*

During the course of December 1997/January 1998, the IDP teams, consultants and working groups finalised and compiled the various components of their draft IDPs, which had to be submitted to the respective IDP forums (Metropolitan Forum, Citywide Forum and Planning Zone Forum). In most cases, a workshop or planning summit was held to present and discuss the draft IDPs with the communities[177]. Eventually, by the end of January, the Metropolitan IDP and the

[175] See discussion on sustainable development in Chapter 4.

[176] F and T Weekly (1998); Yssel (7 October 1997 and 19 November 1997); Business Day (1997); and Muniforum December (1997).

[177] Unfortunately these workshops had not been properly planned, coordinated or scheduled. The Metropolitan IDP and the three City IDPs (Pretoria, Centurion and Akasia) were presented to the Metropolitan and Citywide Forums at the end of January, before the local IDPs were presented to and accepted by the various Planning Zone Forums. This state of affairs created frustration for the planning teams, consultants and Planning Zone Forums.

three Citywide IDPs were accepted in principle by the respective forums.

The communities and PZFs also accepted the various local IDPs at the last workshops or planning summits at the end of February. During these workshops the forums elected or appointed more representative and 'permanent' steering committees for the Metropolitan Forum, the Citywide Forum and the various PZFs to substitute the Interim Steering Committees (ISCs) that had been established at the beginning of the process in July/August 1997. Although this 'community approval' of the IDP did not imply final approval, the communities saw it as an important milestone in the IDP process. This milestone, in many ways, represented a new beginning of participatory urban planning in the City of Pretoria - or at least this was what some people thought.

Following on the 'in-principle' approval of the IDPs by the respective forums, much work still had to be done to finalise and integrate all the IDP documents before submitting the IDPs to the respective local authorities and the provincial department[178]. In the City Council of Pretoria, a special procedure had to be formulated to submit the Pretoria City IDP and the 10 local IDPs to the City Council of Pretoria before the end of March[179]. Although the councillors, planning teams, consultants and forums all accepted that the IDPs had problems and shortcomings (as discussed earlier), they also realised that the IDPs could not be perfect, given the limited time and budget that was allowed to prepare the IDPs.

By the end of March 1998, all the IDPs (Metropolitan IDP, three Citywide IDPs and the Planning Zone IDPs) were eventually submitted to and approved by the various local authorities[180]. The councillors, planners and other officials concerned in the City Council of Pretoria regarded the formal approval of the IDPs as a major milestone for the planning department[181]. This approval celebrated a new beginning for planners and the beginning of a new urban planning and local authority planning and management system. However, although the planning system was changing, very few planners adapted to the changing system. After the Council approval, two new camps or streams of planners emerged in the planning department - those in support of the new urban planning approach and those in opposition to it. Some Pretoria planners also thought that the IDP approval was the last milestone - the final phase of transformation and the end to all 'the

[178] The DFA, 1995, determined that the LDOs for the area of jurisdiction had to be submitted for approval by the Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government, while the LGTA, 1996 determined that the IDP had to be submitted for approval by the local authority. This provincial department requested the local authorities to submit their IDPs/LDOs by the end of March 1998.

[179] Although there were 11 planning zones in the City Council of Pretoria's area of jurisdiction and 11 IDPs. The inner city IDP or SDF followed a separate process and was submitted for approval in June 1997.

[180] See GPMC (1998) and City Council of Pretoria (1998).

[181] This was a very special occasion in the City Council of Pretoria. Mike Yates arranged that the IDP teams could join the councillors for supper during the break of the Council meeting. Mike Yates even popped a few bottles of champagne to celebrate the approval of the IDPs.

new things' - without realising that this was only the beginning of the transformation process.

Following Council approval, Yates stated, *"Compiling these documents through a full public participation process has been achieved through tremendous effort, dedication and commitment within a relatively short time and truly marks a milestone in the developmental history of Pretoria"* [182]. Yates specifically commended and acknowledged the role played by officials from the City Planning and Development Department and stated, *"Despite many problems and setbacks, these teams and support staff were determined to make the process work"* [183].

After the approval of the IDPs, various community leaders, politicians and officials from the Council, developers and planning consultants[184] congratulated the Council planners for their contribution to the IDP process (see also Perception Survey, 1999). A new positive relationship was developing between the planners, consultants, communities and politicians - something that had been lacking in the old planning system. Although the Council approvals construed the 'final approval' of the IDPs, the Metropolitan and City IDPs still had to be approved by the Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government[185].

A special workshop or hearing was held in May 1998 at the Atterbury Park Offices, Menlyn, Pretoria, where the Greater Pretoria LDO/IDP Provincial Evaluation Team evaluated these IDPs. After the presentations of the Pretoria IDPs, Pete Amad, a senior planner in the provincial planning department, and convenor of this evaluation team, commended the Pretoria officials, consultants, councillors and the public of Greater Pretoria for their efforts and the high standard of the IDPs.

On 17 June 1998, the former MEC of the Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government, Mr Sicelo Schiceka, signed the approval of the Pretoria IDPs (Metropolitan IDP and three City IDPs)[186]. In a letter, which the MEC sent to the Chairpersons of the Executive Committees and to the Chief Executive Officers/Town Clerks of the respective local authorities after approving the Pretoria IDPs, he also commended the local authority for its efforts[187].

This MEC presented a trophy to the GPMC (and the three MLCs) for the best IDP/LDO process in

[182] See *Muniforum* April/May 1998.
[183] See *Muniforum* April/May 1998.
[184] It could be possible to argue that the planning consultants had to be positive about the process in view of the fact that many consultants would want to be re-appointed by the Council. However, the positive spirit and manner in which the consultants continuously expressed their views on the contribution of the Council planners, could be an indication of their honesty and the objectivity of their viewpoints.
[185] These plans had to be approved by the provincial department in terms of Section 27(1) of the Development Facilitation Act, (No 67 of 1995), and the Local Government Transition Act, (No 209 of 1993 as amended)
[186] See Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government (1998).
[187] See Development Planning and Local Government 1998 (letter written by MEC, dated 7 June 1998).

Gauteng in 1997 and in 1998. Other cities and provinces approached the City of Pretoria for advice on the IDP approach. This unfortunately created the impression amongst some planners that the City of Pretoria was taking the lead with IDPs in Gauteng and possibly even in the country. Some planners, such as Coetzee and Beneke, even developed arrogance about the progress that had been made with the IDPs. They thought that the Pretoria IDP was the only/best example of an IDP in the country.

After the approval of the IDPs, the planners were so overwhelmed by the 'successful completion' and approval of the IDP that they did not really focus on or want to listen to any negative critique of the IDP. At this point they probably did not fully realise the flaws and shortcomings of the IDPs (as will be discussed in later sections).

It is ironic that so much initial positive critique and comments were raised on plans that were later severely criticised. It should, however, be realised that this positive critique (which was probably on the spur of the moment) came from a few people who had been actively involved with the process themselves. This arrogance about the IDPs, however, not only highlights the pride and positive attitudes that existed amongst some planners, but is also indicative of the positive changes that were taking place - not only in the urban planning system, but also amongst many planners in the local authorities.

Following the approval or completion of the Pretoria IDPs, various discussions were held by the planners and officials of the GPMC and the three MLCs to analyse and evaluate the 1997/1998 IDP processes. On 4 June 1998, the planning department of the City Council of Pretoria held a 'post-mortem' workshop[188] at PREMOS (the official training centre of the City Council). All the planning teams and consultants involved with the City Council of Pretoria's processes were invited to participate. The main aim of this workshop was to identify the shortcomings and problems of the process, as well as its strengths. During the course of this workshop, the majority of delegates stated that the IDPs had been successfully completed, notwithstanding the complexity of the process, the limited funds that had been allocated to the consultants and the limited time that was allowed to complete the IDPs. The participants also expressed concerns about the cumbersome and rigid format of the IDP and the confusion regarding the status of the IDP. As discussed earlier, reference was made to the lack of focus on spatial planning and the lack of strategic focus.

After the first round of IDPs, most of the Pretoria planning consultants involved with the process stated that the IDP process had also been a major experience and learning curve for them. They

[188] It is ironic to note that reference was made to a 'post-mortem' workshop, as if that was the end of the IDP.

argued that the experience obtained through the IDP process could be applied to other future processes in Pretoria and elsewhere in the country[189]. The interaction that took place between the council planners and the planning consultants not only improved relationships, but in many ways contributed to shaping the new urban planning paradigm amongst many of these planners - both council planners and planning consultants (Perception Survey, 1999). One of the well-established town planning firms in Pretoria at the time, EVS, who had also participated in the IDP process, regarded it as "*… a groundbreaking action that set an example for many other local authorities*"[190].

Apart from the City Council of Pretoria's 'post-mortem' workshop, the members of the IDP/PZF Technical Coordinating Committee also held a workshop at the offices of the GPMC on 12 June 1998 to evaluate the IDP processes[191]. This committee incidentally echoed the concerns, which was raised at the 'post-mortem' workshop, as discussed above. In addition to this, this joint committee raised a number of other concerns*:* the implementation of IDPs; the lack of a prioritisation system; the capacity problems in the local authorities; the poor involvement of the councillors; the lack of proper communication and participation; and the poor functioning of the PZFs.

These concerns and issues also became the topic of discussion and debate at numerous discussion sessions, workshops and seminars from 1998 onwards. Although this first round of IDPs fell far short of the ideals, Harrison (2002: 7) argues that a learning process had commenced and that the foundations had been laid for the next round of IDPs[192].

After the approval of the IDP, as the IDP teams began to prepare for its implementation, the aspect of the status of the IDP, increasingly became an area of concern. In view of the above, in the middle of 1998 the City Council of Pretoria requested a Pretoria-based legal firm, Roestoff Venter & Kruse, to present a legal opinion on the status of the IDP. This opinion clearly stated that the Citywide IDPs, and all that was associated with them and had been approved by Council, should be accepted as statutory documents. This viewpoint, therefore, implied that the Planning Zone IDPs could not be regarded as statutory documents in view of the fact that these plans were only supportive to the statutory City IDP and not an integral component of it[193].

Closely related to the aspect of status, was the confusion about the relationship between the IDP,

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[189] Interviews held with various planning consultants.
[190] See EVS (1999).
[191] The IDP PZF Technical Coordinating Committee also had a follow-up meeting on 22 June 1998 to discuss the way forward for IDPs.
[192] See also critique of the second round of IDPs and the implementation of IDPs in sections to follow.
[193] See Roestoff Venter & Kruse (1998). See also Venter (1998) for a supporting viewpoint.

the Spatial Development Framework and the Land-use Management system. This aspect was also thoroughly debated at a workshop organised by the Association of Municipal Town Planners held in Hazyview[194] on 19 and 20August 1999. As the planners tried to get clarity on the abovementioned, it became apparent that the spatial plan concept or the structure plans in most parts of the country were almost losing their role and status. It was argued, among other things, that the IDPs' extended focus on the broader environment (which then included the physical, social, economical and institutional environments) had detracted the focus from spatial planning (and structure planning).

Towards the end of the 1990s, many of the old generation (structure) planners (in the case of the former City Council of Pretoria) continued to embrace the structure plans and argued that these plans (with their shortcomings) provided a better framework for spatial development and land use management than the confusing IDPs with their limited spatial directions[195]. Although the majority of planners agreed that a broad strategic type of spatial plan (possibly as part of the IDP) was needed to provide an overall direction and policy for the city, the point was also raised that such a broad plan does not have the capacity to guide more detailed land use management and local development. Some of the more prominent planning consultancies, such as Plan Practice and PLAN Associates, argued that the broad type of strategic spatial plans that were included in the IDPs (and in some LDO documents), in view of their normative and poor indicative nature, made it difficult for the members of the Townships Board and Tribunals (many of which were not familiar with planning), planners, councillors and lawyers to interpret development proposals - often leading to confusion, poor interpretations and prolonged hearings (Interview Survey, 2002).

Many planners suggested that a more detailed land-use type of plan (something like the old structure plans) had to form part of the lower rungs of plans so as to create a proper framework, specifically for land use management (Interview Survey, 2002). Unfortunately, as the IDP process developed during the 1990s, the land use/development control planners made very little effort to participate in the development of the IDP. This could also be a reason why so much confusion arose about the relationship between the IDP and the Land-use Management system.

By the end of 1998, it was obvious that there was still much confusion about the IDP and its role within the local authority and the overall urban planning process. Although many planners had 'bought into' the new IDP process, there were many planners who resisted this new form of integrated development planning. Notwithstanding all the critique of the IDP and the resistance of

[194] See Association of Municipal Town Planners (1999 a and b).
[195] Personal communication, Roode.

some planners, the planning department as a whole made great strides in establishing the notion of IDP as an integral part of urban planning and local governance.

Planners began to talk freely about aspects such as poverty, community needs, integration, etc. Apart from these transformations, there was also a major transformation in the way local authorities were managing their local affairs - the transformation from a rigid, autocratic way of local governance to a more open, democratic way. These transformations are associated with a radical transformation of political ideologies and attitudes, from the rigid discriminatory apartheid framework to a more equitable democratic framework. Planners, however, often argued that the former Pretoria municipalities, with its many resources, planning capacity and experience, could have done more to transform the urban planning system (Perception Survey, 1999; Interview Survey, 2002). Although some progress was made to promote the IDP, to formulate and compile IDP documents, to set up community structures and to study the critique of the IDPs, the real challenge - that of implementing the IDP - still had to be faced.

Unfortunately, the planners and managers in the former Pretoria municipalities underestimated the importance of the follow-up implementation phase, as will be discussed in the following section.

## 5.13 THE IDP TAKES A NOSE DIVE

***Implementing the IDP: July 1998* to *July 1999***

The actual implementation of the first Pretoria IDPs eventually started on 1July 1998 (the beginning of the 1998/1999 financial year), almost one year after the start of the IDP process. Since the inception of the IDP process (February 1997), the importance of ongoing implementation (and visible results) was constantly emphasised by various role players in the process.

Throughout the process, a large number of strategies and projects were formulated and unrealistic expectations created, while the possible implications and obstacles (such as limited funds) were never sufficiently addressed. At the beginning of the implementation phase, communities, stakeholder groups and forums expected visible results and projects to be implemented. The Planning Zone Forums (PZFs) also expected a financial contribution for their community projects. To the disappointment and frustration of many of the planners and other participants in the IDP process, very few IDP projects[196] were implemented during the first year of implementation: July

[196] The number of IDP projects that were implemented varied between the different local authority areas and planning zones. In most cases, less then 10% of the identified IDP projects were implemented.

1998 to June 1999[197] (see also Perception Survey, 1999).

Following the approval of the IDPs in March 1998, the various Pretoria municipalities still had to perform a number tasks before the IDPs could be implemented, such as the final integration, prioritisation and costing of projects; the allocation of responsibilities; the finalisation of funding and communication strategies; and the general administrative and logistical arrangements. It became evident that the planning teams did not really know how to structure and plan the implementation phase or how to structure a proper implementation framework[198]. The lack of such a framework made it difficult, and almost impossible, for the City Council to prioritise strategies and projects; to link the budget process with the IDP and its projects; to effectively implement, manage and monitor the projects; and to monitor and measure the performance of the plan, the city and the organisation. This resulted in a situation where the concerned role players had to enter the (even more complex) implementation phase almost unprepared and with limited knowledge and experience.

Although the IDPs in most cases lacked an Implementation Framework, the City Council of Pretoria and the GPMC, made various attempts to develop a Management Information System (MIS) that could support the ongoing implementation and monitoring of the IDPs (a so-called IDP MIS). In July 1997, the planning department prepared a discussion memorandum entitled *Proposed Framework for an Integrated Management Information System.* This document subsequently led to various follow-up meetings with Plandata - a Pretoria-based firm specialising in information technology - and the CSIR in attempt to involve these specialists in the process of establishing an IDP MIS for the City Council of Pretoria.

This MIS was never finalised and implemented, mainly in view of limited funds and the fact that this MIS was, at the time, not really regarded as a priority. In 1998, the GPMC appointed a consortium under the leadership of Theo Pretorius of PLAN Associates to establish an IDP implementation/monitoring mechanism for the Metropolitan IDP[199]. This MIS specifically included all status quo data and information regarding the IDPs, as well as a support system for the implementation of the Metropolitan IDP, the City IDPs and the various Planning Zone IDPs. It also aimed to assist the IDP champions in the overall management and monitoring of the process, and

[197] The GPMC and the City Council of North Shore, New Zealand, within the context of strategic planning, also emphasised the need to implement a few high profile and visible catalyst projects soon after the implementation phase had been initiated, to show to the Council's intent (The GPMC 1997; and City Council of North Shore 1996).

[198] The term 'Implementation Framework' was commonly used in the former City Council of Pretoria to describe that component of the IDP document that provides the framework and guidelines for IDP implementation. This framework, as will be discussed in later sections, was intended to guide and manage all aspects regarding the implementation of the IDP and all its components, as well as the ongoing monitoring and management of the process.

[199] See GPMC (1999 and 2000).

created the opportunity to continually update and maintain the contents of the IDP.

Henry Bezuidenhout, a senior town planner in the GPMC responsible for this MIS, argued that the design of the system was a big success, while the implementation of the system was not at all successful[200]. In this case, ironically enough, a system that was specifically designed to promote implementation (more specifically the implementation of the IDP), in itself could not even be implemented.

Similarly, the IDP process, which was structured to implement projects and programmes, could not be implemented successfully either. This state of affairs in many ways emphasised the old, rigid, reactive way of planning, and the lack of focus on development, performance and delivery, and plan implementation - aspects that form an integral part of the new form of integrated development planning. As the implementation progressed, it became increasingly obvious that the IDP planning teams experienced difficulty understanding their various roles and responsibilities in the implementation phase. In the former City Council of Pretoria, for instance, the IDP champions and the forums did not really know how to deal with those projects that fell outside the cadre of the local authority's responsibility, for example, the development of a hospital in a particular area. These types of projects were largely neglected in view of the fact that the planning teams did not know how to establish external linkages, relationships, Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) or joint ventures. The planning teams, however, later realised that implementing the IDP entailed more than just implementing IDP projects. It also implied the implementation of the vision, for example, the implementation of goals, objectives and strategies, as well as ongoing communication, management and monitoring; and ultimately a new way of urban management.

Some planners were also under the impression that the IDP 'was going to implement itself' - as is evident in the passive way in which the planners dealt with the implementation phase. Perhaps they were so overwhelmed with the 'seeming successes' of the IDP formulation phase that they thought it was sufficient and that they had done enough to prove themselves. Perhaps some of the planners were so 'tired' of the IDP process that they (thought they) did not have the energy to face the challenges of the implementation phase. Then there were also those planners who, after all the transformation, did not want to get involved with IDPs at all - specifically those who did not want to accept the new participatory planning process.

As a result of the Munitoria fire and the additional workload from the IDP process, the backlog of

[200] The comments and critique of the above IDP implementation/monitoring mechanism was derived from a personal interview held in Pretoria with Henry Bezuidenhout on 25 June 2001.

land use applications increased further, resulting in 'additional stress' on the planners who were pressurised to process these applications. Some planners, managers and officials saw the IDP process as a 'project' that had ended, or was going to end at some point in time, while others saw it as a new trend or fashion that was (hopefully) going to go away in the near future. The majority of planners had difficulty accepting that a new, transforming urban planning system was emerging and that this system required a new way of doing things, and perhaps a more dedicated effort than they were willing to put in. The lack of commitment and enthusiasm, and also the lack of understanding, knowledge and experience, ultimately resulted in frustration among many planners, and largely contributed to the poor implementation of the IDPs.

When the implementation phase was initiated, the chief planners of the respective local authorities continued to take responsibility for the implementation of the IDP. In the City Council of Pretoria, the Executive Director of the planning department, Mike Yates, initially took the responsibility of implementing the IDP. However, soon after the IDP implementation phase started, Yates was requested to assist with the Council's corporate transformation phase. Some planners in his division argued that this corporate work was not part of his job description and allocated responsibility and that he should have focused all his attention on the department's activities and the new growing IDP challenge.

In July 1998, Johnny Coetzee (who was coordinating the IDP formulation phase) was relieved as IDP coordinator due to increasing responsibilities of the PICP, which was his primary responsibility. Yates argued that it was not desirable to build all the IDP capacity around the few people (Coetzee, Annemarie Borsje and Jaksa Barbir) who seemed to have dominated the IDP scene since its inception in 1996[201]. He also argued that the other managers, more specifically the planning directors (Skaap Mouton and Tony Walker) had to become more involved with the management of the IDP processes.

Yates subsequently requested these managers to take charge of the implementation phase in view of the fact that the City IDP and the 11 local IDPs were divided amongst their respective planning functions. Although it made sense to some to expose these managers to the IDP implementation process and to allocate the responsibilities to 'where they belonged', it is doubtful whether these managers had the knowledge, capacity, experience or attitude that was needed to take charge of the implementation phase. There were also many other planners in the planning department, as

[201] Personal communication, Yates.

well as officials in other departments, who could be afforded the challenge to manage[202] the IDP process. Both Mouton and Walker argued that they had to deal with the IDP almost on a part-time basis in view of other work.

Mouton and his team were mostly concerned with structure planning, guideline planning and township establishment[203] and were not really supportive of the cumbersome IDP approach with its community problems. Walker, on the other hand, was more enthusiastic about the IDP, but expressed his concern about the backlog of applications that were his primary responsibility. This fatalistic attitude clearly highlights the planners' attachment to the old system and their comfort zones and their reluctance to adapt to the new planning systems. It further indicates how easy it is for people to 'support' a theory or ideology, and how difficult it is for some to implement that which they support. It was argued whether or not, the other 'old' work should have received such a high priority, or whether it should not have been subsidiary to the IDP and dealt with within the context of the IDP framework.

The abovementioned also emphasised the confusion of the role of the IDP and its relationship with the Land-use Management system. In the former City Council of Pretoria, a situation was created where the new processes were fitted to an old, almost inappropriate structure, instead of creating a new structure with appropriate people to manage the radically new processes. This confusion regarding the new responsibilities and accountability of the IDP largely contributed to the poor implementation of the IDPs.

As the implementation phase pro(re)gressed, another confusion began to take root, namely that of who, or which department, should have the overall responsibility and accountability for 'the IDP'. Various departmental heads, officials and planners in the City Council of Pretoria involved with the IDP process expressed their concern that the IDP, which was promoted as a corporate plan involving all departments, was mainly steered by one department, namely the planning department (and the planners). Some officials and politicians were concerned that the powers associated with the IDP were allocated to mainly one department (and one person). In the same token they were also concerned that the planners were gaining too much power. Some departments such as the treasury department were also concerned that they would loose some of their powers, e.g. the power to control the budget.

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[202] This manager must not be confused with the IDP manager. This manager refers to the IDP project or process manager who should be responsible for the coordination and management of the technical and functional aspects of the IDP.

[203] The concept of township establishment is commonly used in South Africa for the process that is applied to subdivide undeveloped farmland for the purpose of any new development in all parts of the city, and must not be confused with the development of new Black townships.

Some officials frequently and somewhat jokingly referred to 'Mike's IDP', or 'IDP Yates'. This placed a new emphasis on the role of the Municipal Manager with regard to the overall management of the IDP[204]. Unlike the old form of urban planning, which was mainly confined to scientific processes and development control, the new 'extended form' of urban planning is associated to a much greater extent with strategic planning, municipal affairs and municipal management, as discussed in Chapter 4 - hence the need for this function to be managed by the office of the Municipal Manager. As discussed previously, the IDP was a powerful tool and important "instrument of power" (Foucault), and a function which should be managed by the highest order of power in the local authority.

The implementation of the IDP was probably most affected by the lack of funds for IDP projects. For most Pretoria municipalities, it was a major challenge (and problem) to link the approved Citywide IDP with the budget (as required by the LGTA, 1996 and the Municipal Systems Act, 2000[205]) and to allocate funds for IDP projects. When the IDP was approved in March 1998, the 1998/1999 budget for the former City Council of Pretoria had already been finalised, without direct inputs from the IDPs[206]. The City Treasurer of this Council argued that the Pretoria IDPs had been completed at too late a stage to fully align the 1998/1999 budget with the IDPs, and that it was not possible to change/amend the Council's budget at such a late stage.

Initially the CEO, officials from the treasury department, including the City Treasurer, as well as some councillors involved with the budget process, expressed concerns about the IDP and the fact that it had to guide the budget. Apart from the fact that these officials (and some politicians) were largely associated with the old, rigid and autocratic way of budgeting, they probably also realised that the new budgeting system would make it difficult for them to manipulate and control the budget (from the top). This attitude of the City Treasurer (which was incidentally supported by the CEO) again highlighted the confusion regarding the role and status of the IDP and the impact of the new urban planning approach. It further highlights the effect of the emerging power relations in the local authority and the conflict associated with it.

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[204] The need to place the IDP with the highest level of authority was promoted/ prescribed by the Municipal Systems Act 2000 (Republic of South Africa 2000). In South Africa, according to Maria Coetzee of the CSIR, the UGU Plan presents a good example of the active and extensive involvement and support of the Municipal Manager in the IDP process (Interview with Maria Coetzee, CSIR 2002) (See also UGU District Municipality 2002). As discussed in Chapter 4, in many other countries, these types of strategic plans were placed with the highest level of authority within the local authorities.

[205] See Republic of South Africa (1996 and 2000).

[206] The 1998/1999 budget process had already started in the previous year (October 1998), way before the IDPs were finalised.

In an attempt to ensure at least some linkage between the IDP and the budget, Councillor Dereck Coetzee, the incumbent councillor for City Planning and Development at the time, raised this problem with the Strategic Financial Committee (SFC) of the City Council of Pretoria[207]. In April 1998 the SFC nominated a task team to investigate the possible integration of the 1998 IDP projects with the 1998/1999 budget. This task team, which was convened by Councillor Coetzee in the following month, submitted a report entitled *"The integration of IDP projects with the Council's existing budget"* to the Executive Committee of the Council[208].

The Executive Committee accepted the fact that the integration referred to above should be phased in over time, and that it was not realistic to expect the 1998/1999 budget to be totally amended. The Executive Committee approved a three-pronged approach, which consisted of a short to medium term strategy to develop the most appropriate budgeting process for the 1999/2000 budget; an immediate strategy to amend the existing budget with regard to capital projects, to include the IDP (capital projects); and an immediate strategy to deal with the newly identified IDP operational projects[209].

Following this resolution, a meeting or 'scrutiny workshop' was held with all the heads of departments concerned, under the leadership of the Chief Executive/Town Clerk of the City Council of Pretoria at that time, Henry Henslin, in May 1998, with the aim of scrutinising the budget to create additional savings on the budget; and of re-prioritising all capital projects so as to include at least some of the most important IDP capital projects.

In spite of these efforts, it was argued that more could have been done to get the budget to focus more on the IDPs and that the CEO and the City Treasurer should have played a more integral and important role from the inception of the IDP process[210]. Although it looked, as though the CEO and the City Treasurer had (somewhat reluctantly) bought into the IDP, this was probably not the case, as is evident by some of the follow-up actions related to the budget process.

After the City Treasurer had revisited the budget and programme for capital projects in January 1999, it was realised that a number of capital projects could not be implemented and that an

[207] The Strategic Financial Committee (SFC) was a committee comprising members of the Executive Committee, councillors and the City Treasurer, tasked to oversee and monitor the overall budget.
[208] See City Council of Pretoria (1998).
[209] See City Council of Pretoria (1998).
[210] In the City Council of Pretoria's official newsletter *Muniforum,* May/June 1998, the CEO, amongst other things, reported that the City Council's budget had focused on the IDP and the needs of the communities.

amount of R42 million could be made available for new small-scale capital projects[211]. According to the 'IDP philosophy' (approved by the Council in 1997), the process would have been to allocate such funds to IDP projects according to community needs and priorities. The City Treasurer, however, submitted a report to the Executive Committee of the City Council of Pretoria in January 1999, requesting the Council to allocate these funds mostly to the engineering departments. This report, which resulted from discussions between the City Treasurer's department and the respective Council departments, was never discussed with any of the officials involved with the IDP. These actions indicated the lack of communication in the Council and the lack of understanding of the IDP that existed in some key Council departments.

When the item was tabled to the Executive Committee, Johnny Coetzee, who was then still partly involved with the IDP processes, addressed the Executive Committee and expressed his concern about the non-integrated way this budget process, or allocation of funds for small-scale projects, was being dealt with and how the principles of the IDP were being ignored in the process. Coetzee also proposed that these funds should have been allocated to the priority projects contained in the IDPs. After some discussion on this issue, the Executive Committee resolved that a prioritisation exercise[212] be done to prioritise small-scale capital projects, including the new IDP projects. This prioritisation process involved representatives from the various Council departments, two to three representatives from each of the PZFs (to 'represent' the community) and some concerned councillors. As a result of this process, substantial funds were allocated to the various planning zones for IDP capital projects.

As could be expected, the engineering department of the City Council criticised this process. They argued that funds were allocated to a community wish list of projects, while 'important and strategic' engineering or infrastructure projects could not be implemented[213]. This further contributed to divorcing the planners (and the IDP) from the other departments as it was argued that the planners were trying to manage the city and control the budget through the IDP - yet another example of the complex power relations and the clash of powers in the council. This further shows how people react to protect and maintain their powers and how they aspire for more power. Some engineers continued to criticise the IDP and the emphasis that was placed on the integration of projects and efforts within the Council - something they believed would hamper the development of infrastructure.

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[211] Although R42 million represents a small portion of the Council's total budget, this amount could have been allocated to a large number of small IDP projects.

[212] This prioritisation process was very similar to the process that was developed and applied for the Pretoria Inner City Partnership in 1997.

[213] It is ironic to note that a senior official in the engineering department had argued that they had to continue with certain infrastructure projects, mainly to provide work to construction workers in the Council.

However, in spite of many shortcomings in the Pretoria IDP budget processes, the City Council of Pretoria had made great strides in promoting the important relationship between urban planning and management and more specifically, planning and budgeting, since 1998. These efforts promoted a new focus on community needs and priorities and the involvement of communities in the budget, prioritisation and decision-making processes[214]. This new participatory budget process, and the principle of linking the budget to a plan, was a major shift from the old, rigid, autocratic and non-transparent way of budgeting that was perpetuated by a few managers only.

Just as the implementation phase was hampered by a lack of funds and the poor linkage between the budget and the IDP, so the implementation of the IDP (specifically in the City Council of Pretoria) was also affected by the limitations of this Council's hierarchical organisational structure[215] with its strong sectoral focus (silos) (see Perception Survey, 1999). This hierarchical organisational structure that resulted from a corporate/top management transformation process, was not aligned with the overall vision and strategy for the city as contained in the IDP. It mainly focused on the typical service delivery functions found in most local authorities, for example, the provision of health services. Strong emphasis was placed on the selective focus and outputs of these clearly defined functions/goals/silos, and not the integrated outcome as envisaged by the IDP. The fragmented structures and processes were not able to effectively harness the diverse components of the integrated and holistic form of planning.

Although the City Council established inter-departmental teams and integration and coordination mechanisms to ensure integration, these mechanisms were never really fully functional, mainly as a result of poor management and leadership and the possible negative attitude against the IDP, which existed at the time. This in many ways highlighted the impact that the transformation of urban planning had on local authorities and more specifically the power structures and power

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[214] Various mechanisms were developed to obtain community inputs during budget preparation and consideration (Brynard 1996:44; Awerbuch and Wallace 1976:1; Ward 1996: 56; McClendon and Quay 1972: 129 - 131; North Shore City Council 1996; Gans in Rondinelli 1983: 376; Abers 1998: 40). In a research report that was recently compiled on Midrand/Ivory Park (South Africa), it was stated, among other things, that one of the reasons for the increase in the payment of services, relates to the fact that the residents of Ivory Park were involved in determining service priorities through the municipal budget (Humphries and Thulare 1999: 6 - 7 and 31).

[215] In many local authorities the traditional hierarchical organisational structures with their '*separateness of departments*' resulted in a fragmentation of local authority services and had severe shortcomings in the areas of communication, collaboration, coordination and effective control over activities and internal integration (Selman 1996: 89; Agranoff 1983: 329; APS Plan Africa 1999: 3 and 12; Abbott 1996: 52; Wissink 1996:151; Mellors and Copperthwaite 1987: 176 - 181; Steward and Hams, undated: 26; Oranje, Oosthuizen and Van Huyssteen 1999: 28; McAuslan 1992: 100; Gilbert *et al* 1996: 28-29); McClendon and Quay, 1972: 24; So *et al* (edt.), 1979: 74-75; and Vigar *et al* 2000: 257 and 271). This emphasised the need for *system understanding* and the *holistic mode of thinking* (Steward and Hams, undated: 26*),* and a new form of urban management that could entail a number of inter-related functional units (Abbott 1996: 52; Mellors and Copperthwaite 1987: 177 - 181; Mc Auslan 1992: 98; Vigar *et al* 2000: 271).

relations in the local authority. It further emphasises the need to integrate urban planning with management (as discussed in Chapter 4) and the need to continuously adapt structures to new and changing strategies and new power structures. In the City Council of Pretoria, a major problem occurred when the managers and planners tried to introduce a new urban planning system in the local authority without making the necessary changes to the organisational structures and processes. The inappropriate organisational structures and processes made it difficult to implement the IDP successfully and to develop and manage the city in an integrated manner. The silo structures also supported the isolated and centered forms of powers in the power web and made a more even distribution of power difficult.

As discussed in previous sections, the communities and the IDP forums were actively involved in the formulation and compilation of the IDPs. Unfortunately (as a result of the lack of Council support, funding and poor communication), among other things, the involvement of the communities began to dwindle during the implementation phase. Although much effort was made to establish the PZFs in order to involve communities in the formulation and implementation of IDPs, the Council did not make enough effort to support these forums (logistically and financially) and to ensure their continued involvement (see Perception Survey, 1999). The forums became uncertain and frustrated about their roles and involvement (or lack thereof) in the implementation phase[216]. Notwithstanding the fact that most members of the former PZFs, community members, planners and even politicians agreed that the PZFs were a very good mechanism for community participation and a good mechanism aimed at promoting coordination between the local authority and the community (Perception Survey, 1999; Interview Survey, 2002), all these forums were terminated after the inauguration of the new City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM) in December 2000. In many cases, the communities and the forums unfortunately could not succeed in gaining and maintaining the community power as described in Chapter 2. This also presents a good example of how political power or the dominatory power of Machiavelli's Prince influenced and overshadowed rationality and the force of the better argument (and also community power). This could also be ascribed to the fact that the communities did not fully understand and realise their potential powers (as a group or alliance). They further also did not have the experience and support that was needed to effectively communicate (in terms of Habermas' communicative action) and to negotiate and defend their rational goals and actions.

The CTMM seized the opportunity to suspend any further financial support to these forums. The

[216] As discussed previously, the PICP (1997-1999), through its forum, structured community-based working groups and strong communication strategy, largely succeeded in promoting the involvement of communities in the implementation phase.

reason for this was that the emerging local authority dispensation provided for a different type of mechanism, namely that of Ward Committees that would be managed by elected Ward Councillors. Although the Ward Committees provide a useful mechanism to facilitate citizens' or taxpayers' inputs, or to communicate with a particular electorate, these committees did not focus on the broader spectrum of stakeholders, as had been the case with the IDP forums.

As could be expected, this closure of the PZFs was a major discouragement and frustration to the planning teams and the PZFs. It also impacted negatively on the relationship between the communities and the local authority. This closure of the PZFs largely broke the momentum that had built up in the transformation of urban planning and the development of democratic planning in the former City of Pretoria. Planners and politicians often asked why the CTMM so promptly terminated a well-established community participation mechanism that had been developed through extensive consultation - without any consultation with the affected parties.

Some interviewees argued that the PZFs, in view of their local support base and involvement with the communities, were actually becoming a threat to the political structure. Although the above prompt political decisions by the CTMM supports Flyvbjerg's theory in the sense that 'power defines rationality', it also supports the contrary, namely that 'rational' planning actions (referring to the PZFs) can become so powerful that they threaten the 'power' of the politicians. Some interviewees argued that the new CTMM did not want to support and continue with initiatives such as the PZFs that had been initiated and developed by the former regime.

By the end of 1998, after all the efforts to establish the IDP as part of the urban planning system (and the local authority), it seemed as if the IDP 'was taking a nose dive'. The momentum that had been built up during the early/mid-1990s with regard to the transformation of the urban planning system was now being curbed by the poor IDP performance.

As the planners grappled to implement the IDP and all its components, the sceptical planners in the Council criticised the IDP approach for all that was going wrong - the typical 'I told you so' attitude. These planners argued that the poor IDP implementation 'proved' that the new approach was too idealistic and complex to be implemented throughout the Greater Pretoria region. A question often asked by some officials, relates to, why the initiators and promoters of the IDP, such as Yates, Beneke and Coetzee could not have "saved" the community forums. This could probably be ascribed to the fact that these planners had realised that they did not have the power to challenge the infra powers of the politicians. Perhaps, some combined effort, or social alliance (as discussed in Chapter 2), between all the relevant stakeholders and communities, could have

created sufficient social power to challenge “the Prince”.

As discussed earlier, there was little understanding, recognition and support (amongst councillors, managers and officials in the City Council of Pretoria) for the IDP process and the new form of urban planning and management (Perception Survey, 1999). Although many planners accepted the new way of urban planning, many senior management officials and politicians, who were supposed to take the lead, did not want to accept the new approach. Some managers and councillors criticised everything and anything that was associated with the IDP.

For these people the IDP was seen as a process flawed with problems. The former “guideline planners” regularly emphasised the need to re-instate the old structure plan approach. These planners bluntly argued that the IDP did not have the capacity to guide planning and development in the city, and to effectively manage land uses (Perception Survey, 1999). Although the urban planning system (as a whole) had gone through a significant transformation, it was doubted whether all council officials really accepted the new planning ideology. The overall attitude and perceptions of the Council officials also proved how difficult it was to change ‘old ways’ and old power structures that had developed over a long period of time.

### 5.14 “QUITE FRANKLY, MIKE, WE’VE HAD ENOUGH!”

***More legislation and government directions on city planning and local government: 1998 to 2001***

In spite of the resistance to the IDP and the problems of the implementation phase, some planning teams and planning forums continued to try and salvage the IDPs, looking for funds to support their most important IDP projects. The communities, filled with expectations and high hopes, tried to play a role in a democratic process that was struggling to sustain itself. The planners were ‘saturated’ with all the ‘new’ urban planning approaches and requirements. Some of them tried hard to change and to adapt to the new systems.

The local authority managers were also confused about the new organisational processes that were disrupting their functioning and that did not really result in any improvements. Some officials were still battling to get over the trauma of the Munitoria fire. Councillors were somewhat confused about their role in the system and concerned about the non-performance. The old fears about the transformation emerged again as planners raised their concerns about the transformation and the new urban planning system that could have an impact on their positions and comfort zones.

While the councillors, managers, planners and officials were trying to adapt to all the new approaches, and while the respective Pretoria local authorities were trying to restructure the organisation, a number of new national legislations[217] and government directions on urban planning, environmental planning and local government were being introduced. The most important of these are The White Paper on Local Government (1998), The Local Government Municipal Structures Act (1998), The Green Paper on Development and Planning (1999), The Gauteng Development Planning Bill (1999), The Local Government: Municipal Systems Act or MSA (2000), the Draft Land Use Management Bill (2001) and the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001)[218].

As discussed in Chapter 4, these Acts promoted a new integrated urban planning system that would have a major impact on the local authority-planning environment and the power structures in the local authority. They firmly established the new principles of post-apartheid urban planning. The Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) commissioned a number of reports and position papers on aspects related to Integrated Development Planning such as the *Policy Paper on Integrated Development Planning* compiled by Oranje *et al* (2000).

Following the publication of the White Paper (1998), numerous conversations and debates were held in the City Council of Pretoria and specifically in the planning department to unpack the White Paper and more specifically the *new developmental role* of local government[219] and the concept of the unicity[220]. The unicity arrangement specifically aims to promote spatial integration, develop the neglected areas and redistribute resources so that all areas in the city can enjoy equal benefits. Many planners argued that the unicity would be too large to be managed effectively. Reference was made to the diversity within the unicity area and the challenge to effectively manage the

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[217] A number of provincial governments have also produced legislation that provides for variant forms of IDPs, such as the KwaZulu-Natal Planning and Development Act (1998), the Western Cape Planning and Development Act (1999), The Northern Cape Planning and Development Act (1999) and the Gauteng Development Planning Bill (1999) (Oranje *et al* 2000).

[218] Other legislation that had an impact on urban planning were The White Paper on an Environmental Management Policy for South Africa (1998), the National Environmental Management Act (1998) the Disaster Management Bill (1999), the Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act (2000), the Local Government: Property Rates Bill (2000), the Local Government: Cross-boundary Municipalities Bill (2000), The White Paper and a Green Paper on Municipal Service Partnerships (2000), later enacted in 2000, and the White Paper on Integrated Pollution and Waste Management (2000).

[219] In March 1998, Mike Yates, in conjunction with some planners in the planning department, drafted a discussion memorandum entitled *Issues related to the implementation of the Integrated Development Plan for Pretoria,* which aimed to interpret the concept of developmental local government. This memorandum identified, amongst other things, the need for an implementation mechanism for the Council to fulfil its developmental role within the context of the IDP. See City Council of Pretoria (1998)

[220] In this context, reference is made to the concept of the unicity, which implies a focus on the unity of different local authorities, the unity of communities and the integration of services and resources *vis a vis* the mega city concept, which implies a focus on one big/mega local authority. Although the White Paper (1998) initially promoted the idea of the unicity or the '*single city arrangement*', this concept only began to gain momentum after the promulgation of the Local Government Municipal Structures Act, Act 117 of 1998, and the Local Government Demarcation Act, Act 27 of 1999.

diversity in such a large area.

Those planners, councillors and managers, who mainly associated themselves with the 'old school of urban planning and management', specifically raised the concern that the wealthier areas within the unicity would have to subsidise the poorer, neglected areas; whilst others argued that the management and maintenance of the wealthier areas could be neglected or threatened by the new distribution of resources and services throughout the unicity area.

For the 'transformed' or 'transforming' councillors, planners and officials, this new focus on the equal distribution of resources and services, the cross-subsidisation of services and the focus on the neglected and previously disadvantaged areas, was seen as an imperative and a new opportunity for the City. Those officials involved with the unicity concept often argued that the success of the concept largely depended on the type of management model, for example, whether or not the model provided for decentralised regional councils with limited or delegated decision-making powers that could manage the more local affairs of the local authority.

The White Paper on Local Government, with its emphasis on developmental local government and the unicity, largely presented a shift of emphasis from the rigid, fragmented, autocratic, control-oriented form of local government, to a more integrated, equitable, democratic and developmental form. The unicity concept not only had an impact on the municipalities of the Greater Pretoria Region, it also had an impact on the Pretoria IDP system, which had developed during the mid-1990s. The unicity implied, amongst other things, that one new IDP had to be formulated, or that the existing IDPs (Metropolitan IDP and three Citywide IDPs), and particularly the IDP projects would have to be integrated and consolidated into one unicity IDP.

In June 1998 the GPMC activated the original Technical Coordinating Committee (TCC) to look, firstly, at the revision of the IDP process in general and, secondly, to look at a new type of unicity IDP. The TCC decided to continue with the implementation of the approved Metropolitan IDP and the three Citywide IDPs (and all the Planning Zone IDPs) for the 1998/1999 financial year, until such time as more clarification was reached on the unicity and the new boundaries (GPMC, 1998; GPMC, 1999).

While the Pretoria local authorities were trying to unpack the new developmental role and impact of the unicity, a Green Paper on Development and Planning was published in May 1999[221]. This Green Paper not only addressed some of the major problems of integrated development planning,

[221] See Republic of South Africa (1999).

but also emphasised the need for appropriate spatial planning, specifically within the context of the IDP[222]. This elevated focus on spatial planning (and its relationship with Land-use Management) was well accepted by the planning department and resulted in lengthy discussions on how to make land use management and spatial planning part of the IDP. These spatial planning principles became an important and integral part of the 'new' IDP approach in the Greater Pretoria region.

The Green Paper also (re)positioned and endorsed spatial planning as an important part of urban planning and management and emphasised spatial planning (which was once seen as an apartheid planning tool) as an important mechanism in the spatial reconstruction of urban areas. It not only brought spatial planning back into the planning arena, but also transformed its contents and aims. It shifted the emphasis from the rigid, technical type of spatial planning (that had been so widely criticised before the 1990s), to a much broader, social, developmental and strategic type of spatial planning. Whereas mention had previously been made of the de-spatialisation of planning during the mid-1980s, planners referred to the 'flickering up' or the re-spatialisation of spatial planning (Perception Survey, 1999; Interview Survey, 2002). Although some planners, mainly the supporters of the structure plan approach, saw (or wanted to see) this new emphasis as a return to the structure plan approach, the majority of planners who were actively involved with the transformation of urban planning, realised that this was a step forward in the direction of a new, broader, transformed urban planning system.

As the new legislation and policies on urban planning developed during 1999/2001, the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG), which was responsible for the IDP, played a major role in promoting and developing the principles of IDP in South Africa. This Department launched a comprehensive, nationwide training programme for city managers, planners, technical professions and councillors[223]. It also developed a comprehensive IDP manual (commonly referred to as the IDP guide packs) and a number of policy papers and newsletters in an attempt to promote the principles of IDP[224].

Although these IDP guide packs largely contributed to the implementation of IDPs in many parts of the country, they were widely criticised by planners for being too rigid, complicated and

[222] The need for spatial planning, specifically within the context of the IDP, was also emphasised by the National Environmental Management Act (NEMA) (1998), the Draft Land Use Management Bill (2001) and the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001).

[223] See Department of Provincial and Local Government (2000 and 2001) and Oranje *et al* (2000).

[224] The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) largely supported the DPLG initiatives. The DPLG was also assisted by the Decentralised Development Planning Task Team (DDPTT) and mostly funded by the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ).

comprehensive. Many municipalities found them to be too detailed and technocratic[225]. The 'over-methodologised', rigorous and sophisticated nature of the IDP made it difficult for the smaller municipalities to implement it[226]. Even the larger metropolitans, such as the City of Tshwane, had problems applying the IDP methodology effectively, as is evident from the critique of the Tshwane IDPs that were compiled after 2000[227].

Although the recent guidelines and efforts largely contributed to the successful formulation and implementation of IDPs in various parts of the country, these guidelines alone were not sufficient to guide the entire spectrum of IDP activities and did not provide sufficient information and knowledge on the broader meaning of integrated development planning.

### 5.15 "MAKING THE SHIP TURN"

***The 'strategic thrust approach' developed by the former City Council of Pretoria's IDP task team (1999).***

During the period 1999 to 2000, planners, managers and politicians realised that the IDPs were not being implemented successfully. It became obvious that new and additional mechanisms, structures and processes were needed to effectively facilitate and manage the ongoing implementation and monitoring of the IDP. Those planners involved with the IDP realised that the format, contents and methodology of the IDP (the plan and the process) had to be revisited. Planners were also confused about the status of the IDP and its relationship with the local authority[228]. These topics or issues became the points of discussion at many meetings and workshops within the Pretoria local authorities during the late 1990s.

Mike Yates, Executive Director of the City Planning and Development Department of the City Council of Pretoria at that time, continued to make submissions to top management, Council departments and the councillors of the City Council of Pretoria concerned, in an attempt to promote *the IDP* as a strategic urban planning document, as well as the broader notion of integrated development planning. It is ironic to note that such information sessions were still necessary, almost three years after the introduction of the concept. This confirms the lack of

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[225] See Harrison (2001:189 and 2002:7).
[226] See Harrison (2002:14).
[227] See later critique on the Tshwane IDPs.
[228] In the beginning of 1999, the GPMC appointed Advocate FH Terblanche to draft a legal opinion on *The implications of the Local Government Transition Act Second Amendment Act No 97 of 1996, specifically on the relationship between the GPMC and the Metropolitan Councils*. Based on this opinion, a joint report of the Chief Executive/Town Clerk of the GPMC and the three MLCs was submitted to the Executive Committee of the GPMC on 22 April 1999. Unfortunately, this report, which included the advocate's opinion, did not provide sufficient clarity on the role and status of the IDP within the local authority, the roles and responsibilities of the CEOs, managers and officials, the implication of the IDP on the budget process or the integration of functions between the GPMC and the MLCs.

understanding and buy-in that existed in the municipalities of the Greater Pretoria region.

As the IDP became more of a reality (in terms of the emerging legislation and policies), the acting CEO of the City Council of Pretoria, Johan Oosthuizen 'accepted' the IDP responsibility. In July 1999, he formally requested Yates to manage the IDP on his behalf. It is not certain whether Oosthuizen had bought into the process and realised the strategic importance and power of the IDP, or whether he just had to serve his responsibility. Departmental heads and officials also increasingly 'supported' the IDP. Again, it is not certain whether they supported it because they had to, or whether they really supported the principle. It was probably a little bit of both.

Although the IDP construct was increasingly gaining support as a strategic/corporate tool in the City of Pretoria, it had difficulty shaking off its 'planning/Mike Yates' image. Instead of locating the IDP function within the CEOs office, or close to this office[229], the IDP function (although supported by a different higher mandate) remained with the planning department (and with Yates). This resulted in a situation where the power of the IDP and the Municipal Manager was devolved to a lower position and a position within the planning department - again creating a clash of powers and conflict between certain departments. This concentration of powers in the lower ranks of the organisation, and the planning department with its sectoral focus and town planning bias made it difficult to effectively exercise "the power" of the IDP. This ultimately hampered the implementation of the IDP.

In October 1999, Yates established an IDP task team[230] to assist him with the overall management of the IDP and the further development and refinement of the IDP principles. Yates argued that the members of this task team had to be 'strategic thinkers' with sufficient knowledge and experience of the IDP and the emerging urban planning principles. The members of the IDP task team became extensively involved with the development, refinement and promotion of the IDP. The team and other officials involved with the IDP had numerous discussion sessions and workshops to analyse the problems and lessons learnt from the IDP experience and the emerging planning principles.

The team investigated, among other things, ways to make the IDP simpler and more focused. As a result of the ongoing critique regarding the strategic focus of the first round of IDPs, the team

[229] In 2000, this principle of locating the IDP within the office of the Municipal Manager or CEO was also prompted by Municipal Systems Act (2000).

[230] At the end of 1999 this team initially consisted of the IDP Manager, Mike Yates; Johnny Coetzee; Jaksa Barbir (Chief Urban Designer of the City Council, who had been extensively involved, specifically with the spatial planning component of the IDP); Annemarie Borsje (Chief Planner for Planning Zone 9); and Manus Basson (senior town planner in the planning department with a masters' degree in Economics, who was involved with economic development planning).

specifically investigated mechanisms to make it more strategic. Having realised that the IDP approach resulted in a lack of focus on spatial planning, the team attempted to develop a suitable spatial planning system within the context of the IDP. In addition to the above, the task team made various efforts to structure appropriate mechanisms that could ensure the effective implementation of the IDP.

After lengthy discussions, the task team ultimately developed a new format and process for the IDP. It is ironic to note that this team developed the new IDP format without liaising with the Department of Development Planning and Local Government, who at the time was extensively involved with the development of a new IDP format. Unlike the previous IDPs, which were made up of a number of components, the new proposed IDP format comprised four distinct frameworks: the Status Quo Framework, a Strategic Framework, a Development Framework and an Implementation Framework.

The Status Quo Framework aimed at providing a summary and description of all the relevant basic information regarding the particular planning area, similar to the environmental profile as proposed by EMPRET in 1995 and 1996[231].

The Strategic Framework specifically aimed to increase the strategic level of the IDP through a more focused strategic thrust[232] approach. The strategic thrusts that had to support the vision, aimed to guide the overall planning, growth and management of the particular area. These thrusts, which form the main framework for the IDP, were defined or described by the task team as those absolutely necessary/critical/strategic forces/thrusts that were needed to direct the city towards the desired state, or those very few strategic issues that had to be addressed to *"make the ship turn"*. These thrusts relate to the highest order strategic directions in which the city should be developed or the highest order strategic issues that the local authority should address. The strategic thrusts had to provide the basis for the formulation of more specific strategic guidelines in support of the thrusts. As will be discussed in a later section, the aspect of the strategic focus and the need for such a strategic framework with limited strategic contents became a burning issue in the newly established City of Tshwane. The Strategic Framework, as well as its components, as discussed above, was intended to form the basis for strategy formulation and for the Development Framework component of the IDP.

The Development Framework provided for a wider range of more specific development strategies,

[231] See City Council of Pretoria (1996).

[232] The term 'thrust' is intended to emphasise the energy or force that is needed to actually create the motion or movement in the desired direction.

policies and standards, as well as a spatial framework. These components mainly aimed to facilitate and guide the development of the area as defined by the strategic framework. The development framework included a spatial planning system, based on a clearly defined hierarchy of spatial plans, from the highest order strategic metropolitan spatial plan to the lowest level of local spatial plans. Emphasis was placed on the strategic focus of the higher order plan, while it was agreed that the lower tier spatial plans had to include sufficient information so that it could be directly linked to the land use management system - much in line with the proposals made by the Green Paper on Development and Planning (1999).

The IDP format proposed by the IDP task team included a structured, comprehensive Integrated Implementation Framework that could manage and monitor all aspects of the IDP implementation phase. The lack of such a framework was often raised by role players in the IDP processes as one of the reasons for the poor implementation of the IDPs. This framework briefly consisted of two main components: a Project Implementation Programme (PIP) and a Management Framework. The PIP largely focused on the structuring and implementation of IDP projects and programmes (project prioritisation, funding, programming, etc). The Management Framework on the other hand focused on the overall management and monitoring of the IDP - as an overarching strategic 'city plan' (linking the plan with the budget, the human resource plan, budgeting, performance management, etc). This framework emphasised the need for a monitoring mechanism to monitor and measure the performance of the IDP, the organisation and the city and their respective components.

The IDP task team ultimately made great strides in developing a new, more flexible format for *the IDP* that could also address the broader aspects of urban planning such as spatial planning and land use management - aspects that had been largely neglected during the first round of IDPs. The task team also promoted and emphasised the broader notion of *Integrated Development Planning* as an integral part of the overall urban planning and local authority management system in the City Council of Pretoria.

Although the proposed format could also be criticised for its structured nature, it clearly presented a shift from *the IDP* (plan/process) with its cumbersome nature, towards a more open, flexible, strategic urban planning system. At a time when many people started losing interest and faith in the IDP, the IDP task team provided some clarity and stability by proposing a new, more appropriate system. The members of the task team argued (and hoped) that this IDP system would form the basis and point of departure for the IDP process to be followed by the new amalgamated local authority.

In an attempt to promote and implement the new IDP format, the IDP task team compiled a new Strategic Framework (as discussed above) for the City Council of Pretoria's area of jurisdiction[233]. This was very much a pro-active step on the part of Yates to produce a framework that could inform and influence the new unicity IDP process that was scheduled to start in July 2000.

Following the finalisation of this strategic framework (at the beginning of 2000), the members of the IDP task team, specifically Yates and Jaksa Barbir, made various presentations to the Council departments, Council committees, the councillors, officials and top management of the City Council of Pretoria concerned, and later to representatives of the GPMC and the other MLCs. These presentations aimed, firstly, to promote the new 'strategic thrust' approach and new format of the IDP; and, secondly, to promote the contents of the proposed Strategic Framework for the (transforming) City of Pretoria, as a basis on which the new unicity IDP could be built.

It was somewhat strange that Yates and his task team developed a framework for the metropolitan area without involving the planners from the GPMC (the metropolitan municipality), and specifically those planners in charge of the IDP and metropolitan planning. This is just another indication of the poor relationship that existed between the metropolitan and the former City Council of Pretoria, or perhaps it was because the IDP task team (and Yates) did not want to share their new ideas with other people. This could also be seen as a strategy to maintain and protect the existing professional powers and the powers of the Municipal Manager, or a strategy to aspire new and more powers, specifically in view of the fact that the transformation process, which was then well under way, had started to threaten the existing power structures.

It was only in January 2000, when the IDP became a joint effort between the GPMC and the various MLCs, that the task team's new IDP format was exposed to the officials of these local authorities. Amond Beneke, who at the time was responsible for the Metropolitan IDP, was somewhat reluctant to accept the IDP format that was developed and proposed by the former City Council of Pretoria, probably because it had not solely been developed by the GPMC (or by himself). After some discussions, Beneke eventually supported the approach, probably after he noticed that many of his GPMC colleagues (such as Nikki Ludick and Marius Nadel) and senior officials of the other MLCs (such as Verna Nel) supported it. Despite his 'approval', Beneke constantly introduced new additions and amendments (mostly terminological).

[233] Although this Strategic Framework was mainly based on the 1998 Metropolitan IDP, and Pretoria City–wide IDP, it took into account the contents of the other IDPs and related documents.

This, according to some members, was mainly done to give the approach a new image and to make it look like a GPMC construct. Beneke was not the type of person who would share leadership and power with anyone else. It would have been difficult for him to implement a plan that had been developed by the former City Council of Pretoria, which he considered to be subsidiary to the GPMC. Apart from these efforts to develop a new IDP format, this format was never implemented for a number of reasons, as will be discussed in paragraphs to follow.

While the GPMC and the various local authorities were structuring and debating a new, more appropriate IDP system, they also realised that a consolidated IDP for the to-be-established unicity had to be compiled for the 2000/2001 financial year. In the beginning of 2000, a combined GPMC working group, under the leadership of Beneke, was established to 'compile' the new IDP. At this point it was argued that the existing IDP information was still fresh and relevant and that it was not necessary to repeat all the surveys and processes that had been done for the previous IDPs.

There was also not sufficient time to start a new IDP process or to develop a new IDP according to the format that had been developed by the IDP task team. In this regard it was decided to merely compile the previous IDPs (Metropolitan IDP and three Citywide IDPs) and present this compilation as an interim IDP. The new Interim IDP (IIDP) did, however, include some of the task team's proposals, such as the strategic thrusts. The new consolidated IIDP was firstly submitted and accepted by the interim joint transformation committees, KHORO and CECOM[234], and later, on 5 April 2000, approved by the former GPMC[235].

The Pretoria local authorities saw the IIDP as an interim measure to guide the budget (and the transformation process) until such time as a proper IDP could be compiled for the amalgamated Tshwane area[236]. As a result of this compilation, the IIDP reflected many of the problems that were associated with the old IDPs. It became obvious that the IDP, being in the hands of the "powerless" planners and the "not so important" planning department, did not have the power (as envisaged by the LGTA 1996), to guide organisational processes such as the budget process and the transformation.

In this sense the IIDP could not really be seen as a step forward, apart from the fact that it presented a consolidated development framework for the whole metropolitan area. One of the

[234] KHORO was a joint political transformation body established on 25 October 1999, to activate and guide the development and implementation of the transformation up to the election process. This committee was also responsible for coordinating the IDP processes (function approved on 3 December 1999). CECOM consisted of the various CEOs of the GPMC and the three MLCs and was established to advise KHORO on matters pertaining to the transformation, as well as the coordination of the preparation of the new IDP (GPMC, KHORO 1999)

[235] See GPMC (2000).

[236] See also City Council of Pretoria (2000); and City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (2001).

most positive outcomes of the merger between the GPMC and the MLCs was that the planners, officials, managers and politicians from the different previous MLCs started working together to address the problems and challenges of the metropolitan area as a whole.

## 5.16 THE REBIRTH OF TSHWANE[237]

***The establishment of the new City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality: 6 December 2000***

The amalgamated City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM) was officially established on 6 December 2000. Those planners and politicians who were actively involved and supportive of the transformation of the urban planning system expected that this new local government system would provide a new impetus to the transformation of urban planning in the newly established City of Tshwane. Unfortunately, the new CTMM did not provide the impetus and support that many planners and politicians were hoping for.

At the beginning of 2001, soon after the establishment of the CTMM, Father Mkhatshwa, the new Executive Mayor, held the first strategic planning session with his Mayoral Committee to discuss, among other things, the future direction of the city and the CTMM. At this workshop, the Strategic Framework component of the IIDP - which contained, among other things, the various strategic thrusts (later referred to as strategic focus areas), as developed by the joint IDP Working Group (2000) and approved by the former Councils in 2000 - was presented as a basis for discussion and accepted 'in principle' after some amendments had been made.

The whole IIDP document, which was prepared by the IDP Working group, was (surprisingly) also later accepted and approved in principle by the new Tshwane Council as the IDP for the 2001/2002 budget[238]. Although the new Tshwane Council would most probably prefer to have had an entirely new IDP or strategy, the IIDP, with all its shortcomings, at least provided a basis and some direction for the new Council members and officials.

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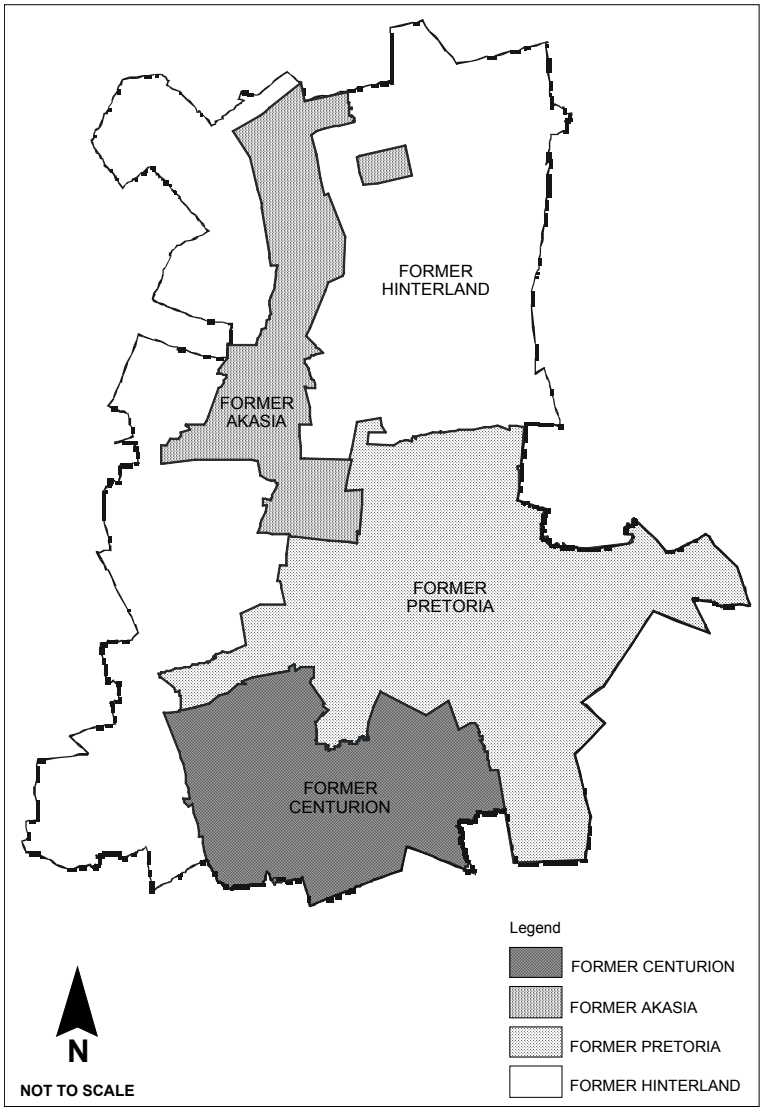
[237] In the beginning of 2001, official reference was made to the amalgamated city as the City of Tshwane. Many Pretorians and Council officials were confused about whether the new name Tshwane referred to the name of the Municipality or whether this name was also intended to replace the name Pretoria. For the purpose of this study, reference is made to the City of Tshwane and the Tshwane metropolitan area.

[238] See City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (2001(a)).

FIGURE 12: NEW TSHWANE UNICITY AREA (2000/2001)



Following the approval of the IIDP, the acting CEO and acting Chief Financial Officer[239] initiated a dedicated process to prioritise capital projects contained in the IIDP and to link the 2001/2002 capital budget of ± R120 million to the most important IDP projects. Although this prioritisation process was somewhat indicative of the new Council's commitment to the IDP and the planning-budgeting link, it was done almost as an afterthought and undertaken under tremendous pressure and at a very late stage in the budget cycle[240]. Although it can easily be argued that the new Council did not follow the 'right' IDP procedures, or that it did not respect the IDP, it should, however, be understood that the Tshwane local authority system was in a period of flux and turmoil as a result of the complex local government transition.

The transformation of urban planning in the City of Tshwane gained new momentum after the establishment of the Interim Economic Development Division, which was established in January 2001. This Division was, amongst other things, responsible for functions such as transport planning, urban planning and economic development. During the period January to June 2001, the entire time span of this interim function, it was coordinated and managed by Nomgqibelo Mdlalose[241].

Although this new function was established without any consultation or involvement of the previous managers and officials concerned, it was a step forward for integrated development planning, specifically in view of the fact that the urban planning, economic development and transport planning functions were grouped in the same division. Unfortunately the typical environmental planning and management functions were not allocated within this division or close to the urban planning functions. Many planners in the Council, specifically some of the planners in former management positions who aspired to this position, argued that Mdlalose did not have the appropriate qualifications or experience for this position and that this was merely an 'affirmative action' appointment. Soon after her appointment, Mdlalose redeployed Pieter Vosloo, a former colleague, to assist her with the operational side of the function and the transformation of the function.

Although Mdlalose had an interest in urban planning, she realised her shortcomings and lack of technical knowledge on urban planning and consulted the Town and Regional Planning

[239] In early 2001, most of the top management positions of the interim structure of the CTMM were held by interim or acting managers.

[240] One of the senior planners who worked in the inner city office, Albrecht Heroldt, in view of his former experience with the prioritisation of the inner city projects (1997), was given the IIDP and asked to make a proposal on how the funds should be allocated to these projects – almost as an urgent project that had to be completed.

[241] Mdlalose, who had a qualification in economic development, was a senior official in the former GPMC's Economic Development Division.

Department of the University of Pretoria to advise her on certain planning matters. This Department, mainly based on its masters' programme, presented a very brief planning course to Mdlalose, aimed at assisting her with the city planning function component, which was then one of her main responsibilities. Mdlalose, in spite of the growing critique of the function and of her, soon began to take on the new challenge with the utmost confidence.

Whilst Mdlalose was establishing and organising the new division, including the planning component of the function, Yates and Beneke, the respective heads of the former planning departments of the City Council of Pretoria and the GPMC respectively, began a process aimed at transforming the planning department within the framework of the new (transforming) corporate structure[242]. Although they indicated that they had involved and invited Mdlalose and other officials and councillors concerned to attend some of the meetings on the transformation process, the process was criticised for being done in isolation. Belinda van der Merwe, a senior town planner of the former GPMC, who then worked for Beneke, specifically stated that Beneke and some other officials were trying to dominate the transformation process and the divisional manager as they were trying to take over the planning function. The leading members of the transformation process and the task teams denied this allegation. These events in many ways highlights how different actors compete (fight) with each other in order to protect their powers and to obtain more power - very similar to the strategies proposed by Machiavelli, see Chapter 2. It further highlights the complexity and sensitivity of the power structures and power relations in the power web as described by Foucault.

While the planners were trying to restructure the planning department, a major controversy and frustration arose over the delay in the processing and approval of land use applications and the increasing backlog of applications[243]. Some of the line-managers and planners stated that Mdlalose could not cope with the division and ascribed this problem to the perceived incompetencies and lack of knowledge and experience of the divisional manager. As a result of this, Vosloo and Van der Merwe (who clearly saw themselves as part of the new management) informed her of the possible threats that were emerging and the negative perceptions against her and her division. It was obvious that these officials were trying to protect the powers of their manager, and indirectly also their own existing and future powers. After consulting the Acting

[242] Various task teams were established to develop the various components of the city planning functions, namely the land use management function, urban design, outdoor advertising, spatial planning, planning data, environmental planning and building control. These task teams mainly consisted of some of the chief planners and planners involved with these functions in the former planning departments of the various former local authorities. See Tshwane Metropolitan Council (2001).

[243] This delay largely resulted from the confusion that arose from the transfer of powers and delegations to the newly appointed managers. It should also be noted that a large backlog was inherited from the previous regime (as discussed earlier).

Municipal Manager (CEO) at the time, Mdlalose terminated the so-called 'Beneke/Yates transformation process' and dissolved all the task teams involved with the transformation of the planning function. She almost immediately established a new Interim Management Team in March and April 2001), specifically for the city planning function. This new management team, which 'replaced' all the previous teams and departments involved with planning, was primarily responsible for the operational functions within the planning department, as well as the transformation and restructuring of the new planning department.

Van der Merwe, who was liaising closely with Mdlalose at that time, was appointed as overall function coordinator for the city planning functions. Henry Bezuidenhout, a close colleague of Van der Merwe and a senior planner, also from the former planning department of the GPMC, was appointed to take responsibility of the transformation process and the overall land use management function. Nikki Ludick, a senior planner from the same department, who had previously been extensively involved with the IDP processes in Pretoria, was made responsible for the IDP process. Johnny Coetzee, who at the time was responsible for the inner city, was redeployed to this function to take responsibility of the spatial planning function and to assist with the IDP process. Desiree Homann, who was responsible for marketing and communication at the PICP at that time, was also redeployed to the new planning function to assist with communication and general management functions. Marietjie van Zyl, a town planner from the former Land-use Management Division of the City Council, was requested to join the team, mainly to assist with the backlog of applications.

These new coordinators initially saw this new team and function as a new challenge that also held the prospect of promotion and a permanent management position of some sort. They soon realised, however that these positions were nothing more than a very interim arrangement and that they were balancing on a knife's edge. According to van der Merwe, some effort was made to identify and select suitable and appropriate coordinators who could introduce new ideas, specifically within the context of the new transforming society and the new forms of contemporary urban planning. She stated that the former managers were too entrenched within the old planning paradigm, as discussed previously.

As could be expected, the new interim management structure came as a surprise to many of the former managers and task team members. The majority of the former managers had great difficulty accepting this arrangement and the leadership of the new, mostly younger managers, who literally 'took over' the operations and the transformation of the planning department. The attitude of some of the former managers and officials, and the uncomfortable relationship between the old and new groups, was particularly evident at some of the meetings and discussions between these groups.

The biggest problem with the new arrangement probably related to the confusion about the managerial authority, responsibilities and mandate of the new management team. In spite of all the possible merits of the above selection process, the way in which these interim managers were selected and 'appointed' was typical of the old autocratic management style where dominatory power is (ab)used to reach a certain goal. Some planners quite rightly argued that the top management (and Mdlalose) should at least have created an opportunity for other candidates to apply for these positions. Although this new management team was widely criticised for the way in which it was composed, it presented a new look in terms of its overall structure, specifically its gender, racial and age profile. For the first time in the history of the city, a black woman (Mdlalose) was put in charge of the overall planning functions - but not for long...

Following the establishment of the new team, the members of the team made great progress in speeding up land use management processes; improving client service; integrating the functions and structures of the different local authorities; and addressing the staff and operational issues in the department. The team developed a new organisational structure and purpose portfolio for the planning department and made great strides in motivating the strategic importance of the planning function and the need for a new integrated, developmental approach to planning. The task team responsible for the spatial planning functions, under the co-leadership of Jaksa Barbir and Kestell Serfontein, developed a new spatial planning system, specifically within the context of the new urban planning principles and the IDP.

Although the team was 'led' by Belinda van der Merwe, she was not always involved and most of the leadership and management (and power) came from Henry Bezuidenhout. Bezuidenhout was an experienced planner who performed well with operational and transformation processes. Unlike the former management teams who were largely criticised for their rigid, autocratic, conservative management styles, as discussed previously, the new management had a more flexible, participative and open management style. The management team increasingly gained more support and respect among the officials in the planning department. Mdlalose also gained more confidence, experience, knowledge, support and popularity. Many planners favoured her as the obvious choice for the permanent manager's position of this function and even possibly a higher position in the organisation. In the middle of 2001, it looked as if a new integrated urban planning structure was developing - a structure that could support and enhance the transformation of urban planning in the City of Tshwane.

However, during the second half of 2001, the Council's corporate restructuring started to have a

major impact on the planning structure and the transformation of the urban planning system. While the planning department (and some other departments) were revisiting and reorganising their organisational structures and processes, in June 2001, the CEO announced a new and 'final' organisational structure for the City of Tshwane[244]. This structure was developed by an independent consultancy, YARONA, which had been appointed by the Council. The announcement of this new structure came as a surprise to many managers and officials who were not even aware of this separate restructuring process, not to mention their involvement (or lack thereof) in this process. Officials, managers and even councillors criticised this restructuring process (and the resulting purpose structure) for not being transparent, and for not involving the Council departments and managers concerned in the process. These actions by the former CEO are reminiscent of the dominatory powers discussed earlier on.

In 1994, prior to the transformation, the former Pretoria local authority and its officials were largely divorced from the people or the community. As the transformation process progressed, this gap between the Council and the community had narrowed as a result of the emerging democracy and the participatory approaches to urban planning. However, after almost a decade of local government transformation, the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality evolved into an organisation that was somewhat divorced from its officials. Some officials argued that the former City Council of Pretoria had been more transparent and open than the new Tshwane Council. Although the new Council (politicians and senior managers) promoted the principles of transparency, it was obvious that many of them were still moulded in the old, autocratic management domain discussed earlier.

When the new top management structure and positions were presented to the officials through the Council's Intranet, and after they had been advertised in the Sunday newspapers, the planning officials and managers realised that the various planning functions were scattered between the Housing Division, the Land and Environmental Planning Division and the Economic Development departments. No provision had been made for a dedicated urban planning department. Some planners argued that the consultants did not really have an understanding of the role of planning and where it should fit into the structure, while others argued that the politicians wanted to group the planning functions with Housing so as to promote integration between these functions[245]. Some planners, politicians and community members also argued that the so-called YARONA structure,

[244] This structure included the top management levels of the organisation, for example the CEO's structure and support functions, the strategic executive functions and the various primary departments (general managers).

[245] Soon after the structure was announced, Gerrit Bothma, an architect-technician who was extensively involved with the housing portfolio of the city, informed Johnny Coetzee that the officials involved with housing had had prolonged negotiations with, amongst others, the Executive Mayor to establish a separate Housing Department. These people regularly argued that the city planning functions should be part of housing.

based on instructions from the politicians, had fragmented and 'watered-down' the planning function in order to limit the so-called (political) powers as well the professional powers of the planners.

This uncertainty about the position and status of the planning department within the local authority created frustration for the planners who were going to be affected by it. The new structure created a perception amongst the majority of planners that the senior managers and politicians did not support the new transforming urban planning system.

After the announcement of the new Tshwane organisational structure in July 2001, most of the former interim structures and management positions were abolished. As a result, the economic development division (which included the planning functions) was terminated. This also implied the repeal of Mdlalose's position as Divisional Manager and the end of van der Merwe's planning team. This in many ways highlights' "the power of the Prince" and the dominatory "infra power" of politicians and senior mangers. It also shows how the exercise of the stronger powers can eliminate/dominate the weaker power structures. As presented by Foucault, see Chapter 2, this also presents an example of how easily power structures and power relations can change and fluctuate within the power web.

Following the approval of the new organisational structure, the CEO proceeded to advertise the permanent positions of strategic executives and general managers (the first two rungs in the structure), and to make the necessary appointments. In those cases, for example, Housing, where the permanent strategic executive and managers had not yet been appointed, another group of interim managers was appointed to act in this position until the new managers could take over. Simon Bogopa, who had previously worked in the Housing Department of the GPMC, was requested to act as the Strategic Executive for the Housing Directorate, and Yates was requested to act as the General Manager for the Land and Environmental Planning Division.

Initially Yates also took responsibility of the planning functions. Various planners raised their concern about Yates' return to the planning arena, as they argued that he had had his opportunity and that it was time for him to move on. It was also not clear why the CEO could not utilise the previous interim managers, such as Mdlalose, who had built up a significant momentum. When the senior positions were advertised, Mdlalose also applied for the Strategic Executive Officer position in the Housing Department, as well as other senior positions in the Economic Development Department. To the dismay of her partisans, she did not obtain any of these positions and had to

revert back to her former position in the economic development department[246].

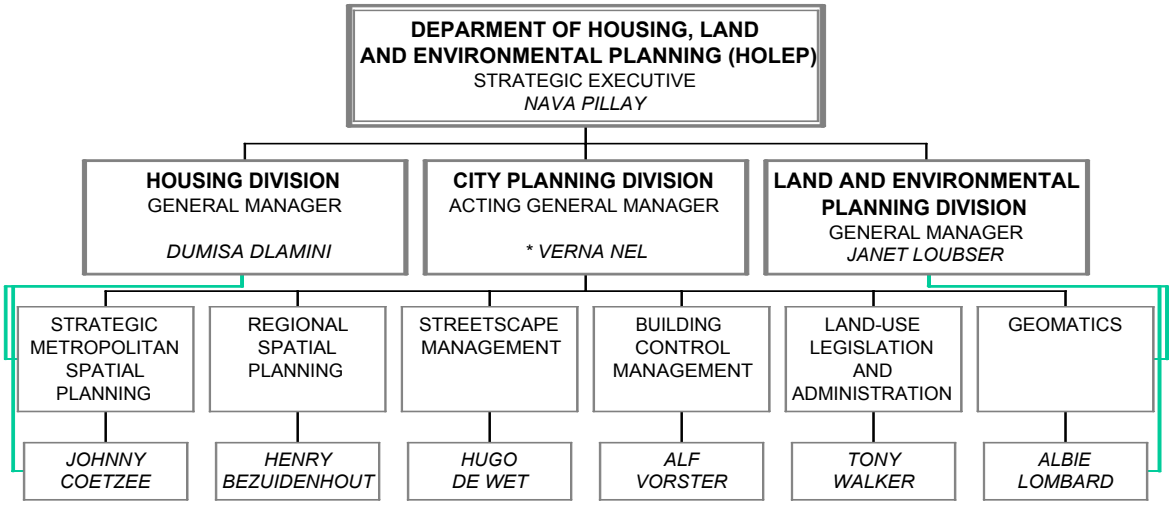
These new acting managers (Bogopa and Yates) reinstated some members of the former city planning team that had functioned under van der Merwe, such as Henry Bezuidenhout and Johnny Coetzee. Yates argued that it was important to sustain the momentum of the transformation process that this team had built up during the recent weeks. Bogopa and Yates, however, decided to substitute van der Merwe and to appoint Dr Verna Nel, the former chief planner of the Centurion area, to coordinate the planning function. Although Nel was a popular planner and manager in the former Centurion Council, she was not well known in the other former Pretoria councils. Nel was particularly interested in local economic development - a topic that had formed part of her PhD studies. A planner (who requested not to be named) regularly stated that van der Merwe's management style was too brisk and that her vendetta against Beneke and some of the former managers had made her unpopular amongst senior managers and politicians.

In October 2001, after the Strategic Executive Manager's position for the Department of Housing, Land and Environmental Planning and City Planning had been advertised, Nava Pillay was appointed as the new Strategic Executive for this Directorate[247]and Janet Loubser was appointed General Manager for the Land and Environmental Planning Division. The appointments of Pillay and Loubser resulted in the replacement of Bogopa and Yates[248] respectively. Apart from some changes in the overall departmental structure, Pillay initially did not change the city planning management team that had been established by Bogopa and Yates. The interim city planning team, under the leadership of Nel, continued to motivate the strategic importance of the planning function and its rightful position in the organisational structure - at general manager level.

The members of the team continued to refine and develop the new urban planning system that had been unfolding during the past few years and also continued to promote a new planning culture in the department. It is ironic to note that this (second) interim city planning team, apart from Nel, consisted of white males, and mostly older managers who had previously worked with/for Yates.

[246] In 2003 she was, however, promoted to the post of Deputy Manager in the Economic Development Division.
[247] Pillay was a councillor in the former City Council of Pretoria (responsible for, amongst other things, city planning), a Director of the former Community Development Department of the City Council of Pretoria - specifically involved with housing, and a former interim Divisional Manager of the Tshwane local authority involved with community development and housing.
[248] Both Bogopa and Yates were redeployed as strategic advisors in Pillay's office.

FIGURE 13: INTERIM ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE AND POSITIONING OF THE CITY PLANNING FUNCTION (2001)




Although the city planning team, and more specifically the metropolitan planning function, was largely involved with strategic planning and the IDP, in July 2001 the IDP function was formally allocated to the Chief Operating Officer (COO), Mr Wonder Nkosi. The IDP was eventually positioned on inter-departmental (strategic) level in the local authority. Unfortunately, this was not the highest level of authority and the IDP found itself between conflicting roles and responsibilities of the CEO and the COO.

In August 2001, the Mayoral Committee approved a new organisational structure to support the IDP. This structure provided, amongst other things, for a dedicated IDP task team in the office of the COO, which was closely linked with the office of the CEO and the Mayor[249]. Nkosi subsequently deployed van der Merwe and Ludick to manage and coordinate the IDP process on his behalf, in view of their involvement with the IDP at the time.

This was some consolation for van der Merwe, who was initially not accommodated as a manager or coordinator in the City Planning structure[250]. Although van der Merwe had attended a five-day course on IDP presented by the National Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG), she did not have much experience in the field of IDP as she had not been much involved with the comprehensive first round of IDPs. Perhaps this course (although it only covered the basic IDP

[249] See City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (2001 (b)).
[250] In 2003, van der Merwe was appointed as a manager in the IDP office.

principles) "empowered" her to take on the IDP challenge. She did, however, have some experience on the overall management of planning and development projects.

Soon after their appointment in July 2001, the members of the newly established IDP project team established all the necessary IDP forums, structures and mechanisms and introduced training programmes to the officials and councillors concerned. Later that same year the team started with the so-called second round of IDPs[251]. The team largely based their IDP approach on the rigid principles and guidelines that had been developed and promoted by the Department of Provincial and Local Government, as contained in the IDP guide packs.

It is somewhat unclear why the IDP team did not follow the IDP format and process that had been developed by the IDP task team during late 1999/early 2000, as this had been specifically structured to address the problems that arose from the first round of IDPs. Perhaps the IDP team wanted to introduce a 'fresh' new process and plan. It was also easier for them to follow a process that they knew was at least supported by the national government. Perhaps they just did not want to follow the Yates/Beneke process. It can, however, be argued that they should at least have drawn from the lessons and experiences of the IDP task team.

As the IDP progressed during late 2001/early 2002, some strategic executives (SEOs), and functional managers involved with physical planning and development, infrastructure and services and economic development, realised that the IDP (as interpreted by the IDP team), in view of its holistic nature, did not have the ability to guide the strategic development of the city. They often expressed the need for a city strategy that could inform the IDP and direct the development of the city, specifically the spatial and economic development of the city. As a result of this realisation, an inter-departmental strategic planning team was established at the end of 2001 under the leadership of Yates who was deployed as a strategic advisor to Pillay's office at the time.

The primary objective and mandate of this team was to produce development strategies and strategic guidelines as an input into the IDP[252]. During the first quarter of 2002, the team completed a very broad but significant spatial development and restructuring strategy for Tshwane[253]. Although this team invited members of the IDP team to participate in the process, the IDP team members showed very little interest in this process. They criticised this team for performing a

[251] Although the IDP was introduced in 1996, it was the second round of IDPs, following the local government elections of December 2000, which consolidated the new system (Harrison 2002:2). Rauch (2002: 15) states that, unlike the first round of IDPs, the second round was based on a clear legal framework (MSA 2000), supported by a revised methodological guide pack, and a nation-wide targeted training programme.

[252] Johnny Coetzee and Kestell Serfontein from the metropolitan planning section also played a major role in the formulation and compilation of these strategies.

[253] See also City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (2002).

parallel process to the IDP and for intervening in the IDP process. The abovementioned largely emphasised the lack of communication between the members of the top management, the lack of inter-departmental coordination and the lack of council policy (and leadership). This state of affairs resulted in conflict between the IDP team, the strategic planning team and the metropolitan planning section and spurred a debate in the top management of the Council. Although the IDP team opposed the efforts of the strategic planning team, they eventually included these strategies (or sectoral inputs) as part of their IDP - not that this was sufficient to make the IDP a strategic planning document!

After many workshops and meetings and much effort by the IDP team, they compiled and submitted to the Tshwane Council[254] the first fully-fledged IDP for Tshwane, entitled *The Tshwane 2020 Plan.* To the surprise and frustration of the COO and the IDP team, this IDP was heavily criticised for its shortcomings, the most important being its over-cumbersome nature and lack of strategic focus. Apart from this critique, it is also ironic that after so many IDP efforts and lessons, this IDP was again developed in isolation from the budget process, as the budget had almost been completed before the IDP projects were finalised. Similarly, it is ironic that the Tshwane organisational transformation process also preceded the IDP process and was developed in isolation from the new IDP. The 2001/2002 IDP process (and the Tshwane 2020 plan) in many ways duplicated many of the problems that have been identified earlier through the 1997 to 1998 IDP processes (as discussed previously)[255]. Harrison (2002) ascribes many of the IDP problems to, amongst other things, 'the difficult context', the lack of clarity as to the nature and purpose of IDPs, the inexperience of newly elected municipal Councils, the confusion in the new municipalities and the overall lack of capacity in some local authorities.

The IDP was subsequently referred back to the team, and was re-submitted in the same format in July, but with a comprehensive list of 'explanations and clarifications'. On 12 July 2002 this plan was approved at a special council meeting. The way in which this IDP was 'approved' largely indicated the council's apathy to the IDP. It was almost as if the council just wanted to get the IDP approved because they had to (in terms of the legislation) - irrespective of the quality of the document. If the council's senior officials and politicians had been more actively involved in the IDP process (as was expected of them), this initial rejection of the IDP could have been prevented.

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[254] See also City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (2002).

[255] The critique of the Tshwane IDP (2002) is reminiscent of the critique of IDPs nationally. This critique relates to the overall lack of policies and guidelines, the undefined roles, responsibilities and confusion within local authorities, the lack of capacity and resources in municipalities, the lack of strategic issues, and the neglect of spatial planning; the poor implementation of IDPs, as well as the poor inter-governmental integration. See also Harrison (2001 and 2002); Adams and Oranje (2002); Rauch (2002) and Pycroft (2000).

After the approval of this IDP, various politicians, departmental managers and planners again raised their concern regarding the lack of strategic focus and the IDP's ability to guide the strategic development of the city. As a result of the abovementioned, two distinct factions developed in the Council. The one faction under the leadership of the COO argued that the IDP had to be the overarching highest order, strategic plan for the city - very much in line with the Municipal Systems Act 2000. This faction was very much against any interference from the city planning department or related departments. They strongly and regularly criticised the spatial planners who got involved in strategic planning. The other faction that was supported by the CEO, the strategic executives concerned with planning and infrastructure and officials from the metropolitan planning section, argued that the IDP process should be informed by an overarching city strategy. This, incidentally, resulted in a new debate: whether the IDP processes should be heightened and expanded to address the strategic issues more effectively, or whether a new, separate, more dedicated strategic planning construct, almost complimentary and supplementary to the IDP, should be developed to focus on the highest level of strategic issues. The challenge and opportunity for top management was to distinguish between 'top level'/critical/strategic planning, development and management (the overall City Strategy) on the one hand; and the more corporate, operational strategies and projects and managerial urban processes normally included in the IDP, on the other. These different approaches also resulted in conflict and a power clash between different departments, between senior officials, and also between the CEO and the COO.

The above viewpoints again emphasised the difference between the so-called 'strategy for the city' or the City Plan *vis a vis* the 'strategy for the local authority' or the corporate strategy[256]. The confusion regarding the abovementioned can largely be ascribed to the limited definition of strategic planning that was promoted by, amongst others, the DPLG[257]. As these debates continued, a new insight was obtained from the World Bank on the notion of the City Development Strategy (CDS)[258]. This CDS process, which was applied as a pilot project in 50 cities all over the world (including the City of Johannesburg as the only city in Africa), also promotes the broader strategic and developmental focus of the development of the city as a whole - similar to the

[256] Based on the recent assessments of the second round of IDPs, strong viewpoints were expressed on the ability of the IDP to steer the future development, specifically of the larger metropolitan areas (Harrison 2002: 25 -26). He argued that the IDP has a potential role to play in metropolitan planning, but it would be a mistake to regard it as the sum total of metropolitan planning. Coetzee and Serfontein (2002) also highlighted the need for a separate City Development Strategy, supplementary to, and in support of the IDP.

[257] This Department (DPLG 2001), the CSIR and Rauch (2002), describe the strategic planning process as a process comprising five phases: analysis, strategies, projects, integration and approval. According to Rauch (2002: 7) strategic planning means "prioritising crucial issues, focusing analysis, addressing root causes, taking given resources and relevant context into account, identifying and analysing alternative strategic options".

[258] See World Bank (1999).

thoughts promoted by the metropolitan planning section[259].

The first city development strategy for the City of Tshwane was only finalised in mid-2003, after the IDP team had appointed consultants to prepare a development strategy for the city (in conjunction with the relevant Council departments), mainly in support of an application for a restructuring grant from national treasury. This strategy was largely informed by the spatial development strategies that were formulated by the strategic planning task team and the metropolitan planning section as discussed earlier. It can be argued that it would not have been necessary for the IDP team to appoint outside consultants, in view of the fact that much of the strategic planning work could/should have been done in-house by the inter-departmental strategic planning task team that already existed, or a new extended task team that could also have included the IDP team. It is, however, ironic to note that the CTMM, in the absence of such a strategy, continued with the various transformation efforts and development of new organisational structures and processes. This not only highlighted the confusion and conflict that emerged in the top management and political arena, but also the overall lack of strategic leadership in terms of the IDP/City Strategy - as well as the complexity of power relations.

However, in spite of all the critique, conflict and confusion, more clarity was reached on the role and status of the IDP and the City Strategy and its role within the transforming urban planning system in the City of Tshwane. Although the new CTMM made much progress restructuring the organisation, many officials and managers often expressed their frustration with the slow pace of transformation and the uncertainty that was created by the transformation. Reference was often made to the top-down approach that was followed by top management; the political interference of certain councillors; the power play; the lack of transparency and secrecy; the poor communication between top management and the officials; and the lack of inter-departmental co-ordination[260]. These problems of the transformation (which can largely be associated with power relations), in many ways negatively affected the culture, morale and attitude of many officials in the Council[261] - and also the particular power relations in the organisation.

[259] See also Coetzee and Serfontein (2002) on the CDS approach.

[260] During 2002 and 2003, the planners and managers at the monthly management meetings of the City Planning Division also frequently raised these issues.

[261] Harrison (2002: 30) also emphasised the need for a quality organisational culture, the commitment of individuals and the need to 'empower individuals and to promote the right ethos'.

## 5.17 THE EXODUS[262]

After the umpteenth effort to submit a report to the Tshwane Council on the structure and status of the City Planning department, the Council eventually approved the structure and purpose portfolio of this department in August 2003 - almost two-and-a-half years after the inauguration of the new local authority. For the first time since the establishment of the new local authority, the 'departmental status' of the planning function (and the importance of urban planning) was formally recognised. The approval of the structure also created the opportunity to 'implement' the organisational structure that was needed to support the transforming urban planning system.

Although many planners and officials in the planning department were somewhat anxious about the impact the new structure could have on their positions, the majority of them were excited about the progress as they realised that the new approved organisational structure could provide stability and certainty in the planning department, and even create new opportunities.

For those acting managers (who had been acting in these positions for the past two years), as well as aspiring managers, the new structure created the long-awaited opportunity for them to obtain a 'real' management position in the planning department and the powers they aspired so desperately. Some planners and officials in the department were hoping that the new structure would result in a 'permanent' or secure position for them. There were also those planners who feared that the new structure could imply the end of their careers in the City of Tshwane, as they might not be promoted or placed in a certain position.

Soon after the approval of the new structure, the various management positions (managers and deputy managers) were advertised internally and interviews held at the end of November/beginning of December 2003. On 11 December all the candidates who had qualified for a position were invited to attend a meeting with the SEO, Mr Nava Pillay, where they were informed of their new appointments[263] (see Figure 15).

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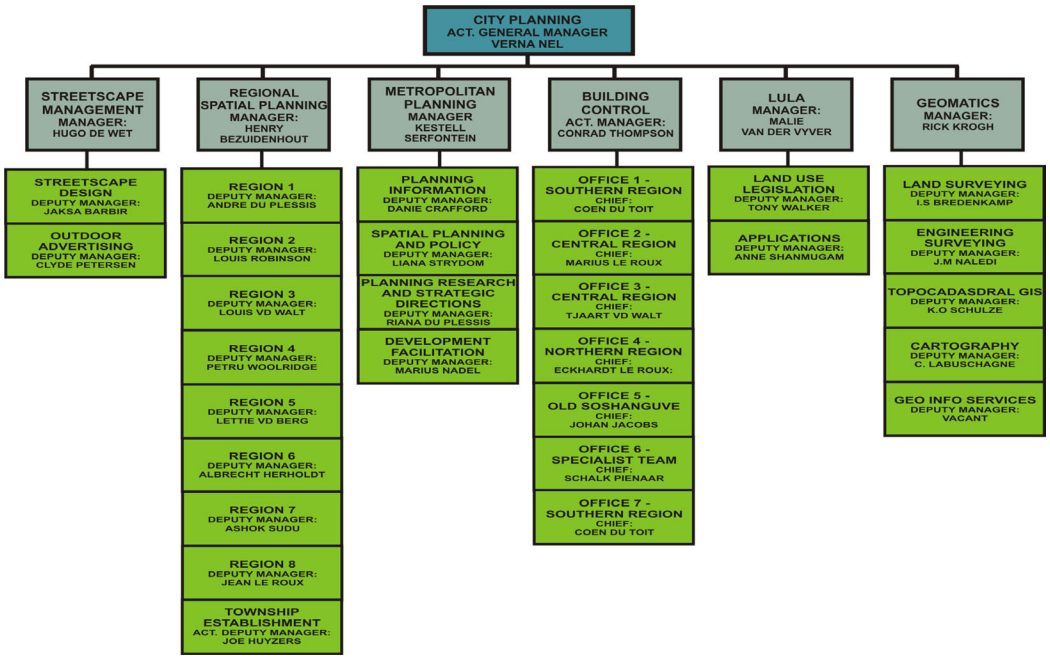
[262] *Exodus* in this context has a number of multiple meanings. Firstly, it represents the exodus, end or exit of the story. Secondly, it celebrates the exodus or departure of a new planning department in the City of Tshwane. Thirdly, it refers to the exodus, withdrawal or retreat of some urban legends that were not made part of the new transformed/transforming urban planning system. Lastly, the biblical meaning of Exodus refers to the fulfillment and accomplishment of promises; and physical and spiritual redemption.

[263] It is ironic to note that those candidates who did not qualify for any of the manager's positions were not informed of the meeting, or told why they were not invited to the meeting. The Acting General Manager or the SEO also never informed them that they had not qualified for any of the positions.

FIGURE15: MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE AND PROFILE OF THE PLANNING DEPARTMENT (DECEMBER 2003)




Current status

Unlike the former management structures that were largely characterised by mostly white males and older managers (mostly from the previous regime), the new management structure reflects a more representative profile in terms of age, gender and race. Although much effort was made to appoint more managers from other racial groups, in line with the Council's policy of affirmative action, only a few such managers could be appointed. This was mainly as a result of the fact that the positions were only advertised internally and the fact that very few officials from these racial groups qualified for these positions. One of the newly appointed managers (who preferred not to be mentioned) stated that there was a deliberate effort to appoint new and younger officials in an effort to break the strong bond and old planning culture that had dominated the planning scene for so long.

As is reflected by the structure and aims of the new Metropolitan Planning section of the City Planning Department, this section presents a totally new, integrated, holistic focus on strategic planning, metropolitan planning, spatial planning, planning research and development facilitation in general - much in line with the national policies and international trends (as discussed in Chapter 4).

The Regional Planning Section, although it aims (and attempts) to do spatial planning on a regional and local level and to facilitate development projects in the city, is still largely concerned with land-use management (and control). By far the majority of planners in this section are involved, on a daily basis, with the evaluation of rezoning applications, applications for the establishment of new townships, consent use applications, etc.

Planners from this section have often stated that they are so involved with these applications that they hardly ever get the opportunity to do 'real' spatial planning. Some of the planning consultants in the City of Tshwane also expressed their frustration with the archaic way in which many planners still evaluate new applications, for example, for change of land use. Reference was also made to the 'powerful', rigid and autocratic way in which some planners deal with applications[264]. It is also ironic to note that this Land-use Management function has grown so much during the past four years (as a result of the city's natural growth and the amalgamation of the various municipalities) that a new and separate planning section had to be established to support this function.

This section, referred to as Land Use Legislation and Administration (LULA), was positioned on the same level as the Metropolitan Planning section and the Regional Spatial Planning section. This section specifically deals with the administrative functions related to land-use management, the legal aspects, specifically of land use management and the town planning schemes. Throughout the transformation process, reference was made to the problems of the autocratic, rigid planning system with its over-emphasis on 'control' and the need for a more integrated, developmental and flexible planning system that could facilitate development and the restructuring of the city.

As is evident by the number of planners involved with 'real' spatial planning in relation to the number of planners allocated to land-use management and administration, it is evident (from this skew representation), that a rather small minority of planners are actually involved with spatial planning, development and the restructuring of the city.

[264] Interviews held with planning consultants during 2003/2004.

When contextualising the contents and aims of the new urban planning system, as required by the national legislation and policies (as discussed in Chapter 4), the question can be asked whether this planning structure is really geared to take on the challenge of the newly established City of Tshwane. Although some progress was made in developing and promoting the new planning principles in the City of Tshwane, it is doubtful whether these principles have really influenced the practice of planning in all sectors of the planning department - yet another indication of how difficult it is to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

In spite of the critique of the planning structure and the newly established planning department, great progress was made in establishing an entirely new, integrated department. For the first time in the history of this city, one integrated planning department has been established and made responsible for the (integrated) planning and development of the metropolitan area as a whole.

The Munitoria fire of March 1997 specifically created a new impetus for change in the City Council of Pretoria and wiped out many of the old structures, plans and habits that were associated with the old/apartheid planning structures. By the end of 2003, seven years after the fire, many officials still operated from the southern part of Munitoria, which had only been partially damaged and subsequently restored after the fire. To the dismay of many ‘new generation’ planners and officials who were hoping to make a fresh new start in a new building, Munitoria has still not been rebuilt. In the minds of many planners, officials and councillors, a paradigm of old planning still exists that will probably never change. In the vicinity of the Council chambers one can still sense the smoke and fustiness from the Munitoria fire...

# CHAPTER 6

# REFLECTING ON THE TRANS[FORMATION], THE TRANS[FORMED] AND TRANS[FORMING] URBAN PLANNING SYSTEM IN THE CITY OF TSHWANE

This chapter mainly deals with the overall impact of the transformation process and the transforming urban planning system, while the specific relationship between the transformation, and power structures and power relations is discussed in Chapter 7.

Although the Tshwane transformation process has much in common with other international and national experiences (as discussed in Chapter 4), this transformation was very unique and should not be seen as a typical example of these types of transformation. However, when viewing the transformation of urban planning in the City of Tshwane (Chapter 5) within the context of international planning theory and practice, and within the South African (national) societal and policy frameworks (Chapter 4), there can be little doubt that the *nature and focus of urban planning* in the City of Tshwane (like many other South African cities) has changed radical - from a rigid, autocratic, scientific, control-oriented system to a broader integrated, entrepreneurial, democratic, developmental and strategic planning system.

During the period 1992 to 2002, planners, managers and politicians in the City of Pretoria/Tshwane made various efforts to establish and promote the emerging international planning trends that had become the basis of the post-1994 South African planning system: the principles of community participation, a new social awareness amongst planners and within the local authority, a new strategic approach to planning and developing the city as a whole, the principles of sustainable development, and the important link and relationship between urban planning and municipal (urban) management.

When viewing the contents of the current planning system and the way in which planning processes (more specifically the IDP processes) are structured and conducted, it is evident that little progress has been made in establishing this 'package of new planning methodology' as part of the urban planning and local government systems; and effectively implementing it in practice - despite the perception that exists amongst some planners and politicians that these aspects are being addressed and applied successfully. In some cases, certain components (sustainable development, for example) were only addressed at a policy level and never really implemented,

while other components (strategic planning, for example) were more easily accepted, understood and implemented.

In spite of efforts to establish *community participation* as part of the urban planning process and the local authority, it did not always spawn the benefits and outcomes the planners and politicians had expected - as is evident by the critique of these processes (as discussed in Chapter 4). It is also evident that the rationale, objectives and benefits of meaningful community participation were not properly defined and understood by the various role players. Some planners and politicians actively promoted and advocated the notion of participation, but when it came to the application of these processes, their commitment in many cases subsided. Unfortunately some planners and politicians were under the (wrong) impression that informing and communicating with the communities was participation enough. They had obviously not yet accepted that effective and meaningful democracy is more than just 'lip service'. It involves a radical new way of constantly working with all the communities of the city. Many planners were found to experience difficulty in effectively applying the democratic planning principles in practice - probably because they did not have the communication and facilitation skills (and community aptitude) that was needed; and also because they did not want to get involved with a process that they did not regard as being 'part of normal town planning'. This aspect firmly underlines the rigid and autocratic style of planning and urban management that existed in the municipalities of the Greater Pretoria region, even during the late-1990s.

These problems and dilemmas, however, are not unique to the City of Tshwane. Based on a study of the relevant literature and other case studies (Chapter 4), it seems that these problems are reminiscent of other cases experienced in the USA, UK and Western Europe during the 1960s. They are also similar to the problems experienced in many other South African cities. The fact that so many planners and managers experienced difficulty adapting to the democratic way of planning and management and applying it in practice, is a clear indication that the government and local authorities were not doing enough to promote and establish this basic principle of urban democracy, and to develop experience-based guidelines and policies that could facilitate the effective implementation of community participation - specifically in South Africa with its new democracy.

In spite of all the critique and dilemmas, and the rather 'slow development' of community participation, some progress was made, however, to create a new community awareness amongst planners and politicians, specifically when considering that 'nothing like this' had existed prior to the 1990s. Notwithstanding the progress made (amongst other things, through the Inner City

Process and the IDP processes) to align planning and municipal efforts to focus on community needs and priorities and to promote a *new social awareness*, it is doubtful whether the transformation efforts in the City of Pretoria/Tshwane succeeded in structuring a social and people-oriented style of urban planning that focuses effectively on the broader spectrum of social issues as discussed in Chapter 2.

The majority of planners and managers were so entrenched in the patriarchal planning system that it was difficult for them to change their rigid, scientific style of planning to focus on social issues (and people) as well. Irrespective of the new government's focus and commitment to social development, many local authority managers and politicians were unclear and uninformed as to exactly what their responsibilities entailed with regard to addressing social problems and social development in the city, specifically within the context of urban planning and management.

Unlike the concepts of community participation and social planning that had difficulty entering the urban planning arena, the concept of *strategic planning* developed with relatively little resistance in the City of Tshwane, probably because planners could more easily relate to this linear 'scientific' type of planning that did not seem so different to the old type of planning. Although urban strategic planning ultimately modified the contents and focus of planning in the City of Pretoria /Tshwane and made it more relevant within the new local authority dispensation (with its strong integrated and developmental focus), a number of concerns were raised by most of the planners involved with strategic planning or IDPs, namely that: there was a lack of focus on the real strategic issues; the process was comprehensive and rigid in nature; (which hampered innovative thinking and flexibility); there was a lack of strategy implementation and monitoring; and there was a poor linkage between strategic plans, projects and the budget.

Although the recent transformation of urban planning in the City of Tshwane largely included an extended holistic and integrated focus on environmental issues, the broader definition of *sustainable development* (as discussed in Chapter 4) was grossly neglected. As the transformation of urban planning progressed through the 1990s, much was written and said about sustainable development. This concept was freely used by planners, communities and even politicians (almost to please or impress certain audiences) - in many cases without them really understanding the meaning of the concept. Although much reference was made to the concept of sustainability in some planning endeavours and documents, the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality did very little to unpack the concept, promote its aims and contents, implement it in practice and integrate and align local authority planning and development efforts towards achieving the common goal of sustainable development.

Despite the progress made by planners to promote *the link between urban planning and municipal management* (through, amongst other things, the IDP), the former City Council of Pretoria, as well as the CTMM, could never really succeed in effectively aligning the organisational structures and functions with the City vision or 'the plan'. Many managers, specifically those in the Treasury Department, were so entrenched in their old, rigid ways of management and budgeting, that it was difficult for them to engage with the planning domain and to trust 'the plan' as the framework for the budget and public expenditure. The new integrated and participatory budget process also made it difficult for managers and politicians to manipulate and control the budget (from the top). When considering the urban management problems within the context of 'the plan' (as discussed in Chapter 4), it is obvious that the various Pretoria/Tshwane local authorities and their top managements did not make enough effort to promote the 'new public management' principles and the relationship between urban planning and management.

Unlike the former urban planning system that was largely dominated by *the* Structure Plan with its supporting land use management (control) systems, the new spatial planning system is more concerned with the *broader aspects of spatial planning*, specifically within the context of the integrated, developmental and democratic planning system. The emphasis on spatial planning also shifted from *the plan,* with its graphical/map image, to *planning frameworks* with an extended emphasis on strategies, policies and guidelines. Dissimilar to the former descriptive, control-oriented nature of the structure/land use plans, the new generation of spatial planning frameworks is more oriented towards (sustainable) spatial, social and economic development and the spatial restructuring of the fragmented city. It is, however, ironic to note that there are still planners today who believe that the structure planning approach was a better (or the best) planning system, and that planning and development should have been guided and 'controlled' by this rigid, detailed land use plan - yet another indication of the imprints left by the modernist planning system of the apartheid years.

As the new urban planning system developed, the old planning system and planning methodologies in the former City of Pretoria also had to make way for *a new package of planning methodology*. As discussed in Chapter 4, planners in the City of Tshwane had to learn to apply a new planning methodology that would capacitate them to work and plan with and for the communities; to engage with the political systems; to become involved with urban and municipal management; to become more involved with (sustainable) development processes; and to engage with a new type of strategic planning and management (within the developmental and democratic local government system). The integrated and extended nature of the new urban planning

methodology ultimately resulted in the emergence of a number of new planning processes and methods and a variety of new planning techniques and tools.

This new planning methodology required planners to acquire a number of new skills such as communication, negotiation, conflict management, facilitation and managerial skills, to name but a few. For those older conservative planners who were molded in the apartheid/modernist/technical domain, it was very hard to adapt to this new planning methodology, specifically in view of the rapid changes and the radical transformations at the time. The most difficult part for the planners was to leave their comfortable, protected offices and familiar processes, and to engage with community processes, political agendas, visioning processes, budget processes, negotiations with developers, and a number of new tasks that they (apparently) had not been trained for, or tasks they did not want to do.

The new planning methodology also resulted in additional work for the planners - an aspect that was often raised by 'overworked' planners. The younger, more progressive planners, who were schooled and trained in the post-apartheid era and the new urban planning paradigm, on the other hand, had less difficulty adapting to the new systems. The lack of skills, and also the reluctance of some planners to acquire the necessary skills, often led to poor planning practices. Within the context of the above, it can be argued that the Council and the planning managers should have made a greater effort to ensure that all planners (or at least those planners involved with the new planning processes) were sufficiently capacitated to apply the new planning methodology.

As the new democratic, strategic and developmental urban planning system developed during the 1990s, *the planners' roles* shifted from a plan-making and development control domain to a broader developmental domain with specific reference to physical, social, economic and institutional development. For planners to fulfill their new multi-dimensional role, they had to become strategists, educators, developers, urban managers, community workers, process facilitators, communicators, negotiators, mediators and entrepreneurs. As a result of the extended socio-political nature of the new planning system and the new community role of the planner, it was inevitable that planners had to encroach on the fields of the elected councilors. As discussed in Chapter 2, the political role of planners often resulted in conflict between planners and politicians - and thus a conflict between 'power and rationality' as defined by Flyvbjerg. It is evident, however, that planners were very cautious of the political arena as they deliberately tried to avoid any forms of community and political conflict. Politicians, on the other hand, always interfered (and probably always will) with planning matters - even more so within the context of the new participatory planning system. The extended roles of planners, not only made planners more relevant and

important, but also created numerous new opportunities for planners in all sectors - as is evident by the way in which planners are employed in various other Council departments[1] and sectors in the city.

The new 'hybridised' planning approach, however, resulted in considerable confusion and conflict, specifically amongst many planners who were entrenched in their traditional old-fashioned ways of doing things. It also made it extremely difficult for ordinary planners to effectively deal with all these different roles effectively. In the City of Tshwane and in other planning circles, it was often argued and suggested that the planning profession and planning schools should pay (more) attention to developing and presenting refresher courses for planners in new fields such as urban management; to revising the existing curricula to focus more attention on the new roles of planners; and to developing and introducing a variety of specialised courses at postgraduate level, for example, specialising in strategic planning, community-based planning, IDP, urban management, etc.

Apart from the impact that the new planning system had on the planners, as discussed earlier, it also radically affected *the roles (and responsibilities) of urban managers, officials and politicians*. The local authority managers (and officials) increasingly had to 'talk to and listen to' communities; facilitate, manage and involve other Council departments and sectors outside the local authority in their planning and development endeavours; and play a more strategic role in the overall planning, development and management of the city (from the perspective of their specific departmental functions).

Just as in the case of the planners, these new roles were never easy to fulfil as many local authority managers were also stuck in the old, rigid, autocratic style of management (and nestled in their comfort zones). Although many managers and officials initially experienced problems adapting to these new roles, they increasingly acquired and accepted the new roles and responsibilities. Some of them adapted because they had to; others adapted more freely. The elected politicians, on the other hand, by and large welcomed the new urban planning system and the new community roles, as this provided new opportunities for them to interact with the community they represented. However, when looking at the reluctant and haphazard way in which some councillors interacted and communicated with the community, it is doubtful whether these councillors really adapted to these community roles.

[1]In the City of Tshwane, planners and planning sections are found in many Council Departments, for example the Environmental Management Division, the Economic Development Division, the Housing Division, the Transport Planning Division, the Office of the Chief Operating Officer where planners are dedicated to the IDP, a Special Projects Team and the Inner City Initiative.

Some interviewees argued that the democratic planning system had become a mechanism that elected politicians could (ab)use to gain more political support in the communities they represented (thus more 'power' for the politicians and less 'rationality' for the planners). Many political and decision-making processes are still characterised by a rigid, top-down approach, as is evident by the autocratic way in which so many development applications and processes are dealt with, without proper consultation.

Although the transformation of the Tshwane local authority was largely shaped by the national government's policies on (amongst others) democratic and developmental local government, the '*transforming' Tshwane local authority* was also informed by the new democratic, strategic and developmental style of urban planning that had developed during the past decade. Unlike the former Pretoria local authorities, which mainly focused on 'primary service delivery', the newly established CTMM focused on a number of new urban challenges, such as integrated and equitable land planning and development, community needs and priorities, local economic development, economic growth, poverty alleviation, transparent decision-making and more effective and accountable urban management.

In support of these challenges, the newly established CTMM attempted to introduce many new organisational structures and processes to support and facilitate integrated spatial, economic and social development - as is evident in the strategic focus areas and organisational structure of the CTMM. However, as pointed out in Chapter 4, the current organisational structure and processes still have many shortcomings in terms of the new local authority planning environment: among other things, the fragmented silo structure; the lack of inter-departmental communication; the poor link between the budget and the IDP; the lack of meaningful participation in municipal affairs; and the lack of 'appropriate', dynamic, entrepreneurial and strategic leadership, specifically within the top management of the local authority.

Although remnants of the old culture are still visible in the City of Tshwane, some progress has been made through the Council's various training and information efforts, to establish *a new developmental and people-oriented culture* and a social awareness amongst many planners, managers, officials and politicians in the City of Pretoria/Tshwane. Unlike the situation in the past, planners now freely talk about how to fight poverty; how to involve communities in the planning process; how to deal with HIV/Aids; how to make the city internationally competitive through strategic economic interventions; how to restructure the fragmented city; and how to make the city

more equitable and sustainable. One of the planners who was interviewed for this study, referred to "the liberation of planners" and the "new breed of planners" in the City of Tshwane.

When viewed within the context of the patriarchal planning system in the former City of Pretoria, there is little doubt that *a new more appropriate and acceptable urban planning system* has developed in the City of Tshwane since the beginning of the 1990s. Although the new urban planning system still has a number of problems (as discussed earlier), it became more in line with the current international best practices. This new system is also in line with (and supportive of) the new legislation and government directions in South Africa. Unlike the rigid, control-oriented nature of the old planning system, the new transformed [forming] planning system in the City of Tshwane, in view of its integrated and developmental nature, also developed the potential to facilitate the spatial restructuring, reconstruction, development and integration of the City of Tshwane and its communities, *provided* that it is implemented and monitored effectively. Although some planning efforts - for example in the Regional Spatial Planning section of the City of Tshwane still focus on the fragmented components of the city and the development *within* the city, the emerging planning system (in view of its strategic and holistic focus) generally presents a new focus on the overall planning, management and development of *the city itself.*

However, although progress has been made (on a theoretical and ideological level) to develop and transform the urban planning system and to introduce new urban planning policies and methodologies, *the municipalities of the Greater Pretoria region have not done enough to implement these policies.* As discussed in Chapter 5, planners experienced much difficulty implementing the plans and policies that they compiled, whilst the municipalities in general experienced difficulty implementing the integrated and developmental local government system. In spite of all the efforts to promote and understand the new policies (which looked fairly simple on paper), it was still difficult, even for a large metropolitan municipality such as Tshwane, to effectively translate the theoretical principles and policies into practice. Throughout the transformation process it was noticed that there was a difference between planners who supported (or created the impression that they supported) a planning ideology on the one hand, and the actual, real commitment of these planners to implement it on the other.

The abovementioned again highlights the need to ensure that sufficient efforts are made to bridge the gap between theory and practice - even if old practices have to be amended or terminated. Although it has often been stated that more could have been done (by such a large metropolitan council with so much capacity) to implement the principles, some interviewees argued that too

much energy was directed at the learning phase (training, promotion, learning, research and experimentation), and that not enough energy could be directed to the actual implementation.

Unlike other cities in the world where the new planning methodology was phased in over a period of time (between the 1950s and the 1980s), the planners (and managers) in the City of Tshwane had to learn the new methodology with its wide variety of new tools in a relatively short period of time (during the 1990s), and within a time of turmoil, organisational restructuring and uncertainty. This *rapid transformation* made it difficult for planners, managers, officials and politicians to effectively acquaint themselves with the new principles, specifically in the absence of proper guidelines.

In spite of the abovementioned, it is doubtful whether the planners (and other officials) of the Pretoria/Tshwane municipalities had done enough to adapt to the changing environment, and whether there was sufficient management and leadership (and support) to effectively guide the transformation (and the people). It is somewhat unfortunate that the new urban planning system in the City of Tshwane is mainly applied by a small sector of planners, namely the IDP team and the planners in the Metropolitan Planning section. As discussed at the end of Chapter 5, the remainder (and largest portion of the current planning department) is still mostly involved with the rigid, typical land-use planning and control functions - perhaps now even more control-oriented, as is evident by the extended and supporting administrative and control functions in the department.

Unfortunately many of the older officials, who were molded in the modernist/apartheid tradition and nestled in their comfort zones, had difficulty changing their rigid practices and attitudes and accepting and applying the new liberated forms of planning and urban management. It is ironic to note that some of these people still believe that the old system was the best, or at least better than the current system. These officials argue that the transformation created confusion, uncertainty and instability. The fatalistic attitude of these officials ultimately made it difficult to implement the new planning principles in the city.

Fortunately, some of the hindering forces, as discussed above, were countered by another group of officials and a new generation of planners who supported the transformation. For these people the transformation created challenges, opportunities, certainty and stability in the continuous changing local authority/urban environment. Although much can be said about the transformation of the urban planning system in the City of Tshwane during the period 1992 to 2002 and its impact, problems and milestones, the trans(formation) of urban planning and local government in this city has just begun...

# CHAPTER 7
# C0NCLUSION

Apart from the groundbreaking work done by Foucault during the mid 1900s, very few theories actually addressed the complexity and sensitivity of *power and power relations*. Despite the efforts made by amongst others, Flyvbjerg, Hoch, Forester, McClendon and Quay, McCloughlin; Allmendinger; Hillier and Watson (see Chapter 2), to study power relations in the planning praxis and the local authority planning environment, there still is confusion and a lack of knowledge regarding the concept of power and power relations - as is evident by the "power-planning dilemmas" in local authorities. Although the recent practice movement and postmodern research methodologies have exposed experiences, narratives and practice stories about power relations, very few efforts actually attempted and/or succeeded to explore and unpack the dynamics of the complex and illusive power structures and power relations.

Following on "the communicative turn" in planning and the work of some of the "communicative theorists" such Healey, Innes, Mandelbaum and Hillier (see Chapter 2), a new interest developed in *the study of power relations within the context of the social nexus*. Although these works expanded the knowledge base on the above, there still is a gap in the knowledge base when it comes to the relationship between power relations (on the one hand), and social structures and alliances, communication, communicative action, social behaviour, conflict, resistance, and transformation processes (on the other).

As discussed in Chapter 2, power is mostly (and wrongfully) seen and experienced as an isolated and centered entity, and something that is acquired, maintained (by prowess and fortune), or exercised by authority - the so-called dominatory/juridical power or the "bad" power of Machiavelli's Prince. It is rather obvious that future studies and theory (if it wants to contribute to the knowledge base), will have to focus more on the relationship, interaction and commonalties between power relations and social relations, specifically within the context of the (political) local authority-planning environments, which are so closely related with the social nexus.

The Tshwane case study, which covers an extraordinary transformation experience over a period of ten years, presents a thorough discussion and valuable insight on the power relations within a transforming local authority-planning environment. Based on this study, and the knowledge, theory and propositions presented by the scholars mentioned above (with specific reference to the work of Foucault), a number of "power(full)" suppositions were derived from the study. Within the context of

the Tshwane power web and social/organizational structure, these suppositions specifically relate to the particular dynamics of power structures and power relations (how powers and power relations change, develop, emerge, how it moves around in the web); the relationship between power relations, and power struggles, conflict and resistance; the different types and combinations of powers and the effect of it; the impact of the (Tshwane) transformation process on the power structures and power relations in the local authority; and the impact of these power structures and power relations on the transformation process. With regard to aspects such as the generalisability and replicability of these suppositions as discussed in Chapter 3, it should however be noted that these suppositions were derived from, a comparative study of a very unique and particular transformation experience (case study) within the context of other theoretical propositions, each with its own strengths and weaknesses. In view of the above, these suppositions (as discussed in the following paragraphs) should be seen only/mainly as part of the theory-scaffolding process - and should hence, be read and understood within this context.

**Reflecting on the practice, politics and powers in the City of Tshwane**

Questioning and challenging the powers of "The Prince". In spite of the work done by amongst others Foucault, to redefine the concept of power, the Tshwane experience clearly showed that there still is a perception, that that power is something that is centralized, "at the top", and in the hands of "The Prince". Although much was done during the past decade in the City of Tshwane to establish and develop democratic ways of consulting and communicating, numerous examples were still evident of the strong autocratic and dominatory powers. These powers, as well as the use/abuse of such powers (over the other weaker powers) were specifically evident in the Tshwane transformation and organizational restructuring processes during the early 2000. This continued power-control and domination from "the central and the top" often created frustration and friction amongst the other "less powerful entities" that desired and preferred to consult and talk.

Although these dominatory powers are normally associated with the powers of the top echelon (or "The Prince"), the Tshwane experiences showed that/how these autocratic and dominatory powers have manifested in all levels of the organization. In support of Foucault's theory, the Tshwane experience therefore showed that power is omni-present and part of the every day life (the lifeworld), and that power is not something that can be ring-fenced or defined.

Unlike the old perceptions about the untouchable status of certain powers (infra power or the power of "The Prince"), the Tshwane case study also exposed the vulnerability of such powers and presents various examples of how "easily" powers were seized, manipulated or threatened by

other powers and combinations of power. This vulnerability and sensitivity of strong powers is particularly evident in the almost relaxed way in which certain top management officials and senior politicians were "removed" or replaced by others during the recent transformation processes in the City of Tshwane.

The unpredictable and illusive dynamics of power. The case study, in support of Foucault, has clearly shown the dynamics and complexity of powers - how it moves around, how it changes over time and in different situations, the different types of powers, the different levels of powers, and the particular relationship between the above. These dynamics is specifically evident when looking at the radical way in which the different power structures (and their powers), e.g. political parties, departmental managers, leadership structures and communities have changed and fluctuated during the past decade in the City of Tshwane. The Tshwane case study further illustrates that power(s) can emerge or manifest at any time and in any place - even when it is the least expected. This particular power manifestation was often seen in the CTMM, when certain officials (and politicians) were "suddenly" given authority or power, and in the way in which, particular authority or power was just removed from certain officials. This highlights the need to understand and accept the complexity and the unpredictability of power relations and to search for appropriate ways to manage, "control" and balance power relations. This, in itself requires a certain/another kind of power - a power with its own problems and characteristics.

Aspiration for power. Like Machiavelli, the Tshwane case study presents numerous examples of how people acted and behaved in order to acquire more power - at any cost - to become "a Prince", and what people would do to defend, protect and maintain their power(s). These aspirations and actions were often witnessed during the recent organizational restructuring processes, and the "sometimes extraordinary" ways in which different officials and managers (on all levels) have acted and behaved in order to protect their domains and positions, or to move to a higher position or "the top". The Tshwane experience further illustrated how these aspirations can dominate and influence, and how it creates conflict and resistance and a clash of different powers. These forms of conflict and resistance were not only witnessed amongst the officialdom and the political arena, but also amongst the struggles between some of the IDP forums and the Pretoria/Tshwane local authority (during the late 1990s), specifically with regard to the respective decision making powers of these entities.

Managing and balancing the different types of power relations. Throughout the transformation processes various examples were presented of *the different types of power* that constitute the power web, such as the community/social power exhibited by some community forums; the social

group power presented by the various planning sections and factions within the planning sections; the professional powers exercised by the professional planners and other related professions; the autocratic powers of the old-style managers who resisted the emerging democratic processes and management styles; the different types of (good and bad) political power; and "the power of instruments" (Foucault) with specific reference to the power of the old Structure Plan and the "aspired power" of the IDP.

Some of these powers above had a negative influence on the system, while others were more positive. The study also presents various examples of the so-called good, productive power, specifically within the context of the social nexus. One of the most important powers, and one that is often most neglected, is the power of communication and communicative action as exhibited by the communicative actions of the various community forums and stakeholder groups. This form of productive power was specifically exhibited by the way in which certain community groups and forums (e.g. the PICP) have exercised their social/community power (over the political power of "the Prince") in order to obtain funds for certain programmes and projects in the city.

It was however the specific relationships (or clashes) between certain types of conflicting powers, e.g. the professional and political powers that created the most conflict and problems. In other instances, did certain combinations of "compatible" powers (e.g. the combination of social power and communicative power), had a positive effect on the overall power/organisational structure. Within this realm, the Tshwane structure presents a particular power web with unique power relations. This, not only emphasises the need to understand the different types of powers and the different types of relations, but also the effect of these powers and power relations - specifically in a volatile political environment of a transforming local authority. It further emphasises the need to promote and exploit good relationships and to manage bad relationships - to balance the relationships in order to establish and maintain a sound and balanced power web - and ultimately good and productive power relations and organizational stability.

Struggles and conflict associated with power relations. When looking at the complex power web with its different and sometimes-conflicting power relations, it is obvious that these relations have to be associated with conflict, resistance and struggles. This particular study which, through the "practice movement methodology" and practice writing and narrating presents practice stories of real life experiences, has succeeded in exposing many of the struggles, conflict and battles typically found in planning systems and local authorities such as the struggles between the politicians and the planners, and the local authority managers and planners. Many of these struggles (which are intrinsically associated with Foucault's powers) were associated with, and

amplified by, the Tshwane local government transformation and the transformation of the urban planning and local government system (1992 to 2002), as well as the power/s of/in this system.

The impact of power relations on the transformation in the City of Tshwane. These power structures and power relations found in Foucault's power web and the City of Tshwane had a positive and negative *impact on the transformation of the urban planning system* in this City during the past decade. It was positive, in the sense that the transformation process was largely inspired, propelled and facilitated and directed by these different types of powers as well as a combination of these powers, *viz:* professional powers; the power of knowledge; the power and force of the better argument; the power of effective communicative action; the power of communities and pressure groups; and also the "good" infra power of politicians who used their powers to change the system to the better. Without these powers the transformation would not have been possible. In the City of Tshwane, these powers referred to above, in some instances, e.g. the organisational process, had a negative impact on the transformation as they were used to stop or slow down the transformation process, to defend the old system and to protect and maintain the old practices and powers in the City of Tshwane, e.g. the Structure Plan approach. In many cases these powers were also used to manipulate the transformation process as is evident by some of the restructuring efforts in the former council. These hindering forces or powers, unlike the facilitating forces or powers, were ultimately responsible for the resistance, struggles and conflict associated with the transformation process in the City of Tshwane. Foucault also referred to the concepts of promoting or constraining powers. In the City of Tshwane, it was however, primarily the combination(s) of the different powers (good and bad combinations) that had the largest impact on the transformation process.

The impact of the Tshwane transformation processes on power relations. The transformation processes in the City of Tshwane, or the introduction of new urban planning and urban management processes and practices, although influenced by the various forms of powers, in turn also had a positive and negative *impact on power, power structures and powers relations* as such. It was positive in the sense that it resulted in the establishment and emergence of many new forms of productive power such as the formation of the community/IDP forums with its management committees, new forms of community power and social power in the form of the democratic processes and the community involvement, and also new forms of "good" political power as a result of the (new) democratic dispensation. This also presents a shift from the so-called dominatory power (and the bad power of "The Prince") towards a more democratic and communicative type of power. Although some people saw these new power structures as negative and threatening, the transformation process impacted positively on power structures and power

relations in the sense that it disrupted the old power web and power balances. In some instances old power structures (good and bad) were dissolved or replaced by new power structures (good and bad). This ultimately created conflict, resistance and uncertainty in a volatile transforming local authority - and hence a new form of opposition power and group power - against any forms of change and domination.

The transformation process and the associated new urban planning processes and local government processes and structures similarly had a major impact on power structures in general. The new IDP system for instance resulted in new local authority powers specifically in the top management, the office of the Municipal Manager and the Treasury department, as well as a new system of power relations in the various council departments. Although this IDP system in some ways enhanced the power of the Municipal Manager as it made "him" more strategic, it in other cases diluted the power and influence of the City Treasurer and the Departmental Managers who no longer had the power to control and manipulate the system, projects, processes and the budget - as a result of the particular IDP process. This state of affairs, as could be expected, resulted in conflict, resistance and frustration, specifically amongst the old school (patriarchal) managers and politicians. The new transformed (ing) urban planning system with its developmental, strategic and democratic nature not only affected (positively and negatively) the roles and powers of the managers and councilors but it also had a major impact on the roles and powers of the urban planners as it made them more relevant in the new local government dispensation - and more important (see also Chapter 6). This in some instance resulted in new professional powers that threatened the power structures as discussed previously.

The Tshwane case study not only emphasises the need to understand the different power and power relations and the relationship between transformation processes and power relations, but it also provides a perspective on the transformational issues, struggles, conflict, resistance and power play associated with change. It highlights the sensitivity and complexity of power relations as described by Foucault, and also the need to structure and manage power relations and to achieve a sound balance of powers - a balanced power web. It has specifically become important in the local authority-planning environment with its political nature to limit power play and domination, to devise strategies and tactics to exploit "good productive powers" and to mediate "bad deconstructive powers" and to direct power(s) for the common good. One such strategy that needs to be emphasised relates to effective and appropriate communicative action, negotiation, argumentation and "the force of the better argument" - as promoted by Habermas, Healey, Hillier and Watson.

**Ending this discourse with "The power of communicative rationality"**

During the past few years, the respected work of Flyvbjerg provided evidence on the power of politics, the way in which power defines and dominates rationality. See Chapter 2; and see also Lapintie (2000); Watson (2001); and Allmendinger (2001) on the above. As discussed in Chapter 2, the work of Flyvbjerg was widely criticised by amongst others Lapintie who argued that his work and theories were to simplistic, in that it did not define and unpack the concept of rationality effectively.

The Tshwane case study, in support of Flyvbjerg's theories, further presents evidence of how political power was (ab)used to define and dominate rationality - e.g. the powerful methods which were used to dissolve the "rational" inner city process and projects and the effective and "rational" Planning Zone Forums, to name a few examples. The Tshwane case study, however also presents numerous examples and evidence that challenge and contradict the theoretical propositions from Flyvbjerg's study. These propositions are mostly too simplistic in that it over-emphasises the *"power of (political) power"* and that it under-emphasises *"the power of rationality"* and more specifically communicative rationality or action. It provides evidence that rationality is not always inversely proportional to power as presented by Foucault. The Tshwane case study further shows that it is not desirable to have such an unbalanced relationship between power and rationality as it results in domination, conflict and the neglect of good rational arguments ("the better argument"). This again, highlights the need to devise strategies to ensure a more balanced relationship between power and rationality, or to limit or mitigate dominance or bad power. Within the context of these strategies, Watson (2001) argues the need to identify and counter relations of domination wherever they may occur and to be alert to power and its dynamics through rationality and knowledge, giving support to its production and positive forms and monitoring and revealing its negative forms. This implies that rational actions such as communicative action be applied to manage these power dynamics.

Of particular importance for this study is the way in which effective communication, communicative action and speech act was used and harnessed to strengthen the power of rationality. As discussed in Chapter 2, power relations (Foucault) can be associated and linked with social relations (Habermas), see also Kogler, Hillier and Wartenburg in Chapter 2. The lifeworld comprises of one integrated web of power and social relations. The flow of power, power relations and the "power" of powers are largely influenced by social relations, communication and more specific communicative action (Healey), and the power of coalitions (Watson; Wartenburg and Kogler).

These communicative powers coincides with Flyvbjerg's viewpoint namely that *"rationality in open confrontation yields power".* Good power relations and good social relations provide a good and stable power/social web/system that is good for rationality, as it makes rational actions more powerful. In support of the above, Watson (2001), further argues that normative rationality may still provide an ideal, worth striving for, but it is a poor guide needed to get there. Her study amongst others illustrated the critical role played by discourse as a mechanism through which power was exercised. She argues that discourse is more than talk and that it (following Foucault) is viewed as including verbal and textual practices, which together is organised in a regular and systematic way. This "discourse coalition" around issues, according to Watson (2002), made the exercise of power more effective as it provides a better rationality.

The more active, omnipresent and power(full) these social powers become, "*the more the rationality and the less the power"* (the inversion of Flyvbjerg). This supposition is supported by a number of events during the Tshwane transformation process *viz:* the sustained pressure and power of the PICP working groups to obtain funds for social projects; the efforts made by planners to implement new systems in spite of much resistance; and the way in which grand plans and presentations (and good arguments) were used to approve and implement certain projects, e.g. the Inner City Spatial Development Framework.

Unlike the theory of Flyvbjerg (and the suppositions by Watson and Homann), which argues that "the force of the better argument" is often dominated by political powers, the Tshwane study argues that the force of the better argument or rationality (within the context of communicative action and social power) can be more powerful and influential than what some scholars tend to believe. If social rationality/arguments are applied/presented properly it has the potential to overshadow or at least challenge the political powers, ultimately providing a more balanced relationship between power and rationality. The Tshwane experiences show that the power/social web is highly unstable and that it should be stabilised through balanced power relations, through power(full) rationalisation and communicative action. These communicative actions not only support and strengthen the force and power of "the better argument", but it ensures a more balanced relationship between power and rationality and a more balanced power and social web. This ultimately ensures a more effective organisation, a better organisational culture, less conflict and resistance and more production.

**ANNEXURE A**

*****PERCEPTION SURVEY:**
**QUESTIONS AND SUMMARY OF RESPONSES AND OBSERVATIONS**

The figures indicated to each of the summarised responses present the total amount of responses from the respondents, for that particular issue. The * indicate the most frequent responses to a particular issue.

1. What are your perceptions, view points, opinions and critiques on the following aspects of the "old" planning system (before LDO's and IDP's)?

1.1 General approach to city planning in the City Council of Pretoria?

- Acceptable / Reasonable/ Not bad / Good / Forward planning was done / Logical / Well ordered (12)*
- Re active way of planning (4)
- Rigid - result of broader climate (3)
- Fragmented / not integrated (3)
- Focus on physical / land-use only (1)
- Lack of public / private (joint venture culture) (1)
- Limited public investment as catalyst to initiate special projects (1)
- Top down approach (2)
- Lack of public participation (planning for the people) (12)*
- Approach directed towards control (2)
- Done according to rigid structure plan (5)
- Approach was professional. The planners knew their place and functions (2)*
- Spatial segmentation / white areas (3)
- Traditions, conventional (1)
- Lack of vision (3)
- Ad hoc decision making (3)
- Too much political interference (1)
- Not enough control with illegal uses (1)
- Lack of integration with other discipline (4)
- Old approach more efficient than most Council's (1)
- Zoning approach inappropriate (1)
- Not user friendly (2)
- Reasonable control (2)
- No real planning - market forces dictated (1)
- Conflict between planning on macro and micro levels (1)

1.2 The Pretoria Structure Plan, 1993?

- Good guide for development (20)*
- Often a blue print, too rigid (4)
- Market forces resulted that guide-lines were not followed (1)
- Outdated (2)
- Emphasis on development control (5)*
- Lack of emphasis on management of growth and development (6)*

- Never properly administered / revised (3)
- Contained mostly officials ideas (1)
- Lack of community inputs (6)*
- Well balanced document (1)
- Against approach (1)
- Integration of transport lacking, and other disciplines (3)
- Good for its time (2)*
- Could have been done "in house" (1)
- Should be retained in some form (1)
- Lacked time frames and responsible agents (1)
- Professionally compiled (1)
- Does not contain projects (1)
- User friendly (1)
- Overly introspective (1)

1.3 Community participation in the City Council of Pretoria?

- Neglected, restricted, limited or no participation (26)*
- Participation limited through objections (rezonings) (4)
- Participation was not part of broader process / not required (4)
- Selected technical and interest groups participated (2)
- Council structure not user friendly (1)
- Only Councillors and Departments participated (1)
- Councillors to blame for lack of participation (2)
- There was adequate participation (3)
- Structure plan was presented to stakeholders (in some areas) (1)
- Informing communities is not participation (1)
- No structures, processes exist (2)
- Participation was limited to certain areas or cases (7)*

1.4 The aspect of integrated planning: The integration of the planning function with other departments, professions and sectors (before LDO's and IDP's)?

- Lack of integrated planning (14)*
  Departments did their own thing.
- Inter departmental co-ordination was lacking (1)
  Good / reasonable - Departments had to comment (2)
- Limited to Departments (3)
- There has been a shift towards more integrated planning (2)
- Nothing wrong / worked well (1)
- Only the results of sectoral planning were integrated: (1)
  "Different departments competed with each other for pieces of the physical environment (or for domination of this environment) and for funds, undermining each efforts and ultimately destroying the quality and the potential of the environment"
- There was good relationship's between Departments (1)
- Could have been better (1)
- Was done purely in respect of physical planning and in an ad hoc manner (1)
- Silo syndrome (1)

- City Planning & Development Department did try - other Departments did not co-operate (1)

1.5 The City Planning Department's focus on community needs and priorities?

- No or limited focus on community needs and priorities (17)*
- Only via Councillors or officials (10)*
- No structured community bodies (1)
- Reasonable / always played a role (7)*
- Addressed through scenario's and forecasts (1)
- Limited focus resulted in undesirable land-uses (1)
- Good in old Pretoria but poor in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville (3)

1.6 The City Council's understanding of and focus on the principles of sustainable development?

- Limited / non existent (15)*
- Lack or no understanding (13)*
- Academic rather than economic (1)
- Good / not neglected (5)
- Term promoted by "greenies" (1)

1.7 List all the **STRENGTHS** of the "old" planning system in the City Council of Pretoria?

- Enough personnel (1)
- Well trained personnel (2)
- Limited (political) or community interference (5)
- Strong and stable financial base (1)
- Legal requirements well understood (3)
- Department took longer view (1)
- Definite spatial guide-lines (2)
- Well structured internally (4)
- Stability in work force (1)
- Sound knowledge of planning areas (2)
- Good system of decision making (1)
- Transparency (1)
- Consistent/ continuity (2)
- Well managed (1)
- Cost and time effective (9)*
- Uncomplicated (3)
- Structure planning directed development (2)
- Land use proposals based on studies (2)
- Good and sound planning especially forward planning (9)*
- Everybody understood the system (4)
- Community was satisfied (1)
- Less conflicting viewpoints (1)
- Professionalism dominated (2)
- Good control (1)
  (Overall system good for its time)

1.8 List all the **WEAKNESSES** of the "old" planning system in the City Council of Pretoria?

- "In breeding" officials (1)
- Limited public participation (15)*
- Developer driven (1)
- Rigid statutory requirements (2)
- Structure plan underwent immediate amendments (2)
- Guide-lines too rigid (3)
- Limited delegation of powers (2)
- Unavailability of planning officials (1)
- Irregularities with officials - private agendas (1)
- Local authority did not know the needs and priorities of communities (3)
- Lack of creativity (1)
- Too much control (5)
- Top down (4)
- Political interference (3)
- No clear vision / overview of future development (5)
- Lack of integration with other disciplines (11)*
- Bureaucratic procedures (2)
- Reactive (1)
- Subjective approach (1)
- Emphasis on richer part of population (2)
- Forward Planning separated from Development Control (1)
- Did not take note of changing circumstances (3)
- Not transparent (1)
- Poor synergy between councillors and officials (1)
- Focus on land-use only (not holistic) (4)
- No "buy in" from councillors / officials (1)
- One dimensional (2)
- Poor relationship between Council and community (1)
- Strong opposition to change (1)

2. What are your opinions, viewpoints and/or critiques on the dual planning structure in the City Planning Department of the City Council of Pretoria, which initially consisted of Forward Planning (FP) and Development Control (DC) and later Guideline Planning and Land Use Rights?

- Unhealthy rivalry (1)
- Difference of focus resulted in conflict (1)
- Making planning solutions difficult (1)
- Must be separated (5)
- Must be integrated (13)*
- Suggests other structure on macro and micro level (1)
- Can be separate if integration can take place (3)
- Can work - problem relates to office politics (6)
- Duplication of work (3)
- Specialisation is important (2)
- Worked well (5)

Main problems of dual system relate to:

- Lack of integration

- Specialisation of functions
- Office politics
- Unequal distribution of work
- Professional jealousy
- No unity in Department etc.
- Unhealthy rivalry

Many / most respondents indicated one Department for planning.

Many respondents said that the dual system worked well but that it can be improved.

3. What is your perception of the current City Planning Department and the quality of the City Planners in this Department with regard to the following:

3.1 Effectiveness / performance?

- Good acceptable (12)*
- Land Use-Rights division is better (2)
- Real commitment to improve (1)
- Performance lacking (7)*
- Islands of poor performance (2)
- Some planners from the old school don't want to perform (1)

- Planners good - Department not (3)
- No performance management system (3)
- Not effective in terms of spatial planning (1)

3.2 Professionalism / professional conduct?

- Good, majority of people are professional (20)*
- Could be improved (2)
- Some good / some bad (2)
- Non-professional (3)
- Private work a problem (4)
- Not always easy to be professional (1)
- Lack of training (2)
- Some officials misuse the status of professionalism (1)
- Planners don't register at professional body (1)
- Definite improvement (1)

3.3 Attitude / motivation?

- Not good (15)*

Reasons: Mega City, political interference, affirmative action, financial position, transformation, public participation and fast changing environment, the system, economy, crime, remuneration, Munitoria fire, restructuring, planners experience problems in adapting to new processes

- Majority are motivated and keen (9)*

- System brakes motivation (1)
- Varies from person to person (3)
- No enthusiasm and no vision (1)
- Differs between two planning divisions (1)

3.4 Leadership?

- Good (8)*
- Ineffective / Poor (11)*
- Few natural leaders in strong positions (1)
- Need for guide-lines to develop potential (1)
- Has improved since 1994 (1)
- Problem of "in breeding" (2)
- Leaders in every zone (1)
- Some leaders must retire (1)
- Few good leaders (3)
- Lack in some areas (1)
- Certain persons emerged as leaders in the IDP process (1)

3.5 Knowledge?

- Good / sound / sufficient (25)*
- Lack of training in certain areas (5)
- Need to share and integrate knowledge (4)
- Lack of knowledge on spatial development (1)
- Need for more practical experiences (1)
- Has improved much (2)
- Lack of knowledge in private sector functioning (1)

3.6 Skills?

- Good / adequate / sufficient (25)*
- Need for more technological update (1)
- Need to identify and develop needs and skills base (1)

4. Has the above, or components of the above changed since 1992?

- Attitude and motivation of officials have changed negatively (7)*
- Officials more approachable / helpful (1)
- No change / not much change (5)*
- Change as a result of legislation etc (6)*
- Officials took up the challenge (1)
- More competitive spirit developed (1)
- Better understanding of problem (1)
- Change to the better (5)*
- Knowledge, skills improved (6)*
- Role of town-planner has changed (1)
- Effectiveness improved (1)

5. What is your perception of the City Council's organisational structure as far as it pertains to the panning and management of the City?

- Lack of integration and co-ordination between Departments (7)*

- "Silo syndrome" (3)
- "The need for a strong champion to sell and manage the development of Pretoria" (1)
- The need for an "IDP Manager and IDP task team" in the CEO's Department (3)
- Some Departments find it difficult to adapt to change (1)
- Structure inappropriate (8)*
- Poor management (4)
- Lack of creativity in some areas (1)
- Lack of focus, direction, vision (3)
- Don't use technology (1)
- Undefined roles and functions (4)
- Other aspects of planning (economic development) not adequately addressed (1)
- Acceptable (6)
- Bureaucracy problem (1)

6. In your opinion, how did the establishment of the GPMC (Metro Council) and its work affect the city planning and development function in the City Council of Pretoria?

- Very detrimentally / negative (5)
- Undefined / unclear roles and functions (8)*
- Interfering in affairs of CCP (3)
- Costly duplication (12)*
- Poor relationships /frustration / conflict / confusion (7)
- No affect (3)
- Positive affect (4)
- New and separate source of funding (4)
- "Big brother attitude" / political power play / empire building (4)
- Lack of communication and integration (6)

7. In your opinion, how did the political transformation, the RDP (1994), the DFA (1995), the LGTA 1996 and other legislation, bills and policies impact on:

7.1 The planning function and the role of the City Planning Department in general?

- Confusion on new terminology (1)
- New direction / new mind shift (2)
- Created new approach / new processes (2)
- More work / additional planning functions / more pressure (7)*
- Public participation (6)*
- Over emphasis on public participation (1)
- Too quick (1)
- It speeded up the process of change which was already underway (1)
- Resistance to change (officials) (1)
- Radically changed planning (3)
- Affected everyone (1)
- Created uncertainty / impact was negative (1)
- Not much change (3)
- City Planning & Development took the lead. Legislation etc., help to convince Council of new approach (1)
- Disrupted everybody (1)
- New workload negatively affected planning (3)

- Impact was positive (2)
- Local Government is doing the right thing (1)
- Department played more strategic role in planning and management (3)
- Forward / spatial planning suffered (1)
- Reduced effectiveness (2)
- Extra responsibilities - not prepared for and did not have the skills (1)
- From purely planning to strategic planning (1)
- Fragmentation of previously consolidated functions (1)
- More emphasis on service delivery (1)

Overly it is clear from the observation that it had a major impact on planning.

7.2 The role of planners in the City Council of Pretoria?

- Negative (3)
- More opportunities for planners (2)
- New role and functions for planners (4)
- It heightened the importance of planners (2)
- Jack of all trades / generalists doing almost everything (6)*
- Reduced effectiveness (1)
- Not much effect (2)
- Dramatic change a result of IDP (1)
- From planner to facilitator / manager - not good for traditional planning (9)*
- IDP was forced on planners (1)
- Promoted leadership (2)
- A greater work load and pressure (3)
- Pressure from communities (1)

- Greater exposure for planners (1)
- Greater understanding of managing the whole / expanding horizons (3)

7.3 The role of other disciplines (Engineers etc) in the City Council of Pretoria?

- Move towards more co-ordination and integration (10)*
- New mind set and understanding (3)
- Increased work load (1)
- More holistic approach (1)
- No affect (4)
- Departments changed their budged process (1)
- Other disciplines were left out (1)
- Other departments don't understand / accept (2)
- Reduced effectiveness (1)
- Other departments became more important (1)

7.4 The general culture (attitude, morale etc) of planners in the City Council of Pretoria?

- Still good / overly positive (3)
- Change of attitude towards IDP is needed (2)
- Feel more important (1)
- Conflicting planning legislation negative (2)
- Initially bad - later better (3)
- Negative as result of work load (2)
- Increased level of frustration (3)
- Mixed (some excited / some bad) (6)
- Overly negative (10)*
- Low because of lack of communication (1)
- Has caused uncertainty (2)
- Excellent compared to other cities (1)
- No change / little change (2)
- Professional turf is threatened (1)
- The good ones moved on positively (1)
- Inherent resistance to change (1)
- Negative about the future (1)

7.5 The role of consulting town-planners in Pretoria?

- Change from physical to holistic (1)
- More involved (8)*
- More responsible to communities (5)*
- New ideas emerged (1)
- Still lack of understanding (1)
- New thinking / new knowledge / experience (5)*
- No influence (1)
- Positive affect / more work (7)*
- Some has changed / adapted (2)
- Non participating consultants sceptical (2)
- Role can change even more (1)

- Increased level of frustration (1)
- More and new opportunities (5)*

7.6 The role of the local authority and it's Department's in general?

- Has changed dramatical (6)*
- New responsibilities (5)*
- Impact more on town-planning (2)
- Plays a greater role (1)
- All departments involved (1)
- Has changed to participative (3)
- More developmental (2)
- Not much (5)
- Taking powers from local government to make decisions (1)
- Focus now on sustainable service delivery (1)
- Too little support from other departments (1)
- Greater pressure to produce (1)
- "State of disarray" / chaos (2)
- Greater awareness to integrate / liaise (1)
- More holistic management (1)
- More cost effective client service (1)

7.7 The role of the CEO in the City Council of Pretoria?

- More responsible towards councillors and communities (3)*
- CEO is responsible for IDP (6)*
- CEO should give strategic direction, should lead, influence etc. (3)*
- Must be more high profile (2)*
- Greater emphasis on political approaches (1)
- New responsibility in terms of budget (2)*
- Role is vague and unspecific (1)
- Need for IDP champion (1)
- More difficult role (1)
- Should be more accountable (2)*
- CEO's role will change (1)

**QUESTIONS RELATING TO EMPRET (Environmental Management Programme for Pretoria) 1993-1996**

8. What is your perception of **EMPRET**?

- **EMPRET** was the start and basis of the IDP process (11)*
- Promote principles of Agenda 21, RDP, DFA (2)
- Don't know / unfamiliar (6)
- Innovative strategic programme in line with international thinking adapted to local circumstances (1)
- Significant step towards environmental management and integration and holistic approach (3)
- A very well thought / researched / based document initiating strategic development planning encompassing all spheres and

stakeholders (1)
- Not positive - did not participate (1)
- **EMPRET** started a new way of thinking (1)
- Good idea in theory (1)
- Not promoted / advertised sufficiently (1)
- Good start (1)
- **EMPRET** - excellent, before its time (1)
- Acceptable (1)
- Successful (1)
- Many lessons learned (1)
- First time that such a broad based planning was undertaken - positive initiative (1)
- "Ground breaking work (2)
- Sound principles (1)

9. Did the **EMPRET** programme in your opinion have an affect on a new approach to planning in the City Council of Pretoria?

- Yes it did had an affect (20)*
- No (1)
- **EMPRET** did prepare the City Council of Pretoria for the changes which were to come (1)
- **EMPRET** proposed the division of planning zones (1)
- It turned the heads in the direction of IDP's (1)
- Not promoted sufficiently (1)
- Created a new mind shift
- Made communities and officials aware of what integrated strategic planning is (2)
- It contributed to the training (1)
- Promoted the holistic environment (1)
- It was the embrio (1)
- Forms a common basis for new planning methods (1)

10. Did the **EMPRET** programme in your opinion contribute to the establishment, promotion and refinement of the Pretoria Inner City process 1996 - 1998 and the 1997 / 1998 IDP process?

- Yes it formed the basis for the Inner City process (ground breaking work) (21)*
- No, limited contribution (2)

**QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE PRETORIA INNER CITY PROCESS (1996 - 1998)**

11. What is your general perception of the Inner City process which started in 1996, with regard to aspects such as:

11.1 The planning process that was followed?

- Well worked out process logical / modern approach / innovative (19)*
- Active participation (5)*
- As prototype good - set guide-lines (1)
- Slow, few tangible results / optimistic (1)

- Led the way for other PZ's (1)
- Seen as a case study (1)
- Basis for new planning (1)
- Lessons learned (1)
- Excellent in theory, cumbersome in practice (1)
- First formal stab at integrated development (1)

11.2 The general approach to the Inner City Process?

- Well structured (1)
- Planned in great detail (1)
- Positive good / effective (20)*
- Excellent in theory, cumbersome in practice (1)
- Publicly orientated - makes it slow (1)
- Workbook very positive (1)
- Work groups made process efficient (1)
- It started a new way of doing (3)
- Transparent / Inclusive (4)
- Concern: Too Council driven (1)

11.3 The Strategic Development Framework prepared by Pretoria Inner City Partnership?

- Good product (15)*
- Lock of Implementation Framework (1)
- Economics did not focus on third world (1)
- Has produced few visible results (1)
- 4 Environments - logical -cohesion between environments often lacked (1)
- Community took part (3)
- Economic section stands alone (1)

- Negative (2)
- Better to do strategic part first and then the rest of the detail (1)
- Good strategic process (1)
- Little bit vague (1)
- Lacked spatial context (1)

11.4 The prioritisation of projects in the City Council of Pretoria?

- Successfully done (13)*
- Critical step in process (2)
- Only in Inner City - not in other zones (1)
- Biased towards social issues (3)
- It involved the community (2)
- Good start (1)
- Confusion on what should be prioritised - objectives, issues, projects (1)
- Inner City projects not viewed in terms of larger city (1)
- Scientific approach (1)
- Not all stakeholders participated (1)
- It limited political interference (1)
- Difficult to involve all (1)
- A model for any city (1)

11.5 The Implementation of projects in the Inner City of Pretoria?

- Good (11)*
- Lack of private sector support (1)
- Availability of funds helped implementation (1)
- Focus on social and security mainly (2)
- Involvement of community (1)
- More can be done, too slow (9)
- "Inner City planners do too much ignoring the expertise already in the Council - this lead to mistakes, duplication of functions, ineffectiveness and inefficiency" (1)
- Unrealistic expectations (1)
- First of its kind in SA (1)
- Support from Council (1)
- The only zone that implement so many projects (1)
- Lack of funds hampers implementation (1)
- Too many projects (1)

11.6 The Management Structure of the Pretoria Inner City Partnership?

- Good, acceptable, well structured (13)*
- Representative, stakeholder participation, working groups (3)
- Good leadership (1)
- Need for separate identity away from local authority (1)
- Dedicated project team (1)
- Need for business sector involvement (3)
- Need for more "colour" (1)
- Well managed (2)

- Need for more money (1)

11.7 The Pretoria Inner City Partnership Working Groups?

- Good (9)*
- Must now focus more on implementation (1)
- Need for more private sector involvement (1)
- Too time intensive (1)
- "Only logical way of dealing will different ideas, actions" (1)
- Started of good, some are falling apart (4)*
- Need for more positive leadership (1)
- More smaller groups needed (1)
- Allows for participation (3)
- Too many groups (1)
- Momentum must be sustained (2)
- Must be better integrated (1)

11.8 Community Involvement in the Inner City Process?

- Good, active, good effort (16)*
- Sometimes aggressive (1)
- Good during initial stage (1)
- Community involved from inception (1)
- Can be tiresome - political interference (1)
- Limited and should be expanded (1)
- Certain parts of community must become more involved (2)
- Participation must focus more on participation and not criticism (1)
- Lack of business involvement (1)

11.9 The Involvement of other Council Departments in the Inner City Process?

- Good (especially initial stage) (8)*
- Some jealousy (1)
- Some improvement lately (1)
- Some were involved (1)
- Can be improved a lot (5)*

Overly it seems as if the involvement of the departments was good in the initial stage. It has however clear from the perception survey that a lot needs to be done to improve this.

12. In your opinion, did the Inner City Process contribute to the later IDP process followed in Pretoria? If yes, in which way did it contribute?

- "PICP set the example for planning in other planning zones as well as city wide" (27)*
- Established a methodology, uniform process, "groundbreaking work", "building block", "example", "pioneer", "front runner", "foundation", "direction", "experienced", "paved the way", "framework", "model"
- Many lessons learned (4)

- Close involvement of Coetzee contributed in a procedural sense (1)
- Part of the process could be adopted for other areas (1)
- PICP process was over emphasized (1)
- "Tested model used in other zones" (1)

**QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE IDP PROCESS FOLLOWED IN PRETORIA DURING THE PERIOD 1997 - 1998**

13. What is your perception of the IDP process with regard to the following components?

13.1 The general philosophy / approach to integrated development planning?

- Sound approach / good / better / only way to go (26)*
- Need to be holistic (1)
- Due to EMPRET it worked (2)
- Wrong / waste of time and money (1)
- Town-planning was neglected (4)
- Problems with participation / communication (5)
- "The best transformation" (1)
- Problem with implementation (1)
- Advantages of participation (2)
- Need to strike a balance between technical and community inputs (2)
- Not good (2)
- Need to learn more (1)
- Good on paper / excellent in theory (2)
- Too much emphasis on participation (1)
- No / little guidance for private development (1)
- Lack of integration (2)

13.2 The steps of the process?

- Lack of integration (2)
- Steps followed EMPRET steps (2)
- Too slow, lengthy, cumbersome (6)*
- Too rigid (3)
- Well structured, acceptable, rational, logical, good (15)*
- Confusion about spatial and status quo component (1)
- Over emphasis on "wishes" (2)
- Lack of spatial framework / planning (2)
- Good to get community involvement (2)
- Need for training (1)
- Need to better understand the "four environments" (2)
- Well tested and performed (1)
- Need to refine steps (1)

13.3 In your opinion, what are the <u>strengths</u> of the community participation programme which was followed during the IDP process?

- "Buy-Inn" (3)
- Community involvement, opportunity for all to participate (26)*

- Better sense of working of Council (3)
- Community empowerment (1)
- Community awareness (2)
- Community involvement will improve in future (1)
- Willingness of volunteers (1)
- Improved perceptions amongst community (atmosphere of co-operation) (8)*
- Better understanding of community views, needs and priorities (community needs reflected in Council's budget) (11)*
- Transparency (2)
- Previously disadvantaged communities became part of planning (1)
- Establishment of Planning Zone Forums and offices (2)
- Implementation of small scale projects (1)
- Legitimate (1)
- Ordinary people afforded opportunity to participate (3)
- Comprehensiveness (1)

13.4 In your opinion what are the weaknesses of the community participation programme which was followed during the IDP process?

- Creation of expectations and wrong perceptions (4)
- Lack of implementation (2)
- Peoples needs were neglected (2)
- Public participation came down too fast on the public (1)
- Importance of resident's opinion over exaggerated (4)
- Too much participation / too cumbersome (5)*
- Political interference / agendas / power play (4)
- A perception was created that laymen can plan the city (2)
- Planning process delayed-time consuming (6)*
- More expensive (3)
- Poor marketing and communication (5)*
- Poor attendance at workshops (2)
- Wish list of projects (5)*
- Undefined responsibilities, roles, functions (6)*
- "Window dressing" (1)
- Confusion created (1)
- Personal interest above community (2)
- bad representation, lack of involvement of key role players (corporate developers) (2)
- Lack of understanding, knowledge of the process (7)*
- Lack of strategic focus versus detail and unimportant issues (3)
- Conflict, lack of consensus (1)
- Frustration from community led to unproductivety (1)
- Lack of funding for planning zone forums (1)
- Ordinary people not interested unless they directly affected (1)
- Steering Committees not involved (1)

13.5 Do you have any suggestions on how to improve community participation in the IDP process?

- Improve marketing and communication (12)*
- Information, capacity building, training (9)*

- Funding (3)
- More personnel (1)
- More emphasis on technical expertise. Improve relationship between planners, professionals and public (4)
- Organised community structures and mechanisms (6)*
- More involvement from Councillors (1)
- Strong, well prepared facilitators (1)
- Structured meetings (1)
- Smaller zones (1)
- Issue based participation on city / metro scale (1)
- Inform participants on expectations (1)
- Involve organised business (1)
- Only focus on representative organisations (1)
- The process should be better structured (1)
- Limited public meetings (3)

13.6 What is your perception to the contribution of City Council Planners to the IDP process?

- Very good, sensible contribution (23)*
- Only some made good contributions (3)
- In some zones good (1)
- Organising / inputs / facilitation / co-ordination (3)
- Sacrificed private time (1)
- High levels of knowledge and experience contributed (3)
- Town planners - front runners (1)
- Should have played a larger role - not only observers / facilitators (1)
- Innovative / inventive (1)
- Ground breaking work (1)
- Strong leadership (1)

13.7 What is your perception to the contribution of the Pretoria Town-planning consultants to the IDP process?

- Good contribution (18)*
- Positive and negative (5)
- Good in some areas only (2)
- New process - consultants adapted well (1)
- Good have done more (2)
- Negative / poor (1)
- Lack of innovation in some areas (2)
- Valuable knowledge (1)
- Lack of team work (1)
- Tried to create some order and logic of the chaos (1)

13.8 What is your perception to the contribution of Council Departments (Inter Departmental team) to the IDP process?

- Some good / some bad (6)*
- Good effort (7)*
- Not good / limited involvement could have done more (13)*
- Most contributed in some or other way (1)

- Inter departmental teams did not function as they should (4)*
- Ensured continuity (1)
- Need to refine a mechanism or structure (1)
- Lack of integration (1)

13.9 What is your perception to the contribution of Councillors to the IDP process?

- Minimal / not good (17)*
- Average / good (6)
- Proportional Councillors were absent (1)
- Some areas better than others (3)
- Political interference or political gain a problem (8)*
- Only good in the beginning (2)
- Only attend planning zone meetings (1)

13.10 What is your perception to the overall management of the formulation phase?

- Support from officials contributed to the success (1)
- Adequate / good / well organised (15)*
- Not sufficient time to achieve good results (3)
- Clear guide-lines and logical programme (2)
- Not good, can be improved (3)
- Too rigid (3)
- Better in some zones than others (1)
- Good leadership (1)

13.11 What is your perception to the implementation of the IDP's?

- Not good / bad / limited (19)*
- Good or good in some areas (2)
- Need for stronger implementation / performance management tool (1)
- Slow (3)
- Top down implementation (1)
- Lack of finances / budget constraints (6)*
- IDP's are too vague to implement (1)
- Lack of integration of projects (3)
- Top officials have not bought in (1)
- Prioritisation process lacking (3)
- "Anti climax" (1)
- Lack of guide-lines (1)

13.12 The impact of the IDP process on the planning function in the City Council?

- Created confusion (4)
- Frustration (1)
- Certain amount of resistance (1)
- It reduced the effectiveness of the classical planning function (5)
- Great / significant / positive (13)*
- Changed the role of planning (1)
- It drew attention to planning in Council, client awareness (2)
- Minimal impact / limited (5)

- Increased the workload (2)
- New improved structure in Council (2)

13.13 Any general comments / observations regarding IDP's?

- Need to prioritise projects
- Too comprehensive
- Needs to be modified in terms of format and intent
- "I think we can be proud"
- Need to be holistic
- Need to motivate planners
- Need for after care (implementation)
- Emphasis on City Wide IDP as the strategic guide-lines
- Good process
- Can delay development
- Still have a lot to learn - must be positive
- Spatial component will have positive spin-offs
- IDP's are over rated
- Need to sustain IDP offices
- IDP's brought credibility and transparency
- We need to protect the good areas
- Too great gap between strategic level and detail
- IDP created opportunities for all planners
- Over emphasis on community participation
- Lack of "buy Inn" from Departments
- Need to link IDP with budget

**QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE IDP (THE INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLAN)**

14. What is your opinion on the hierarchy of IDP's:
One Metro IDP;
3 City IDP's; and
18 Local / Planning Zone, IDP's?

- Hierarchy is good/necessary/logical/crucial/important (15)*
- 3 levels will change with transformation (1)
- (Metro IDP is duplication of 3 City Wide IDP's (5)*
- Duplication of contents (8)*
- Should not be drafted simultaneously (1)
- Good way to link Metro issues with detail issues (2)
- Confusion (2)
- Higher level IDP dictates lower levels (1)
- Boundaries between IDP's problematic (2)
- Budget should be linked to zone level (1)
- Only one Metro IDP is necessary (2)
- Local IDP's are building blocks (not statutory) (3)
- Good and Bad: good for participation, difficult to manage/reconcile (1)
- Each plan should focus only on its area of interest (2)
- Integration did not always take place (2)
- Too complex/confusion (4)
- More focus on local IDP's ( local IDP's only) (2)
- Must be a clear distinction between Metro (strategic issues and

local issues) (1)
· Maybe an "overkill" (1)

15. What is your opinion on the format and contents of the Pretoria IDP's?

· A lot of paperwork (not good) (3)
· Too standardised (5)*
· Too much repetition/duplication of information (7)*
· Need for clear hierarchy (2)
· IDP's should be more strategic (9)*
· Lack of verified data (1)
· Not area or site specific (1)
· Too comprehensive/not user friendly / cumbersome (14)*
· Good/acceptable (7)*
· Lack of spatial (6)*
· Too much emphasis on status quo (1)

16. There seems to be different schools of thought and even confusion about the aims and structure of an IDP. What is your opinion on the following components and their relevance to the IDP's?

16.1 The strategic component of vision, goals, strategies?

· Crucial, imperative, the way it should be, need for strategic direction important (26)*
· Be cautious not to spend too much time on this component (2)
· Problems relating to understanding/semantics (1)
· Lack of integration (1)
· Can be combined/summarised (3)
· "Often pure hogwash", wishy/washy, (3)
· Goals and strategies essential (1)
· Create common direction (1)
· Must not be too fluffy (1)
· Too theoretical for the public (1)
· Needed as basis for strategy formulation (1)
· Needed for city only - not zones (1)
· Must be done on all levels (1)

16.2 The status quo component?

· Must not be a loose standing document (must be integrated) (3)
· Handy/basis/important for information (20)*
· Should be updated continuously (4)
· Too much time spent on status quo (2)
· Too comprehensive, must be more relevant, concise (9)*
· Serves as a benchmark (1)
· Community must be more involved (2)
· Over emphasized (2)
· Not necessary (2)

16.3 The spatial framework component?

· Link between strategic and management components (1)

- Community inputs can be an obstacle (1)
- Too broad, should be more detailed (4)
- Extremely important (must be emphasised more) (19)*
- Inner City - Good example (1)
- Not part of IDP (1)
- Present format not right (1)
- Should not be too rigid (1)
- Only guideline - cannot ensure delivery (1)
- Should be limited to strategic issues (3)
- Should be done separately after strategic plan (1)
- Should be integrated (1)
- Needs refinement and improvement
- Must be given teeth (1)
- Must not be legally prescriptive (2)

Although 50%+ of the respondents recognise the importance of the spatial framework it seems to be clear that there is great confusion on what the function and aim of the spatial framework should be. Some people say it should be rigid, others promote flexibility. Some say it should be part and integrated with the IDP, other say it should be separate.

16.4 The implementation framework?

- Most/very important (13)*
- Must be communicated (1)
- Should be integrated (2)
- These frameworks were lacking (3)
- Too many projects (1)
- Budget per zone must be allocated (1)
- Well structured (1)
- Prioritisation important (was not done) (3)
- Confusion, needs more work, must be revisited (7)*
- Need to link with budget (3)
- Created expectations (1)
- Challenge is to effectively manage the implementation framework (1)
- Need to include a monitoring mechanism (1)
- Slow implementation (1)

16.5 The relative importance or relationship between the above components?

- Components are equally important (5)*
- Components relate to each other, need to be integrated (continuity) (14)*
- Implementation/key issues very important (5)*
- Some components lacking (1)
- Need a lot of work (1)
- Spatial most important (4)
- Uncertainty about the role/status of the spatial framework (2)

16.6 The framework and concept of the four development environments (Physical, Social, Economic and Institutional)?

- Nice to have/not essential (1)

- Split of four environments is artificial (1)
- Can be difficult to integrate (1)
- Hampers integration (2)
- Categories must be issue-based (1)
- It is good, logic, functioned well (20)*
- Supports holistic approach and stimulates lateral thinking (balanced approach) (4)*
- Create opportunity for dedicated members or working groups to focus on a particular group of issues (3)
- "Compare with the divisions of big business into smaller business units" (1)
- Leads to a lot of duplication (1)
- Over emphasis on social environment (1)
- Stimulates lateral thinking (1)
- Must not be handled in isolation, must be integrated (5)*
- More emphasis on regional environment (1)
- A way to organise/structure data/issues (1)
- Took time to understand concepts (1)

17. How do you see the relationship between the IDP and the City Council's organisational or corporate plan?

- Strategic vision/approach fundamental (1)
- Corporate plan should be component/subsidiary to IDP (IDP determines strategic direction to city and Council) (13)*
- Should be directly integrated/linked (8)*
- Two separate plans with reference/support to each other (3)
- Lack of understanding by other senior officials (1)
- The two plans are moving in the right directions (1)
- Not so important as physical aspect (1)
- Currently lack of relationship (4)*

**QUESTIONS RELATING TO PLANNING ZONES (PZ's) AND PLANNING ZONE FORUMS (PZF's)**

18. What is your opinion on the following:

18.1 The principle of Planning Zones?

- Good idea/acceptable/useful/excellent (21)*
- Nothing new (1)
- Good for communication (7)*
- More workable, functional, manageable planning areas (7)*
- Good for managing diversity (4)
- Demarcation important (community boundaries, (9)*
- no political boundaries, size, homogenous areas)
- Need for overlapping/integration (2)
- Expensive to manage (1)
- Could be smaller (2)
- Need to be refined and developed (1)

18.2 The principle of Planning Zone Forums?

- Acceptable/practical/good (17)*
- Stable vehicle/mechanism to promote community involvement, transparency, participation (12)*
- Power, authority delegation must be more clearly defined (5)*
- Must be non-political (3)
- Need to be refined (1)
- Uncertainty/doubt (1)
- Waste of time - few people take interest (2)
- Must ensure its existence (1)
- Administrative support must be provided (1)
- Good for managing the zone (1)

18.3 The number and size of Planning Zones?

- Some too big (11)*
- More homogenous zones could work better (1)
- Number and size irrelevant - zones must be demarcated according to sound criteria or principles (6)*
- Good/Acceptable (7)*
- Could combine some zones (2)
- More smaller zones can be costly (1)
- Problem with functional boundaries (1)

18.4 The boundaries of the planning zones?

- Needs attention/amendments (6)*
- Need for criteria (4)*
- Should be based on community and planning boundaries (1)
- Some boundaries illegal (1)
- Must follow political wards (1)
- Functional demarcation should dictate (4)*
- Some can be integrated
- Not to be dictated by politics (4)*
- Good / Acceptable (4)*
- Zone 9 and 10 (Freeway) a problem (2)
- New Mega structure poses a problem (1)

18.5 Integration of inputs between planning zones and between different levels of IDP's?

- Reasonable/Good (4)
- Much confusion between different levels (1)
- Lack of integration between plans of different levels (3)
- Integration must take place (must be properly structured) (11)*
- Uncertain (1)
- Can be improved/need to be refined (3)
- Problematic/went wrong/not well managed/ not structured (6)*
- Must be managed by a dedicated team (1)
- City IDP should have been completed before local IDP's (1)
- Need to look at cross-border issues (1)

19. How do you see the relationship between the Planning Zone Forums and

19.1 The Integrated Development Plan?

- The role and responsibility of the PZF's in implementing the IDP must be clarified (3)
- Recommendations from PZF must be taken seriously (2)
- Important (relationship) (10)*
- PZF's voice of the community (mechanism to ensure public participation) (2)
- PZF's must be more representative (1)
- PZF's must become more involved (can be improved) (2)
- PZF's must make inputs (consultative) (4)*
- Should take responsibility of the IDP (3)
- Must play role in implementation and monitoring of the IDP (3)
- Must consult experts (1)
- PZF's don't understand the IDP (2)
- Disparity between community needs and the IDP (1)

19.2 The local authorities?

- Good, important / improved co-operation / alliance (8)
- Still some negative perceptions about local authority (1)
- Lack of clarity about IDP's in local authority (duties, responsibilities and functions) (2)
- PZF's should have delegated powers
- Local authority must provide support (2)
- Local authority must manage process not PZF's (must be the communication channel) (4)
- Ongoing communication, relationship, partnership is important (6)
- PZF's play watchdog / advisory / consultative (4)
- PZF's must support local authority (2)
- Mistrust between PZF's and local authority (2)*

19.3 The role of Councillors?

- PZF's created opportunity for councillors to become more involved (4)
- Limited, lack of involvement (7)
- Councillors must be involved, link between community and council (11)*
- Conflict between councillors and community leaders (8)*
- Political interference (3)
- Councillors don't understand the process (1)

20. What in your opinion should be the main purpose of the Planning Zone Forum?

- Making inputs to Council / advisory body only / no decision making powers (12)
- Mouthpiece of the community / communication channel to represent the community (17)*
- To identify and communicate community needs, problems ideas and priorities (9)

- To inform and educate the community on activities in the zone (5)
- Watchdog function, to manage the area or to play a role in managing the area (4)
- Must have an office in area (1)

21. How do you see the role and function of the Forum Management Committee?

- To facilitate, direct, manage, organise (9)
- Advisory - not decision making (4)
- Link between PZF and Council (8)
- Represent community / forum, responsible, accountable to forum (9)
- Must have delegated powers (2)*
- Not good mechanism (1)

22. What should the status be of the Planning Zone Forum-Management Committees *vis a vis* the various Councils?

- Advisory - not decision making (10)*
- Equal status (2)
- Delegated powers (local issues) (2)
- Must be determined by new governance model for Metro (1)
- Watchdog function (1)
- "Smaller groups of councillors" (this will promote involvement) (2)
- Link between community and council (1)
- Should be properly constructed and approved by Council (1)
- Supporting not overriding (1)
- Subservient to council (1)

23. Do you believe there is a need for a formal structure or mechanism such as PZF's to facilitate community involvement in the planning and development process and if so, why?

- Yes, formal structures are needed (26)*
- Especially for the implementation phase (1)
- No need for formal structures (4)
  If it is formalised, people will have to be paid.

24. Based on your experience with PZF's and PZF management committees, what are the main <u>strengths / opportunities</u> of these forums and management committees?

- Better understanding and confidence of Council's activities (4)
- Representation of constituency (5)
- Knowledge of area (5)
- Non political (3)
- Promotes communication, participation and involvement (15)*
- Basis for information (1)
- Link between Council and community (6)
- Empowerment of communities (3)
- Building relationships (1)
- Legitimate mechanism (1)
- People enthusiastic, responsible (4)
- Increase democracy (1)
- Willingness of volunteers to participate (1)

25. Based on your experience with PZF's and PZF management committees, what are the main weaknesses and threats of these forums and management committees?

- Potential conflict (3)
- Insufficient funding (2)
- Inadequate communication from GPMC and Council (1)
- Power play (4)
- Inability, lack of knowledge, understanding roles and functions, don't see the whole picture (11)*
- Lack of recognition for technical / professional inputs (2)
- Lack of representation (1)
- Personal, private interests, hidden agendas, emotions (9)
- Too politicised (3)
- Lack of enthusiasm (3)
- Being ignored by Council / councillors (1)
- Perception that they "own the council" (4)
- Expectations created (1)
- Mistrust (2)
- Becomes a complaint forum (1)
- Can be obstructive to development and progress (2)

**GENERAL QUESTIONS ON IDP's**

26. In your opinion, what are the main strengths and opportunities of integrated development planning?

- Holistic approach (total environment) (4)
- Strategic direction / framework for urban growth (4)
- Pro-active planning and development (3)
- Integration of issues and roleplayers (9)
- More management orientated approach (2)
- Community needs and priorities, cost effectiveness / better planned budget (10)
- Public private partnerships, joint responsibility (PPP's) (3)
- Decrease empire building (1)
- Public participation / involvement (17)*
- Education and informing the public (3)
- Co-ordination of development, planning and management (2)
- Common goals are set (1)
- Aimed at sustainability (2)
- It's a process not a plan (1)
- Hierarchy of plans (1)
- More informed decision making (1)

27. In your opinion, what are the main weaknesses, concerns and threats of integrated development planning?

- Expectations which can not be met (wish list) (7)*

- Too rigid / structured format of process (2)
- Lack of integration (2)
- Lack of focus on spatial planning (3)
- Lack of understanding, roles and responsibilities in community (4)
- Costly process (1)
- Time constraints / consuming (4)
- Decision making could be hindered (2)
- IDP regarded as a town planning exercise and not a local authority (corporate) exercise (1)
- Too cumbersome / complex (2)
- Too many first world ideas (1)
- All Council departments have not bought in to the process (mind shift) (4)
- Lack of capacity in Council (2)
- Community groups can dominate process. Lack of technical professional inputs (2)
- Outcomes don't focus on community needs and priorities (1)
- Status of IDP's unclear (1)
- Confusion with regard to the format and contents of the IDP (spatial plan etc) (1)
- How should prioritisation take place? (1)
- Too much emphasis on process (participation) (1)
- Lack of implementation (3)
- Inappropriate organisational structure to support IDP (1)

28. How do you see the future of integrated development planning?

- It can fizzle out and be replaced by a new "name" or trend (1)
- Only way to go / positive / healthy approach / important, it will improve, has to stay (25)*
- Needs refinement (10)*
- The system (organisation) should be adapted / changed (1)
- It hampers development (1)
- "Sick and dying" (1)
- Be careful for too much participation (1)
- Will in future guide local authorities (4)
- Must become more strategic (1)
- Need for more communication (1)

29. How do you see the future role of the local authority in integrated development planning with specific reference to:

29.1 The role of Council Departments?

- Indispensable / imperative (18)*
- They must integrate, will become more integrated (must break down the silo's) (7)
- Departments must handle technical process (2)
- "No future" (1)
- Supplementary functions (1)
- Need for IDP champion at CEO level (1)
- IDP will guide Departmental functions (2)

- Departments should drive the process (1)

29.2 The role of Planners?

- More pro-active (1)
- More facilitation (4)
- Central role, key role, the leading role, crucial (22)*
- Must focus on their role of planning (1)
- Planners not involved will be excluded from planning in future in Pretoria (1)
- New opportunities for planners (1)
- Planners will have to change (1)

29.3 The role of Councillors?

- Increasing involvement / must be more involved (13)*
- Interface with communities (8)*
- Political leadership (1)
- Not important (3)
- Must be educated / informed (2)
- "Stay out of planning" (1)
- Roles of Councillors, communities need to be identified (1)
- Advisory on forums (1)

30. Do you believe there is sufficient understanding amongst planners, Council Departments and Councillors of the concept of integrated development planning?

- Yes and no (3)
- Broad principles are understood but not being implemented by all (2)
- Too much confusion on terminology, definition, concepts (1)
- Must be basic, clear and practical (1)
- No, not sufficient understanding, we need training (22)*
- Yes in Pretoria, more in Pretoria (3)
- Other departments don't understand (1)
- Lack of understanding with respect to the elements, components of the IDP (1)
- Communication must improve (1)
- There is a desire to learn (1)

31. Do you think there is sufficient "buy in" and support for integrated development planning from councillors, officials and communities?

- No, not yet (22)*
- It can improve (3)
- Unreasonable expectations create mistrust (3)
- Need for more, better communication, efforts (6)
- It will take time. It will improve (6)
- Yes (2)
- The process was driven by planners - this created frustration (1)
- People don't want to change (1)

32. Did the Council's training and information sessions contribute and succeed in promoting

the principles of integrated development planning?

- It did help/contribute (23)*
- Need to continue training and information seminars (more training) (10)
- More training for PZF-management committees is needed (3)
- No, I don't think so, not yet (2)
- Training expanded approaches and thinking (1)

33. Do you have any general suggestions on how to promote and improve the principles of integrated development planning?

- Education (5)
- Comprehensive marketing and communication (14)*
- "Scrap it" (1)
- Design a management system to promote the implementation (2)
- More emphasis on implementation, deliverables (6)
- Make the process more simple (smaller components) (5)
- Market visible results (2)
- More focus on professional inputs (3)
- Must become part of planning schools syllabus (1)
- Children at school must be exposed to it (1)
- Use all public venues to promote process (1)
- Training of Councillors (1)
- Limit time delays (1)
- Dont throw away the principles of traditional town planning (1)
- First do the strategic plan followed by other components (1)

**ANNEXURE B**

**INTERGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING RESEARCH. INTERVIEW / DISCUSSION FRAMEWORK. APRIL 2002.**

PHD RESEARCH: Mr. J. COETZEE
DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
STUDY LEADER: PROF. MARK ORANJE

REFERENCE NUMBER:.....
INTERVIEWEE:.....
INVOLVEMENT OF INTERVIEWEE:.....
DATE OF INTERVIEW:.....
PLACE WHERE INTERVIEW WAS HELD:.....

The purpose of this interview/discussion is to obtain specific comments and inputs on: "*Whether, and how the theoretical dimensions/aspects of IDP emerged and developed in the City of Pretoria during the 1990s"*. (The abbreviated section addresses a substantial portion of the problem statement).

The interview and discussion will be structured around the following main themes, which are closely related with the theory of Integrated Development Planning:

1 Spatial planning
2 Community participation
3 Social planning or social rationality
4 Strategic planning
5 Sustainable development planning
6 The relationship between urban planning and urban management

Specific questions will be asked on eg:

- How did each of the above components emerge and develop in the City of Tshwane?
- What was the impact or relevance of each of the above?
- How was each of the above perceived and experienced by the various role players?
- How consequent and successful was each of the above, why or why not ?
- What were the strengths and weaknesses of each of the above?
- Which lessons were learned or suggestions were made?
- Do you have any general comments on anyone of the above?

The above questions, and its focus and emphasis will be varied according to the specific interest of the interviewees. Based on the specific problem and focus areas and the particular interest and involvement of role players, the following categories, and key role players were selected and targeted for this interview:

**A Pretoria Politicians/Councilors involved with IDP and City Planning in general**

A1 Alderman Dereck Coetzee (Member of the former Executive Committee of the former City Council of Pretoria)

A2 Alderman Pasty Molefe (Chairperson of the former Executive Committee of the former City Council of Pretoria)

**B Managers and planners, involved with IDP, strategic planning and spatial planning in the City of Pretoria.**

B1 Amond Beneke (Chief Planner: Metropolitan Guideline Planning, former Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council, responsible for the Metro IDP and overall co-ordination of the IDP processes)

B2 Nikki Ludick (Senior Planner and former assistant to Amund Beneke)

B3 Jan Roode (Chief Planner and manager of the former Pretoria City Wide IDP Process)

B4 Leon du Bruto (Chief Planner and manager of the former Centurion IDP process)

B5 Pieter de Haas (Chief Planner and manager of the former Akasia IDP process)

B6 Mokgomeratje Makgata (Senior Town Planner, former City Council of Pretoria, involved with the planning of Mamelodi and IDP in general)

B7 Jaksa Barbir (Chief Urban Designer, former City Council of Pretoria, and a member of the 1999 Pretoria IDP Task Team)

B8 Kestell Serfontein (Chief Planner of the former Centurion Town Council, involved with IDP, spatial planning and strategic planning)

B9 Simon Bogopa (Senior official from the former GPMC involved with various aspects of IDP and community development)

B10 Desiree Homann (Senior official from the former City Council of Pretoria, involved with several community participation and community development processes)

**C Planning Consultants involved with the Pretoria IDP processes, strategic planning and spatial planning in general.**

C1 Peter Dacomb, Firm: Plan Practice, Pretoria City Wide IDP (1997 - 1998), and various other IDP and strategic planning process during the 1990s.

C2 Conrad Wiehan, Firm: Plan Practice, Pretoria City Wide IDP (1997 - 1998), and various other IDP and strategic planning process during the 1990s.

C3 Theo Pretorius, Firm: Plan Associates, Metropolitan Strategic Development Framework (1996 - 1997), Metro IDP (1997 - 1998), and various other IDP and strategic planning process during the 1990s.

C4 Jacques van der Merwe, practising Town Planner, involved with several IDP and strategic planning processes during the 1990s.

**D Academia and research institutions.**

D1 Ms Elsona van Huysteen (Lecturer, University of Pretoria, Consultant to the Pretoria IDP process)

D2 Ms Maria Coetzee (Senior project manager, consultant, researcher and trainer on IDP, CSIR)

D3 Ms Yondela Silimela (Senior project manager, consultant, researcher and trainer on IDP, CSIR)

**E Community Members.**

E1 Josh Ngonyama (Community member involved with various IDP processes, and chairperson of the Pretoria Inner City Partnership)

E2 Richard Ratlou (Member of the former Pretoria City Wide IDP Management Committee)

**ANNEXURE C**

CHRONOLOGY

| | |
|---|---|
| 1855 | The formal establishment of the City of Pretoria. |
| 1944 | The first Town Planning Scheme for a portion of Pretoria. |
| 1964 | The establishment of the first independent City Planning Department in the City Council of Pretoria. |
| 1972 | The first comprehensive Mater Plan/Policy document for the City of Pretoria (The Silver Fish). |
| 1974 | The first consolidated Town Planning Scheme for the whole of Pretoria. |
| 1980 | The first Pretoria Structure Plan. |
| 1984 | The first Greater Pretoria Guide Plan. |
| 1989 | Nellmapius Township Establishment. One of the first attempts in the City of Pretoria to address community participation and integration. |
| 1989 | The promulgation of The Environmental Conservation Act, 1989. |
| 1989 | Department of Environmental Affairs introduced the concept of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM). |
| 1990 | February: Former President F.W. De Klerk launched South-African into a period of transition. |
| 1992 | February: Rodney Corin and Johnny Coetzee began to introduce and promote the principles of IEM and community participation in the City Council of Pretoria, after having completed a short course on IEM at the University of Cape Town. |
| 1992 | The City Council of Pretoria established the first formal structured Community Participation Process for the so-called City Lake Project. |
| 1992 | The RIO UNCED Earth Summit introduced a new perspective on sustainable development and local authority planning and management. |
| 1992 | The publication of the "ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South-Africa". |
| 1993 | Approving a new Structure Plan for Pretoria (The former old Pretoria area). |
| 1993 | The first discussion document on the initial EMPRET programme. |
| 1993 | 16 November: The first formal presentation and publication on EMPRET. |
| 1993 | The beginning of the "Purpose Directed Management" restructuring process in the City Council of Pretoria. |
| 1993 | November: The appointment of Mike Yates as the new Executive Director of the City Planning and Development Department. |
| 1993-1994 | The appointment of various new managers in the City Planning and Development Department. |
| 1994 | April: The South African Government Transformation |
| 1994 | April: The establishment of a new Planning Department on Provincial level, for the Gauteng Province, namely the Department of Development Planning, Environment and Works (DDPE). |
| 1994 | July: MEC, Mr. Cicelo Shiceka, began to promote a new "Collaborative integrated development planning and decision making system" for the former PWV area. |
| 1994 | August: The establishment of the "Forum for Effective Planning and Development “(FEPD). The aim of this Forum was to develop and promote a new development planning system. |
| 1994 | September: First full democratic elections. |

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| 1994 | September: Initiatives to develop a local RDP for the City of Pretoria. |
| 1994 | The launch of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). |
| 1994 | The integration of the former separated group areas Mamelodi, Atridgeville, Eersterust and Laudium into the traditional Pretoria area. |
| 1994 | October: The appointment of Johnny Coetzee as one of the Chief Planners in the Guideline Planning Division. |
| 1995 | May: Finalisation and approval of the Pretoria Regional Structure Plan. |
| 1995 | November: The first full democratic municipal elections. The introduction of a new ANC electorate for the City Council of Pretoria. |
| 1995 | November: The establishment of a new local government structure for South Africa and a new Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council (GPMC) |
| 1995 | December: The first discussion document on EMPRET. |
| 1995 | December: The promulgation of the Development Facilitation Act. (Act 67 of 1995) (DFA). This Act amongst others introduced the principles of LDOs (Land Development Objectives) |
| 1996 | February - June: Preparing for the implementation of EMPRET in the Inner City of Pretoria. |
| 1996 | February - June: Peparing for the LDO process for the Greater Pretoria Area. |
| 1996 | March: The final document on EMPRET. |
| 1996 | March: Two training sessions were held on EMPRET (and strategic planning) for the planners in the City Council of Pretoria. |
| 1996 | March - June: A comprehensive community participation process was launched to involve stakeholders in the EMPRET/Pretoria Inner City process. |
| 1996 | June: The launch of the EMPRET/Pretoria Inner City Process and the establishment of the Pretoria Inner City Partnership (PICP). |
| 1996 | August: The publication of new regulations and rules on the DFA which amongst others promote a planning system which limited public expenditure to development strategies. |
| 1996 | The promulgation of the Local Government Transition Act. 1996 (LGTA) which formally introduced the concept of the IDP. |
| 1997 | February: Finalisation and community approval of the Pretoria Inner City Strategic Development Framework (SDF) and the election of the first Inner City Management Committee. |
| 1997 | February: Approval of the Strategic Metropolitan Development Framework (SMDF) for Greater Pretoria (Approved LDO's). |
| 1997 | February: A Technical Co-ordinating Committee (TCC) was established to interpret the LGTA and to put the IDP process into practice. |
| 1997 | February/March: the TCC reached agreement on a format and process for the IDP to be followed in the various areas of the Greater Pretoria area. |
| 1997 | February - June: The GPMC and the three MLCs (Metropolitan Local Councils) began with the preparation for the IDP processes. |
| 1997 | February - June: The City Planning Department of the City Council of Pretoria restructures to support the IDP process. |
| 1997 | March: The establishment of a full time Inner City Project Team. |
| 1997 | 3 March: The "Great" Munitoria Fire. |
| 1997 | June:The City Council of Pretoria approved the Inner City SDF as well as a budget of 15 million rand to proceed with the implementation of Inner City projects. |

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| 1997 | June: The City Council approved a budget of 2. 9 million rand to proceed with the formulation phase of the 22 Pretoria IDP processes and to appoint consultants to assist with the processes. |
| 1997 | July: The finalisation of the demarcation of the Planning Zones and the establishment of Planning Zone Forums. |
| 1997 | July: The GPMC and MLCs appoint consultants to assist with the IDP process. |
| 1997 | July: The beginning of the 22 IDP processes in the City of Pretoria. |
| 1997 | November: The City Council of Pretoria and the PICP appoint a multi-disciplinary planning consortium to develop an "Integrated Spatial Development Framework" for the Inner City of Pretoria. |
| 1998 | January/February: Planning summits were held to present the Draft IDPs to the respective communities. |
| 1998 | March: The respective councils approved the Metro IDP, the three City Wide IDPs and the 18 local/Planning Zone IDPs. |
| 1998 | May: A special workshop was held to present the Metro and the City IDPs to an Evaluation Team from the Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government. |
| 1998 | 4 June: The IDP planning teams and planning consultants held a 'post mortem ' workshop to analyse and evaluate the IDP processes. |
| 1998 | 12 June: The IDP/PZF Technical Co-ordinations Committee also held a workshop to evalute the IDP processes. |
| 1998 | 17 June: The former MEC of the above department formally approved the Pretoria Metro IDP and the City Wide IDPs. |
| 1998 | The promulgation of The White Paper on Local Government, 1998. |
| 1998 | The promulgation of The Local Government Municipal Structures Act, 1998. |
| 1998 | The promulgation of The White Paper on an Environmental Management Policy for South-Africa, 1998. |
| 1998 | The promulgation of The National Environmental Management Act, 1998. |
| 1999 | January: The City Council, after a re-prioritisation process allocated R42 million for small scale IDP Capital projects. |
| 1999 | The GPMC in conjunction with consultants developed a comprehensive IDP - Management Information System to assist with the implementation and management of the IDP. |
| 1999 | The promulgation of The Green Paper on Development and Planning, 1999. |
| 1999 | Approval of the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework. |
| 1999 | Finalisation of the Pretoria Inner City's Integrated Spatial Development Framework (Draft). |
| 1999 | The promulgation of The Local Government Demarcation Act, 1999. |
| 1999 | October: The establishment of the City Council of Pretoria's IDP Task Team and the introduction of a new 'Strategic Thrust' approach for the IDP. |
| 2000 | New IDP Working group established under the leadership of Amund Beneke. |
| 2000 | January: New Strategic Framework for the to - be - established City of Tshwane was compiled. |
| 2000 | April: Interim IDP for the new to - be - established City of Tshwane was compiled. |
| 2000 | The promulgation of The Local Government: Municipal System Act, 2000. |
| 2000 | Publication of the Policy paper on Integrated Development Planning compiled by Oranje *et al* 2000. |
| 2000 | 6 December: Establishment of the new City of Tshwane Metropolitan |

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| | Municipality. |
| 2000-2001 | Various reports and papers on IDP compiled by the Department of Provincial and Local Government. |
| 2001 | The promulgation of The Draft Land Use Management Bill, 2001. |
| 2001 | The promulgation of The White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management, 2001. |
| 2001 | January: Establishment of the interim top management for the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. |
| 2001 | May: Establishment of a City Planning transformation and management team under the leadership of Ms Belinda van der Merwe. |
| 2001 | July 2001: The CEO announced a new, second interim management structure for the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. |
| 2001 | July 2001: The establishment of a second interim City Planning transformation and management team under the leadership of Dr. Verna Nel. |
| 2001 | July: The establishment of the IDP office and the IDP Manager, Mr. W. Nkosi. |
| 2001 | July - October: The appointment of the General Managers. |
| 2001 | November: The finalisation of a new interim management structure for the City Planning Department. |
| 2001 | October: The appointment of Nava Pillay, the Strategic Executive Officer for the department: "Housing, Land and Enviromental Planning and City Planning". |
| 2001 | December: The establishment of an inter departmental strategic planning working group under the leadership of Mike Yates |
| 2002 | January/February: The establishment of a new Spatial Planning function and system. |
| 2002 | Ongoing transformation and restructuring of the City of Tshwane. |
| 2002 | March: Finalisation of a new strategic spatial vision for the newly established City of Tshwane - the first phase of the Spatial Development Framework. |
| 2002 | June: The Council rejects the Tswhane IDP. |
| 2002 | August: The Council at a special meeting approved the TsWhane IDP. |
| 2002 | Ongoing discussions aimed at establishing the City Planning function as an independent function in the organisation. |
| 2002 | Ongoing debates about the role of the planning function and its relation with the IDP and strategic planning. |
| 2002 | December: Council began to finalise the departmental organisational stuctures and the appointment of some of the permanent managers. |

| ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS | |
|---|---|
| AMTP | Association of Municipal Town Planners |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| ASA | American Sociological Association |
| CBD | Central Business District |
| CEO | Chief Executive Officer |
| COO | Chief Operating Officer |
| CSIR | Centre for Scientific And Industrial Research |
| DC | Development Control |
| DCD | Department of Constitutional Development |
| DDP | Decentralised Development Planning |
| DDPE | Department of Development Planning, Environment and Works |
| DDPTT | Decentralised Development Planning Task Team |
| DEAT | Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism |
| DFA | Development Facilitation Act |
| DPC | Development and Planning Commission |
| DPLG | Department of Provincial and Local Government |
| EIA | Environmental Impact Assessment |
| EMPRET | Environmental Management Programme for Pretoria |
| FEPD | Forum for Effective Planning and Development |
| FP | Forward Planning |
| GDPLG | Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government |
| GPGP | Greater Pretoria Guide Plan |
| GPMC | Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council |
| GTZ | German Agency for Technical Cooperation |
| ICLEI | International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives |
| idp | Integrated Development Planning |
| IDP | Integrated Development Plan |
| IEM | Integrated Environmental Management |
| IIDP | Interim Integrated Development Plan |
| IOC | Interim Organising Committee |
| ISC | Interim Steering Committee |
| ISDF | Integrated Spatial Development Framework |
| LA 21 | Local Agenda 21 |
| LDO | Land Development Objective |
| LEDP | Local Economic Development Planning |
| LGTA | Local Government Transition Act |
| MC | Mayoral Committee |
| MEC | Member of the Executive Committee (Provincial Cabinet) |
| MLC | Metropolitan Local Council |
| MMC | Member of the Mayoral Committee |
| MSA | Local Government: Municipal Systems Act |
| MSDF | Metropolitan Strategic Development Framework |

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| NEMA | National Environmental Management Act |
| NGO | Non-governmental Organisation |
| PDM | Purpose Directed Management |
| PICP | Pretoria Inner City Partnership |
| PPP | Public Private Partnership |
| PWV | Former Pretoria Witwatersrand Vereeniging Area |
| PZ | Planning Zone |
| PZCC | Planning Zone Co-ordinating Committee |
| PZF | Planning Zone Forum |
| PZO | Planning Zone Office |
| RDP | Reconstruction and Development Programme |
| RSA | Republic of South Africa |
| SA | South Africa |
| SAITRP | South African Institute for Town an Regional Planners |
| SALGA | South African Local Government Association |
| SAPI | South African Planning Institution |
| SDI | Sustainable Development Initiatives |
| SDF | Strategic Development Framework |
| SDP | Sustainable Development Planning |
| SEA | Strategic Environmental Assessment |
| SMDF | Strategic Metropolitan Development Framework |
| SOE | State of Environment |
| SOER | State of Environment Report |
| SPF | Strategic Planning Framework |
| TCC | Technical Co-ordinating Committee |
| TPS | Town Planning Scheme |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNEP | United Nations Environment Programme |
| WCED | World Commission on Environment and Development |
| WHO | World Health Organisation |
| WWF | World Wildlife Fund |

# LIST OF FIGURES

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